

Nigeria-South Africa Relations from Apartheid to Post-Apartheid

Dr. Tamunopubo Big-Alabo & Dr. Emmanuel C. Mac Alex-Achinulo

Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria

Abstract: This study examined the relations between Nigeria and South Africa from the period of Apartheid to Post-Apartheid. The study was guided by realist conflict theory by Donald Campbell. The study adopted ex-post research design while data was collected through secondary source such as textbooks, journal articles, newspapers, magazines and internet materials, the data generated was analyzed through content analysis. The findings of the study showed that there were some relations that existed between Nigeria and South Africa during the period of Apartheid which includes; bilateral political relations and bilateral economic relations. In a likely manner there have been breaches in relations between Nigeria and South Africa during the post-apartheid era which now has negative impacts in the areas of political and diplomatic, socio-cultural and economic. Based on the findings the study recommended among others; that there should be high level diplomatic engagement between Nigeria and South Africa as a way out of mending their unbecoming relation that had existed between the two countries and the government of South Africa should assist individuals from Nigeria that have incurred losses to rebuild their businesses that had resulted from the attacks.

Keywords: Apartheid, foreign policy, diplomacy, xenophobia.

I. INTRODUCTION

From the time Nigeria had her independence in 1960, Africa has stayed at the center of Nigeria's foreign policy. This center of its foreign policy saw the state obligating herself fanatically to the decolonization of African continent and obliteration of racial discrimination and dominance. According to Onouha (2008) the first opportunity for Nigeria to implement her foreign policy on anti-colonialism was made available by the Shapeville massacre of 21st March 1960. During the occurrence, the white South African police assaulted South African blacks daring racial discrimination and dominance. This event which impelled the demise of 72 blacks with many wounded marked the start of Nigeria's diplomatic conflicts with South Africa. This incident and other awful ethnic occurrences in South Africa saw Nigeria initiating the call for political and economic penalties that are not in favor of the apartheid in South Africa in the international community. Instances where the suspension of South Africa from the commonwealth in 1961 and the foisting of trade embargo under the backing of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which is presently Africa Union (AU). Nigeria was contributory to the call for complete suspension of South Africa by the international community. As a result of the force mounted by Nigeria and different nations of the world, Non-government Organizations and influential people,

the racist government of South Africa crushed in 1991. With the death of racial discrimination in 1991, the need for amendment in diplomatic policies arose. (Onuoha, 2008). The level of the solidarity, backing and sacrifice which the government and personages of Nigeria displayed in the journey for the termination of racial discrimination and the enthronement of popular government and majority rule in South Africa was with the end goal line that Nigeria, not caring about the geographical distance, ended up distinguished as a forefront nation. At the commencement of majority rule system in South Africa, Nigerians, mainly the professionals, were a part of those that began to relocate to South Africa.

Some of the philosophers of those early emigrants were to contribute to the genuinely desired nation building in post-apartheid South Africa. With a democratic and majority rule set up in South Africa in 1994, South Africa instantaneously moved over the pariah status in the international community with Nigeria. The military rule in Nigeria with its human rights abuses attracted the anger of the international community. South Africa later turned into the belligerent as it makes use of its position as growing African superpower to campaign for the suspension of Nigeria from the commonwealth and the United Nations. Nigeria - South Africa hostilities reached its peak in 1995 when the then South African president, Nelson Mandela actively fought for the exclusion of Nigeria from commonwealth in the course of the commonwealth summit in Auckland. With mainstream rule administration set up in Nigeria in 1999, Nigeria - South Africa relations revolved out to be less fierce however sociable and cordial. Before 1999 South Africa had a poor political relationship with Nigeria. At the time, Nigeria was governed by a military regime that was politically intimidating to South Africa. This, anyway suggestively changed with the end of the military rule and the entrance of majority rule administration in 1999. From that point on, the South African developed a firm relationship with the Nigerian government under the headship of Obasanjo and Yar'Adua. This relationship was similarly assisted by the fact that Thabo Mbeki had molded a concrete bond with Obasanjo and Yar'Adua while he was in exile in Nigeria from 1976 to 1979 (Dubow, 2000). Nigeria and South Africa are the growing giants of Africa. Politically, the two nations are the leading states in their separate sub-regions. They also have a history of collaboration with, and participation in, a scope of continental ventures like the New Partnership for Africa's

Development (NEPAD). The two states have steadily included their opinions in raising the value of the new promise of African development programs by the advanced countries, and surety that commitment with the progressive countries meets Africa's aim of disentangling Africa from underdevelopment. They have as well worked assiduously on discord deterrence and resolution, the establishment and operationalization of the African Union, and put forward a documented plan for workable development for Africa. However, the problem of this study is to examine if the relations between the two states still exist as a result of the cracks that has taken place which hovers around how Nigerians are been treated in South Africa.

Research Objectives

This paper addressed quite a few objectives which includes to; (1) analyze areas of relations between Nigeria–South Africa from the period of apartheid to post-apartheid; (2) investigate whether there has been breaches in the relations between Nigeria and South Africa; and, (3) examine the impact of Nigeria-South Africa relations since the era of apartheid to post-apartheid.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory that was used for this study is the realist conflict theory by Donald Campbell, though was expended by different scholars in the twentieth century. (Campbell, 1965) criticized psychologists like John Thibaut, Harold Kelley and George Homans, who highlighted theories that place food, sex, and agony avoidance as key to every human process. Shrief, Harvey, White, Hood and Sherif (1961) stated that challenge for access to limited assets brings about disputation between groups. Okasana (2008) witnessed that before Campbell; social exchange theorists overlooked the quintessence of social psychology and the importance of substitutions between groups. In opposition to different theories, the realist conflict theory considers the sources of disputation between groups, which include contrasting intentions and rivalry over limited assets (Shrief, et al., 1961). The theory is used to explain the conflict, negative preconceptions, and discrimination that occur between groups of persons who are in competition for same resources. The realistic conflict theory states that “at whatever point there are at least two groups that are looking for a similar limited asset, this will prompt clash, negative generalities, beliefs and discrimination between the groups” (Okasana, 2008). The conflict can prompt increasing hostility toward the groups and can cause an on-going conflict to develop. On the other hand, conflict, undesirable generalizations, opinions and discrimination between groups can feasibly be abridged in situations where at least two groups are seeking to acquire certain super ordinate objectives. Super ordinate objectives are commonly desirable purposes that cannot be gotten without the collaboration of at least two groups. The applicability of the realist conflict theory to the study Nigeria-South Africa relations since the age of apartheid is pertinent

considering the fact that even though the relations between Nigeria and South Africa was respectable at first but then it later got bitter because of how South Africans has treated Nigerians. Owing to the rivalry that exist over limited resources in South Africa, the citizens identified non-citizens particularly Nigeria, as the opponent. Nonetheless, both states do not see their relationship from the reciprocal position and is likewise not concerned in partaking in super ordinate objectives which cannot be realized without the contribution of each state.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Given the problem of the paper, this paper adopted the Ex Post Facto (After the Fact) research design. Materials for this paper was obtained through secondary sources of data which includes textbooks, journal articles, newspapers, magazines, official documents from the government, internet materials, among others. Content analysis was used to analyse data so generated. This is with a view to find logical sequence of data as well as trends.

IV. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Bilateral Political Relations between Nigeria-South Africa from Apartheid to Post-Apartheid Era

Bilateral political relations between South Africa and Nigeria are sturdy with Nigeria considered as one of South Africa's weighty partners on the African continent in propelling the vision of Africa's political and economic restoration. The frontrunners of the two states have navigated the globe disseminating the awareness of African resurgence focusing to a larger extent on democracy, advancement and security and seeking for foreign investment to reinstate Africa's suffocating economies. They have called for more noticeable global burden-sharing in peacekeeping missions, campaigns for the annulment of Africa's external debt, reinforced better access for African products inflowing western markets and called for Africa's amalgamation into the global economy in more attractive terms. It will be elicited that the previous heads of states of Nigeria and South Africa, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and Thabo Mbeki worked tirelessly to lobby the opulent nations of the world to focus on African matters. At the G-8 meetings of the world's wealthiest states in 2000, the two leaders opposed undeniably that the wealthy states should pardon Africa's debt. Both had called for technology and asset allocation from the West to Africa, chastising the gap amongst promise and delivery on the part of majority of the western states. NEPAD, backed by Mbeki and Obasanjo recommended an honest deal that the West provides debt relief, open its markets, invests into Africa and funds peacekeeping missions in return for democratic accountability and money related uprightness by African leaders through a self-checked peer review system. The two leaders have collective needs for a united and affluent democratic Africa. Thabo Mbeki's fantasy to take on a prominent role in Africa's economic development fused with Obasanjo's vision of economic diplomacy which incited chains of advices and

summits by the leaders of the two countries. The meetings of the two countries since the preceding years give emphasis to the need for more remarkable coordination of regional mechanism for conflict deterrence, managing and resolves within the African Union component and the United Nations Security Council. The two countries have incessantly focused on the vitality of ensuring that harmony and stability turns to a reality in Africa. In one of their meetings in Abuja, the Heads of State Summit highlighted the need for a practical peer review component, which would be designed, controlled and supervised by Africans. This system, the Heads of State underscored, must be reliable, forthright and broadly all-encompassing; to show that African leaders are totally heedful of their responsibilities and obligations to their people. It is imperative to point out that the organization of Peer Review mechanism was promoted by Nigeria and South Africa.

Bilateral Economic Relations between Nigeria-South Africa Since the Era of Apartheid to Post-Apartheid

From the time of the commencement of democratic rule in Nigeria, South Africa and Nigeria had had reassuring bilateral economic relations. From that point onward, South Africa has risen amongst the top investors in many areas of the Nigerian economy. South African firms' presence is evident in the Nigerian economy, mostly in areas, for instance, media transmission, engineering, banking, retail, property advancement, hospitality construction and travel industry, etc. As far as infrastructure and technology, South Africa has an advantage over Nigeria whereas Nigeria has a favored position of colossal market opportunities for investments over South Africa. This is the reason there are countless deal of South African firms with enormous investments in Nigeria. In 1999, South African and Nigerian governments agreed to bilateral pacts on investment and trade. These pacts as well as other things, intended to form the quantity of trade and investment between South Africa and Nigeria (Sifingo, 2003). The agreeing to these pacts witnessed inter-alia (a) enhanced trade relations between South Africa and Nigeria and (b) South African enterprises as big actors in the Nigerian economy. On enhanced trade relations concerning the two nations, we observed that the capacity of trade between South Africa and Nigeria expanded from 1999. Before 1999, trade amid the two countries was inconsequential. In 1994, South Africa exported US\$8.1 million worth of items to Nigeria; whereas it imported US\$3.1 million worth of products from that nation (Omojola, 2006). With the authorization of the South Africa-Nigeria bilateral trade pact, the status quo improved. By 2005 South Africa was exporting products to the estimation of R3.4 billion to Nigeria and bringing in R4.2 billion worth of items from Nigeria (Tenikin, 2007). South Africa's exports to Nigeria comprises machinery, electrical gear, machines, wood, paper, prepared food stuffs, drinks, plastics, elastic, synthetic compounds and so on. Nonetheless, oil makes up 97% of Nigeria's exports to South Africa (Pahad, 2002). The circumstance suggests that South Africa is exporting a wide range of produce to Nigeria, a great number

of which are worth comprised made products. Successively, South Africa's exports can perhaps improve meaningfully. Consecutively, Nigeria's export items to South Africa include of a solitary crude material as oil. Its oil export to South Africa is undoubtedly not going to upsurge extremely all through the ensuing years and its export items are similarly unlikely to diversify. This translates into an unpredictable trade situation between South Africa and Nigeria; in which South Africa is inevitably the dominant collaborator as far as trade relations is concerned. What actually features the varying relationship that exists amongst Nigeria and South Africa, nevertheless, is the way that South African companies have come to dominate various segments of the Nigerian economy.

Breach of Relations between Nigeria and South Africa During the Post-Apartheid Era

During the apartheid era, there was no chronicled rupture of relations between Nigeria-South Africa however the vast majority of what one can call disruptions in relations occurred in the post-apartheid South Africa in 1994 amid Nigeria-South Africa which has prompted crumbling of diplomatic relations in various fronts, provoking the official visit of the previous President Goodluck Jonathan to South Africa where he addressed the latter's joint parliament. The Presidential visit was prompted by the yellow fever certificate narrative that involved the two countries. The South African administration had on March 2, 2012 deported 125 Nigerians (75 on board South African Airways) and (50 on board Arik Airways) for having affected yellow cards fever immunization (The Guardian Editorials, March 5, 2012). The Nigerian administration speedily fought back what was usually seen as uncalled for ill-treatment of Nigerians, without doubt violence against diplomatic standards, by deporting a total of 128 South Africans in the space of two days, stating the absenteeism of legitimate documentation" as reasons behind closing them out (The News Editorials, March 19, 2012). In a related development, the arms bargain that was between the two countries which came on the heels of the breakdown of a structure at the Synagogue of All Nations Church, Lagos, a Nigeria-based religious center, killing about 84 South African citizens turned into the most dishearten in the ranks of diplomatic schism that has bedeviled the Nigeria-South relations. Kayode (2014) stated that the letdown with respect to the Nigerian government to firmly say publicly the money 9.3 million USD, loaded into a Nigerian-owned jet to the South African Customs as required by the latter's law attracted adverse diplomatic rejoinder from the South African government. Kayode (2014) stated that the confiscation of the money in the care of the Nigerian intelligence authorities who had made efforts to purchase arms through the black market ostensibly for the prosecution of war on terror and protesters did not violate any international practice in the field of intelligence and security. Kayode (2014) stated that the diplomatic row provoked by the event in Nigeria-South Africa relations just portrayed the ruthless faith in the international

security system just as its institutions. From the earlier stated analysis, it is clear that the historical setting of Nigeria-South Africa relations has wavered among collaboration and discord, necessitated by every nation's foreign policy, system type, domestic intricacies and international tact. It should be expressed here that the xenophobia attacks by South Africa on Nigerian inhabitants has impelled breakdown of relations between Nigeria-South Africa. This situation has certainly achieved annihilation in human and material resources which can scarcely be measured. This horrific development inescapably pitched South Africa against Nigeria.

Impact of Nigeria-South Africa Relations During the Post-Apartheid Era

Political and Diplomatic Impact of the Breaches in Relations between Nigeria and South Africa During the Post-Apartheid Era

Politically, the continuous flood of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa has an unlimited deal of substantial inferences if the two governments disregard to muster sufficient political will to cope with this inappropriate situation. It can impair the ties between the two states. In diplomatic circles, as soon as there is an austere disorder between states the next choice is recalling emissaries and at whatever point there exist any collapse of relationship between countries, it is more frequently than not set aside effort for such to be reestablished and taking into recognition the position of Nigeria and South Africa in the African continent, it will be also to the disadvantage of the development of other African countries. Xenophobic attacks in South Africa has gotten firm condemnation within and outside Africa, following the April 2015 xenophobic attack in South Africa, the United Nations Security Council was swift to criticize the attacks, as did her neighbors, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi, followed suite in castigating and condemning these acts (Claassen, 2015). Nigeria then again, went above and beyond by recalling her diplomats from South Africa. The xenophobic attacks along these lines expanded tensions between the two countries, as the Nigerian government felt the South African government was not doing enough to secure her natives in South Africa, who she felt were the primary target of the attacks. Another dimension to this is its possibility to stir loss of African team spirit - Africans characteristically view each other as brothers and in such a substantial number of conditions talk with one voice in the global arena, it is anticipated that a breakdown in relationship amongst Nigeria and South Africa will stir a separated Africa along these lines limiting their odds in making upsurge in international politics. Extreme visa policies and constraints as well have weighty implications on individuals migrating looking for more secure and increasingly prosperous living conditions. The act of individuals migrating looking for greener pasture is as old as man and in reality, it is the right of any individual to migrate looking for more secure and progressively prosperous living conditions; as this is enshrined in the 1984 Universal

Declaration of Human Rights and the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of all types of Racial Discrimination. This simply portrays individuals' liberty to look for better, more secure and increasingly prosperous living conditions in any part of the world. Be that as it may, this liberty can be restricted through stringent visa policies and it is imagined that xenophobic attacks are capable of making Nigeria and South Africa to welcome severe visa methods along these lines killing the spirit of African brotherhood and making nonsense the new Pan-African identification and ultimately diminishing the quest for and searching of more secure and progressively affluent living states of Africans.

Socio-Cultural Impact of the Breach in Relations between Nigeria and South Africa During the Post-Apartheid

Having experienced the suffering of imperialism from the Europeans, Africans believe after gaining independence and destroying apartheid in South Africa that they (Africans) are brothers with shared decent and history. Be that as it may, the increase of xenophobic physical attack by South Africans towards their fellow African brothers outlines a rebirth of previous apartheid misfortune and cruelty of imperialism. Other than the earlier stated, other socio-social significant implication of such torment and barbarity is identity clash. Identity battle is one of the most extremely dreadful types of despair and confusion resulting because of battle pressures (for example imperialism and apartheid) and susceptibility about one's self and one's role in the society as it affects the psychology of the victims along these lines making them not to admit and achieve their self-confidence and exact capabilities. Another type of social effect of xenophobic attacks is African disharmony. At the point when Africans start to see the allied brotherhood and sisters as outsiders and hence seeing them as one: the result of such condition of discord is obviously disunity in a continent of brothers and sisters that respects each other with common descent and history. The implication of this is the irrefutable fear that Africans will have when in other African nations other than their very own nation of birth. Insecurity additionally is an impactful implication of xenophobia for when one grieved and got humiliated socially and culturally from one's brothers and sisters, the awful thought evolving from such hostility and indignity may lead them into joining terrible groups which may evidently spur increase in security challenges within the continent of Africa.

Economic Impact of the Breach in Relations between Nigeria and South Africa During the Post-Apartheid

The economic consequence of the repetitive xenophobic attacks in South Africa on Nigerians is enormous. On a very rudimentary level, one of the basic causes behind xenophobic assault in South Africa is linked to the economy for example outsiders and local people contending for rare resources. It is the notion of South Africans to accept as true that people from African countries are assuming control over their jobs and

businesses provoking high rate of unemployment mainly amongst native people. Whereas this controversy has all the earmarks of being right but it is discreetly feeble as these persons are doing honest and genuine business in South Africa. Likewise, taking acumen of the manner that South Africans are as well doing businesses in other African countries, it will be better fathomed of their existing retaliation attacks on South Africans resident and doing businesses in other African states. The implications for the general economy of Africa should this condition play out were simply outlined by the Nigerian-South African Chamber of Commerce. The chamber holds the opinion that the outbreak of xenophobic savagery in South Africa and the reprisal occurrences in Nigeria, including direct attack on foreign controlled businesses in both South Africa and Nigeria signifies a threat to Africa's subtle economic recovery and development. It will be likewise informative to take note of that attacks on businesses in Nigeria and South Africa will noticeably result in job misfortunes, a development which may make the attack people to be simple victim to terrorist organizations along these lines infuriating the already horrific security situations in the two countries and Africa at large. Today in Nigeria and South Africa the majority of the crimes committed are in general spread by the youths with the high speed of unemployment as a key factor. Undeniably, the South African state of xenophobic attacks is distressing and stressing the psyches and feelings of various individuals not just those residents in South Africa or outside the country but also the locals themselves (Mistry 2004). As it is often observed and usually seen that the South Africans themselves were to a large extent living in ceaseless fear as they accept as true, they could be the following victims of attacks by the foreign citizens or panic that the foreign inhabitants could fight back horribly, and have colossal support from the other powerful nations. On the possibility that if care is not taken, it may incite war amongst nations. Claassen (2015) expressed that some South Africans were victims of xenophobic attacks, some for not taking an interest in the movement, whereas other ill-fated losses were inaccurately judged as foreigners. Oyelana (2015) as well reveals that, most of foreign investors have lost trust in the law enforcement agency and the legal system that deserted to protect them. In such manner, some of the foreign investors lack community security. Therefore, this increases foreign investor's exposure to abuse, coercion and crime by people and community leaders as revealed by Charman, Petersen, and Piper (2012). Foreign investors were in this way, constrained to rely completely on the approved institutions of evenhandedness and they are exasperated by lack of trust and confidence in the police force and courts intensified by cultural and language difficulties. However, Charman, Petersen and Piper (2012) discovered that the police force and detective statements generally centered overtly on foreign investors. As to long equity procedure and foreign investor's fatalities of crime, it is often perceived that the prosecuting attorney and police force similarly met challenges in communicating and keeping them engaged during court

procedures. There were different kinds of viciousness dreaded by foreign investors for the period of xenophobic attacks, following the classifications used by the South African Police Service (SAPS) which comprises: murder, attempted murder, burglary, robbery and ambush.

V. CONCLUSION

The study concluded that the relations between Nigeria and South Africa is considered as one advancing the vision of Africa's political and economic renewal which at one point or the other has championed better access entering western markets. The study also concluded that the relations between the two countries has made South Africa companies to be present in Nigeria like in the areas of telecommunication engineering, banking, retail, hospitality, property development, construction and tourism, to mention a few. The study further concluded that despite these good relations there has also been schism between South Africa and Nigeria as a result of the incessant wave of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa which has mar the ties of both countries and also impacted negatively on the political and diplomatic, socio cultural and economic.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the above findings the study made the following recommendations.

1. There should be high level of diplomatic commitment between Nigeria and South Africa as a way out of repairing their unflattering relations that had existed between the two nations.
2. The government of South Africa should support persons from Nigeria that have sustained damages, rebuild their businesses that had weakened as a result of the assaults.
3. The government of Nigeria and South Africa should put a reconciliation mechanism in place to ensure that they evade retaliation assaults by Nigerians so that such attacks will not be repeated.

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