

AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

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Abstract

This article examines Nigeria – South Africa relations with emphasis on political, trade and economic engagement. It investigates the consistencies and changing patterns in Nigeria and South Africa relations that are partly linked to the failure of Nigeria to diversify its economy and South Africans unwillingness to provide enabling environment for Nigerians in its domain. It argues that Nigeria and South Africa have de-prioritized the key objectives of leading economic growth and economic development in Africa, and resorted to competitive pursuit of regional hegemonic status. This article emphasizes increased cooperation between the leading regional powers and pursuit of bi-relations on the bases of autonomous state structure rather than the personalities of the governing elite. The work relies on secondary sources of data such as journal articles, newspaper and policy briefs to discuss aspects of Nigeria- South Africa relations. It concludes that Nigeria and South Africa should shift from competitive relations to cordial relations with the view to leading the envisaged economic growth, economic development and political renewal in Africa.

KEYWORDS: Bilateral Relations, Economic growth, Economic Development, State Structure, Political Renewal, Cooperation.

Introduction

Africa is the second largest continent with vast resources and inhabits more than 12 percent of the world's population. Although we know that the continent has plenty of resources, Africa remains the world's poorest and most underdeveloped continent. Poverty is widespread; there is a great incidence of communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS, Malaria and tuberculosis.

Politically I would say that the country is unstable as there were civil and liberation wars. The lack of development in Africa is closely linked to the phenomenon of state weakness which underlines the need for improvement in Africa. And so corruption is widespread and human rights abuses are a norm among many governments in Africa.

When we read about two nations we see that, South Africa and Nigeria have a lot of influence on

African Affairs. Nigeria and South Africa both are blessed their ethnicities and races, an asset to national and economic development. Nigeria and South Africa are both stratified societies. Both countries were shaped by assumptions and definitions imposed by the British rulers. British imperial rule in both countries provided identities, language and symbols for ethnic and racial groups.

In South Africa, for example, the colonialist policies deepened the differences between Zulus and Xhosas, Ndebele and Venda's, Tswana and QwaQwa, etc. Also, those of mixed race were segregated from the white groups through culture, residence, occupation and status. These differences benefited the elite by fomenting conflict.

The case of Nigeria is similar, with the exception

of the racial groupings. There are no significant populations of colored people or whites in Nigeria. Instead there are indigenous ethnic groups who were encouraged to segregate by the colonialist.

Nigeria and South Africa are respectively, the first and second largest economies in the Africa region. These countries are viewed as forerunners of continental development and epitomes of regional diplomatic links in West Africa and Southern Africa respectively. Nigeria and South Africa had made concerted efforts to position the region as a critical global actor in international political and economic relations. The relations of the major African powers had been strengthened by the need to resuscitate Africa's ailing economy and mediate the consequences of imperialism. The Nigerian state became pre-occupied with decolonization in Africa. The decolonization process assumed a defining context of its Afro-centric foreign policy, which was partly meant to engage the horrendous system of apartheid in South Africa. Nigeria's confrontational and hostile engagement of South Africa began in the 1960s amid apartheid enclave status of the pariah state. The country was diametrically opposed to the apartheid system and it led the campaigns that culminated in the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth of Nations in 1961 after the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960.

The inauguration of South Africa's democracy in 1995 vitiated its status as a pariah state and enhances its re-admission into global community. It assumed a leadership role in African affairs as exemplified in its membership of the BRICs bloc (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) and the struggle for resource in Africa. The new South Africa posture ineluctably pitched it against Nigeria that asserts itself as the Giant of Africa. The claim of South Africa as a de facto giant in the region gained currency with its demand for the restoration of democracy in Nigeria during the tenure of Late General Sani Abacha. The democratic deficit in Nigeria offered Pretoria the leeway to assert itself in Africa despite its claim of not competing with Abuja's leadership role in the region (Banjo, 2010: 83). The execution of Ken-

Saro Wiwa, the Ogoni rights activist and the Ogoni Eight compelled South Africa to sustain international campaigns, which led to the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth of Nations.

The restoration of democratic rule in Nigeria on "May 1999 signified the *finis et origin*" for building strategic partnerships between the two states with the launch of the Bi-National Commission, BNC, in October 1999 and the New Partnership for Africa's Development, NEPAD, in 2001. The bi-lateral relation between Nigeria and South Africa largely improved between 1999 and 2008 when the volume of trade increases to 22.8 billion South Africa Rand from 174,000,000 million (Otto, 2012). The bilateral relations suffered setbacks in the tenures of President Good luck Jonathan and Jacob Zuma as a result of the xenophobic attacks on Africa migrants and the refusal of Nigeria to support the nomination of Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma of South Africa for the chair of the Africa Union, AU.

The relations between Nigeria and South Africa have been omnim-gatherum of good and evil. It assumes a zigzag dimension with periodic oscillation that scholars describe as love-hate relationship (Agbu, 2010:437). The Nigeria and South Africa relations have equally been described as unspoken rivalry (Games 2013b: 1) and the struggle for Africa's leadership role that is not predicated on conscious and explicit plan to offer direction to the region. The struggle is rather defined by the Afro-centered philosophical foundations of Nigeria and South Africa foreign policies.

Economic Diversification between Nigeria and South Africa

The economies of South Africa and Nigeria certainly have one thing in common. Both rely heavily on commodity exports. But even in this likeness, differences already start to emerge. In the case of Nigeria, oil comprises more than 95 of its foreign income. For South Africa, commodities make up 65 of exports, but these are quite diversified and not restricted to single product. The

levels of diversification in the overall economy are also starkly different, as South Africa generates far more through manufacturing, service and consumer products.

There are few similarities between the South Africa and Nigeria economies as these countries are at substantially different stages in their economic and institutional development says Fatima Vawda, Managing Director at 27 four Investment Managers. Nigeria has a long way to go diversity its economic base. But that doesn't mean that Nigeria relies entirely on its oil and gas fields in the Niger Delta. Nema Ramkhelawan-Bhana from RMB Global Markets says that she was pleasantly surprised by the level of activity in the country's major cities.

Within the cities centers there is a huge amount of services related activity driven by consumer demand she says. The growth in ICT is very big for example, and there is quite a lot of diversified activity going on. However much of this is still cash based and the financial services industry in Nigeria is far from the depth and sophisticated one finds in South Africa.

Most of the population is unbanked "Vawda says. So they're a long way from ATMs and electronic banking". Ramkhelawan-Bhana says that Nigeria's banking industry is however making strides. "South Africa has set the benchmark in terms of regulation and supervision of the financial service industry; she says. "But over the last couple of years, the banking sector in Nigeria has come a long way.

"Especially on the part of the central bank they have overhauled regulations, worked to remove graft, and tried to make the sector accessible to individuals and businesses; Ramkhelawan-Bhana says. "So although corporate borrowing is low and far cry from South Africa, it is improving.

Demographics

A major difference between South Africa and Nigeria is of course the size of the two countries' populations. South Africa is home to around 52 million people, While Nigeria has a population of

over 170 million. This means that while Nigeria's GOP is now higher, its GOP per capita is still well below that of South Africa. The recently published social progress index, which measures the social progress of countries based on 54 wellness indicators, also demonstrates how much better off South Africans are in general. Nigeria placed 123rd out of 132.

"There is still massive income inequality in Nigeria and many of its human development indicators are still very low in terms of healthcare, education, skills development; says Ramkheleawan-Bhana." There is still a lot of work to be done in those basic areas. But of course there are two sides to the population story.

"Demographically, Nigeria has a higher proportion of younger people than South Africa and is growing at a higher rate" Vawda says. "Its population is expected to more than double to 440 million by 2050 while South Africa is only forecast to increase by 25 to 65 million. So you're talking about a hugely populace nation the India or China of Africa."

This means that the potential scale for growth in consumer-facing businesses is enormous. And many businesses are looking at Nigeria because of this very opportunity. But you do also have to think of the concentration of purchasing power, Ramkhelanwan-Bhana warns. A large percentage of Nigeria's population is still living below \$2 per day. So you also have to look at income patterns when you look at the potential growth in spending. We actually see quite a bit of the same disparities in Nigeria and South Africa, she adds, "but because of the sheer size of Nigeria population, the situation is far graver."

Gateway to the Continent

South Africa has always been viewed as the logical entry point to the rest of Africa. But how much will this change if the country is no longer the largest economy in the region? "You can't discount South Africa, particularly as its provides ease of access to the rest of the continent," RMB's Ramkhelawan-Bhana says. "South Africa businesses have become more adept at doing

business in Africa. That human capital and skill is something we can offer." Although become the preferred destination for everyone setting up businesses. People trade in place where it's easy to trade," 27four Vawda says. "And if you think of the infrastructure, financial institution and business environment in Johannesburg, you are talking about a very different place to Lagos."

She adds that one needs to be aware of the bigger picture in Nigeria, not just a single GOP figure. "Some of Nigeria's numbers do look attractive, but they don't tell the full story," Vawda says. "The current account surplus, for instance, is almost entirely due to its oil exports. "And although Nigeria has a lower debt to GOP ratio than South Africa, its credit rating is lower," Vawda adds. This is because its tax base is similar, it is less diversified and its institutional capacities are not as developed." So there is unlikely to be rush for the exits with everyone taking their businesses off to Lagos. But as investor Asset Management pointed out in a note. Nigeria's rebasing of its GOP..... May negatively affects perceptions about South Africa's position on the continent, but it will reflect Africa's reality far better.

"South Africa was historically the 'go-to' country for investment into Africa. However, the reality is that other regions are increasingly asserting their economic voice and this has resulted in several multinational corporations opting to have their Africa base in countries such as Kenya or Nigeria, instead of South Africa." And as Ramkhelawan-Bhana suggests, it might be good for South Africa to have a little dose of reality, because there are things we can learn from our counterparts north of the border. South Africans can definitely learn from the entrepreneurial spirit Nigerians have," she says. "They do the best with what they have. It's very much a market-based economy. People buy to sell to make a living.

South Africa Foreign Policy vs. Nigerian Foreign Policy Influence in Regional And Global Governance

After 1994, Mandela's newly elected government sought to reform the foreign policy of South Africa.

Thus previously neglected pursuits officially became a part South Africa's foreign policy. The government realized that in order to develop and prosper. South Africa should not isolate itself from neighbors, since South Africa cannot develop with the rest of the continent living in hardship and poverty. By making sure that neighboring countries would have the opportunity to prosper, South Africa can also avoid flood of immigrants from these areas which would provide both an economic and both a security concern. Therefore SACU (South African Custom Union) cooperation was prioritized as well as South-South connections (Hen wood 1997). Barber (2005) agrees with this statement and adds that among the South African priorities of the post-apartheid era were the issues of strengthening relations with the UN, non-aligned countries, as well as the (O)AU (Organization of African Unity; later replaced by the African Union).

The current South Africa foreign policy is based upon the white paper of 2011 (Department of International Relations and cooperation 2011) and also on various ANC (African National Congress) policy discussion document (ANC 2011). The priorities did not change significantly since 1994, thus the focus is still on human rights, democracy, fight against poverty and reconciliation in post-conflict areas. However in the afore mentioned ANC document we can read various unachievable goals, such as the dissolution of NATO and closure of all foreign military bases. As an interviewee pointed out, sometimes parrarel communications exist: one of the internal consumptions, to satisfy the needs of the party, and some external consumption to satisfy foreign officials and TNCs. South cooperation is very much a priority area in the present as in the relationship with international organizations such as SADC, AU, Commonwealth, UN as well as G77+China. Indeed it is through the BRICS partnership that South Africa wishes to achieve the reform of the UN Security Council and its permanent seat therein. Challenges for South Africa were also mentioned in the white papers which were: changing demographic conditions and

stress on the sustainability of the welfare state; immigration from neighboring countries, the lingering effects of the financial crisis, the growing power of social media in both internal and foreign affairs, which enables the spread of racial ideas, climatic change, the race for natural resource.

However these aims and goals also manifest themselves in concrete foreign political action. In the remainder of the section we are going to detail some of the foreign political achievements of South Africa where on the one hand it managed to prioritize the African agenda in the global setting and/or was able to act for the whole of the continent. Major events for South Africa included hosting the Pan-African Parliament in May and October 2011, hosting the Global African Diaspora in May 2012, being a member between 2010 and 2012 of the AU's peace and Security Council, and drafting a strategy which led to the improved cooperation between AU/UN, led to the establishment of the African Force and which was accepted by the UN Security Council resolution 2033 (2012).

An agreement was also made to provide capacity building support for the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) Grand Inga Hydro power plant project which will be ready by 2020-2025 and provide 39 00 MW of electricity BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) countries also agreed to support through NEPAD Africa's infrastructural development; South Africa initiated and led a resolution adopted at the session of the UN Human Right Council in June 2011 which called for the first ever discussion to and protect the human rights of lesbians, guys, bisexuals and transsexuals. In addition South Africa hosted the 17th UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) summit in Durban and was a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council between 2011 and 2012. South Africa hosted in the first BRICS Leaders- Africa forum in Durban in 2013, where the leaders of BRICS countries promised to provide support for Africa's development; led the discussions on making SADC into a customs union and

consolidating its free trade area agreement and took part in the establishment of a BRICS development bank; where the initial funding and or endowment should be sufficient enough to finance infrastructure building.

The leaders participating at the BRICS summit also agreed upon the establishment of a contingency Reserve Arrangement with an initial size of a 100 billion US to counter short term liquidity shocks (Department of international Relations and Cooperation 2012 and 2013). One of the most important foreign political accomplishments of South Africa in recent years was to manage to appoint Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as chairman of the AU commission in 2012 and this clearly showed that even if there is antagonism towards the Big Brother in Africa they managed to whip the votes for two thirds majority. From these points we can see that South Africa is really active both in global and regional governance. The major achievements in terms of foreign policy have been at the UN where they have successfully pushed through a UNSC (United Nations Security Council) resolution, and with the BRICS countries, where they have repeatedly drawn attention to the problems in Africa. With establishment of a BRICS development bank and quasi "BRICS-IMF-World Bank" South Africa is taking advantage of China's maneuvering to partially create its own global governmental structure as opposed to the present Bretton Woods System? In the future these deals may actually increase the influence of South Africa in Africa by being able to directly influence these meetings and act as an intermediary for smaller or less wealthy states.

Nigeria's foreign policy is much more difficult to elaborate upon as opposed to South Africa's. At the time of the research for instance Nigeria's Ministry of foreign Affairs webpage contained no detailed strategy which the country wishes to achieve. Luckily the Nigeria's Government's webpage does not contain information about the foreign policy, however even these are more a list of achievements than a real strategy document.

Repeated efforts have been made for a personal interview with Nigeria Senior foreign policy staff, however at the following is mainly based on the account of the international literature. According to Ezirim (2010) the following five major foreign policy principles have been an integral part of Nigeria's foreign policy since its independence: non-alignment has not been true in all situations.

Mainly because Nigeria during the cold War was more Western centric as opposed to belonging to the soviet bloc. An example of this was limiting the amount of personnel of the newly opened soviet embassy to 10 whereas no much were based upon other missions. This anti-Soviet stance was toned down during the Biafra conflict. Modern Nigeria's foreign policy can be traced back to Abacha's death in 1998, which started with the successful transition to democracy and re-admission to the Commonwealth as well as reestablishment of diplomatic connections with the EU, Canada and the US.

After 2007 the foreign policy seemed to center around citizens' diplomacy which seems more as a part of normal consular service than actual foreign policy tool. In 2009 Abba quoted by Ezirim (2010) went as far as stating that in the two preceding years Nigeria has done nothing spectacular and its participation in regional organizations have been minimal. Unaji (2007) discusses the various concentric circles that Nigeria foreign policy operates in: the innermost is Western Africa; the second area is that the whole of Africa and the third area is the rest of the world. Despite critical views Nigeria was instrumental in establishing ECOWAS which does provide a platform for interregional cooperation and maybe the future introduction of customs union similar to the EU or WAEMU (West African Economic and Monetary Union). The ECOWAS Bank for investment and Development also does provide financial interventions for members states, which between 2004 and 2009 amounted to almost 1 billion USD (EBID 2014).

There has been some confusion regarding the goal of the BRICS Bank, both between official

documentation and people interviewed. Some said it would function in a way similar to the IMF, whereas other senior sources quoted that the goal would be establishing a World Bank type of institution. Unfortunately for the future of ECOWAS, there seems to be a low amount of cooperation opportunities in economic matters between members, which is down mainly to the fact of their dependence on trade with the Global North, non-tariff barriers to trade and low manufacturing capacity within the region. We shall see later on, that Nigerian trade is minimal within ECOWAS. On the other hand in 2009 it was Nigeria who provided more than half of the financing for ECOWAS, which definitely shows at least committed towards the regional organization.

According to (Jega-Farris 2010) Nigeria also played a pivotal role in the democratization process of Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo and Equatorial Guinea where they provided leadership support in the peacekeeping operations.

Comparing and contrasting the two countries influence in regional and global governance we can draw the conclusion that South Africa has a much more visible and quantifiable foreign policy as opposed to Nigeria. This can be witnessed in both the UNSC resolution and with hosting major events such as UNFCCC or BRICS summits as well as organizing for instance the Football World Cup in 2010. If Nigeria seriously wishes to challenge South Africa in its leadership position on the Africa continent, first it must create and adopt a foreign political strategy and then make sure it can implement it.

Peacekeeping

After apartheid the South Africa defense strategy was based upon two strategic papers: the White Paper on Defense from 1996 and the 1998 Defense Review and since then a general overview has been issued in 2012. The White Paper on Defense does not yet mention actively taking part in peacekeeping, the goal at that time was more to create a strategy on how and where to take part in peacekeeping operations. It also advises that defense cooperation between the

SADC countries must be something that the countries should be working to achieve (Department of Defense: Republic of South Africa 1996). The 1998 Review however does allow for peacekeeping operations to occur with South African troops, even though it states that troops can only deploy if the South Africa population and parliament gives it a go ahead, and the peacekeeping operation gets a mandate by SADU, OAU and the UN (Department of Defense: Republic of South Africa 1998). South Africa's engagement in international peace mission was accepted by the South Africa Parliament in October 1999, the official document detailing the specificities was the White Paper on South African participation in International Peace missions. The 2012 South African Defense Review is far more detailed than either previously mentioned document. The third pillar of the 2012 defense strategy is promoting peace and security as part of this goal the document focuses on how to achieve regional peace. One of the tools the strategy envisages is to place South Africa personnel into organizations which have a direct bearing on security policy in the region. These organizations are the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, AU peace and Security Department. And SADC organ on politics, Defense and Security Cooperation. The second tool of the strategy is to provide support for multilateral peacekeeping operations should these occur on the continent. An interesting point in the strategy that it mentions that if a multilateral peacekeeping mission were to occur, in that case the person leading the peacekeeping mission should be a South Africa (Department of Defense 2012).

Providing Development Assistance

Despite the fact that South Africa is an aid recipient country it also provides development assistance of its own to countries in need. South Africa was never a country on foreign aid which can be witnessed in the ODN governmental expenditure data which never was higher than 1 . In 2012 the most important donors for South Africa were the US, EU, Germany, UK and France and the total amount of assistance received was about

one billion USD which is definitely an impressive figure for a medium income country, Most of this assistance was used in the healthcare and for developing new ways and mechanisms for providing development assistance effectively (Besharati 2013). According to UNDP (2011) they provided capacity development in a number of areas for South Africa which includes: all inclusive growth, making the South Africa economy greener transformation, aid coordination, and capacity building in peace building. The challenge in providing capacity building program is that it is very difficult to measure the effectiveness of it. Szent-Ivanyi-Tetenyi (2013) encountered the same problem, when they endeavored to analyze the effects of capacity building program Central and Eastern reemerging donors received for becoming more mature donors.

South Africa aid programs can be traced back to 1968 when the Economic cooperation Promotion Loan Fund was established with the thinly veiled goal of aiding impoverished neighboring countries in return for their support in the UN (Braude et al 2008). After 1994 it became one of the cornerstones of the Mandela government to rebuild the image of South Africa, thus debts of, Mozambique and Namibia were written off. In 2000 the African Renaissance Fund (ARF) was established to replace the Economic Cooperation Promotion Loan Fund, and for 2012/2013 it had expenditures totaling around a 100 million USD. The problem with South African aid is that it is totally fragmented: it provides for instance assistance for the NEPAS secretariat for 3,5 million USD annually, the development Bank of South Africa is heavily involved in concessional infrastructural loans with a net loan outlay of approximately 1 billion USD, provides 15 of the budget of the AU amounting to 15-20 million USD and which repeatedly replenishes the International Development Association's (IDA) fund (Besharati 2013). Estimating the gross amount of development assistance is challenging Vickers (2012) puts it somewhere between 0, 7 and 1 of GNI. Thus it would be imperative that newly formed but not yet functioning South African.

Development Partnership Agency (SADPA) would try and coordinate the provision and effective of development assistance. The goal of SADPA would be to eventually replace the ARF act as a development partner for African countries in need. Unfortunately for South Africa within the continent there is continued opposition to South Africa aid, some African perceiving it to be little more than an attempt at South Africa gaining influence to achieve imperialistic aims. Lucey-O'Riordan (2013) detail some of the results South Africa aid has achieved in the DRC, Burundi and South Sudan it has been involved in peace building with an emphasis on governance-related assistance, capacity building, implementation support for electoral issues and infrastructure development. Challenges were in general that engagement have been one-off with limited follow up, civil society engagement was limited, staff turnover was high and monitoring and evaluation tools were not used as widely as could have.

On the plus side for instance the capacity building programs for diplomats were well received, and in general the interventions have been demand driven. South Africa also has more access to African countries as opposed to established donors, which may have been one of the reasons for trilateral programming. Future work should be conducted on South Africa finding its comparative strengths and streamlining its efforts to that area. Nigeria is also a major recipient of development assistance and with the country's infrastructure less developed as South Africa's very much in need of it. Assessing Nigeria's development assistance is challenging. Mainly because of the fact that it has not been institutionalized. Jega-Farris (2010) however endeavor to collect some of the projects the country has participated in. In 1988 Nigeria granted funds of roughly 76000 USD for the building of a polytechnic in Cape Verde and also provided scholarship for Cape Verdean students to study at Nigeria universities. A figure is quoted by (ibid) that up until 2007 Nigeria is estimated to have provided 60 billion USD in financial assistance to African and Caribbean countries.

Even if we take a yearly average since Nigeria independence, this figure seems to be a bit farfetched with annual assistance being higher than 1 billion USD. Other figure quoted by the same authors are 5 million USD to the Caribbean Development Bank, 1 million USD to Jamaica for humanitarian assistance in 1988, 5 million USD to Equatorial Guinea between 1988-1990 to finance the building of a hospital and other agricultural projects. Some long term programs provided by Nigeria's were the Technical Aid Corps Scheme, where the goal was to share Nigeria's know-how and expertise with other developing countries and in the framework of this program between 1987 and 2008 almost 2000 volunteers have participated in development related projects in 33 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. Unfortunately no data is available on resource spent or monitored results achieved. In the Africa Development Bank (AFDB 2014) Two other countries initiatives stand out which has to be mentioned: The Nigeria Trust Fund which is a special AFDB Fund created in 1976 and endowed until 1981 with 151 million USD. The trust fund aims at providing loans at 2-4 percent interest rate for 25 years. By 2009 the trust disbursed roughly 266 million USD. The other initiative worthy of recognition is the Nigeria Technical Cooperation Fund which was developed as a grant element to complement the trust fund. It aimed at rebuilding war torn countries and the initial funds for disbursement in 2004 were at 25 million USD.

Conclusion

In conclusion we can see that both countries have provided development and economic assistance to countries of the region, however neither one has yet the opportunity to fully institutionalize the provision of development assistance. South Africa is making the necessary steps with the creation of SADPA, which will hopefully in time act as a coordinator and facilitator of South Africa assistance. Unfortunately in the case of Nigeria we cannot see any sign that similar initiatives are in place, thus once again it is South Africa who is acting in a more processed way. We have seen what kind of power structure the two most

important countries in Sub-Saharan Africa take part in and what the various services they are providing for the continent. In the remainder of this section we are going to review what the international community has said about being a regional power means and which country of our two analyzed fulfills this role. According to Nolte (2010: 890) "traditional middle power are, first and foremost, defined by their role in international politics, the new middle powers are first of all, regional powers (or regional leaders) and, in addition, middle powers (with regard to their power resources) on a global scale. He also states that an additional prerequisite for regional hegemony is that it should have on the one hand regional followers and endeavor to create regional governance structures. Looking at our two countries, South Africa definitely the role of middle power not only by being member of prestigious groups as the BRICS or the G20, but by hosting important summits as BRICS summit and UNFCCC summit, and by pushing through UNSC resolutions.

In the case of Nigeria this kind of activity is yet missing. In terms of creating regional government structures both countries have been active, however South Africa's involvement in SADC is at the moment at a deeper form of cooperation as for Nigeria with ECOWAS. Pry's (2008) mentions three dimensions of regional power. "Perception", "provision." In terms of perception both countries are accepted as leaders of their close geographical region, but once again South Africa's claim is somewhat stronger which can be underlined by the fact that it managed to push through Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's successful nomination to be the incumbent chairperson of the AU. Also it is noteworthy to mention that that it is South Africa which acts as the "voice of Africa in international for as opposed to Nigeria.

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