Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa: An Antinomy of the pan-Africanism and a Reflection of the Failures in 21st Century Regional Diplomacy under the African Union

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Abstract: This paper attempts a discursive perspective on the antithesis between the waves of xenophobic attacks on nationals from other African countries in South Africaand a litany of Pan-African philosophies around which all Africans united against the oppressive regimes that once held their brothers in Southern African states bound: *Negritude* of Sedar Senghor,*Ubuntuism*, Steve Biko's*"Black Consciousness*","*African Center Piece*" (the ideological underpinning of Nigeria's foreign policy since independence) as well as a betrayal of the South Africannational anthem "*Nkosisikilel'iAfrica*". The post-Apartheid Afro-phobic killings inSouth Africa lay bare one of the diplomatic failuresof post-OAU regional diplomacy in Africa. The paper re-examines how these pre-independence philosophies came to bond African nationalists together in the struggle against minority rule in the Frontline States and how the other African states and the worldstood side by side with the Sothern African nations fromAgosstinhoNeto's Angola to SamoraMachel's Mozambique, Mugabe's Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), and Sam Nujoma's Namibia, so as to reflect how reciprocal or not the post-Apartheid South Africa had been to their fellow African neighbors. While Mandela must be commended for his high sense of diplomatic reciprocity he showed after he regained freedom through a litany of shuttle diplomacy to several parts of the world, making Nigeria one of his first ports of call outside the frontline states. Mandela, "*a humane, simplistic and pacifist par excellence*" never attributed the victory over apartheid to himself alone, nor did he attributed it to the South African alone but Africa and indeed the world for even the role of other veterans of the anti-apartheid struggles were never omitted in his remark, he Knew he was because Walter Sisulu was, Gowan Mbeki was, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, JathyKathrada and Dennis Goldberg were. The paper seeks to put to perspective how the post-OAU regional diplomacy in Africa is failing in spite the touted "*Union Concept without unity*" without supranational jurisdiction nor the structures that sustained the European Integration in the 21st Century, a region that colonized Africa, fought wars among themselves over territorial, ideological and expansionistic disputes, yet could forge an uncommon integration. While Africa is still beset with deep intra-regional cleavages (at ethno-national levels), France and Germany have put behind them the vestigesand spasms of Alsace Lorraine, championing an unprecedented integration in continental Europe withone currency, one visa, collapsing national borders for common European citizenry. This Paper submits that thexenophobic attacksmet out to her African brothers in South Africa does not only reflect a betrayal of the African brotherhood,"*Negritude*", Steve Biko's*"Black Consciousness*", Zulu's "*Ubuntuism*" as wellas Nigeria's foreign policy Doctrine of "*African Center piece*" upon which all the leaders of successive administrations and regimesin Nigeria since Independence(1 October, 1960) had underpinned their foreign policy objectives, it also reflects one of the institutional frailties of the African Union and post-OAU regional diplomacy in the 21st Century Africa. While the responses of president Cyril Ramaphosa is partly commendable, more has to be done at the intergovernmental levels through the African Union to save Africa from the Afro-phobic killings by one African nationals against another an antithesis to the"*African Union Concept*".

Keywords: Discursive perspective, antithesis, xenophobic attacks, Afro-phobic, NkosiSikilel' iAfrica, Ubuntuism, Negritude, Black Consciousness, supranational jurisdiction, intra-regional cleavages, ethno-national, post-apartheid, pacifist par excellence, post-OAU regional diplomacy, African Union concept.

INTRODUCTION

The incessant waves of xenophobic attacks against foreign national in South Africa in recent times had been a source of regional as well as international concerns. While population exchange had remained acceptable practices among civilized nations of the world, there are standard expected rules under which these exchanges take place. Furthermore, there are international regimes on diplomatic relations among sovereign states as well as the statuses of stateless persons, refugees and illegal immigrants and so on.This paper puts to perspective, the "*extra-diplomatic treatment*" meted out to African foreign nationals in South Africa with a view to establishing how the actions betrayed the unifying philosophies of African nationalists in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial diplomatic relations with the Southern African States in general and South Africa in particular. Diplomatically, the paper, situate the waves of xenophobic attacks on fellow Africans in South Africa around the failure of the African Union Concept

coucheddiplomatically in the mold of the European Unionwithout first forging a unity among the people of Africa and the post-OAU regional diplomacy under the African Union. The paper submits that the xenophobic South Africa is both a betrayal of the bonding regional philosophy *"Pan-Africanism"*, the Zulu humanistic philosophy *"Ubuntu"* and a reflection of one of the institutional failures of the AU-led regional diplomacy in Africa.

Why are South Africans Afro-phobic?,did South Africans demonstrate good African neighborliness bythese xenophobic attacks?, Do the attacks reflect a truism of the African Union Concept? Are the justifications for the violent attacks against fellow African nationalsjusticiable?, What measures are criticalto putting a permanent lid on future attacks? These informed this write up, to intellectualize the regional and global campaign against xenophobic attacks against Africans by Africans

Historical Background

Pre and post-colonial diplomacy in Africa saw African nationalist/political elites coming together to forge a common front on how to end the minority regimes in Southern Africa, colonialism in the region, a project that Africa cannot singly claim exclusive victory of as the civilized nations of the world, the United Nations, Common Wealth of Nations all stood side by side with civilized nations of the world. Outside Africa, Inter-governmental organizations all stood for Africa. The Commonwealth reeled out sanctions against minority rule in Rhodesia, in South Africa the same way the United Nations' Committee on Apartheid fought the oppressive regime through sanctions, arms embargoes and diplomatic alterations, for which no honest account on the crusade against minority regime in Southern African states can overlook.

The Liberation struggle in Southern Africa (frontline states) was not a unilateral campaign nor was it exclusively a struggle of the South African People, the entire Africans and indeed the world stood behind South Africa and Southern Africa to ensure an end was bought to apartheid and total decolonization of the region. It was the most dominant theme in the 39-year regional diplomacy of the Organization of African Unity, and one of the uncontested accomplishments of African founding fathers [1].

Understanding how *"un-African"* the recent waves of xenophobic attacks against foreign African nationals in South Africa requires one trace the historical pre-independence and anti-apartheid diplomacy between the Frontlines States of Southern Africa, the rest sub-regions of Africa and the global community. The objective of this historical traces are not to revive old spasms of conflicts but to re-emphasize and re-stress the need to learn from the past and put an end to the ugly, inhumane past: the black and white domination Mandela fought against, as well as the free and democratic South Africa and Africa Mandela lived and died for, an accomplishment the UN had sought to keep alive by erectingMandela'sStatue at the UN Headquarter and inaugurated the Mandela Center for Peace and prior named a day after him while he was alive, an ideal philosophically espoused in the Zulu dictum: "*UmuntuNgbuntuNgabantu*" I am because we are". JomoKenyata's Kenya was with Southern Africa, Julius MalimuwaNyerere was with Mandela's South Africa, Leopold Cedar Senghor was with Walter Sisulu's South Africa, Kenneth Kaunda's Zambiaas well as Mugabe's Zimbabwe. A litany of African nationalist leaders of first rank threw their weights behind Southern African states:His Royal Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie, DialoTeli, Tarfawa Balewa, Ahmadu Bello, Obafemi Awolo, Obasnjo, Murtala Muhammed,AhmaduAhidjo, Amani Diori, Felix HouphuetBoigny, were all with Sothern Africa. Yes, somewhere at the heart of Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, way inside Asokoro, a streetwas named after SamoraMachel and another edifice after Nelson Mandela. Nelson R. Mandela*, a pacifist par excellence"*, is venerated across the globe as an example of peaceful approach to resolving the most challenging situations facing people anywhere in the world.

In 2002, it became imperative that the Organization of African Unity, OAU has outlived its diplomatic and historic purpose haven seen the liberation of the last bastion of white domination in black Africa, was disbanded and replaced by the African Union (AU). How has the AU presided over regional diplomacy inAfrica in the last 17 years deserve an intellectual, and regional policy focus. The xenophobic killings in South Africa, defied every standard global norms, practices and regimes on how to evict foreign immigrants when they become overbearing. How has the South African uphold the ideals in "*Ubuntu*" and their national anthem "*NkosisiKilelil' iAfrica*" by Afro-phobic acts in the last decades (2008, 2015 and 2019)? These questions necessitated this write up, to revive the pan-African spirits espoused in Ubuntu, Negritude, Black Consciousness and African Center Piece Foreign Policy doctrine of South Africa, Steve Biko, Leopold Cedar Senghor and Nigeria's first Prime Minister AlhajiTarfawa Balewa.

Objectives of the Paper

The paper is poised to intellectualize discursively, the waves of xenophobic attacks met out to African nationals in South Africa in recent times. Specifically, the objectives of the paper are:

- To put to perspectives, the xenophobic attack on African nationals in South Africa particularly how it run antithetical with the unifying philosophies of Africa brotherhoodthat gave African nationalists in a unified focus in the crusade against minority rules in Southern African States;

- To situate the unfolding development in South Africa withinthe broader regional diplomatic concept of African Union, to periscope critically, the politics of regional integration among African States under the AU;
- To revive the spirit of good neighborliness as espoused in Ubuntuism, Negritude, Black Consciousness and African Center piece which had kept the African bond among the people of Africa.

Research Questions

This paper is poised to interrogate certain trends and characters that had thrown up a xenophobic post-Apartheid South Africa in contemporary times. The paper categorically raised the following questions:

- Why are South Africans Afro-phobic?
- What political, economic, factors support the acts?
- Does the xenophobia promote the pan-Africanist spirit that united African nationalists for South Africa?
- How does xenophobia espouse the "African Union" regional diplomatic concept of the African states?
- At inter-governmental level, how can African leaders through the AU put a permanent lid on the waves of xenophobic attack against foreign nationals in South Africa, a role recognized under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter?

The Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa: How pan- Africanism influenced a Common regional front against minority rule in Southern Africa

The liberation struggle in Southern Africa was never an exclusive crusade for the people and nationalists of the Frontline States, their African brother from the entire Africa as well as the civilized nations of the world were with them. The United Nations and the Commonwealth coordinated the diplomatic fronts against the expired regimes of minority and White minority rule in black Africa.In Namibia, Nujoma the icon of independent Namibia, the first President of Namibia from 1990- 21 March, 2005) was not alone. Nujoma's revolutionary valor was spurned by the supports from his African brothers as was the stories of Mugabe in Zimbabwe, SamoraMachel in Mozambique as well as AugostinhoNeto of Angola. Nujoma waged stern anti-colonialist campaign to bring his father, and Namibia, a province of South Africa since the end of WWI under League of Nations' Mandate. The South African victory over German forces in the South West African Africa saw the South African restoring Martial rule through the July 1915 Peace Treaty. Following the League of Nations Mandate, entrusted under the UK which inturn administer the region under South Africa.

Nujoma was at the heart of the revolutionary struggle during the Namibian Liberation War (1966-1989), not in exclusion, he got asylum, economic, military and diplomatic support from his African brothers.

Upon independence in Angola, Nujoma sought diplomatic leverage from AugustinhoNeto for his revolutionary campaigns against minority rule in his fatherland and it paid off. It was Angola that SWAPO's supporters converged as exiled freedom fighters under the asylum of Angolan government. There Nujoma led the Western Contact Group (WCG) comprising of West Germany, Britain, France, the United States, Canada, and South Africa on one hand and the Frontline States flanked by Nigeria on the other which culminated in the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 435 of September 1978 under which a botched plan for free and fair transitional election was envisaged. The major drawback on the diplomatic front at this stage was the conditioning of Namibian independence on Cuban withdrawal from Angola, an extra-African Cold War ideological slant in the de-colonization politics by the Reagan's administration.

The prospect for independence reaches its apogee in March 1989 following the Ceasefire Agreement between South Africa and SWAPO leaders which saw the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 435. Nujoma returned to Namibia in 1989 on the eve of Independence, ending a-29 exile.

Independence came in 1990 with a UN-supervised general election that saw SWAPO wining with Nujoma becoming the first President of Namibia and inaugurated on 21 March 1990 at the instances of UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar (a Peruvian),the last President if Apartheid regime, F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela. Nujoma was re-elected twice in 1994 and 1999 and after serving his last term he resigned from politics. For his role in the liberation struggle, the Namibian Parliament conferred the title of "the Founding President of the Republic of Namibia" and SWAPO, his political affiliation called him "the Leader of the Namibian Revolution".

Source: *As Crowd Cheers, Namibia Guerrilla Chief Ends Exile. The New York Times (1989)* [2] *Accessed 29 September, 2019*

In Mozambique, SamoraMachel's FRELIMO (founded in1962) a nationalist anti-Portuguese colonial Movement saw the support of African neighbors. The Carnatian Revolution in Lisbon in 1974 marked a watershed with the successor government in Lisbon taking anti-colonial posturing. Upon the assassination of Eduardo Mondlaine in February, 1969, Urua Simango took leadership of FRELIMO and intra-party rift soon ensured and cleavages and rancor

split the Mozambique nationalist elites among themselves with Mercelino and dos Santos becoming the two major figures.

The ouster of the Estado-Novo regime tilted the colonial policy of Lisbon in Maputo (HQ of Mozambique as well as Guinea Bissau and Angola. Machel opened more FRELIMO fronts in Zimbabwe province of Lusaka until September 1974 Agreementwhich concluded the transfer of FRELIMO with 25 June 1975 fixed for independence, led by Samora Machel and Lisbon negotiated for independence of Mozambique culminating in the transitional government until 1975 when Mozambique became African Independence state.

In Zimbabwe, Mugabe stood out with all Africa fighting spirit using his ZANU PF (established in 1963) alongside a host of nationalists: Ndabangi Sithole, Henry Hamad Ziripi with the patriotic front as a political and military alliance between ZAPU and ZANU during the war against minority rule in Rhodesia which Mugabe renamed Zimbabwe upon independence and Salisbury as (Lusaka) as the Capital City of Independent Zimbabwe the Nigerian government of AlhajiShehu Shagari dollar, a gesture which came after the Murtala-Obasanjo nationalization diplomacy against British Petroleum as AfricaPetroleum and Barclays Bank Colonial Dominion Overseas as the Union Bank Nigerian Plc.

Mugabe may have had several presidential frailties in the last years of his rule in Zimbabwe; his political shortcoming never vitiated his revolutionary accomplishments in the history contemporary Zimbabwe [1].

SibandaEliakim[3]*The Zimbabwe between Africa People's Union (1961-87) A Political History if Insurgency in Southern Rhodesia. Arica World Pres. P. 321. ISBN-59*

In Angola, AgostinhoNeto (17 September 1922-10 September 1979), led the Angolan Liberation War under MPLA from 1961-1974 and the Angolan Civil War from 1975-2002). Regrettably, the Angolan Civil War reflects one of the consequences of extra African influence in political-elite cohesion in Africa. JohannesSavimbi's refusal to accept power concession as Vice President and went back to trenches until his death. The Cold War was at the heart of the cleavages among the political elites of independent Angola.
*"Thomas Johnson, AgostinhoNeto 56, Angola Leader, Dies-Moscow after Surgery.".*The New York Times, September 12, 1979

The Crusade against White Minority Rules in Southern Africa: the Rhythmic Campaign, Mariam Makeba (1932-2008), Robert Nesta Marley (1945-1981), Peter Tosh (1944-1987), MajekFashek(b. 1949)in Spotlight
Mariam Makeba (4 March 1932-9 November 2008), she was among the earliest liberation Lyricists who waged rhythmic opposition. She was among the characters in a 1959 anti-apartheid movie: "*Come Back Africa".* When in she was denied access to South Africa to attend her mother's funeral by the then 20 year old National Party (NP) Apartheid government, she found diplomatic solace across the world becoming honorary citizens of several countries including Ahmed Benbela's Algeria, SekouToure'sGuinea, and Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana.In 1964 Makeba appeared before the UN Committee on Apartheid where she testified against the apartheid regime.

Upon independence of Mozambique in 1975, Mariam Makeba was among the Guinean delegation to Mozambique where she performed "*Aluta Continua*" in solidarity with FRELIMO and SamoraMachel as well as the entire people of Mozambique.

It was the African spirit that his Royal Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie chose Makeba to perform at the inaugural event of the organization of as the only performer. Her banishment spurned global consciousness against the minority rule in South Africa

Makeba, M. did songs that were rhythmically critical of the minority regime in South Africa, a campaign that other Black musicians like Bob Marley (*War, Africa Unite*); Peter Tosh (*Apartheid, Mama Africa*); Sunny Okosun (*Papa's Land, Fire in Soweto, Third World, African Soldiers*) and MajekFashek(*Arise from your Sleep, Free Mandela*). Upon his release in 1990, Mandela invited Makeba to return to South Africa and the Xhosa musical queen paid heed and returned to the rainbow nation on 10 June 1990 through her French passport. Makeba passed on in 2008after performing in Italy. Mandela posthumously remarked that:
"*Her music inspired a powerful sense of hope in all of us*"

Singer Mariam Makeba dies aged 76" BBC News 10 November, 2008Roux-Kemp,AidraLa(2014) " Struggle Music: South Africa Politics in Song" Law and Humanity. Doi:10.5235/1752/483.8.2.247

Reactions from the African Region

Xenophobia, Threat to ECOWAS Cooperation-ECOWASJean Kasi Brou, the ECOWAS President noted that cooperation and integration transcend national and sub-regional levels and called for a dialogue in resolving the dispute:

"It is not a matter of one country but a whole region. We are looking to addressing it, as we look forward to meeting"

Meanwhile, former education Minister and Convener Bring Back Our Girls, ObyEzekwesile noted that:

"We cannot have African Continental Free Trade Agreement (ACFTA) and yet we haveasituation of black-on-black violence in this country, South Africa…so we need to have a conversation on what type of integrated Africa we want to drive forward" (Punch News Nigeria August,2019)

Nigerian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Onyeama noted:

"In the first place, we must address the issue of compensation. There has to be accountability and there has to be responsibility for compensating all those Nigerians that had suffered losses and we are going to absolutely push forward"

The South African Constitution of 1996 idealized and envisaged a South Africa of racial equality, religious, ethnic inclusion espoused in Chapter 2 (Section ix-xxx).

Xenophobia had been a trend in South Africa against her African neighborswho stood by them during those heady days of Apartheid. A 2018 Pew Research Poll found 62% of South Africans perceived of immigrants as being responsible for criminality in the rainbow nation. In 1984, about 50,000 to 350,000 Mozambicans forcefully migrated to South Africa, and the Apartheid government technically allowed settlement without granting them refugee status in line with the Refugee Conventions 1951 upon restoration of black majority rule in South Africa in 1994, xenophobia became a visible feature of post-apartheid violence in South Africa.

A survey by the sub-regional bloc SADC, found South Africans with strong anti-immigrant sentiments (which has close psychological link with xenophobic tendency), with 21% of South African favoring ban on entry while 64% favored the stricter limitation on levels of permission granted immigrants. 10% were found in support of outright ban on immigration from Namibia and Botswana.

The Center for Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) of attitudes among police officers in Johannesburg found 88% of the respondents believing undocumented immigrants are involved in crimes with no statistical facts to validate such assertions.

In 2015, there were xenophobic attacks in Graham's town, Eastern Cape on 21 October. In 2017, in Friday 24 February, a large scale and officially sanctioned anti-immigrant protests broke out in Pretoria where the protesters marched to Foreign Affairs Ministry and filed their grievances before the Representatives of the South African Government. The protesters as with the 2019 September protestors claimed that foreigners coming into South Africa are arrogant…that they lack manners of approach especially immigrants from Nigeria. The March 25 2019 Durban Riots xenophobic attacks broke out in Sydenham, Jadlu

Nigeria and the Frontline States: A Tale of intra-regional Partnership, Amity and Brotherhood (Negritude/Ubuntuism)

Upon independence beginning from the late 1950s, African sovereign states were concern about how to consolidate the hard won independence and helped their other brothers achieve independence. These became integral core of the post-independent regional diplomacy in Africa as enunciated in the goal of unfettered decolonization of African colonies. Kwame Nkrumah noted that:

"Ghana a is freed and will never be colonized again, however he noted further….the independence of Ghana means nothing if her African brothers still remain under the tutelage of western imperialism" (NkwameKnhrumah quoted by PLO Lumumba lecture address "When I Look at Africa" 2017 https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=GziQVn5xEQE. Accessed 15 November, 2019) [4].

Kwame Nkrumah wary of Africa disunity called for a United States of Africa withone Army, Currency and International passport. African leaders were divided on their foreign policy stance as decolonization swept across the region amid an international order ideologically bifurcated between the West and the East;they disaggregated into three sub-regional blocs underpinned on the shared views and idiosyncrasies of the political leading lights of that time: the Monrovia bloc: which advocated a regional peace, harmony and territorial integrity as against regional union/integrationadvocated by the Casablanca group, and Brazzaville consisting of former French Equatorial and West

Africa but was replaced by the Organization of Cooperation of the African and Malagasy States and culminated into OAU.

In May 1963, two blocs dissolved into a whole forming the now defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU) until 2002 when the African Union took over the body. While it lasted, the OAU through liberation Committee made pan-Africanism the lynchpin of its diplomatic principle. Nigeria was at the heart of the struggle, with her enormous natural and human as well as strategic resources, she played key role outside the Frontline States to bring white minority rule to an abrupt end.

Empirical evidences abound on how Nigeria took a pivotal stand even under a tougher global environment (the cold war):

- The Murtala-Obasanjo's administration (1975-1979) in the wake of bitter rivalries among the freedom fighters in Angola, convoked a special session of the OAU to appeal for the MPLA as the true freedom fighter movement as against JonnessSavimbi's (FLNA and UNITA);
- Obasanjo stopped Kissinger's visit to Nigeria, nationalized Barclay's Bank Dominion Colonial Overseas as Union Bank in solidarity with the ZANU-PF led liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, in riposte to British stance against Zimbabwean independence. Robert Mugabe died on 4 September 2019 at 95 remaining one of the last surviving independence leaders of post-colonial Africa;
- Nigeria in the wake of the Liberian Civil War organized the first sub-regional military alliance formed from among the ECOWAS bloc, ECOMOG, ECOWAS Monitoring Group to resolve the bitter power struggle among the three warlords: Yomrie Johnson, Charles Taylor, and Samuel Doe. It paid off when the turmoil in Liberia ended.

The benefits for ending apartheid in South Africa were significant, after Addis Ababa the diplomatic hub for post-colonial regional diplomacy in Africa, Durban South Africa fast became the second Addis Ababa where African leader converged and convoke summitries that produced the African Union as the successor regional political bloc that replaced the OAU which was disbanded in 2002

Nigerian Foreign policy Doctrine/Principle has been underpinned on "African Center Piece", a post-colonial diplomacy espoused by the Nigerian First and only Prime Minister in 1960. The philosophical plank of the doctrine his based on the good neighborliness and the geo-political fundamental of African Security as a pre-condition for Nigerian national Security. Nigerians in Africa and if Africa is not safe, the territorial sovereignty of Nigeria will be in jeopardy

Nigerian Foreign policy is further woven around three concentric circles with Nigeria's representing the inner ring, West Africa in the middle ring and Africa in the first ring

Professor, BolajiAkinjemi, incorporated reciprocal perspective to the African Center piece foreign policy doctrine:
"if we say Africa is the center piece of Nigerian foreign policy, it means that Nigeria should identify with and defend the legitimate interest of Africa collectively, then it also (reciprocally) implies that African states should identify with and defend Nigeria's legitimate interests" (professor BolajiAkinyemi, Nigerian Foreign Affairs minister Daily Times 1976)

The Balewa's administration 1960-1966 was instrumental to the suspension of South Africa from common wealth over minority rule in black Africa, a role Nigeria has been playing since she emerged the 99th member nation of the UN on 7 October 1960.

Nigeria funded OAU liberation Committee. Thanks to the Oil booms of the 1973, 1979 which gave Nigeria the economic buoyancy to drive what Ibrahim Gambari, former described as: "*Naira spraying diplomacy*", many of which her African brothers never reciprocated in like manner.

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Diagrammatically depicted below:

THE CONCENTRIC CIRCLE OF NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY
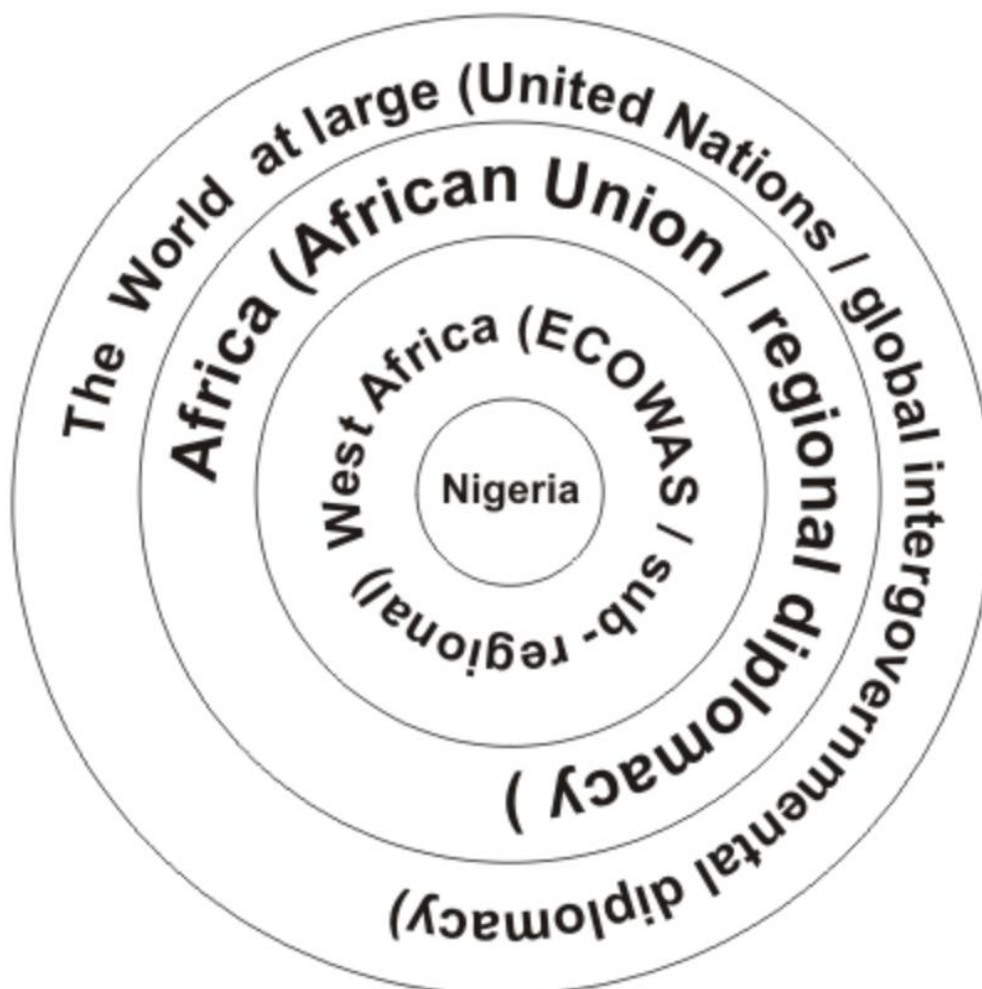
Sorce: Acheoah A.O. (20th November, 2019) *"The foreign policy of the 21st Century of Nigeria: Two Decades of Civil Rule in perspectives"*

Following the recent wave of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, President Muhammadu Buhari paid a two-day placatory visit to his South African Counterpart, Cyril Ramaphosa between October 2 and 4th. During the visit, the two leaders co-chaired the inauguration of the 9th Bi-National Commission in Pretoria.

President Buhari called on his South African counterpart to take all measures to ensure such xenophobic act never re-occurs. The Nigerian president noted that South African businesses had enjoyed both unfettered accessand friendly laws that encourages inflow of South African Businesses and expected South Africans to reciprocate"It was an embarrassment to the continent. Let me again use this medium to condole with the families of all those who lost their lives over the years in such tragic incidents. May their souls rest in peace!

"*We are pleased to inform you that our government has made doing business in Nigeria easier through the Ease of Doing Business Initiative to open up more opportunities for investors in Nigeria.*

"We call on the government of South Africa to also take steps to ease the doing of business in the country, and open up its market space for Nigerian businessmen and women. In this context, we are gratified that a Nigeria-South Africa Business Forum has been organized in the framework of this state visit."

"We, in Nigeria, value the warm fraternal relations binding our two countries and cherish our special relationship. We consider South Africa an ally and a strategic partner.

"We need to implement those that have come into force, as well as expedite necessary actions to ratify the seven outstanding agreements that have not yet been brought into force. I welcome the robust defense cooperation between Nigeria and South Africa, and call for more support and solidarity with us in our fight against terrorism and violent extremism. We also welcome the increased collaboration against arms and drug trafficking, money laundering and human trafficking."

Upon his return from Pretoria, Buhari assured Nigerians of their safety in his post-visit remark in Abuja:"I am happy to report that we took strong and decisive measures to stop the attacks and prevent any recurrence.''

Ramaphosa, reciprocating noted:
"We are grateful to Nigeria for support during apartheid"

"We will always be grateful to Nigeria for the support we received during the dark days of apartheid. We shall never forget the role you played to ensure that our people get the freedom we are enjoying today", he stated.

"The rule of law must be obeyed by all citizens. Nigerians in South Africa must obey the rule of law, while South Africans in Nigeria must obey the rule of law", he said.

Theoretical Underpinnings

This paper is underpinned eclectically on Regional Integration Theory and the Pan-African Philosophies: "*Ubuntuism", "Negritude"*, "*Black Consciousness",* and "*African Center Piece"* Foreign Policy Doctrine of Nigeria (1960-date), with the purpose of enabling the author spotlight the issues and themes of the topic of the Article.

Regional integration came as socio-political and economic panaceas to challenges besetting the regions ranging from political, economic social and military crises. Saint Simon had envisaged a pan-European Integration as a panacea to the wild wars that torn Europe apart in the 17th, 18th and 19th Century, territorial wars until the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte brought a centenary peace (1815-1914) shattered by the outbreak of WWI (1914-1918) [1].

Attempt at regional integration in Africa predated the 21st Century, the OAU (1963-2002) envisaged an integrated Africa on political, economic and socio-cultural fronts with minimal success. Regional Integration seeks to promote economic cooperation among the constituent economies of the region with a wide range of aspirational benefits:
- It bridges currency, price, currency and market rigidities;
- Resolve challenges arising from foreign exchange and administrative as well as legal barriers to free movements of goods and people among the people in the region integration are intended for.

Lack of Political wills, poor corporate governance, poor intra-racial and ethno-nationalist relations as well as anti-immigrant dispositions among African societies remained a stumbling block to viable regional integration in Africa, as the xenophobic onslaught in post-apartheid South Africa poses. Worst still is the political and diplomatic hypocrisy around the pan-Africanist philosophy which rather than bringing African societies together is atomistically polling Africans apart along nationalistic lines with insistence on stronger rather than collapsing borders [1].

Karl Deutsch [5] noted that governmental performance and administrative capacities are central to integration and cohesion in societies. The recent waves of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, one of the four hubs in the region: (the SANE states of South Africa in the Southern Africa, Algeria in North Africa, Nigeria in West Africa and Egypt in the Maghreb region of Africa) whichconsequently, dampens the prospect of regional integration in the mold of the EU [1].

The OAU, envisaged an "Integrated Africa though beset with institutional defects such as the non-interference in the internal Affairs of member states, selfishly couched in Article III (2) to preserve patrimonial leadership messianic syndrome of the independent leaders, seeing themselves as fathers and citizens as children. Litanies of regional blocs were established to drive economic and political integrations:
- Custom and Economic Union of Central African (UDEAC in 1964, which later changed to the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) 1967-1977);
- South African Customs Inions (SACU, 1969);
- Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS, 1975);
- The Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference, later changed to the Southern African Development Community (SADC in 1992);
- The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA, 1995);
- The Western African ECOWAS and Monetary Union (UEMOIA) 1994;

- The Preferential Trade Area (PTA) 1981 which later changed into COMESA in 1995

Many other sub-regional initiatives emerged afterward such IGAD in the Central African Region. Sad enough, the failure of these integration initiative to live up to their intended objectives can be understood in light of a litany of structural and institutional challenges as well as cultural impediments such as the anti-immigrant sentiments that had characterized intra-race and inter-ethnic relations among African States couple with the Afro-skeptical dispositions of some of the leaders on true regional integration in the mold of the European Union one of the major stumbling blocks to mitigating the crisis of underdevelopment in sub-Sahara African in the 21st Century [1].

Deutsch, Karl writes [5]:
> *"Integration does have a price one which must be met by government and it appears that African government are either unwilling to pay the price including limited loss of sovereignty or simply are unable or lack the capacities to addressing cooperation, coordination, independence and inter-relatedness".*

Talcott Parson and Robert Bates [6] attempted a sociological perspective to integration discuss, conceptualizing the phenomenon as "the effectiveness with which the parts (of a social system) work together for the whole.

Durkheim, E [7]in Discussing Integration" conceives of the phenomenon as the agreement among (political units) not to infringe upon each other's rights and integration issues,Government performance in its entire ramification including the ability to meet the people's needs and demands as being at the core, the Central element forging integration and economic cooperation. Africa has. Poor records on these

According to Pfaltzsgraft[8] Integration requires national entire adopts integrative behaviors because of expectations of joint rewards for doing so or the incurable penalties for failing to do so.

Kurt Finisterbusch[9] identifies seven trends in International Integration practices among sovereign states:
- Efficiency
- Interconnectedness
- Exchange ratio
- Community
- Coordination
- Independence; and
- Inter-relatedness.

In July 2000, the Assembly of OAU adopted the Constitutive Act of the AU in Long ago which statutorily replaced the OAU Charter (1963). The political, economic and socio-cultural objectives of a united Africa under the AU since 2002 had remained unimpressively elusive due to a host of factors ranging from, lack of political will and socio-economic divergences. At the heart of the impediments to a viable regional integration in Africa are:
- The lack of political will among Africa leaders due to nationalistic and political atomistic tendencies;
- The inappropriate institutional mechanism beyond rhetorical diplomacy such as Vision 2063
- The betrayal of the pan-Africanist philosophy and wishful aspirations of the champions of 21st Century African regional diplomacy;
- The lack of adequate legal framework and enforcement mechanism to protect the enforcement mechanism on human rights and property rights sanctity

Ubuntuism: UmuntuNgumuntuNgabantu, a humanistic philosophy of Zulu origin, that no man, race, nation, people is atomistically independent, self-sufficient or autarchic…that "*I am because we are*" philosophically underscoring the imperative of showing humane dispositions towards others…or "humanity towards others". Ubuntu conceptualizes African humanism in the 1950s and was at the heart of the Africanization spirit that brought nationalists from across the region against white minority rule, colonialism and oppression in the region be it Ahmed Benbela's Algeria or Kwame Nkrumah' Ghana or SedarSenghor's Senegal, African nationalists had a pre-independence solidarity in the struggle against foreign domination in their land, a unity not forged by sovereignty but pan-Africanism which became upon independence the ideological underpinning for post-colonial diplomacy under the aegis of the defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU, 1963-2002). In the 1930s, the Negritude Movement sought to create a sense of self-worth in the black man, upon which the Black is Beautiful Movement came as an ideological genre in the 1960s among African American as a socio-cultural and philosophical movement against White Supremacism. At independence, 32 sovereign states converged in Addis Ababa where OAU was founded in May, 1963 with unimpeded decolonization as one of its founding goals.

Summary

Surmounting socio-economic challenges in African region required that concrete steps beyond diplomatic rhetoric, African economies, governments and peoples must begin to seek viable platforms for cooperation for there are solutions that can only be home grown and AU provide the platform. Outside the UN, there is the EU to address the European regional challenge as there is the OAS to mitigate problems emanating from continental America states. The OAU was never a total failure while it lasts (1963-2002), but outlived its institutional essence: the total liberation and decolonization of African states, the AU must not fail to unite Africans for there is no union without unity. The African Union must rise to its objective beyond mere characterization along the EU without structural and institutional foundations to support it. The objectives aspired under the AU will remain a regional illusion if African people and the political leadership failed to find a working formula and reasons to come together. If Germany and France can put their past behind and sit together in a table t for Pan-European integration, forging an unprecedented supranationality never known in the history of modern diplomacy, it tells more than what mere textual contents can explain, the Psychological sense of "We" European brotherliness is paramount to erecting institutional structures bring nations under one umbrella body. African Union should do more if the legacies of their predecessors and dreams of the forerunner organization are to be kept alive. Africa Unite! Rhythmically said by Bob Marley:

> "How good and pleasant it will be before God and man to see the Unification of all Africans, as it's been said already let it be done"

South Africa had in the 21st Century assumed the status of Addis Ababa, as Durban had become another regional hub were African leaders converge and convoke to forge a common font towards addressing the crisis in the region. In South Africa AU was born, South Africa became the First and only African country to host FIFA world soccer competition. On the economic front, the prospect for regional economic development in Africa is aspired around four sub-regional hubs known as the SANE counties with "S" for South Africa; "A" for Algeria; "N" for Nigeria and "E" for Egypt. Intra-regional rivalry of any sort will be antithetical to the goals aspired in the African Union Constitutive Act.

CONCLUSION

For, the people of South Africa, your African brothers may have in the course of population exchange hurt you indeed; they may have shown characters that are short of expected standards. The reality remains that at extreme cases thereare universally accosted procedures for addressing problems of immigrants, extra-judicial response must be eschewed and the Pacific values Mandela stood, fought and died for must not be allowed to wane, right in the UN Garden

Mandela statute had resurrected as the world leaders mount podium to preach and live the dream of Mandela in his designated Peace Center UN HQ.

If Africa want to emulate Europe in regional integration, that would be a massive ambition in diplomatic terms but such ambition cannot and should not be aspired in exclusion of the people, the anthropological fundamentals are as relevant to first of all create the sense of a Pan-African Oneness across the region, so as to take African countries beyond the spasms of inter-state rivalries that will take the whole region nowhere.

If Africa must take their place in the global plane diplomatically, its political leaders must first get their acts together and project an Africa that will play pivotal and leading role rather than reactionary and peripheral role in global affairs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the crisis of Xenophobia in South African, there is need for African leaders to convoke a regional summit on political stability in the region; this will offer them a platform to re-think their conception of African Unity, the cultural, political sociological and economic questions it had generated since the AU replaced OAU in 2002. Charity begins at home; African Universities /Social Science Faculties should begin to advance African Studies down to primary levels so as to make intra-regional enculturation a long sociological process beyond the political and legal frameworks, it is in the anthropological dynamics that the true unity can emerged from which are politically and legally concretize.

Finally, South Africa must not throw away their enviable values espouse in oneness, togetherness,*UmuntungumuntuNgabantu*, "*I am because we are*" as well as their anthem *NkoSisikileliAftrica*(God Bless Africa)a, philosophy which is in consonance with the African Negritude of Sedar Senghor, the Pan-Africanism of the founding fathers of post-colonial Africa and also underpinned the African Center Piece as the cornerstone of the Nigerian Foreign Policy since Nigeria joined the diplomatic community on 7 October 1960 as the 99th Sovereign nation and UN member state, enduring from Tarfawa Balewa (First Republic 1960-66) and remained extant under President MuhamaduBuhari in the 21st Century Nigeria.

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