



From brotherhood to xenophobia: South Africa-Nigeria relations in the aftermath of apartheid, implications for socio-economic development of Africa

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Abstract

From 1949 to 1994, the white-dominated government of South Africa enunciated range of legislations to institutionalize apartheid, which severely repressed socio-economic status of blacks. Any resistance resulted to death, torture and detention. During this period, Nigeria was the frontline nation that championed agitation against apartheid in South Africa. This manifested in form of policies, donations, lobbies and boycotts. Sadly, however, Nigerian nationals living in South Africa are, today, suffering nearly the same fate South Africans suffered during apartheid regime. Since 1995 till date, bloodletting xenophobic attacks on Nigerians has become a reoccurring norm for South Africans-hundreds have been killed and properties worth millions of Naira looted or destroyed. Given the numerous sacrifices Nigeria made in the quest for South Africa's emancipation from apartheid and the unique positions of the two countries in Africa, this continued uprising comes with tons of negative implications for not just the duo but the entire continent. It is against this backdrop that this paper tries to find out the relationship between xenophobic attack and socio-economic development of Africa. It shed a spotlight on the history and modus operandi of apartheid regime in South Africa and Nigeria's contributions towards its elimination. It further gave an account of the incessant xenophobic attacks on Nigerian nationals living in South Africa and marshaled out its implications to socio-economic development of Africa. In effect, it made various recommendations on how the menace could be contained. It concluded that the attack if not checked might crumble the quest for African development owing to the key role being played by the two countries.

Keywords: apartheid, xenophobia, south africa, nigeria, and socio-economic development

1. Introduction

"...but let us remind South Africa that the most prosperous Nations of the world are the ones who open their arms, doors and hearts to talents from all over the world." Prof. Olushola Adeyeye

Whereas Nigeria is situated on the west coast of Africa and South Africa in the southern part, the two nations are, no doubt, the pride and centerpiece of the African continent. Being described as "the giant of Africa", Nigeria is an independent heterogeneous nation made up of over 250 ethnic groups with a highly entrepreneurial and largely youthful population of over 200 million people. Nigeria ranks among the most richly endowed nations of the world in terms of natural, mineral and human resources. She has a variety of both renewable and nonrenewable resources-over 34 discovered solid Minerals in commercial quantity with over 44 exportable commodities. She is the 8th largest producer of petroleum in the world, with oil reserves estimated at about 36 billion barrels (Kale, 2016) [33]. The country gained independence in 1960 and its political structure is based on federalism.

On the other hand, South Africa otherwise known as the "RainBow Nation" is a multi-racial country made up of the coloured, the whites, Indians who are in the minority and the Bantu or blacks who are in the majority. It borders the

Atlantic and Indian oceans, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It covers a vast area of land which is approximately 1, 219,080 square kilometers and by 2001 had a population of 44,819,769 people (Salani & Mokotedi, 2015). It has a robust economy within Africa and is well developed with technological capabilities and technical skills. Its economy is specifically based on tourism, mining and trade. It is divided into nine provinces and has eleven official languages (ibid). It was colonized by the Dutch East Indian Company in 1652 who were later to be known as Afrikaners and the British in 1815, and was proclaimed the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Zungu, 1977) [68]. In 1994 it gained independence after it was freed from the shackle of apartheid rule. Today, the country has the seventh highest per capita income in Africa and a GDP of about 326.541 billion, making it a key player in its regional activities (Onyido, 2018) [48]. Walking down the memory lane, Nigeria began relations with South Africa in the early 1960s following her dogged struggle and contribution to the emancipation of South Africa from Apartheid regime and oppressions. However, tracing back to those early times and coming forth to the present days, the aftermath apartheid relation of the duo has gone not just sour but bloody-from to brotherhood to hostility, from togetherness of yesteryears to today's incessant xenophobic attacks on Nigerians. It has, indeed, been characterized by fear, sheer betrayal and feign. Whilst several South African nationals are living, operating and doing several mega businesses in

Nigeria, same is not the fate of Nigerian nationals in South-Africa. Stemming from the accusations of outshining local entrepreneurs; taking over jobs and women, and crime, Nigerians living and/ or operating in South Africa has continued to face tragic humiliation, torture, maiming, and looting of their belongings by South Africans. The last attacks in Johannesburg and Cape Town on April 5 and 6, 2019, respectively that left two Nigerians dead, and many more threats that have followed suit are big enough to chill anyone's bones as regards the frequency and reality of the issue. Owing to the fact that Nigeria and South Africa are by far the two most important countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Orji, 2001), this ugly trend is a ticking time-bomb that if allowed to blow could impact negatively on not just the two countries but the entire African continent.

2. Definition of key concepts

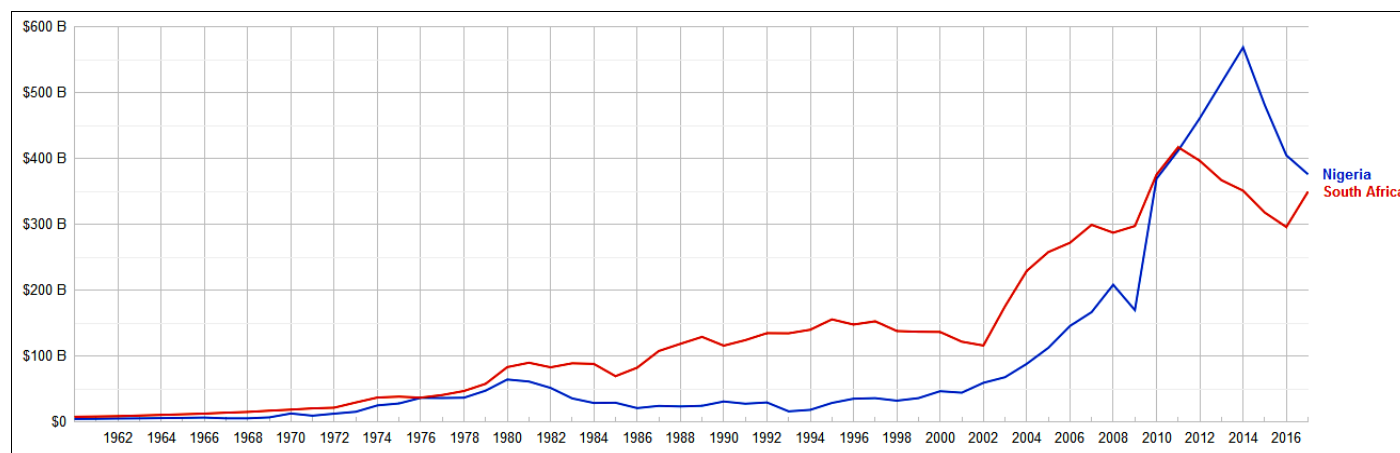
For the purpose of conceptual clarification and to limit ambiguity, it is important to examine the keywords of this research i.e. apartheid and xenophobia

Apartheid is an almost universally recognized word; defined as "segregation on grounds of race," it refers primarily to the conditions in South Africa from 1948, when the National Party (NP) was voted into power, until 1994 (Brokensha, 2009). Put more succinctly, it was established as a policy to separate physically all races within South Africa in a hierarchy of power with whites at the top and Africans at the bottom (Worger & Clark, 2011). On the other hand, xenophobia as a concept is traceable to the Greek Words "xenos" which means stranger and "phobos" which means fear. According to Mudailer (cited in Adebisi & Agagu 2017), it is an irrational and intense fear that people have against anything that is strange or unfamiliar, more specifically against people from foreign nations or ethnic background. As buttressed by Ademola (2017), it is about expression of anger, fear and hatred towards foreign objects or people that are aliens in a

country. However, as concerns South Africa, the phenomenon is much more complex as the types of foreigners who are often targeted by xenophobic actions are black 'foreigners' from Africa, despite South Africa being host to foreigners from all over the world. At its extreme, it is not only limited to expression of anger towards foreign objects, and claims, but also entails physical elimination or attack on foreigners (ibid). From these definitions, the deducible fact is that xenophobia is unfair, unjustifiable action and involves high degree of hatred against non-nationals. In south Africa, not only was apartheid a system of racial discrimination, it was also imposed separation or segregation of blacks and whites in the areas of government, labor market and residency (Choane, Shulika, & Mthombeni, 2011). It was, thus, pervasive in that it was deeply embedded within the economic, social and political structure of the whole country (ibid). According to Human Rights Commission (cited in Coleman, 1998) ^[15], an estimated 14,000 people were killed during the apartheid era as a result of agitations for the end to the apartheid regime.

3. Socio-economic dominance of South Africa and Nigeria within the African continent

Nigeria and South-Africa are contemporarily acknowledged as the two socio-economic hub of African continent. This is as a result of their fast growing GDPs, international recognitions, contribution to the peace and unity of Africa, and roles played in decolonization, humanization and democratization of other African countries. With a GDP of over US \$200 billion since 2009 outmatching that of every other African country (World Bank GDP Watch and Forecast, 2018), the two countries occupy the seats of hegemony in their different sub-regions within the continent. Little wonder, they are proven and described by scholars like Okereke (2012) ^[15]; Umezurike, Iwu, Asuelime and Umezurike (2017) ^[56]; and Adebajo (2015) ^[2] as the fastest growing economies in Africa.



Source: World Bank (2018)

Fig 1: Nigeria Vs South-Africa GDP Watch from 1962 to 2017

With the rate of conflict innate within the African society, most of the African countries would have been at the verge of extinction if not for the intervention of these two countries either through peacekeeping missions or through human and material resources contribution for post-conflict peace

building. Notable among these countries are Burundi in 2003-2004, Sudan in 2004-2008, Comoros in 2006 and 2008, and Somalia in 2007 amongst others. The contribution of Nigeria in the struggle against apartheid regimes in Pretoria and Zambia as well as its championing of the course for Africa's

freedom and independence from the shackles of colonialism also remarked it as not only a socio-economic power holder within its sub-region but also as the ‘Giant’ of the African continent. This is because countries like South Africa, Zambia, Congo, Angola, and Mozambique attained the height of sovereignty as independent countries providence to this course.

Verifiable facts also abound on the persistent and pervasive struggle of Nigeria and South Africa in campaigning, pleading and lobbying of the world richest states in the G-8 meeting in year 2000 to forgive and annul the external debts of African countries and integrate Africa into the global economy in fairer terms (Ebegbulam, 2013) ^[21]. In alignment with African Union and as part of contribution to it, Nigeria and South-Africa undertook the course of condemning and putting a stop to unconstitutional changes of governments in the countries of Africa. This is in line with and protection of Article 4 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union. This course led to the stoppage of coup and correction of unconstitutional transition in countries like Burundi in 1996, Sierra Leone in 1997, Central Africa Republic in 2003, Guinea Bissau in 2003, Sao Tome and Principe in 2003, Togo in 2005, Mauritania in 2005 and 2008, Guinea in 2008, Madagascar in 2009 and Niger in 2010 (William, 2011) ^[60].

Further contributions of these countries to African Union are seen in the dimension of provision of materials and other needed support to electoral and democratic process in Niger, Liberia, Guinea- Bissau, Mali, Ghana, Senegal and other African countries; in conformity to Article 3(g) of the Constitutive Act of AU. In addition, both countries especially Nigeria has also contributed to African Union’s interest health wisely. Typical example is the case of deployment of 250 well trained Nigerian volunteers to Ebola affected countries of Africa (Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea) by the Nigerian government in the name of African Union (FMOH, 2015) ^[24]. These deployed volunteers as noted by the then Minister of Health in Nigeria Dr. Khaliru Alhasan have practical experiences and were trained by the Nigerian Centre for Disease Control (NCDC) for the purpose of assisting Ebola-infested country get rid of the deadly disease. This brotherly effort attracted a commendation for Nigeria from the then chairman of African Union Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma (FMOH, 2015) ^[24] and further gained her more international recognition in humanitarian service provision. Financially, Okereke (2012) ^[45], Ashiru & George (2013) ^[9] noted that Nigeria and South Africa are among the five chief financiers of African Union’s capital and Operating budget. In 2012 alone, these two countries along with the three others (Libya, Algeria and Egypt) contributed US \$16.7 million to African Union each. Their championing of the course for the establishment of New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) at Lusaka, Zambia in July 2001, and African Peer Review Mechanism in 2003 also credits Nigeria and South Africa as the centerpiece of Africa’s socio-economic growth and development.

4. The rise and institutionalization of apartheid regime in South Africa

The idea of exploitation of land and resources by European imperialists and colonizers in Africa is a well-known

phenomenon and the most intriguing in human history (Salani & Mokotedi, 2015). Thus, Apartheid in South Africa was as result of the expansion of European colonialism which was part of the scramble for Africa in the middle of the nineteenth century and its notion of “civilizing inferior natives” (Worden, 1994) ^[62]. This was further hastened following the discovery of diamonds in 1867 in Southern Africa and the subsequent discovery of gold in 1886 which drew broad interest among the Europeans. From this period, harsh segregation and discrimination against blacks were low-keyed. It was in the eve of 1948 that apartheid regime in South Africa reached its apogee as the atrocities of segregation and discrimination was legalized and done openly.

According to Welsh (cited Brokensha, 2009) the period of apartheid can be historically divided into three phases: (1) 1948 to 1959, when the NP increased its power and set about strengthening the existing segregation and extending it to nearly all areas of life, (2) 1959 to 1966, when the homelands (“Bantustans”) were established, where Africans were supposed to “develop along their own lines”; and (3) 1966 to 1994, a period of intensified measures created to support the government, followed by the gradual erosion of apartheid, with African nationalism becoming unified and stronger, and the final, agonizing process of a negotiated settlement.

Some of the most notorious legislations that institutionalized apartheid were enunciated during the first phase (1948 to 1959). These include: the 1950 Population Registration Act, which classified the population into four groups: Whites (“Europeans”), Bantu, Indians, and Coloreds. This racial classification determined where people could live and work, where they could go to school or to the hospital, where they could have recreation, even which blood donors they would use (Brokensha, 2009); the Immorality Act of 1950, which outlawed sexual intercourse between races (Hartshorne, 1992) ^[28]; the Group Areas Act of 1950, which promoted the placement of blacks and whites in separate residential areas on a comprehensive and compulsory basis, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, which enforced segregation in the use of public facilities such as transport, cinemas, restaurants and sports facilities and the Bantu Education Act of 1953, a policy for separate schooling and curriculum on the basis of race and the abolition of missionary schools (Zungu, 1977) ^[68]; Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, 1959, Act, which made different racial groups had to live in different areas. Only a small percentage of South Africa was left for black people (who comprised the vast majority) to form their 'homelands' (South Africa History Online, 2006). This Act also got rid of 'black spots' inside white areas, by moving all black people out of the city (ibid). The Act caused severe hardship and resentment to the non-whites as they did not only lost their homes but were moved off land they had owned for many years to undeveloped areas far away from their place of work.

As if these were not enough, the racist white-led government mandated that identity cards be issued to the black South Africans which they were required to carry at all times (Adebisi, 2017) ^[3].

The cards imposed the extent and time of their movements outside their separated communities (ibid). When the negative impacts of this policy could no longer be endured, thousands

of blacks staged an orderly protest at Sharpeville, Johannesburg in the eve of 21st March, 1960. The resistance was met with violence by the South African police and thus culminated in the death of about 100 blacks while several other hundreds were wounded (Idang, 1973). Subsequently, a state of emergency was declared and over 11,000 people detained including the famous Nelson Mandela. Also, major freedom movement groups such as African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) were immediately and totally banned.

In view of these oppressions, and in the spirit of Africa brotherhood, all the countries of Africa, with Nigeria at the forefront, started leading the fray towards the dismantling of apartheid cum emancipation of South Africa.

5. A brotherly solidarity: Nigeria's role in combating apartheid regime

Throughout the apartheid saga and struggle, Nigeria consistently proved its name-the giant of Africa. Her contributions towards the suppression of apartheid were so phenomenal that till date, the obituary of apartheid regime can never be reminisced without Nigeria being re-echoed at every now and then. In buttressing this view, Mbamalu (2017) ^[35] had poignantly quipped:

The degree of the solidarity, support and sacrifice which the government and people of Nigeria exhibited in the quest for the elimination of apartheid and the enthronement of democracy and majority rule in South Africa was such that Nigeria, not minding the geographical distance, became identified as a frontline state.

Such solidarities, supports and sacrifices were manifested in form of policies, finance, boycotts and lobbies plus personal actions by Nigerians. For better understanding, let's unpack them in that order

5.1 Policies

Following the Sharpeville event, a motion was raised on the floor of the House of Representatives calling on the Government to take appropriate steps to ban the importation of South African goods in Nigeria and was passed without much debate (Agbu, 2010). The National Committee against Apartheid (NACAP) was also instituted. The government through NACAP embarked on series of awareness, orientations and sensitization on the evil of apartheid as crime against humanity (Dauda, Rauf & Ameen, 2018) ^[38].

Furthermore, in response to USA's support for apartheid regime, the bilateral relations between USA and Nigeria went sour to the extent that in 1976, General Obasanjo refused the US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger an official visit to Nigeria. The Obasanjo administration also nationalized Barclay's Bank for engaging in business with South Africa and the British Petroleum (BP) for selling Nigeria's oil illegally to South Africa (Ayabam cited in Seteolu & Okuneye, 2017) ^[53]. Pressing forward, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the premier of the region also announced that white South

Africans would no longer be employed in the services of the region. Nigeria also spearheaded the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth of Nations in 1961; expulsion of South African Dutch Reform Church from Nigeria and the cancellation of contracts awarded to South African companies demonstrated the Nigerian government despised the inhuman apartheid regime (Agbu, *et al.* cited in Seteolu & Okuneye, 2017) ^[53]. Other policy-related measures included: opening of the doors of the administration to refugees and exiles from South Africa; admission of displaced South African students into tertiary institutions in the country; and offering employment to qualified South African graduates; rigorous campaign against engaging South Africa in dialogue to end apartheid (Ogwu 1986; Adebisi, 2017; Coleman, 1998) ^[44, 3, 15]. That aside, Nigeria government officials also made various vociferous pronouncements for the isolation of South Africa at numerous international platforms.

5.2 Financial sacrifices

Nigeria made degrees of financial assistance in order to see to the elimination of apartheid in South Africa. It funded various Anti-Apartheid Movements, especially the African National Congress (ANC). It set up and contributed generously to the South African Relief Fund. It offered financial assistance to the special fund of the OAU Liberation Committee up to the tone of £10,000 and £84,000 between 1963/64 respectively. In fact, between 1960 and 1995, Nigeria alone had spent \$61 billion to support the end of apartheid in South Africa (Channels News, 2017). In the same vein, Koutonin (2016) noted that Nigeria equally loss over \$41 billion due to its reaction against apartheid by forfeiting its trade with South Africa through the stoppage of oil selling to the latter for decades in protest against discrimination by white minority in South Africa.

5.3 Lobbies and boycotts

Nigeria also took the struggle to the United Nations where it successfully lobbied to the creation of United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid. Again, following Britain's lackadaisical attitude towards effecting comprehensive sanctions on apartheid South Africa, The Nigerian government lobbied and mobilized 26 African countries to boycott the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal, Canada.

5.4 Personal actions by Nigerians

Nigerians did not leave the struggle to government alone. At individual level, they contributed in several ways. For instance, university students in Nigeria voluntarily contribute to the liberation of the South Africans by skipping their lunch for a month to make donations widely called "Mandela tax to fight apartheid" (Onyido, 2001) ^[48]. The Nigerian music industry on its part, contributed by singing songs in solidarity with the fight with songs such as "fire in Soweto" released by Sunny Okosun during that period leading the course (ibid). Furthermore, Nigerian athletes rejected various mouthwatering deals offered in the bid for them to participate in sports activities involving South Africa. In the same pedestal, Nigerian scholars did not spare the power of their pen as several articles were churned in support of the struggle. As expected, all these contributions by Nigeria to South

Africa commanded respect and gratitude from the latter to the former (Ana-Caj, 2017) [7]. Immediately apartheid was subdued, the citizens of both countries started to show interest in each other's country as they began to seek and explore business opportunities that exist in both countries (Adebisi, 2017) [3]. Thus, the web of interactions between the citizens of both countries continued to widen and deepen in scope (ibid). Although as at the time Nelson Mandel democratically took over the reign of power in South Africa, the General Sani Abacha regime in Nigeria had been well-entrenched in Nigeria and was notorious globally for violating the rule of law and for abuse of fundamental human rights (Nyamnjoh, 2006) [41]. Mandela took several drastic actions to ensure the end of military regime and human right abuse in Nigeria which caused a sharp strain on the relation of the duo. Although they later forged ahead, till date, the Nigeria-South African relations has been an omnium-gatherum of loggerheads and chaos.

6. The oretical framework

Isolation theory and scapegoating theory

This theory suggests that immigrants see themselves in circumstances where they are "Scapegoats". This is portrayed in the sense that they are potentially regarded or considered as threats to the way of life, employment, accommodation arrangement and health care of the locals.

The isolation theory suggests that being foreigners puts immigrants at the center of hostilities by locals as a result of the fear of unknown. As a result of apartheid, most South African citizens were isolated from other nationalities outside South Africa. This therefore made the idea of foreigners, vague and unknown to the locals. With the collapse of the apartheid era however, the country experienced large scale migration into the country and consequently brought the local South Africans in contact with foreigners. This stirred up resentment and hostility which concurs with the isolation hypothesis. This isolation theory is relevant to the research because of its suitability to the research and the fact that it draws attention to the reasons why local South Africans are hostile and resentful to immigrants in their country.

7. Statement of problem

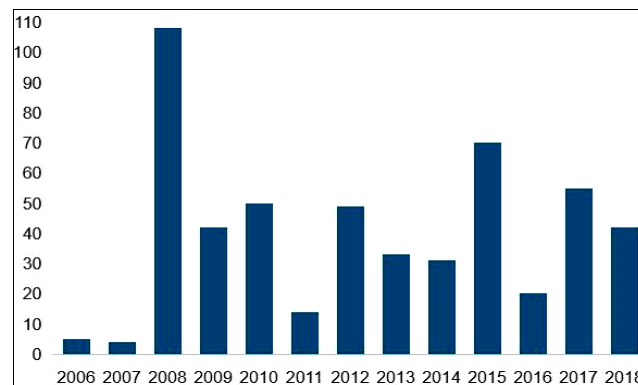
The African society has always prided itself as being hospitable to visitors. South Africa in recent times however, has shown discriminatory tendencies towards foreign nationals resident in their country. So indicting is their resentment towards foreigners that a study carried by the Human Science established that South Africa is a society plagued by sentiments and resentment towards foreigners (Landau, 2011). These resentment and sentiments are increasingly becoming violent and can potentially pose diplomatic challenges for the South African state in general. Nigeria has been greatly affected by this resentment towards foreigners. According to Onyido J.O (2018) [48] about 116 Nigerian nationals have been killed in South Africa from 2016-2018 through extrajudicial processes and 63% of them killed by the police. Just recently, 67 Nigerians were deported from South Africa (Onyido, 2018) [48].

8. Research questions

To consummate the purpose of this paper, this research will be guided by the following research questions:

1. What is the Nigeria-South Africa socio-economic relationship in the pre and post-apartheid relationship?
2. What are the implications of xenophobic attacks in the socio-economic development of Africa?
3. How can the menace of xenophobic attack be contained to pave way for development of Africa by the two African giants?

9. Aftermath of apartheid and the rise of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians (1995- till date)



Source: Xenowatch, African centre for migration & society

Fig 2: Threats, attacks and killings against foreigners in South Africa

Since the inauguration of the post-apartheid South Africa in 1994 hardly did any year go by without an incidence of xenophobic attacks on fellow blacks from other African countries by South Africans (Ige, 2018) [30]. The phenomenon first reared its head in 1995 (Adebisi, 2017) [3]. Available data revealed that the 1995 attacks occurred when youths in the Alexandra township of Johannesburg destroyed and looted the homes of undocumented migrants including Nigerians and subsequently marched the migrants to the police station where they requested that the foreigners be immediately deported to their home countries (Akinola, 2018a) [5]. Since then, xenophobic attacks has become a festering sore in the Nigerian- South African relations as it keeps re-occurring every now and then (Adebisi, 2017) [3]. For instance, another historic attack occurred in August 2000, when seven Africans, among whom two Nigerians, were killed in the Cape flats in the district of Cape Town (Daily Post, 2017) [16, 17].

In 2006, the xenophobic attack was, however, taken to greater heights with extra-judicial killings and police brutality which targeted Nigerians. It was recorded that twenty Nigerians were killed (ibid). According to Burchard (2015) [13], by the time the 2006 violence subsided, a total of sixty foreign citizens-majorly Nigerians-were killed and thousands displaced from their homes and businesses. Since after 2006, low-key attacks were going on until 2014 when another major mayhem busted. According to Ismail & Tunde (2017) many Nigerians were killed.

The violent xenophobic attacks continued on migrants in 2008 when South Africans targeted immigrants from Nigeria,

Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi and other African countries, which resulted in attacks and looting of immigrants' homes and businesses, and killing more than twenty foreign nationals in just one week (Ismail & Tunde, 2017).

In the year 2011 another series of attack on foreigners were carried out where over 120 people were killed and some burnt alive, 100 were seriously wounded, 120 businesses / shops owned by foreigners were closed and not less than 1000 immigrants were displaced (UNHCR ROSA cited in Dauda, Rauf & Ameen, 2018) ^[38]. Nevertheless, in the years 2012, 2013 and 2014, there were weekly frequent attacks on foreign nationals. In fact, it is reported that from January 2014 to March same year, estimated 300 incidents of violence meted on foreign nationals, including Nigerians, were recorded; over 200 shops owned by foreigners were either looted or destroyed and 900 persons were displaced (ibid).

In April 2015, not long after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was quoted to have said that "foreigners should go back to their countries", another attack was launched in EThekweni and Johannesburg cities. The attack recorded scores of casualties on both human and properties (Egan, 2015; Gordon, 2017). As opined by Misago (2016) ^[36], some relevant government departments and the South African Police Service (SAPS) who are supposed to be protecting innocent lives and properties were reportedly to be in support of the attacks on foreigners.

Again, in March 2016, another xenophobic attack was instigated in Katlehong community of Gauteng where foreign nationals were brutally harassed and labeled as "Makwerekwere" meaning "foreigners in South Africa" with all sorts of condemnation (Mkhize, 2016) ^[37].

On 18th February 2017, Nigerians living in Pretoria West were attacked, leading to looting and burning of their business premises (Onyido, 2018) ^[48]. As narrated the President of the Nigerian Union in South Africa, Mr. Ikechukwu Ayene (cited in ibid): During the attack, five buildings occupied by Nigerian businessmen, a church belonging to Nigerians, and a garage with 28 cars under repair were looted and burnt by South Africans, leading to the injuries sustained by a Nigerian pastor. According to Nigeria's senior special adviser on foreign affairs and diaspora, Abike Dabiri-Erewa, (cited in Salau, 2017), between 2016 and 2017, Nigeria lost about 116 nationals to the racial intolerance and violent attacks on

Nigerians living in South Africa.

Since the threshold of 2018 and 2019, series of attacks and extra-judicial killings has been carried on Nigerians in the cities of Cape Town, EThekweni, and Johannesburg. The last attacks in Johannesburg and Cape Town that occurred April 5 and 6, 2019, respectively left two Nigerians dead. Since then, many more threat have followed suit.

As rightly buttressed by Ismail & Tunde, (2017), apart from the loss of many innocent lives, Nigerians lost businesses and properties worth millions of dollars because of the ugly trend of xenophobic violence in South Africa. In the face of these heart-wrenching brutalities, Nigeria has been calm and law-abiding to South Africans. As I write, South Africa's companies and investments in Nigeria are doing well and making exorbitant profits from Nigerians yet Nigeria's government is protecting them (Unah, 2017) ^[57].

There is a saying that there is no smoke without fire. Thus, the poser now is why the incessant xenophobic attack on Nigerians? Self-hate syndrome (Dodson, 2010), stealing of their jobs and women (Bayo, 2017), crime, unemployment and sexual attacks and spreading of diseases (Ayo, Fayomi & Chidozie, 2017) have all been alleged as the red flags energizing South Africans towards the gory attacks. However, Unah (2017) ^[57] dismissed the allegations, saying that the act of shedding blood of innocent immigrants and destroying of their properties under the pretence of taking their jobs, controlling their economy, spreading deadly diseases among others is arguably not convincing for attacks to be launched on foreign national. In the same pedestal, Bayo (2017) buttressed that:

The accusations are preposterous. How could one steal a woman when relationship between two adults is supposed to be consensual; it also does not make sense that foreigners have been depriving South Africans of job. If South African employers find those from abroad better qualified than the South African counterparts, why blame foreigners.

Furthermore, Senator Olusola Adeyeye (cited in Dauda, Rauf & Ameen, 2018) ^[38] also dismissed the allegation arguing that for every penny a Nigerian made in South Africa, South Africans are making multiple of that in Nigeria.

Table 1: A list of the Nigerian xenophobic attack victims

Name	Nature of attack	Date	Source
Deputy Director-General (DDG), Chartered Insurance Institute of Nigeria (CIIN), Mrs. Elizabeth Obianuju Ndubuisi-Chukwu	Killed in her hotel room	13 th June	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Ebuka Udugbo	Arrested by the police in Cape Town over a quarrel with his South African girlfriend, was pronounced dead same day in custody.	28 th June	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Bonny Iwuoha	Stabbed to death in Johannesburg	6 th April	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Martin Ebuzoeme	was killed in Yeoville	9 th April	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
ThankGod Okoro	shot dead in West Rand, Johannesburg, by the South African Police Flying Squad	9 th April	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Clement Nwaogu	burnt to death by his assailants	9 th April	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Ozumba Tochukwu Lawrence	killed at Mpumalanga	6 th July	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Francis Ochuba	Shot dead alongside his estate agent, a female South African,	5 th May	The nation newspaper

	as they visited a tenant occupying his property in Johannesburg.		July 16, 2019 in Law
Chidi Ibebuike	was shot dead at the entrance to his house in Mpumalanga	13 th May	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Kingsley Ikeri	killed extra judicially by the police in Vryheid town, Kwazulu Natal Province	30 th August	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Elizabeth Chukwu	killed in her hotel room	No Date	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Tony Elochukwu	was shot twice in the head by an unidentified Nigerian gunman	No Date	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Goziem Christian Akpenyi	was stabbed to death by three unknown assailants at Bellville stadium parking lot in Capetown	5 th April	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Okoro	was shot dead at Hamburg, Florida West Rand, Johannesburg	9 th April	The nation newspaper July 16, 2019 in Law
Benjamin Simeon	killed by unknown gunmen in Johannesburg	3 rd August	Sahara Reporters, New York Aug 03, 2019
Samuel Nkennaya	Killed alongside his friend by south Africans who claimed that they thought he kidnapped a six-year-old girl	27 th April	Sahara Reporters, August 02, 2019
Chinonso Nwudo	Killed alongside his friend by south Africans who claimed that they thought his friend kidnapped a six-year-old girl	27 th April	Sahara Reporters, August 02, 2019
Ebuka Udugbo	Killed by South African police	28 th April	Sahara Reporters, August 02, 2019
Maxwell Ikechukwu Okoye	Killed by south African police at Ladysmith in Kwazulu Natal province	14 th June	Sahara Reporters, August 02, 2019
Chinonso Denis Obiaju	Shot in Johannesburg	20 th July	Sahara Reporters, August 02, 2019
Badmus Olalekan	Killed by South African police	27 th October, 2017	Sahara Reporters, August 02, 2019
Okechukwu Henry	Stabbed to death by unidentified robbers at Mpumalanga	3 rd May	Sahara Reporters, August 02, 2019
20 Nigerians	extra-judicial killings and police brutality	2006	Daily Post 2017 ^[16, 17]
2 Nigerians	killed in the Cape flats in the district of Cape Town	August 2000	Daily Post 2017 ^[16, 17]
120 people	Were killed and burnt alive	2011	UNHCR ROSA cited in Dauda, Rauf & Ameen, 2018 ^[38]
116 Nigerian	killed in South Africa through extrajudicial processes	2016-2018	Onyido J.O, 2018 ^[48]
63% Nigerians	killed by the police	No Date	Onyido J.O, 2018 ^[48]

Source: Compiled by Researchers from Journals and E-News.

10. Socio-economic relationship of Nigeria and South Africa in the pre-apartheid and post-apartheid era

Nigeria and South Africa wouldn't have achieved much collaboratively in Africa without a brotherhood handshake across their region. Thus, there exists a bond of relationship between these two great countries on a bilateral and pan-African scale. This aspect of the paper attempts an exposition of the socio-economic relationship of the two countries across different eras.

Nigeria has since 1960's had Africa at the centre of its foreign policy and diplomacy. With the first opportunity to execute this policy being a move of condemnation against the racial macabre incident of March 21, 1960 in Sharpeville South Africa, the country extends its hand of relationship to South Africa in a course to end its apartheid regime. One may wonder if this marked the origin of South Africa's social relationship with Nigeria, but with a cursory glance at the pre-apartheid era will think otherwise. This is because, pre-apartheid South Africa was still within colonial period and Nigerian anti-colonial struggle was never in history a struggle of itself alone but a struggle for the freedom of the entire African race. This is evident in the establishment of the first Nigerian newspaper in 1922 entitled *'The Western Pilot'* which advocated for the freedom of the African race (South Africans inclusive) from the exploitative hands of their colonial masters (Igwe, 2015) ^[31]. Also notable in pre-apartheid relationship of Nigeria and South Africa was the

place of Late. Nnamdi Benjamin Azikiwe who according to Aluko (1974) ^[6] used his oratory skill as a campaign against colonialism in the British colonial territories of Africa. The Nigerian nationalist Zik as he was fondly called, as an editor of the Ghanaian based daily newspaper *'The African Morning Post'* in 1934 championed Pan-Africanism and nationalist struggle geared towards freeing Africa from the yoke of foreign rule. In South Africa precisely, he introduced the philosophy of *'A new and liberated Africa'* and on emphasis of respect for humanity and dignity of black man wherever he may be found as driven by his observations in South Africa wrote the book *'Renascent Africa'* in 1937. It was through this that he fired the nascent nationalism not only in South Africa and Nigeria but throughout British colonial territories in Africa (Uwechue, 1996) ^[58]. Little wonder he was ascribed the status of the name *'The Great Zik of Africa'*.

Following the independence of South Africa in 1994, there has been a paradigmatic move in the dimension of its relation with Nigeria from what was obtainable in pre-apartheid and apartheid era. This move was earlier occasioned by gratitude and brotherly love but was later alleged sour in the struggle for who becomes the dominant economy in Africa (Niworu, 2018). To some, socio-economic relations between the two countries positively reached its apogee between 1994 to 2000, after which what could be said to be obtainable in their relation is nothing but a struggle for the largest African economy. Akindele (2007) in his analysis of the bilateral

relationship between Nigeria and South African asserted thus:

The rise of Nigeria and South Africa as regional leaders denotes nothing but economic competition. Their position has created rivalry situation between the two countries and has influenced decisions of African Union to suit either of the national interests. For example, each country aspires to be the largest economy in Africa.

However, scholars like Banjo (2010) ^[10] opine that rivalry conception of Nigeria-South African relation is nothing but a misconception of the South African's foreign policy by the Nigerian military government under Gen. Sani Abacha. This is probably because it was Gen. Abacha who noted that South African foreign policy initiative is an attempt to set up competition between South Africa and Nigeria, but that Nigeria is not interested in such competition (ibid).

At the dawn of South African independence, many Nigerians migrated to the new formed sovereign state in a bid to help foster development and nation building. This was well captured in the following words of a renowned scholar:

At the dawn of democracy in South Africa, Nigerians, especially the professionals, were part of those that started to migrate to South Africa. Part of the philosophy of those early migrants was to contribute to the much needed nation building in post-apartheid South Africa (Ebegbulem, 2013).

Also to be noted is that the time South Africa found democracy was when Nigerian democracy was being truncated by the military. Despite this, the former under the leadership of Late Nelson Madiba Mandela in recognition of the contribution of Nigeria to its struggle for freedom immediately moved to establish bilateral relations with the military government of Nigeria under the leadership of Late. Major Gen. Sani Abacha. It is in a bid to make this relationship stronger that the two countries collaboratively established the Bi-National Commission which was aimed at promoting the economic growth and development of the two countries in the dimension of sports, education, trade and technology through the use endowed natural resources within their various territories (Raji & Adekeye, 2015) ^[50].

With the incessant human right abuses characterized significantly by the November 1995 killing of the nine Ogoni activists led by Ken Saro Wiwa, and the arrest and sentence for execution of 40 political oppositions including Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo and Mashood, K. Abiola; the Nelson Mandela's South African administration which was initially lobbying for the release Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo and nine others, came out openly to criticize Gen. Abacha's thirst for power and the dethronement of democracy in Nigeria. This further led to South Africa vehemently calling for and achieving a two-year suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth of Nations at the 1995 Commonwealth of Nations summit in Auckland. The South African government also criticized the Royal Dutch Shell Company for going ahead with a US \$4 billion gas plant project in Nigeria and further attracted human-right attacks at the state of affairs in Nigeria (Ogbonnaya, Ajah, Onyedikachi, & Chukwuma,

2017) ^[43]. Also on March 29, 1995, the South African government refused to grant Nigerian democrats under the umbrella of Nigerian Democratic Movement visas to hold a conference in South Africa even though their leader Wole Soyinka appealed severally, hence the conference was cancelled six weeks to the date on the calling of South Africa's ruling party ANC.

In reaction to the actions of South Africa, the Nigerian government in exercise of its dominant power in Africa made other African countries to isolate South Africa accusing it of being used by the British and American government against Nigeria and the rest of Africa. This was well captured in the words of Helen (1996) ^[29] who asserted thus: "South Africa has been manipulated into taking an anti-Nigerian position by the forces of British and American imperialism".

Also, the Nigerian government prevented the Nigerian national football team otherwise referred to as Super Eagles from going to the 1996 African Nations cup held in South Africa even though they were supposed to be defending their trophy which they won in Tunisia in 1994. Although, their invitation has already been withdrawn by the South African Football Association which claimed it was as a result of the hanging of the Ogoni activists. This football saga was not taken lightly by the Nigerian government which filed a suit to Federation Internationale de Football (FIFA) requesting that South Africa be penalized on the ground that the reason South Africa withdrew the invitation of the super eagles was merely a political reason rather than sport. FIFA on the other hand only warned South Africa and promised to penalize them on any other future occurrence (Ogbonnaya, *et al.*, 2017) ^[43].

With Abacha's sudden death on June 8, 1998 and the return of democracy to Nigeria, the Nigeria-South African relation improved. This was provident to the personal relationship that Abacha's civilian successor Chief Olusegun Obasanjo had with the South African president and vice president (Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki) while they were exiled in Nigeria from 1976 to 1979 (Dubow, 2000). Their collaboration soon fostered NEPAD establishment with the belief that it will reposition Africa on the part of long term development and reduce her marginalization in international economic relations (Adams, 2006) ^[1]. They through NEPAD pioneered the call for the transfer of technology from the western world to African countries.

The South Africa-Nigeria socio-economic relation received its boost with the Nigerian neo-liberal trade policy adopted by the Obasanjo-led administration. This led to the inception of an estimated number of 55 South African companies in Nigeria between 2000 to mid-April 2003; thus the emergence of MTN, Stanbic bank, DSTV and other South African companies (Onuoha, 2008) ^[47]. These companies made significantly high profits in Nigeria even till date. For instance, MTN recorded R2.4 billion after tax profit in 2004 (Raji & Adekeye, 2015) ^[50], and pride itself as the mobile network provider in Nigeria with the highest subscribers amounting to 59,893,093 persons, while being closely followed by Globalcom and Airtel with 28,219,089 and 27,556,554 subscribers respectively (National Communications Commission, 2015). DSTV also accounts for 90% of satellite views in Nigeria between 2001 and 2005, and is currently the 6th largest company in Lagos stock exchange.

There were also similar feats in South Africa where certain Nigerian companies dominated. Typical examples include Dangote group which have an estimated US \$398 million investment in cement production in South Africa; and Oando oil which was listed on Johannesburg stock exchange in November 2009 (Ogbonnaya, *et al.*, 2017) ^[43].

According to statistics from the Nigeria-South Africa Chamber of Commerce (2009), trade relation between the two countries also increased; rising from less than US \$12 million in 1994 to about US \$100 million in 1998 and from about US \$400million in 2001 to US \$900 million in 2007.

Table 2: List of Top South African Companies in Nigeria

Name	Sector
Mobile Telecommunication Network (MTN)	Telecommunication
Digital Satellite Television	Television
Shoprite	Retail
Stanbic-IBTC Bank	Banking
Protean Hotels	Hospitality
South African Breweries	Manufacturing
Tiger Brand	Manufacturing
Critical Rescue International	Health
Grinaker-LTA Construction	Civil Engineering
Eskimi Nigeria	Media
South African Airways	Aviation
Multichoice Nigeria	Television
Nandos	Service
Power Giant	Manufacturing
Eskom	Energy
Rand Merchant Bank	Banking

Source: World Investment Report, 2016.

Table 3: list of top Nigerian companies in South Africa

Name	Sector
First Bank of Nigeria, Plc.	Banking
Union Bank Plc.	Banking
Zenith Bank Plc	Banking
United Bank for Africa	Banking
Oando oil	Oil and Gas
Dangote Group	Manufacturing

Source: World Bank Investment Report, 2015.

Raji & Adekeye (2015) ^[50] in the analysis of South Africa-Nigeria relation also noted that between 2002 and 2012, South African and Nigerian import from each other increased. While that of South Africa which majored on oil rose by 750%, Nigeria's own rose by 130%. Similarly, they collaboratively succeeded in electing a Nigerian Dr. Akinwumi Adesina as the president of African Development Bank (AfDB) in 2015 (Premium Times, 2015) ^[49].

In no small way, South Africa also aided Nigeria in combating BokoHaram terrorism through its private company specialized in training, equipment and protection (STTEP). This company which was headed by Eben Barlow, trained Nigerian soldiers in the special arts of combat (Freeman, 2015) ^[25]; and even provided both technical assistance and South African troops who were directly involved in combating BokoHaram in Yobe and Maiduguri (Mutum, 2015) ^[39].

Despite the above notable cordiality in relationship existing between the two countries in the Nigerian Fourth Republic, there exists still elements of conflictual relationship between the two countries. In 2004 for instance, the mutual relationship between the two countries was shaken when the former Nigerian president Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was humorously insulted by a Johannesburg radio presenter who accused him of carrying cocaine in his luggage (upon coming for Thabo Mbeki's inauguration).

Also in March 2, 2012, the South African government deported 125 Nigerians on the accusation that they possess fake yellow fever vaccination cards. This action was viewed as a xenophobic tendency and an act of ungratefulness by the Nigerian government which in reaction deported 56 highly profiled South Africans engaged in business in Nigeria. This prompted the invitation and traveling to South Africa by the Nigerian president for a deliberation on easing travel and visa restrictions (Raji & Adekeye, 2015) ^[50].

The relationship of the two countries further deteriorated when Nigeria in alliance with other West African countries supported Jean Ping for the post of the chairperson of African Union (AU) against South African Home affairs Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma who contested and won the position.

The apex of discord in the relationship of the two countries is fostered by the Nigerian organized crime group in South Africa which is involved in illegal drug trafficking, and more recently, the xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa which according to Seteolu & Okuneye (2017) ^[53], has raised questions on the historic friendship between the two countries.

11. The implication of the menace on socio-economic development of Africa

There is no scintilla of doubt that African continent, at this moment, is in dire need of sustainable socio-economic development. And to effectuate that, serene environment devoid of chaos and violence is imperative. Again, if a fish rots from the head, other parts, will in a matter of jiffy, follow suit. Suffice to say, Nigeria and South Africa are the powerhouse of the African continent; and as such, if the growing incidence of xenophobic attacks is not urgently contained, it is capable of having profound negative effects on Africa's quest for development. Such negative implications includes but not limited to the following:

11.1 Negative impact on unity and social cohesion

Nigeria and South Africa are seen as role models for other African countries. However, the issue of these xenophobic attacks has orchestrated a strain in their relationship evident in Nigeria’s recall of its High Commissioner to South Africa; and the speech of a member senate committee on foreign affairs-Senator Gbenga Ashafa who asserted thus:

“I don’t see us doing anything tangible by way of arresting these attacks without government standing up and having some diplomatic reprisal (Channels TV, 2017)”.

This simply means that there is a tendency of stopping Nigeria-South Africa relationship on a long run should the problem of xenophobia in South Africa persist. There is also possibility of counter-attack of South Africans resident in Nigeria. This is not healthy for the socio-economic development of Africa, as being the role models to other African countries, they can easily be emulated and their xenophobic tendencies and problems transferred. The wind of xenophobic attack is already manifesting in Ghana and Kenya. The spread of xenophobic attack across Africa will be recipe for increasing the rate of intolerance and social distrust among Africans. In the same manner, the menace disrupts harmonious relation amongst nations. And by extension, affects democracy and Africa’s socio-economic development in entirety.

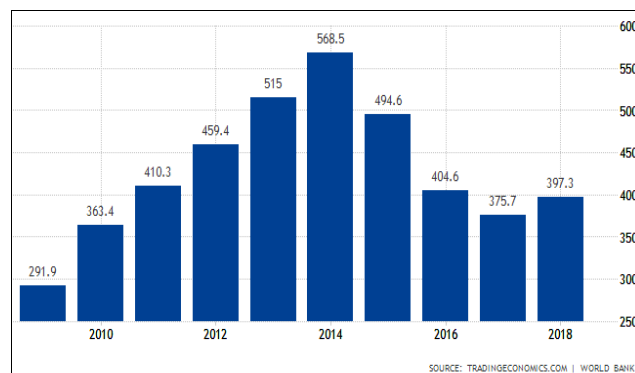
11.2 Negative impact on foreign investment and tourism:

As far back as 1776, Adam Smith, in recognition of the supportive role of foreign investment had written in *The Wealth of Nations* that a ‘business working in a country town without links to the outside world can never achieve high levels of efficiency because its small market will limit the degree of specialization.’ Suffice to say, foreign investment and collaborations is an indispensable linchpin for heralding socio-economic development. However, the fear planted through the scourge of xenophobia is capable of keeping foreign investor on the run because no sane investor will venture in any terrain where they know that one day, their investment will be looted or they themselves be killed. Similarly, another sector that is hugely affected is the tourism industry as it does not flourish in an atmosphere of fear and chaos.

11.3 Crash of Africa’s economy

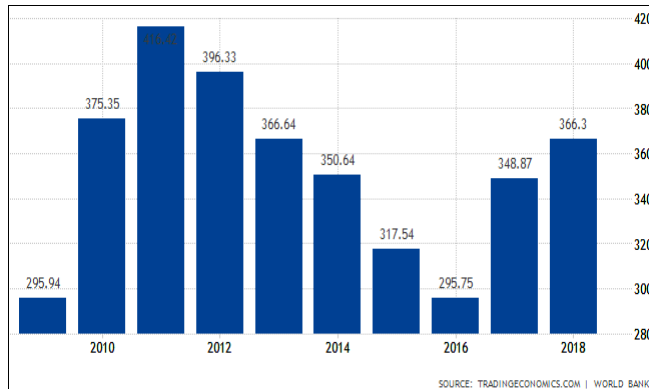
The countries in this xenophobic war are undoubtedly the pillars of African economy. With a GDP of US \$397,269.62 billion in 2018 (World Bank and OECD National Account Data, 2019), Nigeria accounts for 23.41% of the total GDP of Africa (US \$1,697,193.31 trillion) whereas South Africa with a GDP of

US \$366,298.21 billion in the same year (ibid), accounts for 21.58% of Africa’s total GDP. This is to say that jointly, the two countries account for 44.99% of Africa’s GDP (Approximately 45%). Just imagine if this xenophobic problem between these two countries make them to go to war against each other; they will not only quash this 45% of Africa’s GDP, but will also subject Africa to perpetual economic depression.



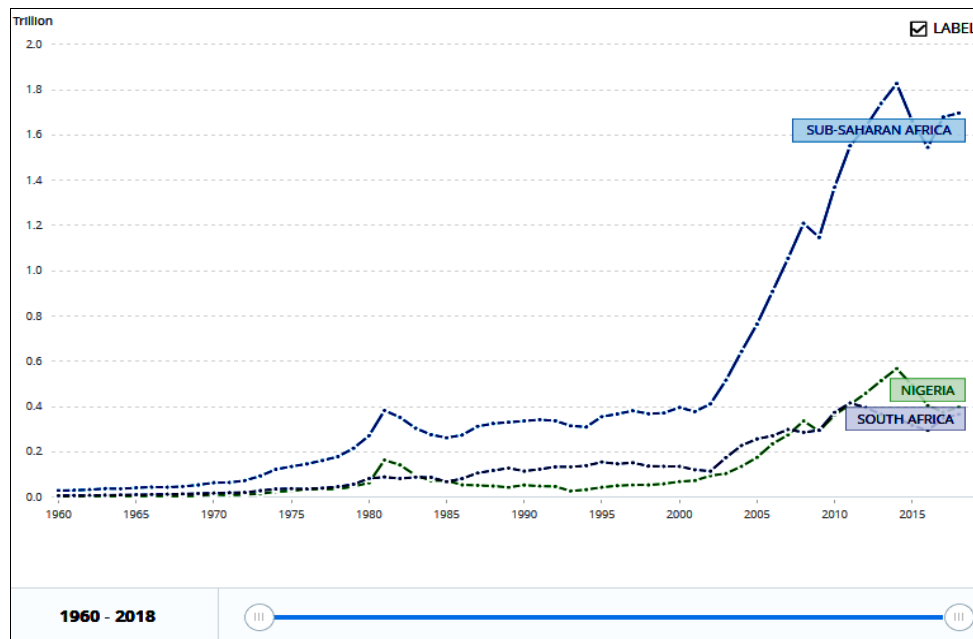
Source: World Bank, 2019.

Fig 2: Nigerian GDP Watch from 2009 to 2018



Source: World Bank, 2019.

Fig 3: South African GDP Watch from 2009 to 2018



Source: World Bank and OECD, 2019.

Fig 4: Nigerian Vs South African GDP in Relation to that of Africa from 1960 to 2018

11.4 Xenophobia undermines economic progress

Not only Xenophobia but the threat or fear of it is enough to impede economic progress. Generally, xenophobia undermines businesses in diverse ways. As Adekunle (2017) corroborated, in the face of violence:

Nothing but the sales of arms makes headway in this climate. There is no work, worker or working environment. There is no commerce. There is no industry. The economy is put on hold, and the GDP takes a dive into abyss.

Given the frontline position of Nigeria and South Africa in the African economy, a slight crisis in their economy will shake other African economies. For instance, it is on record that many South African businesses domiciled in Nigeria are MTN, Eskom Nigeria, South African Airways, Stanbic-IBTC bank, Rand Merchant Bank Nigeria Ltd., Multichoice Nigeria/M-Net, Umgeni Water, Defresh Products Nigeria Ltd., South Africa-Nigeria Communications and Systems Ltd., Grinaker-LTA Construction Ltd., Protea Hotels, Critical Rescue International, Global Outdoor Semces, Oracle, Airtime Sales, and Digital Satellite Television (Umezurike & Asuelime, 2015) [55]. Just imagine if these Multinational Companies which are worth over US \$50 billion (World Investment Report, 2013) are shut down in a retaliatory attack. Or, that the following Nigerian businesses: Dangote group, First Bank Plc, Union Bank Plc, Oando Oil, Zenith Bank Plc, United Bank for Africa (UBA) amongst others worth over US \$13 billion (ibid) which are also domesticated in South Africa are demolished in this xenophobic attack. It is not going to be a loss on the duo alone. Other countries will equally have a fair share of the loss. This is because these companies are the pillars of African economic progress and any negative effect on them collectively will disastrously collapse the African economy. So, every consequence revolves around Africa and not Nigeria and South Africa alone. Already, symptoms of

attack on these Multinational firms are emerging consequent upon the xenophobic attack, with the current trend being the staging of protest by the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) on the 25th of July, 2019 to most of the South African owned business offices like MTN, DSTV and Shoprite within the country with placards condemning the killing of their brothers in South Africa (This Day Newonline, July 26, 2019). This protest was carried out across states in Nigeria notably in Kaduna, Niger, Benue, and even the federal capital territory (Abuja). The apogee is currently reached on Wednesday August 7, 2019 when NANS issued a seven-day ultimatum to all South African companies in Nigeria to vacate the country unless the xenophobic attack against Nigerians in South Africa is stopped (New Telegraph News, August 08, 2019; Sahara Reporters, August 08, 2019). A threat they are ready to carry out since they could do so in February 23, 2017 when they shutdown MTN office in Abuja for days (Vanguard News, February 24, 2017). Similarly, from the report of Premium Times news (2015) [49], Nigerian businesses in South Africa have already lost #84 million to the xenophobic attacks only in that year.



Fig 5

11.5 Loss of lives/human capital and resources

Worst of all, during xenophobia, many lives are lost and countless dreams, ideas and promises are buried with them. This is a ticking bomb because human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build a social, economic and political organization, and carry forward national development (Harbison, 1973) ^[27]. Suffice to say, the African Renaissance, Agenda 2063, Sustainable Development Goals and every other initiative for Africa's redemption are not going to occur on a vacuum. It all needs the human capital of Africans. From the foregoing, there is no doubt that xenophobia is a dangerous cog in the wheel of Africa's development quest.

11.6 Possible projectory war

Xenophobic attacks are war instigating in nature. This is because no man wants to sit back and watch with folded arms while his family is being killed. From deduction of the remote causes of the Nigerian civil war, part of which was the incessant macabre of the Igbos living in the Northern part of Nigeria with the government doing nothing; it is not wrong if one should say that war is imminent if South African government do not curtail the menace of xenophobic killings. This is because in both cases (the Nigerian civil war and the xenophobic attacks), people living outside their home are killed for no just cause.

Of course, one need not be told of the devastating effects of war, especially when it is fought by two giants having influences on other African countries. Without doubt, other African countries will directly or indirectly be involved and the result will be creation of enmity, destruction of lives, damage of infrastructures and properties among other consequences capable of bedeviling socio-economic development for a century.

11.7 It negatively affects internally displaced person (IDPs)

Some of the foreigners are usually those that were displaced by conflict. When these refugees and asylum seekers are rejected by the host community, they may become direly frustrated and join arm bandits, especially terrorists, illicit wildlife or drug dealers. Whichever way, any of the trio poses great threat to Africa's socio-economic development. In fact, in the process of xenophobia, more IDPs are created.

This is because the issue of xenophobia has led to increase of displaced persons who are either running for their dear lives to avoid being killed or have been rendered empty by the looting and disasters they emanate from it.

11.8 Increase in poverty and unemployment

Unemployment and poverty are usually functions of lack of means of livelihood. Recourse to Nigeria-South African relation vis-à-vis the socio-economic relationship of the entire African countries, it is only evident that what the xenophobic attack does at best is the deprivation of people's lives and source of livelihood in terms of businesses and properties. Hence, its prevalence against Nigerians in South Africa is a deliberate pauperization of Nigerians through unemployment facilitation. The worst of this is seen in the dimension of asking them to go home without any of their properties. On

the extreme of this pedestal, should Nigeria resolve on retaliation or should this xenophobic attack lead to war, then unemployment will be given a solemn call into Africa and poverty will be forever welcomed.

12. The way forward

Seteolu & Okuneye (2016) ^[53] said and I agree with them that there is compelling need to prioritize Nigeria and South Africa relations in order to foster economic growth and ramifying development in the continent. Thus, to contain this ugly trend of xenophobia and the chart pathway for Africa's development, the following recommendations are paramount:

12.1 South Africans should have a rethink and desist from xenophobic acts

I wish to reecho Prof. Olushola Adeyeye's admonition that "the most prosperous Nations of the world are the ones who open their arms, doors and hearts to talents from all over the world" (cited Dauda, Rauf & Ameen, 2018) ^[38]. It is high time South Africans realize that a tree does make forest and thus, resist the lure of xenophobia. They should rather than envy their enterprising African brothers lend a helping hand by making the environment safe for their businesses as they are proven to be more helpful to them than their white counterpart (Onyido, 2018) ^[48].

12.2 There is need facilitate better life for South African

The truth is: a hungry man is an angry man. Of course, an idle hand, they said, is the devil's workshop; but if I may satirically add, a hand that is both idle and poor is the devil's headquarters. As the spate of hardship continues unabated, the recipient South Africans, flanked by frustration has become susceptible to xenophobic acts. The government of South Africa should strive to add value to the lives of South Africans, cater to their welfare, abate their economic woes and frustrations, implements policies that give them ample reasons why they should live and allow others to live too. When this is done, it will reduce the tendency of xenophobic actions.

12.3 The government should take decisive measures against perpetrators

Since the inception and escalation of xenophobia in South Africa, its leaders and cabal are yet to show serious concern about ending the crisis. Instead, they have, on several occasions, made inciting utterances. It, therefore, seems the violence is rewarded. And of course, anything that is rewarded does not wither away but blossoms. Against this backdrop, the government of South Africa and its stakeholders must urgently take decisive measures to protect Africans, especially Nigerian nationals, in the country. It must take visible actions to hold suspected perpetrators and mischief-makers to account.

12.4 The long-awaited African union's fatherly role must come to fore

As the regional institution mandated to advance cooperation among African states and between Africa and the international community, the AU has the capacity to be a significant actor in addressing xenophobia (Akinola, 2018a) ^[5]. Beyond literally iterating the need for states to combat xenophobia, the

African Union's expected figure-head role in addressing the menace of xenophobia in Africa is yet to emerge in earnest. It is imperative for the institution to do everything possible to make sure that the rising incidence xenophobia in Africa is nipped in the bud.

12.5 The effort of Nigerian and South African government should go beyond sending occasional delegates

Nigerian and South African government should see the need for ending the crisis as an urgent and priority project. Thus, the duo government should keep working squarely towards find a lasting solution to the crisis.

12.6 Retaliation is never an option

It is worth commending that Nigerians notwithstanding that their nationals are being maltreated by South African nationals; Nigerian has remained law-abiding and tolerant to South African nationals living in Nigeria. That sense of maturity, understanding and brotherhood should be maintained. In the same vein, Nigerian leaders and stakeholders must not utter instigating speeches that could lead to reprisal attacks.

13. Conclusion

I would not agree less with the view of Bargblor (2019) ^[11] that it is shameful and disgraceful for any African Nation to discriminate against other Africans, irrespective of their nationality, considering the unfortunate history of the African continent. The ongoing xenophobic attack in South Africa is highly condemnable. The crisis has culminated into loss of many lives of foreigners and South Africans alike, needless talking about the ineffable loss and damage of properties that comes with it. All of these have profound negative implications for socio-economic development of not just South Africa and Nigeria but the entire African continent. It is pertinent that all hands be on deck towards mitigating the rising incidence of xenophobia in Africa.

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