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András Tétényi

The Republic of South Africa: a regional hegemon

doctoral dissertation

Dissertation Advisor:

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Department of World Economy

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1 Justifying the selection of the chosen topic

The global economy has witnessed significant changes in the last couple of years: since 2008 the world economic crisis has impacted on our daily lives in previously unimagined ways. The newly industrialized countries are having an ever increasing effect in the functioning of the world economy, while the Global North is beset with problems such as growing inflation and recession. Projections for global GDP growth in 2014 have dwindled to about 3.4 percent, and this is down mainly to the unsolved problems in the developed world. The 2.1 percent growth within the USA will be offset by stagnation in the euro-zone and Japan. This data is in stark contrast with that of the performance of the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, Republic of South Africa), out of which China and India shall show 8.8 and 6.9 percent growth respectively, whereas Brazil, Russia¹ and South Africa will grow between 1 to 2.6 percent (IMF 2014). The importance of the BRICS countries cannot only be measured in GDP growth but also in the fact that these countries wield enormous economic and political influence within their regions.

It is important to note that regional influence in the newly industrialized countries varies. Russia, Brazil and South Africa possess pivotal roles within their regions, which is of course true for India and China as well, however the latter countries possess more regional challengers (see Japan, South Korea, Indonesia etc.) as opposed to the former. But what do we mean by pivotal role? Pivotal role in our understanding means that for instance Russia, Brazil, and South-Africa play a leading role for the countries in the region in economic matters (meaning trade and foreign direct investments), help to solve conflicts in a peaceful manner and also provides advocacy support for regional countries in international governmental organizations.

Until 1994 in the Republic of South Africa (RoSA), we could witness a misshapen economic and political system, which was based on the economic and political differentiation between various population groups. This directly led to the RoSA being quarantined off from most of its region and the global economy as well. At the end of apartheid South Africa possessed only 30 embassies (Barber 2005) which shows how isolated it was, mainly because of its

¹ The relatively lower Russian GDP growth can be attributed to the ongoing crisis with the Ukraine.

internal policies. However this changed radically in 1994, when the African National Congress (ANC) won with a landslide in the first free and democratic election held in the country. With the majority of the population supporting the ANC and Nelson Mandela becoming the first non-white President of South Africa, the newly formed government had a strong sense of legitimacy both internally and both externally. Apartheid unfortunately has left a legacy of severe internal economic and political problems, therefore a dissertation which endeavours to analyze the role of South Africa in the region not only has to deal with foreign policy, but also analyze the question what kind of internal conditions and capacities are there which can lead a successful foreign political agenda.

The goal of the dissertation is to analyze the RoSA in a regional context and examine how its position has changed from an economically and politically isolated country pre-1994, to the regional powerbroker in Africa after the regime change. In the dissertation we are aiming to prove that we can consider the RoSA a regional hegemon, because it provides public goods to the rest of the continent. As of today the RoSA has the strongest economy on the continent; has an ever present position in the international community (see its role in the UN Security Council as well other major international organizations); has an important role to play in solving African disputes in a peaceful way; its volume of trade towards Africa is growing and also provides development assistance to fellow African countries. To discuss these issues we have to categorize what kind of role does the RoSA have in Africa; what kind of role does it play in the solving of disputes on the African continent; in what way is its relationship different with the Global South as opposed to the Global North, and last but not least in what way does the economic interests of the RoSA warrant a strong African presence.

The relevance for analyzing the foreign policy of the Republic of South Africa is warranted, because African countries are growing at a previously unprecedented level and out of these the RoSA is the strongest. If we take Nigeria as an example, in 1994 they had an average 4 percent GDP growth per annum while on an average in 2014 they are growing at 8 percent. Even though the RoSA does not possess the most dynamic growth ratios on the continent, they have the highest level of cumulated GDP, they have one of the most efficient institutional systems, and they provide 80 percent of internal African FDI. Thus we believe that a PhD dissertation which was written in 2012-2013-2014 on the regional and global role of an African country cannot be anything else but the Republic of South Africa.

In order to analyze the Republic of South Africa in a regional context we shall formulate the following hypotheses:

- 1) The Republic of South Africa because of its regional and global role is a regional hegemon.

In order to see whether the Republic of South Africa is really a regional hegemon we shall analyze its activities according to the following four sub-hypotheses. These hypotheses relate to the following areas: its connection to international organizations and its global role; peacekeeping in Africa; commercial and investment interests in Africa; development assistance. The four sub-hypotheses are the following:

- a) The Republic of South Africa according to its foreign political goals, actively and efficiently plays an advocacy role for countries of its region in international governmental organizations.
- b) The Republic of South Africa plays an active role in peacekeeping activities on the continent since 1994.
- c) The African partners in the economic diplomacy of the Republic of South Africa play a growing and important role.
- d) The Republic of South Africa because of African solidarity plays an active role in development assistance projects on the continent.

Understanding and mapping the regional and global position of the RoSA is not only important because this way we can get a better understanding of great power politics, but because with the emergence of the RoSA a country has arrived to a leading position which does not want to develop Africa according to Western practices, but who wishes to develop Africa in a way which takes into consideration the wishes of the African countries as well. Naturally we may ask ourselves the question whether the RoSA's outspoken altruistic objectives are real, or does it wish to hide behind the flag of African solidarity in order to further its own political and economic agenda? This problem was not formulated as a hypothesis, partially because of challenges on how to measure it, but throughout our dissertation we shall endeavour to view the economic and political activities of the RoSA through a critical lens and prove not only our hypotheses but gain an understanding to the wider cause-effect relationships. An other issue which will not be analysed in depth is the internal social problems of the RoSA. As of now there are many challenges within the country, to name but a few: high unemployment, unequal society, low level of training and

skills, high crime rate, high HIV/AIDS rate. Unfortunately we were not able to analyze all of these issues in an in-depth way as the seriousness and importance of these issues warrant, therefore research related to these questions shall be completed at a later date.

We believe that analyzing the African continent is an important issue for Hungarian policymaking as well. Hungary's Foreign Ministry in its foreign political strategy has clearly indicated that one of the pillars upon which the future Hungarian foreign policy has to be based upon is global opening. In this pillar the Hungarian aim is to intensify the relationship with those countries who in the last couple of years have been neglected, or who never really were a focus area for us. An additional objective is also to strengthen our participation in the international community and take part in trying to address the answers to global challenges (Külügyminisztérium 2011: 9). Unfortunately Hungary during the summer of 2014 only had three embassies in Sub-Saharan Africa, and not surprisingly one of these was located in the Republic of South Africa. Therefore it would seem logical that Hungary will try to rebuild its African connections from South Africa. However in order to rebuild these connections researchers and research is needed, where the focus of their analysis will be what kind of areas of interest are there in Africa, and not only from the perspective of the great powers of the USA, EU and China, but from the perspective of the African countries as well. An additional justification for analyzing South Africa within the continent of Africa is, that according to the International Trade Centre (2013) 49 percent of Hungarian export towards Africa went to the RoSA.

2 Methods used

In this chapter we shall be discussing our main hypothesis and our four sub-hypotheses. First we shall define the main definitions attached to this dissertation and secondly we shall discuss how we shall try and prove our hypotheses.

2.1 Definitions of concepts

2.1.1 Defining regional hegemony

In our dissertation under regional hegemony we shall understand those countries, which have a pivotal role in their region in terms of economy, politics and military and besides these they

also provide additional services for the countries of the region. The real question is what kind of services should a regional hegemon perform for the countries of the region? It is our understanding that the hegemons should perform those services, which countries of the region would not be able to have without outside assistance. Such issues are peaceful coexistence; maintaining and upkeeping regional international organizations, advocacy role towards global international organizations and providing development assistance for countries of the region. If we can find the services provided by the regional hegemon to the countries of its region, than we can truly call it a regional hegemon. However there is still an additional distinction to be made: if the major player within the region does not provide the above mentioned services, it will still remain a powerful country or a middle power; however we cannot call it a hegemon.

2.2 Methodology used for the verification of our hypotheses

2.2.1 Data collection

Data were collected in two steps. The first step involved analyzing the respective foreign policy of RoSA, by focusing on the annual reports and White Papers of the foreign ministries (where available); databases for trade and foreign direct investment; and databases of peacekeeping by the UN. Unfortunately on some occasions the data available in official reports seemed to be unsubstantiated, therefore in the second step individual contact persons were contacted to provide further information, either by granting access to non-public documents or by providing a possibility for an interview. These officials included members of the diplomatic corps of the respective countries and members of the academia. All in all, 10 experts at ministries, embassies, research institutes and enterprises provided access to documents or were interviewed. The interviews were carried out between June and November 2014 and mainly focused on verifying the issues behind the numbers for the raw data.

2.2.2 Active and efficient advocacy for smaller countries in global international organisations

From the four sub-hypotheses defined, this one is probably the least easy to verify, since it tries to address the question of efficiency. Therefore before we start we have to answer two questions:

- What do we mean by providing efficient advocacy service according to the needs of the region in global international organizations?
- How can we define a global international organization?

In order to define international governmental organizations we are going to use two definitions. According to Blahó-Prandler (2005) international organizations are entities which have been created by an international treaty between at least two or three states; they have a constant structure; and according to their charter they are international legal entities. According to Karns – Mingst (2010) international governmental organizations must have at least three member states, they perform some kind of function in various countries, and they have a charter or statute on which their work is based. It is also important to note that we can categorize international governmental organizations according to geographical activity which means they can be global (UN, WTO); regional (EU, AU) interregional (SACU, SADC). They can also be categorized according to function, which means they can be universal (UN) or specialized (WTO, NATO).

During the verification of our hypothesis we shall make the distinction whether the RoSA is playing an advocacy function in a global, regional or interregional organization and also whether it is a universal or a specialized organization. Naturally within the confines of our dissertation we simply have no space to list all international organizations; therefore we shall be focusing our attention on two categories:

- African based international organizations in which South Africa has membership, e.g. African Union, SACU, SADC.
- In the case of global international organizations we wish to prioritize our analysis, therefore the first and foremost institution we shall look at, will be the UN. However at this point the question will arise what additional UN specialized institution should form a part of our analysis as well as what additional institutions should we be looking at. We believe that that IMF and the World Bank should definitely form a part of our analyses as well as the WTO and the UNFCCC. The reason why we actually chose these five institutions is that all of them are global and they provide important input in the various specialized areas they control. Although it might come to being, that during our analyses we find additional organizations where the RoSA has more influence or organizations which the RoSA uses to a higher degree in order to achieve

its advocacy role. Therefore if we find similar organizations than we would have to analyze them also in terms of relevance and influence.

Although we have defined already what we mean by international organizations, we have not yet dwelled on the topic how to define efficient advocacy. It is our understanding that a country can be considered to be efficient in terms of advocacy if there is no issue which get passed into an international treaty, statute or agreement without its concurrence. Besides this, the country that pursues this advocacy function also has the ability to form the agenda of the international community. We do know without any kind of additional research, that the RoSA has a greater effect on the agenda of regional African international organizations than on the agenda of global international organizations such as the UN. This means that while in the case of regional African international organizations it plays a pivotal and leading role in determining the agenda, in global international organizations it may only have a voice in questions which affect its region, while in other matters its impact can be less.

We shall accept our hypothesis if we can prove that the RoSA has the ability to form the agenda in the international organizations analysed, and plays a pivotal role in regional organizations. We shall reject our hypothesis if the RoSA does not play a leading role in regional organizations and has no ability to form the agenda.

2.2.3 Analysing peacekeeping in Africa

Our second sub-hypothesis deals with the question of the peacekeeping activities of the RoSA in Africa. Before we start we have to define what we understand under peacekeeping. According to Nibishka (2011) peacekeeping is the activity during which military forces and civilian units under international command act in order to maintain peace after a cease-fire agreement has been signed. In these circumstances the belligerents agree that peacekeepers should appear in the disputed areas.

Tisovszky (1997) calls attention to the fact that the public looks at all UN lead intervention as peacekeeping, despite the fact that this is not really true. In reality peacekeeping is a specific UN intervention, which can only come into being if a certain set of circumstances are met. These factors are: having a peace to maintain, which the belligerents wish to honour; the belligerents also agree to UN presence in the area; the belligerents also agree that the UN can

deploy troops in between the opposing forces, thus preventing the conflict from escalating once again. (Tisovszky 1997:6)

In order to verify our hypothesis, we shall analyze which were the various missions in which South African troops or civilians participated since 2001.² Besides we shall also look at the issue at what percentage were the troop contributions from the RoSA in the missions they participated in. An additional question is, whether without South African support would these missions have had the opportunity to get off the ground.

We shall accept our hypothesis if we find that from the African countries either the RoSA plays a leading role in the implementation of the peacekeeping missions or if it plays a role according to its relative political and economic size. We shall be accepting our hypothesis with reservations, if the RoSA does take part in peacekeeping operations but not in a leading role. We shall reject our hypothesis if the contribution coming from the RoSA is negligible and cannot be easily distinguished from other African contributions.

2.2.4 Analysing regional commerce and investment

Analysing our third hypothesis is maybe the most straightforward. Herein we wish to understand two questions. First, can we discover some kind of trend which proves that commerce is increasing between South Africa and the rest of Africa? Here we shall be focusing on indicators related to both exports and imports. We shall also be focusing on whether we can find some regularity on why South Africa trades with its present partners, what kind of products are being traded with developed and developing countries. Our second question within this chapter is what kind of role does South African capital play on the continent. If it plays an important role the question is, is there some kind of trend which shows that South African capital goes primarily to those countries which are in its zone of influence.

In order to verify our hypothesis we shall use the available commercial data to check the most important partners, regions and traded goods for South Africa. We shall be also checking what kind of good is traded between the various regions which are trading partners for South

² We use 2001 as a baseline since that was the first South African peacekeeping mission after 1994.

Africa. We shall be also discussing in which country is South African FDI being utilized, and what is its percentage in relation to other FDI investors in Africa.

We shall accept our sub-hypothesis if from 2009 South African exports rose continuously until present day, and we can find those goods which show the importance of South African goods within the African economies. We shall reject our hypothesis if the export did not grow or we cannot find any goods which are important for African countries.

2.2.5 Analyzing development assistance

During the end of the 1990s and beginning of the 2000s in international development a new group of countries emerged: newly industrialized countries. In order to spread their influence or partially because of solidarity, they also embarked on a route which took in international development assistance. Thus they became known as emerging donor countries. A part of them such as India, China or South Africa still receive development assistance, however they have also began providing aid on their own. An other group of countries such as Japan or Korea have already graduated from receiving development assistance and take part in large scale projects in the developing world. During the analysis of our hypothesis we shall discuss under what conditions does South Africa provide development assistance, which countries receive aid, what is the amount of resources that is provided by South Africa in US dollars, and what does the OECD-DAC think about the quality of aid.

We shall accept our hypothesis if South Africa does provide more aid than 0,2%/GNI and if more than half of this aid is utilized in Africa. We took 0,2% as a baseline because some established donor countries such as the US or Japan provide less assistance and the new OECD-DAC member Czech Republic also does not meet this figure. We shall reject our hypothesis if development assistance neither in volume, neither in target reaches the previously quoted figure.

2.2.6 Analysis of our main hypothesis

Our main hypothesis can be accepted or rejected according to what kind of results do we get from our four sub-hypotheses. At the beginning of chapter 2.1.1 we formed a definition on what a regional hegemon is. According to our definition regional hegemons are *those countries, who have a pivotal role in their region in terms of economy, politics and military*

and besides these they also provide additional services for the countries of the region. Thus we shall be looking at whether this definition is true in the case of the Republic of South Africa by looking at our four sub-hypotheses. If we can accept at least three sub-hypotheses fully, and one with reservations than we shall accept our main hypothesis.

3 Results of the dissertation

The goal of our dissertation was to place the Republic of South Africa into a regional and global setting and analyze in what way did its position change, from an economically and politically isolated country pre-1994, to a regional hegemon after the regime change. Under apartheid the internal society of South Africa was based on an artificially inequal setting which in the 1960s was able to provide respectable economic growth, but which turned to stagnation and in some years recession during the 1980s. South African companies faced a shortage of labour (they could not freely employ non-whites) and also a shortage of markets (embargo), thus both the internal society and the internal economy was interested in a regime change. Outside pressure for eliciting a regime change was quite large after 1977, when the Soweto uprising was beaten down, however the final nail in the coffin was presumably the fall of the Soviet Union which meant that there was no longer a need for having South Africa as a somewhat unacknowledged ally of the West within Africa. Because of the internal and external pressure, the grip of the National Party on South Africa was lessening and the question was, when would the regime change occur, and whether it shall be forced or bloodless. Negotiations leading to the first free and fair elections lasted for four years and it was finally held in 1994 when the ANC won 62 percent of the popular vote and got a majority in the National Assembly.

For us, the situation of South Africa became interesting from this point. That is, what kind of position does the “new” Republic of South Africa have in Africa and in the World? Nelson Mandela after his inauguration clearly indicated that South Africa cannot prosper in a sea of poverty or in isolation, thus the new arena and focus of foreign policy for South Africa is going to be situated in Africa. Between 1994 and 2013 almost twenty years have passed which provides ample time for the implementation of a foreign political strategy. Our goal during the dissertation was to categorize what kind of role does the Republic of South Africa have within Africa; what kind of function does it have in solving the various disputes on the continent, and how does the African presence relate to its economic interests. We were mainly

focusing on the recent years of 2012-2013, but with emphasis on how the present policies came into being.

3.1 Summarising the main results and arguments of the dissertation

The main question of the dissertation was as already indicated whether we can relate to the Republic of South Africa as a regional hegemon. Within our dissertation we characterized the region in which the RoSA plays a hegemon role, as Africa. Naturally the farther away we get from South Africa in geographical location its influence wanes. The various services that South Africa provides for the continent were our four sub-hypotheses, whereas the question which relates to its hegemonic role was the main hypothesis. Below we shall be discussing the results of our four sub-hypotheses and our main conclusion as well.

Within our **first** sub-hypothesis we were focusing on the foreign policy of the RoSA and whether they play an active role in advocating the interests of the continent in major international organizations. We found that the RoSA plays a leading role in regional international organizations such as the AU, NEPAD and SADC and introduced a number of innovations which made these seem more legitimate from the viewpoint of the Global North (e.g. African Peer Review Mechanism). Besides the regional international organizations the RoSA very much focused its interest in promoting and maintaining the connections with the UN as well as the AU. This can be witnessed for instance in a treaty between the AU and the UN which makes it possible to create joint peacekeeping forces. The RoSA also plays an important role by providing funding for these organizations as well as keeping in some cases the secretariat on its own soil.

If we look at the global international organizations the results of the South African foreign policy can be defined with more difficulty, mainly because of more countries trying to form the agenda. According to our opening statements we will be accepting our hypothesis of the activities of the RoSA in the UN, World Bank, IMF, WTO and UNFCCC is important in terms of forming the agenda. In the case of the UN, the answer is a qualified yes, partially because of its work on the UNSC and also partially because of its work in the Human Rights Council, non-proliferation committees as well as its work done on behalf of women's rights. During the negotiations of UNFCCC South Africa also plays a leading role since it represents the Non-Aligned Movement as well as the G-77, if their delegates are not invited to some

meeting (see Copenhagen 2009). Analysing its role in the World Bank and the IMF is perhaps more challenging. South Africa possesses very low voting rights, therefore we have not come across any initiative that was promoted by South Africa. However it gets automatic invitation to all discussions which are concerned with Africa thus having an option of sharing its views on the region.

We also should note here that the greatest role South Africa had in the global arena, was to promote the problems of Africa globally. This was done both on a diplomatic level (through agreements, treaties) as well as public events (Football and Rugby World Cup, UNFCCC and BRICS summit etc). Besides getting into the daily news, these public events also showed to the world that even though South Africa is a developing country, it still has things of which it can be proud of. Because of the above mentioned details we shall be accepting our first sub-hypothesis.

In our **second** sub-hypothesis we were searching for the answer whether the Republic of South Africa plays a vital role in peacekeeping in Africa. Here are expectations did not fully meet the results. Despite the fact that South Africa possesses the most powerful army on the continent its role in peacekeeping is far from all-encompassing. This can be traced back to a number of factors: first of all the South African Army is not an army which was set up for peacekeeping duties but one which was set up for conventional war. Thus the capacities had to be altered, and the soldiers retrained. The second factor is, that after the end of apartheid the leadership of the country was very much loath to employ its troops abroad similar that to the German and Japanese high command after World War Two. It was felt in South Africa that the population of Africa would not welcome South African forces, which up until very recently were led by white apartheid appointed generals.

Despite initial reservations, in the last ten years South Africa played an important role in three African missions and in two of these mission a leading role. The leading role was played in Burundi and the DRC. The reason why South Africa chose these two countries to play a leading role in was probably the fact that the DRC is a member of the SADC and important trading partner of South Africa whereas Burundi borders the SADC area and a conflict there could easily spill over to SADC territory as well. Unfortunately we can only accept this hypothesis with reservation since we did manage to find some missions in which South Africa

played a pivotal role, but its troop contributions even today are nowhere near as much as it has the capacity to provide.

In our **third** sub-hypothesis we were searching to an answer for the question whether South African economic relations on the continent are improving. During the chapter we looked at two variables: that of foreign trade indicators as well as data on foreign direct investment. Our goal here was to get an understanding on the question which areas, regions, countries, or continents were the ones in which South African politicians or businessmen had influence in.

In the case of the trade related connections we found that the export of South Africa towards Africa was the only one not to fall in volume since 2009. In addition to this it also gained considerably in value and now is actually approaching the export to Europe. An obvious reason for this can also be the fact, that the European market has receded dramatically in recent years mainly because of the stagnation in Europe, and we shall only be able to say a sure thing about it after a couple of years have passed since the end of the crisis in Europe. Africa is also important to South Africa as a trading partner because this is the only continent in the world with which it has an active trade surplus.

When we analysed the top ten most important traded goods we also found, that South African export towards Africa (and mainly SADC) were far more important for the recipient country as opposed to the trade which favoured other continents. If we analyze the top ten export commodities of South Africa we find that the top four goods are all natural resource based. These four goods amounted to 53 percent of all exports of South Africa in 2012. Diversified and high value added export is to two regions: Africa (and mainly SADC) and the NAFTA region. NAFTA is a surprise result since previously we would have imagined that getting into the American market would be far more difficult for South African companies and products.

Interesting results were also found when analyzing foreign direct investments. Looking at the years between 2003 and 2011 the South Africans were the top 5 implementers of projects in ten countries out of which six were SADC members. In addition South Africans had the most projects implemented in Mozambique and Zambia in comparison to other countries of the world. Interestingly enough many publications detail the ascendancy of Chinese capital in Africa, South African implemented projects were in the number three position after the UK and the US. Also quite interesting is the fact that South Africa has the fifth largest stock of

FDI in Africa valued at 18 billion USD, right after Malaysia with 19 billion USD and before China with 16 billion USD. Because of the facts provided here we can also accept our sub-hypothesis regarding the commerce and trade in Africa.

In our **fourth** and final sub-hypothesis we were searching for the answer whether the Republic of South Africa plays an active role in development assistance in Africa. As a matter of fact we were accepting almost no result whatsoever in this question, therefore naturally we were surprised to find that South African ODA can be somewhere in the range of 0,7-1 percent/GNI. Unfortunately South Africa does not report its ODA to OECD nor does it use OECD methodology yet for measuring it, thus this is more of an educated guess on the part of development professionals. But nevertheless an important question to ask is, why is South Africa so active in this area and why is there absolutely no publicity surrounding it? One of the reasons why South Africa may be playing such an important role is, that according to Mandela's philosophy South Africa should be providing assistance to its neighbours in order to fight against poverty. An other reason may be the fact that this is a way of thanking other African countries for years of support, during the apartheid regime. A third option probably is a bit more materialistic, but it supposes that this is a tool of South African foreign policy to counter the ever-increasing influence of developed countries and emerging donors on the continent. The answer to why is there no publicity surrounding it is simpler. In a country which has a Gini based inequality rate of 0,65 it might prove an unpopular theme for the voters why the country is spending millions of dollars helping others while there are enough unsolved problems within the country itself. Because of the above mentioned data we shall accept our sub-hypothesis as well.

The results of our sub-hypothesis did not entirely meet our expectations, since for instance in the case of peacekeeping the South African contribution was lower than expected. However in the case of development assistance South Africa performs probably as well as any developed economy so it somewhat offsets this failing. Looking at the four activities which we have analysed and taking in which area they are more intensive in we can note, that if South Africa has to prioritize between African countries, it shall choose SADC countries. Nevertheless it also provides help for the whole of Africa which can be seen for instance in its foreign political activity, from which not only Southern African can profit but the whole continent as well. However in the case of peacekeeping, investments and foreign trade we can see that

South Africa does place a priority on connections to the SADC area this is its zone of influence.

Our hypothesis stated that The Republic of South Africa because of its regional and global role is a regional hegemon. In chapter 2.1.1 we defined regional hegemony as those countries, which have a pivotal role in their region in terms of economy, politics and military and besides these they also provide additional services for the countries of the region. The services we analysed were peacekeeping, advocacy role in international organizations, and providing development assistance for the countries of the region. During our dissertation we showed that out of the four analysed factors we can unreservedly accept three and one with reservations. As a matter of fact there are certain mitigating factors why South Africa performs less successfully in the case of peacekeeping. We have mentioned a number of factors, here we would like to include one additional one. Before the end of apartheid South Africa did possess nuclear weapons, however in order to maintain peace it voluntarily destroyed them, becoming the first country in the process, who destroyed her nuclear stockpiles thus providing an example for the world to follow on how to act in a responsible way. It is not only with active peacekeeping duty that you can create peace, but with example as well, and South Africa seems to follow this route. Thus despite the fact that we could only accept our second sub-hypothesis with reservations we shall be accepting our main one and look at South Africa as a regional hegemon.

Naturally, by looking at the Republic of South Africa as a regional hegemon, it does not mean that it has equal influence in all the countries of the region. We have seen that it concentrates far more on the Southern African countries when building economic relations, than on the Northern African ones. However we could see that no other country in Africa provides those kind of services which South Africa does provide as a regional hegemon.

Altogether neither South Africa's regional nor its global position is etched into stone, and a lot will depend on the fact how will South African politicians deal with the restructuring that will be occurring after the end of the financial crisis. It is beyond dispute that the upcoming years will be interesting and we can only hope that by the end of the decade both the Republic of South Africa and both Africa emerge both empowered and strengthened after dealing with the problems of the financial crisis.

4 Literature used in the dissertation

4.1 Articles

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