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XENOPHOBIA (LEVITICUS 19:33-34) IN THE CONTEXT OF NIGERIA-SOUTH AFRICA RELATIONS IN THE POST APARTHEID ERA: MORAL REFLECTIONS

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Abstract

Existing studies revealed the past struggles and efforts spearheaded by Nigeria among other African nationals in order to allow South Africa to attain freedom from the white dictatorial rule. For instance, the striving involves huge resources, diplomatic tactics and logistics, brain tasks, and unquantifiable risks majorly on the part of Nigeria. It is incumbent because of the common ancestry. It was projected that the post-apartheid South Africa would usher in a new state that is free of racial segregation. However, what happened in some years back were the constriction and prejudice against foreigners, particularly black Africans living in South Africa against Biblical ethos in Leviticus 19:33-34. At these hazardous and perilous moments in South Africa then, xenophobic attacks had inevitably caused a lot of fears and worries in the mind of people living within and outside the country. Pathetically, it has drastically discouraged Nigerians and many other foreign investors to come to South Africa again. It is on this backdrop that this paper takes socio-ethical reflections on the historical metamorphosis of Nigeria-South African relations; the impacts, implications and challenges of the xenophobic attacks; and to proffer recommendations in order to usher in fresh attitudinal reorientation. This study used secondary method of data collection and observation. Socio-ethical and theo-historical approaches were utilized in the analysis of the work; while Frustration-Aggressive Theoretical Frame work was applied to reinforce the paper.

Keywords: Socio-ethics, Xenophobia, Biblical perspective, Nigeria, South Africa.

Introduction

Ademola (2017) opines that Nigeria and South Africa are two countries on the continent of Africa that have gained global attention and reckoning for different reasons (Ademola, 2017: 1). Nigeria with an estimated population of 180 million is globally regarded as the most populous Black Country in the globe. Also, South Africa has gained recognition as the conscience of racial parity on the world stage, having passed through and survived the throes of apartheid for decades before its eventual liberation partly through global help and internal political struggle. Though located in different regions on the continent of Africa, Nigeria and South Africa, have been involved in each other's different spheres of life-social, political and economic (Ademola, 2017: 1-2). However, Ismail &Sakariyan (2017) argued that the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa on Nigerians and other nationals have now become an ugly trend that raises serious concern among experts and analysts of foreign relations (Ismail &Sakariyari, 2017: 117). The September 1, 2019 scenario, mainly in and around Johannesburg,

resulted in the loss of innocent lives and propertiesby a group of violent locals within Jules street in Malvern by killing, raping, looting and burning businesses are still fresh in memory. The former President of Nigerian Union South Africa, LykeAnyene, affirmed that Nigerians were forcefully remained in their houses living in fear and psychological trauma (Sahara Reporters Inc.New York: September 3,2019). In a similar but different dimension, Salau (2017) cited AbikeDabiri-Erewa to corroborate , affirm and refresh our memory on previous events that happened between 2016 to 2017; when over 116 lives were lost due to unlawful acts championed by some hoodlums in South Africa (Salau, 2017: 118).This has remained a major setback which is creating a threat to Nigeria-South African relations. However, it is important to note that the long cordial relationship enjoyed by both countries in socio-economic, political and educational partnerships might be compromised, with the recent unfortunate uprising, if appropriate measures are not applied. For instance, several stakeholders ranging from civil society groups, student unions and members of the Nigerian government have raised and still raising the alarm on the possibility of imposing stringent policies on the business and economic interests of Nigeria-South Africa. According to Obasanjo (2019), he resonates that:

> *It is a great disservice to the continent and the black race for any African country to encourage or allow or not seriously sanction xenophobia against Africans in their country. Hesubmits that there is a need for fence-mending, reconciliation, and wound-binding between South Africaand the countries whose citizens have been victims of xenophobia and acrophobia in South Africa*

(Xenophobia: Obasanjo's Letter dated September 11, 2019 to Buthelezi galaxytvonline.com).

The cold war between Nigeria-South Africa relations could be noticed through series of statements and counter statements of various representatives of foreign missions. The issue has become orchestrated to the extent that South African President, Ramaphosa, was jeered during his speech at ex-Leader Robert Mugabe's funeral in Harare for the attacks. South African government later began to send emissaries led by Jeff Radeba to tender apology to African nationals such as: Nigeria, Niger, Ghana, Senegal, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Zambia whereas African nations as a whole, have common ancestry vis-à-vis socio-political, economic and educational opportunities together (ntv.co.ug NV Turning on your world).

This paper comprises six sections. The first segment captures the general background information of the subject matter, while the concept of xenophobia is clarified through a brief review of relevant literature regarding the phenomenon. This is followed by the precipitating theoretical frame work in order to support the paper. The fourth unit encompasses a historical antecedents of Nigeria-South African relations while the fifth part looks at the socio-ethical reflections of xenophobic attacks on Nigeria. The last aspect contains concluding remarks and suggestions required in order to rectify the main strings of the menace of xenophobia; and enshrine peaceful co-existence in trans-border relations. This paper is theoretically informed by Frustration-Aggressive Theory, postulated by Dollard (1939) in order to reinforce this article. The researcher adopted secondary sources of data collection, while descriptive survey methods were used in analyzing the work based on Biblical and socio-ethical approach.

The Concept of Xenophobia

Etymologically, **t**he concept of *xenophobia* has been traced to the Greek word *Xenos* which means stranger and '*Phobos*' which means fear. Xenophobia is thus defined as the irrational and intense fear that people have against anything that is strange or unfamiliar, specifically against people from foreign nations (Mudalier, 2015).It is about expression of anger, fear and hatred towards people that are aliens in a country. Mudalier informs that it also entails physical elimination of foreigners. Prominent xenophobia manifestations include the activities of the anti-blacks Ku Klux Klan in the United States of America and the killing of over six million Jews by Nazi Government in Germany between 1941 and 1945(Mudalier, 20015). For Fawenu (2020), submits that the term used to describe oppression of the poor in the Old Testament is *Yanah* and found in 20 times in the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgarttensia. He goes further to say that in most cases the word connotes a ruthless and horrific attack on such victims with reference to some passages in the Bible. For instance, the Book of Psalms states that: ''They said in their hearts, Let us destroy them together: they have burned up allthe synagogues of God in the land.'' (Ps.74:8). Prophet Jeremiah equally corroborates that, ''He made many to fall, yea, one fell upon another: and they said, Arise, and let us go again to our own people, and to the land of our nativity, from the oppressing sword'' (Jer.46:16). It implies hostile treatment of a person or group of people. The term captures all kinds of affliction that could be meted on a person. He sums up that xenophobia is the forbidden inhuman treatment of the stranger in this context with the inhuman treatment of foreigners in the contemporary South African society. In other words, the concept xenophobia simply connotes unreasonable hatred for strangers or foreigners. It is an act where hatred and unfriendly attitudes are displayed towards foreigners or strangers by members of host communities (Fawenu 2020:87). The American Heritage (2005) explains xenophobiato connote uncomfortable reactions to another person's culture and norms. This translates to absolute hatred for customs, dress, languages and other characteristics of different cultures (The American Heritage, 2005). The Oxford Dictionary defines xenophobia as an extreme dislike of other people's culture, values and religion. For Ismail &Sakariyau (2017) cited Watts (1996), they intimate that the term xenophobia has been replaced with the word racism as it operates in the European context (Watts 1996, cited in Ismail &Sakariyau ,2017:117-125). Miles &Phizacklea, (1984), in their own perspective, explicate that the term racism refers to biological and hereditary differences between races with the belief and perception that one race is superior to another (Miles &Phizacklea, 1984 cited in Ismail &Sakariyau ,2017:117-125). However, in this modern dispensation, the word racism has been linked with xenophobia. For Canetti-Nisim&Pedahzur, (2003), they shed more lights that , though, racism shares some similarities with xenophobia regarding hatred for some cultures and customs, the latter has become a contemporary extreme display of sentiment (Canetti-Nisim&Pedahzur, 2003 cited in Ismail &Sakariyau ,2017:117-125). The concept Xenophobia has become a new form of racism, that is, symbolic which poses a severe threat to cultural values and economic integration. In a nutshell, xenophobia is the contemporary form of racism which in Europe has been severally linked to political and ideological expressions. Mudde (2007) argues that the application of the term xenophobia has led to the discrimination between host communities and asylum workers. Nevertheless, the concept xenophobia is all about hostility towards members of specific groups and nationals (Mudde, 2007 cited in Ismail &Sakariyau, 2017:117-125).However, in the context of the xenophobic attack in South Africa, a term has been developed and used to differentiate the locals from foreigners particularly among other Africans. This derogatory term is coined as :(*'Amakwerekwere' which implies a separation of South*

African Nationals from other African members). This wrong nomenclature alone does not only violate the principle of human rights, the African spirit of humaneness, but also, it violates the Biblical ethics as enshrined in the Book of Deuteronomy Chapter 24 verse 17 which states thus: "*Thou shall not pervert the judgement of the stranger, nor of the fatherless; nor take widow's raiment to pledge. But thou shall remember that thou were a bondman in Egypt, and the Lord thy God redeemed thee thence: therefore I command thee to do this thing."* Given this, the view of Watts (1996) captures xenophobia beyond the immigration issue to an ideological conflict with the notion that anything alien is a threat. The phenomenon and dimension of xenophobic violence in South Africa could be likened to Watts' ideological realm which does not only subscribe to the primordial sentiment of religion and ethnicity but also denounces non-indigenous alliances (Ismail &Sakariyau, 2017:117-125).

Theoretical Underpinning

Xenophobia vis-a-vis the precipitating factors: The phenomenon of xenophobia and the challenges pose for human activities especially in the development of all-round of humanity can be explained from two perspectives: the Frustration- Aggression Perspective and the Clash of Civilisations Perspective (Ademola&Agagu 2019:115-125). The Frustration – Aggression Perspective was first propounded by an intellectual crew of John Dollard*et.al.* in 1939 and further developed by Miller, Roger, Barker *et.al.* in 1941 and Leonard Berkowitz, in 1969. Other notable contributors to the theory include Robert Ted Gurr, Ivo K. and Rosalind, L Feierabend and Betty Nesvold. Dollard *et al. (1939)* proceed in their formulation by stating that, the occurrence of aggressive behaviour, of which xenophobia is anilluminating example, presupposes the existence of frustration. They argued further that when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto or vented on an innocent target (Dollard, 1939). In another dimension, Ted Gurr, cited in Fawole, (1994); and Ademola, (2017) proposed that: (a) the potential for collective violence is a function of the extent and intensity of shared discontents among members of a society; and (b) the potential for political violence is a function of the degree to which such shared discontents are blamed on the political system and its agents. They thus explicate further that, discontent arising from the perception of relative deprivation is the basic instigating condition for participant to engage in any form of collective violence (Ted Gurr , cited in Fawole, 1994:13; and Ademola, 2017:1-20). Frustration arises mainly from the inability of the political system to satisfy or guarantee the attainment and maintenance of the social goals, aspirations and values of the people. In view of the above circumstances, aggressive behaviour becomes inevitable with particular reference to Nigeria-South African relations (Fawole cited in Adebisi ,2017: 1-20).

Historical Antecedents of Nigeria-South Africa Relations

The Apartheid years: South Africa 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 (Ademola, 2017:1-20). The country became an independent union, a self-governing British dominion, in 1910. According to Laurence, he submits that between the first and the second world wars that South Africa's internal politics was rived with violence. He goes further to intimate by such events as the 1923 strike, when groups of whites went around shooting innocent Bantu for no obvious reason"(Laurence, 1968:25).

Zabadi and Onuoha (2012) affirmed that in the year 1948 when the Afrikaner National Party which represented minority interests took power in controversial circumstance, racial

segregation relapsed. That the history of the Nigeria-South African relations could be traced to events arising from the Sharpeville massacre of 21st March, 1960, when the South African police shot and killed 72blacks and wounded 184 black men and women (Zabadi and Onuoha, 2012; Akinboye, 2013). The interface marked the beginning of the Nigerian government's confrontation against the white in South Africa even before independence. Ige (2018) corroborates the above assertion that upon assumption of office in October 1, 1960 by the Tafawa Balewa government between1960-1966; he was overwhelmed with pressure from both domestic and external sources in order to institute measures to check apartheid policies in South Africa. Then, Nigeria banned the importation of South African goods into the country and that was instrumental to the political and economic sanctions passed against theracist regime (Ige, 2018:93-103). Also, Aluko (1982), informs that Balewa went further to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in March 1961 in London, where he spearheaded the move that led to the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth (Aluko, 1982cited in Ige 2018). Of importance to note, in the year 1962, Nigerian government took drastic action by terminating all the privileges of Commonwealth membership which South African enjoyed in Nigeria. The Nigerian Government anti-apartheid policy then continued until the First Nigerian Republic was ousted out by Major Nzeogwu military coup in January 15, 1966 (Ige, 2018:93-103). The military coup of January 15,1966that seized power from the Balewa's regime brought Aguiyi Ironsi to the helm of affairs. The brief administration of General Ironsi between January-July 1966 did not record any substantial policy against the apartheid regime in South Africa, due largely to the volatile security situation in Nigeria that was precipitated by the coup (Ademoyega, 1981cited in Ige, 2018:93-103).Following the take-over of the reins of government in Nigeria in July 29, 1966 by the military-led administration of Yakubu Gowon after the assassination of General Aguiyi Ironsi, a slightly modified policy towards South Africa was adopted. The new policy which was based on boycott and confrontation with white minority regime in South Africa led to aproclamation declaring white South Africans prohibited immigrants in Nigeria(Ige, 2018 :). The Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970 further deepened the crisis on the Nigeria-South Africa relations, upon realization that South Africa was sabotaging the efforts of Nigeria in the war. Yakubu Gowon thus strengthened his anti-apartheid policy, and this continued after the war when Nigeria became even much more financially buoyant as her oil resources contributed enormous foreign currency to her coffers than before. The country was hereby able to play a confident and much more dynamic role in world affairs (Ajala, 1993 cited in Ige, 2018:93-103). The Murtala Mohammed government (1975-1976) that ousted the Gowon administration through a coup was, right from the outset, prepared to take radical measures towards African decolonization process. For instance, the Angola crisis of 1975 provided an opportunity for the Nigeria government to demonstrate her commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle by resolving the political stalemate in the former (Fafowora, 1984; Gambari, 2008 cited in Ige, 2018:93-103). Following the killing of General Mohammadu in the abortive coup led by Colonel Buka Dimka in July 1976, General Olusegun Obasanjo continued the same radical approach in the Nigerian foreign policy relations with South Africa. Thus, General Olusegun Obasanjo administration was widely perceived as a continuation of Murtala Mohammed administration (Garba, 1987).

The Second Republic administration of Shehu Shagari (1979-1983) was unable too much on the pursuit of Nigeria and Afrocentric policies which had serious implications on the Nigeria-South Africa relations. For Muhammadu Buhari (1983-1985), the Afro-centric foreign policy

of the Nigerian government toward South African apartheid regime was revitalized. The appreciable impact of Nigeria-South Africa relations under Buhari regime was the hosting of the Second International Conference on Apartheid, tagged, "*Legal Status of the Apartheid Regime*," held in Lagos, Nigeria, August 1984. In the Conference, apartheid was declared illegal and the result further heightened the pressure on apartheid regime in South Africa, and reinforced Nigeria's determination to eradicate all vestiges of racist regimes in Africa. Apartheid regime in South Africa would appear to have been effectively tackled under Babangida regime (1985-1993). This is because the UN Anti-Apartheid Committee which had enjoyed Nigerian headship for the better part of its existence continued its vigorous campaigns against apartheid. At the level of the Non-Aligned Movement, the dying tempo of decolonization was revived with a resolution for the establishment of an African Fund at the Harare Conference in 1986, to assist the Liberation of Southern Africa as a whole, and at theParis International Conference for sanctions against apartheid in 1987. In addition to Nigeria financial supports, equally opted for tougher sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa (Ademola ,2017:1-20; Ige ,2018:93-103&Saliu, 2006).

In view of the above development, it is clear that Nigerian policy towards South Africa between 1960 and1993 was characterized by the former disdain of the latter apartheid policy. Although Nigeria, from independence, maintained hostile attitude towards South Africa for more than thirty years until the early 1990s, both countries established formal diplomatic relations on the 21st February 1994 following the termination of apartheid policy; and sequel to the release of the African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela; and the conduct of general elections in South Africa. Prior to this time, Nigeria Mission was operating through the Angolan High Commission in Pretoria(Ige, 2018: 93-103).Eventually , an exchange of High Commissioners was done by the two countries, with each acutely conscious of the fact that both countries need each other's support in the mutually advantageous conduct of their bilateral relations and multilateral diplomacy in Africa (Akindele, 2007).

Post Apartheid years: The post-1994 Nigeria-South Africa relations began with a major disagreement over Nigerian domestic policy. The dictatorial regime of General Sanni Abacha between 1993 to -1998,and its decision to hang Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight Ogoni men on the 10th of November 1995; informed the first occasion for an open diplomatic strain in the relationship between Nigeria and South Africa, as an aftermath of the apartheid era. Consequently, upon the alleged role of South Africa in the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth at the Auckland Summit in November 1995; however, Nigeria eventually retaliated for the diplomatic offensive. How? This is done by Nigeria to severing diplomatic relations with South Africa (Ibeanu and Nwachukwu, 2004; Akinterinwa, 2009; Ige,2018:99-100).However, the cracked relationship between Nigeria-South Africa relations was consequently amended by the Abdusallam Abubakar regime. His reconciliatory trip to South Africa marked the beginning of a relatively new relationship between the two countries. In the year 1999, Nigeria and South Africa began to redefine their bilateral and multilateral relationships. More so this period coincided with democratic transitions in both countries; and the year 1999 ushered in an era of strategic bilateral dealings which herald the formation of Nigeria-South Africa Bi-National Commission (BNC). This was inaugurated in October 1999 (Akinboye, 2000s:599-100). More importantly, the period between 2000 and 2005 witnessed amore focused and active articulation of a strategic partnership between Nigeria-South African relations due largely to the perceived challenges of Africa as a whole in a rapidly

globalizing world. Also, the personality of Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo and his South African counterpart, Thabo Mbeki then was a major contributing factor to the emerging and cordial relationship between the two countries. Obasanjo and Mbeki perceived the urgent need for Africa's regeneration and they shared equal passion for the actualization of such goal (Adebajo and Landsberg, 2003).Towards the re-awakening of Pan-Africanism and regional role conception by Nigeria and South Africa after the end of the Cold War in 1989, there were concerns in policy and scholarly circles on the need for the two countries to play major roles in conflict mitigation and peace building in war-torn African countries. This was moreover in view of the fact that Western countries and the United Nations began to challenge African governments to help resolve regional conflicts in the continent. This new stance was fuelled by the repeated complaint at the United Nations about the shortage of funds to finance peace-keeping operations (Benneh, 2001).

Nigeria and South Africa were also instrumental to the formation of African new development initiative such as : the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) in 2001,and its governance tool; and African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in 2003 by the international community, since the year 2000. Africans and the continental political leadership would look inward themselves towards solving their problems: no doubt this expectation made those initiatives very important and timely (NEPAD, 2001).

However, Nigeria-South African diplomatic relations were deteriorated on many fronts, prompting the visit of President Goodluck Jonathan then to South Africa, where he addressed the South Africa's joint parliament. The Presidential visit was prompted by *The Yellow Card Fever Certificate Saga* that involved both countries. The South African government had on March 2, 2012 deported 125 Nigerians (75 aboard South African Airways) and (50 aboard Arik Air Ways) for possessing fake yellow cards fever vaccination (The Guardian Editorials, March 5, 2012:3). The Nigerian government immediately retaliated what was generally perceived as unfair treatment of Nigerians, indeed an affront to diplomatic norms, by deporting a total of 128 South Africans within two days, for lack of proper documentation as reasons for shutting them out (The News Editorials, March 19,2012:50).In a related development, the arms deal that involved both countries which came on the heels of the collapse of a building at the Synagogue of All Nations Church, Lagos, a Nigeria-based religious centre, claiming the lives of about 84 South African nationals became the latest in the ranks of diplomatic embarrassment that has bedeviled the Nigeria-South relations. According to Kayode (2014) failure on the part of the Nigerian government to officially declare the cash of 9.3 million USD, loaded into a Nigerian-owned jet to the South African Customs as required by the law attracted negative diplomatic reaction from the South African government. Kayode (2014) argued that the seizure of the cash in the custody of the Nigerian intelligence officials who had attempted to purchase arms through the "black market" allegedly for the prosecution of war on terrorists and insurgents did not violate any international practice in the field of security and intelligence. He concluded that the diplomatic row engendered by the incident in Nigeria-South African relations only portrayed the hypocrisy in the international security structure as well as its institutions. From the aforementioned analysis, it is evident that the history of Nigeria-South African relations has vacillated between cooperation and conflict, necessitated by each Country's foreign policy, regime type, domestic intricacies and international diplomacy (Ige, 2018:100-120; Ademola, 2017:1-20).

Reflections on the Xenophobic Contents and Responses between Nigeria-South Africa Relations

Burchard (2015) intimates that the manifestation of xenophobic attacks on Africans can be traced to the year 1995; youths in the Alexandra township of Johannesburg destroyed and looted the homes of undocumented immigrants and subsequently marched the migrants to the police station where they requested that the foreigners should be immediately deported to their home countries (Burchard 2015 cited in Ige, 2018:). The violent xenophobic attacks then continued on immigrants in 2008 when South Africans targeted immigrants from 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. By the time the violence subsided a total of sixty foreign citizens were killed and thousands displaced from their homes and businesses (Burchard, 2015 cited in Ige, 2018: 120).

Ige (2018), in his own perspective, he reports that the first manifestation of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians can be traced to August 2000, when seven Africans, among whom two Nigerians, were killed in the Cape flats in the district of Cape Town. Since then attacks on Nigerians have become norms for South Africans (Ige, 2018: 120-121). In 2014, about sixty Nigerians were killed during attacks on Africans in South Africa. In 2016, twenty Nigerians were reportedly killed. The xenophobic attack was taken to greater heights with extra-judicial killings and police brutality which targeted Nigerians. In 2016, a 34-year-old Nigerian, Tochukwu Nnamdi, was extra-judicially murdered by the police. On 18th February 2017, Nigerians in South Africans were attacked, leading to looting and burning of their business premises.

In a similar vein, on the same day, February 18, 2017, Nigerians living in Pretoria West were attacked by South Africans. The President of the Nigerian Union in South Africa, Mr Ikechukwu Ayene, confirmed the attacks. 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. One common feature of the attack on Nigerian was that their shops and businesses were looted before being set ablaze (Salau, 2017). As at 27th February 2017, a total of one hundred and sixteen Nigerians were reported to have been killed in South Africa owing to xenophobic attacks. (Wakili&Salau, 2017). Apart from the loss of innocent lives, Nigerians lost businesses and properties worth millions of dollars because of the ugly trend of xenophobic violence 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. This inevitably brought about destruction in human and material resources which can hardly be quantified. This ugly development unavoidably pitched South Africa against other African countries especially Nigeria (Ige, 2018:121).

The Impacts of Xenophobic Attacks on Nigeria-South Africa Relations

The impacts of the above attacks against Nigerians in South Africa can be viewed from political/diplomatic, socio-cultural, economic and educational perspective:

Political cum Diplomatic impact: The incessant wave of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa has a lot of impactful implications if the two governments fail to muster enough political will to deal with this unbecoming situation. It can mar the ties between both countries. In diplomatic circles, once there is a severe row between countries the next option is recalling ambassadors and whenever there exist any breakdown of relationship between countries, it usually take time for such to be restored. Taking into cognizance the position of Nigeria and South Africa in the African continent, it will be detrimental to the progress of other African countries. Xenophobic attacks in South Africa has received staunch criticism within and outside Africa, following the April 2015 xenophobic attack in South Africa, the United Nations Security Council was quick to condemn the attacks, as did her neighbours, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi, followed suite in denouncing and criticizing these acts (Claassen, 2015 cited in Ige 2018:101). Nigeria on the other hand, went a step further by recalling her ambassadors from South Africa. The xenophobic attacks thus increased tensions between the two countries, as the Nigerian government felt the South African government was not doing enough to protect her citizens in South Africa, who she felt were the primary target of the attacks. Another dimension to this is its prospect to arouse loss of African solidarity -Africans usually regard each others as brothers and in so many circumstances speak with one voice in the international arena. Deliberate stringent visa policies and restrictions also have impactful implications on people migrating in search of safer more prosperous living conditions. The act of people migrating in search of greener pasture is as old as man. As a matter of fact, it is the right of any person to migrate in search of safer and more prosperous living conditions; as this is enshrined in the 1984 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1965International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination. This clearly depicts people's freedom to seek better, safer and more prosperous living conditions in any part of the world. However, this freedom can be restricted through stringent visa policies and it is envisaged that xenophobic attacks is capable of making Nigeria and South Africa to adopt stringent visa policies thereby killing the spirit of African brotherhood and making nonsense the new Pan-African Passport and ultimately dampening the seeking and searching of safer and more prosperous living conditions of Africans. Dr Okonjo-Iweala had been honoured by invitation with the position of Head Economic Advisory Council in South Africa by President Cyril Ramaphosa, members of cabinet, and members of the Presidential Economic Advisory Council in Pretoria discussing sources of growth for the South African economic and win-win economic interactions with the continent (See Ngozi Okonjo-Ieala@NOIweala on 7th March, 2020Twitter web app).

Socio-cultural impact: Having suffered from the ordeal of colonialism from the Europeans, Africans believes after gaining of independence and the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa that they (Africans) are brother with common history and descent. However, the upsurge of xenophobic attacks by South Africans towards their fellow African brothers depicts a renaissance of past apartheid ordeal and inhumanity of colonialism. Another form of social impact of xenophobic attacks is African disunity. When Africans begin to see the fellow brothers and sisters as strangers and subsequently treating them as one; the impact of such state of disunity is obviously disunity in a continent of brothers and sisters that regards each other with common history and descent (Ige, 2018:102).

Economic impact: The recurring xenophobic attacks in South Africa on Nigerians is very enormous. Fundamentally, one of the principal reasons for xenophobic attacks in South Africa

is tied to the economy, that is, Foreigners and Locals are competing for scarce resources. It is the idea of South Africans to believe that citizens from African countries are taking over their jobs and businesses leading to high rate of unemployment especially among locals. While this argument appears to be correct but it is relatively weak as these people are doing genuine and legal businesses in other African countries, it will be better imagined of there exist reprisal attacks on South Africans residing and doing businesses in other African countries. In reality, every country is aware of how powerful investments are to their economies. Obviously, any country that does not consider foreign investments as one or part of her economic growth and development priority is definitely digging for her economic collapse. Socio-ethical reflection reveals that some African countries such as Nigeria, Ghana and Zimbabwe have previously implemented xenophobic attacks and this definitely reflected on their economies after sending foreign investors back to their countries. In fact, they regretted their actions and undiplomatic decisions taken against foreign nationals residing in their countries. In addition, the execution of impromptu xenophobic attacks by Nigerians, Ghanaians and Zimbabweans against foreign investors residing in their countries have, however, largely dissuaded many who may wish to invest in their economies (Atsenuwa and Adepoju, 2010; Posen and Ross, 2012). In fact, it is very important to emphasize at this juncture that any country executing xenophobic attacks would definitely have propensity to experience poverty. It should also be noted that different foreign investments would bring about new and brilliant business ideas, which would invariably bring about empowerment to South African natives and as a result, there would be many employment opportunities to accommodate huge numbers of local citizens who are unemployed as well as the unskilled workers in South Africa. These are potentials that tend to revolutionize the economy of a nation considered South Africa is able to channel the values, labor and the education of these foreign nations which will in turn create ripples of development, productivity and stability to her economy.

Impact on Education: The thirst for higher education has grown across the globe. This is, partly, evident in the increasing global mobility of students in search of higher education. More specifically in 2011, about 3.3 million students were reported to be studying abroad world-wide (Stockley, 2011).This is expected to climb to 5.8 million by 2025.The fastest growth is currently recorded from Brazil, Saudi Arabia, Russia,Vietnam and Nigeria (Stockley, 2011). In Africa, there has been an increased awareness of the importance of higher education as a tool for sustainable development *(*Abimbola,2010, p.364*)*.This development has precipitated and heightened the trans-border search for, and internationalization of the provision of higher education on the continent. There has been explosive growth in enrolment for higher education on the continent particularly in Sub-Sahara Africa. For about four decades, enrolment grew on average of 8.6% annually (Bruneforth, 2010); education planners are faced with the challenge of recruiting staff for systems that are doubling in size every (8) eight years; yet, the absolute size of the system is behind 3.7 million more students expected in 40 years; this took two years in China or five years in Latin America and the Caribbean (Bruneforth, 2010). There are also deliberate efforts to encourage greater participation in higher education within the Sub-Sahara region. Indeed, the South African academic community is not immune to all these xenophobic provoking forces. Obviously, the prevalence of these forces and feelings on the South African campuses can raise the skepticism of foreign students and the academia from other countries, about gravitating to South Africa in pursuit of higher education and dissemination of knowledge respectively. Already in Nigeria, parents who

would have preferred to sponsor their children for higher education in South Africa in lieu of European countries are scared and skeptical of doing so.

Conclusion

The ugly trend of xenophobic attacks has resulted in a cold war between Nigeria and South Africa in their socio-economic and political relationships. However, the paper infers that adequate actions are required to be taken to restore and guarantee peace for the immigrants residing in South Africa. Failure to curb the menace of xenophobic violence in South Africa might degenerate into regional conflicts which invariably will affect the relationship between both nations in all ramifications.

Recommendations

It is not possible to eliminate social tensions in any country; it is expedient on the part of the South African government and its nationals to honour and respect universal and regional treaties, declarations, norms, protocols and conventions rather than resorting to barbaric acts. Indeed the unwholesome politicization of migration as an excuse for xenophobia in South Africa must be addressed through bilateral diplomatic means by both countries.

(i) Nigeria must also forge strategic business alliance in South Africa to balance the unhealthy business equation. Furthermore, beyond the existing skewed bilateral and economic relations in favor of South African businesses in Nigeria, there is an urgent need for both countries to initiate a liberalized migration regime and a robust migration management capacity towards enhancing and strengthening the strategic role of Nigerians in the diasporas as development partner and factoring their contributions to the overall African development agenda for sustainable peace and security.

(ii) The two countries are not exploiting their leadership and governance roles in sustaining the African dream and indeed the drive for poverty eradication through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) maximally. Indeed, South Africa and Nigeria, representing the two leading economies in Africa, must play leading roles in driving a sustainable green revolution that would provide food security thereby contributing significantly to overcoming hunger and social tensions that have fueled African emigrations.

(iii) It is imperative for the government under the leadership of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu to escalate and mainstream key external relations that are mutually beneficial in ties with South Africa, while respecting all treaties and obligations on persons and related matters. Sustained job creation particularly for youths at home and positive image building abroad would enhance the respectability of Nigerians in the Diasporas and indeed address the negative way the world sees Nigerians as a people and a nation.

(v) Nigerian International Engagement Strategy should be done with diplomatic finesse and dexterity; and pragmatic efforts should be pursued to improve on our foreign relations and mechanisms, particularly on the issues of cross-border migration. Nigeria should desire to play by the rule of international law and its obligations, in spite of its visible failings at home in providing basic social welfare and essential services for majority of its people who live on less than one dollar a day.

(vi) The challenge of xenophobic attacks again in September, 2019 is a real 'Wake-up Call' for the Nigerian government to organize its major internal affairs by improving living conditions at home, as well as, strengthening its foreign policy objectives.

(vii) Nigerian International Diplomacy should not dwell much on the criticism of the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa, but rather much attention should be placed on understanding the dynamics of international politics, which is a game of selective morality.

(viii) Hence, concrete efforts should be made at home to culture an enabling environment that would create jobs and livelihoods for the common people in Nigeria. In addition, Nigeria must re-evaluate her diplomatic institutions in order to engage the South African Government (Ige, 2018:108).

(ix) African leaders should embark on restorative justice; cultivation of liberal political attitude; eschew politics of winner takes all; creation of empowerment and employment opportunities for the teeming jobless youths and enthrone social security system to mitigate the problem of acute poverty.

(x) Finally, it is also imperative for African regional and continental bodies like the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States, the Southern African Development Community to use their platforms to evolve mechanisms which can promote social justice, religious tolerance and greater integration of the continent with a view to stemming the tides of xenophobia.

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