

NIGERIA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LIBERATION
STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1960-1991

BY

TIJJANI YAHAYA KAURA
MIAD/SOC.SC/22613/99-2000



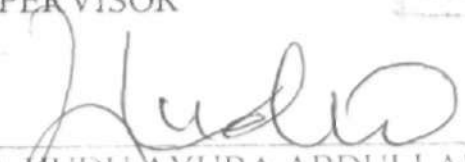
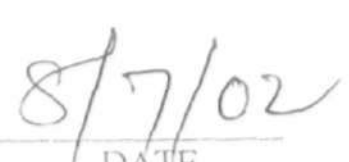
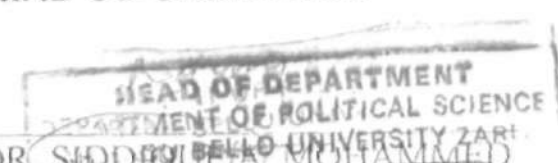
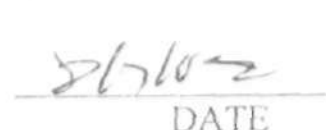


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CERTIFICATION

We, the undersigned examiners do hereby certify that this thesis entitled: Nigeria's Contributions to the Liberation Struggle in South Africa, 1960-1991 by Tijjani Yahaya Kaura has met the requirements for an award of a Master Degree of International Affairs and Diplomacy of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

- 1) 
DR. SAIDU ADAMU
SUPERVISOR 
DATE
- 2) 
DR. MUDU AYUBA ABDULAH
MIAD CO-ORDINATOR 
DATE
- 3) 
DR. SIDDIQUE ALI MOHAMMED
HEAD, DEPARTMENT OF POL. SC. 
DATE
- 4) 
DEAN POST-GRADUATE SCHOOL 
DATE

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this thesis entitled, Nigeria's Contributions to the Liberation Struggle in South Africa, 1960 - 1991 is my independent and original research work. To the best of my knowledge this work or part of it has not been presented to any institution of learning to obtain any academic award. All references used in this work are duly acknowledged.



TIJJANI YAHAYA KAURA
MIAD/SOC.SC/22613/99-2000

28th March 2002

DATE

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my late parents who took great interest in my educational advancement, my wives and children for their continuous identification with me.

I say, thank you all

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MIAD programme is intellectually nourishing, professionally relevant and academically rewarding. This research work has been a challenging one, its completion gives me joy.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an academic assessment of Nigeria's major contributions to the liberation struggle in South Africa from 1960 when Nigerian became politically independent till 1991 when apartheid was officially abolished.

This thesis was provoked by the need to settle the intellectual controversy over the commencement time and the magnitude of Nigeria's contributions to the liberation struggle in South Africa. Two research hypotheses were advanced to guide the researcher in data collection and analysis. The data for this thesis was collected from the secondary sources while the content or descriptive method was employed for data analysis. The theories of Imperialism and liberalism and liberal democracy were also employed as analytical tools to explain apartheid and liberation struggle respectively in South Africa. This thesis highlighted the power potentials in Nigeria, which positioned her to have contributed to the liberation struggle. The study critically assessed the major contributions Nigeria made to the liberation struggle. The study extensively discussed the origin and the modus operandi of apartheid policy and liberation struggle in South Africa. It was also ascertained among others that Nigeria's contributions to the liberation struggle in South Africa were very profound and significant to the dismantling of apartheid system.

The study gathered that even though Nigeria's contributions started in 1960, it was from the 1970s that such contributions became very pronounced up till 1991. Based on the research findings, the study made many recommendations which centred on Nigeria - South Africa's bilateral relations.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC:	African National Congress
ECOWAS:	Economic Community Of West African States.
FNLA:	Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola
ICU:	Industrial & Commercial Workers Union.
MPLA:	Movimento Popular de libertacao da Angola.
OAU:	Organization Of African Unity
PAC:	Pan African Congress
PLO:	Palestine Liberation Organization.
SASO:	South African Students Organization.
SAYRACO:	South African Youth Revolutionary Council
SWAPO:	South West African Peoples Organization.
UNITA:	Unia Nacional Para Indipencia total de Angola
UNO:	United Nations Organization.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGES

TITLE PAGE	i
CERTIFICATION	ii
DECLARATION	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	v
ABSTRACT	vi
ABBREVIATION S	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
1.0 CHAPTER ONE	
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Statement of Research Problem	4
1.3 Research Objectives	5
1.4 Research Hypotheses	5
1.5 Justification of the Research	5
1.6 Literature Review	6
1.7 Research Methodology	11
1.8 The Scope and the Limitations of study	12
1.9 Theoretical Framework	12
1.10 Operational Definition of Terms	16
1.11 Organizational layout.	17
CHAPTER TWO	
2:0 Historical Background of Liberation Struggle in South Africa.	21

CHAPTER THREE

3:0 Nigeria's Contributions to the Liberation Struggle in South Africa. 35

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Research Findings. 46
4.2 Summary/Conclusion. 46
4.3 Recommendations. 49
50
Bibliography 54

Apartheid in South Africa is a subject area that has always attracted the interest of scholars world wide especially researchers on African affairs. This is essentially so because, of all crimes committed by man against fellow man, apartheid stands outstanding as being institutionalized or constitutionally legalized. The idea that crime was legalized in apartheid has been a source of curiosity for scholars to discover the dynamics of the obnoxious system. Apartheid, meaning unequal separateness was the official doctrine of the South African Government and the ruling National Party between 1948 and 1991. It was in practice nothing more than an excuse for domination of the blacks by the white minority population. The formal legal expression of apartheid was abolished in 1991 (Robertson 1993:18).

Apartheid system was manifested in various historical times and ways. A brief analysis of these perspectives will enable us have a better and sequential understanding of the apartheid system. Wilmot (1983:8) stated that, from the arrival of VAN Riebeck at Table Bay on 7th April, 1652 to the massacres of Soweto of June 1976, this politics and this history have moved consistently toward the total suppression of the African. In other words, it was in the 17th century that the 1st European white, VAN Reinbeck arrived South Africa but we are not going into the origins of South Africa now because of what Cornevin (1980:11) described as the falsification of South Africa history designed to either justify the unjust distribution of land or to denigrate and disparage blacks as compared with whites.

Again, long before 1948, (the year official apartheid policy was adopted), it was recorded that police enforcement had already reached perfection. an African could be prosecuted for not carrying his pass, breaking a contract of service, not paying his taxes or his rent, carrying a stick or a knife over certain length, making or selling beer, taking part in

a meeting of over a dozen people or quite simply for idleness (Cornevin 1980:25). To buttress this point, Nicholas (1993:19) stated that segregation already existed in 1948, but the National Party extended and codified it through various legislative instruments.

Furthermore, the whites in South Africa controlled all significant natural resources and production facilities. By law, the highest paying jobs were reserved for them. This persisted inspite of the fact that they were originally foreigners in the land and constituted a less significant percentage of the total population. Wilmot (1983:101-102) stated that economic exploitation and political repression of the African population were made possible by the total miniaturization of the European Society. As exploitation and repression increased, militarization was being pushed to the limit with European men, women and children of all ages being armed, and trained in the use of arms. Given the extent of the exploitation and the severity of the repression, South Africans relied mostly on the use of terror. Apartheid was an embodiment of violence, a vicious cycle in which the use of terror required more terror, in which the spilling of blood increased. In the situation just described above, the blacks were usually the victims. All non white groups have been deprived of fundamental political and civil rights and of the legal ability to prevent further deprivations. To summarize this analysis, inequality was the chief characteristic of apartheid, applied from the cradle to the grave, and in all aspects of life whether political, economic or social (Cornevin 1980:26). Among others, the excruciating conditions of the blacks worsened to the extent that freedom fighters emerged in their midst to liberate themselves from the bondage of apartheid and yoke of oppression. In the early 1960s, most African Countries who became politically independent sympathized with the sufferings and plights of their African brothers in South Africa and started supporting the liberation movements to dismantle apartheid rule. With the formation of Organization of African Unity in 1963, a unanimous decision was taken by all African countries to eradicate all

vestiges of colonialism and apartheid in the Continent. This added force to the liberation struggle. As Aluko (1992:128) puts it, the organization of African Unity (OAU) has played a major role in the unfinished task of the total decolonization and eradication of apartheid and racism in Southern Africa. Nigeria, the most populous and potentially the most powerful black African state, has been the moving spirit behind most of the politics and postures of the OAU that have related to South Africa. The credentials of Nigeria as a regional power made it imperative for Nigeria to have led the liberation struggle in South Africa. As Sam Momah (1994:137) puts it,

To succeed in this sacred task of building a new world order, some emerging African Giants particularly Nigeria, must lead and blaze the trail. Nigeria, in terms of human and material resources remains the hope of sub-saharan African and indeed the entire black race. It has been estimated that one out of every five blacks is a Nigeria and that in terms of market size, economic and technological developments, Nigeria has immense potential. In a continent where most of the countries are small in size and population, and have only marginal resources, Nigeria's abundant wealth in petroleum, tin, coal, iron-ore, lead, lime stone, uranium and gold is phenomenal. She has a relatively large land mass of 923, 738 sq km and like the US is strategically located amongst weak neighbours with ample space for an extensive sphere of influence.

All these qualities have enabled Nigeria to attain the status of "GIANT OF AFRICA". This status became positively re-inforced when Nigeria started using "Africa as the center- piece of her foreign policy" in 1975. One area to test the validity of this foreign policy vision is the struggle to end apartheid rule in South Africa. Why? Of the threats that are said to be

external to independent African states, the apartheid seemed to be the most formidable. The apartheid threat met the three requirements for a first-degree threat, namely, conflict of interest, capability and contiguity. It is to be noted that less powerful African states, such as Algeria, Kenya, Egypt, Uganda, Tanzania, Guinea contributed immensely to the liberation struggle in South Africa. If Nigeria is indeed the regional power in African continent, it must have made outstanding contributions to end this evil against humanity called apartheid. It is therefore what Nigeria has done in this regard that we are set to study.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

This study is necessitated by the divergent views expressed by renowned and eminent scholars vis-a vis the commencement time and the magnitude of Nigeria's contributions to the liberation struggle in South Africa. A school of thought argues that Nigeria was a latecomer to the liberation struggle whose contributions were peripheral. Scholars such as Imobighe, Alkali and Wilmot belong to this school. After making a roll-call of African independent states who made initial outstanding contributions during 1960s to the liberation struggle, (Algeria, Egypt, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Guinea), Imobighe (1989:56) argued that "It was not until the seventies that a few other African countries like Nigeria for instance, embarked on an elaborate campaign to mobilize their populace in support of the liberation struggle." Wilmot (1983:147) stated that, "countries that have rejected neo-colonialism and capitalism are in the vanguard of the struggle against apartheid i.e Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Congo, Guinea, Guinea Bissau and Algeria". Nigeria was not included in the list. Alkali (1997:96-97) accused Nigeria of making rhetorical or lip-service contributions to the liberation struggle in South Africa. In one of his accusations, he stated that, "In each case, these declarations were never followed with action". Another school of thought argues that Nigeria was an early-comer to the liberation struggle who

started making outstanding contributions from 1960 when the country became independent. This school of thought has argued extensively on this line (Izah 1991:58-61, Aluko O. 1982:128).

This study will therefore seek to establish the time Nigeria started contributions to the struggle and the magnitude of her contributions. By so doing, the controversy shall be laid to rest.

This problem i.e. the intellectual controversy is in my own opinion formidable enough for this research to be carried out.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- 1.3.1 This research will assess Nigeria's major financial and non – financial contributions to the liberation struggle in apartheid South Africa.
- 1.3.2 The research will also expose the nature of Nigeria – apartheid South – Africa relations.
- 1.3.3 The work will make recommendations on Nigeria – Post apartheid South Africa future relations.

1.4 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

- 1.4.1 Nigeria's contribution was central, rather than peripheral, to the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa.
- 1.4.2 Nigeria's contribution was an insignificant factor in the struggle to end apartheid in South Africa.

1.5 – JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH

- 1.5.1 This research will be useful to the governments of both countries as guide to future relations.
- 1.5.2 This study will generate thought provoking questions or issues that will form bases of future research in this area.
- 1.5.3 This work will assist in the assessment and evaluation of leadership claims by the two countries.

1:5:4 This is part of the mandatory requirements to be fulfilled for the award of a Masters Degree in International Affairs and Diplomacy (MIAD)

1:6 **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This section shall examine the expressed views, ideas or opinions of writers on the subject under investigation for the purposes of enhanced understanding of the subject.

Liberation is all about securing peoples freedom. As Williams Collins (1977:348) stated, it is the freeing of an individual, nation or group from constraints imposed on them by others. Some scholars have used the term to refer to the liberation of NAZI – dominated Europe by the British, America, French and Soviet Russian forces in 1943-5. More recently, the term has been employed by groups campaigning against constraints placed on their freedom of action by law, social mores etc. Liberation is also used to describe the movements by African and Asian nationalists who fought to free their countries from the yoke or bondage of colonialism which ravaged these continents for years (Wilmot 1983).

Apartheid is coercive, repressive and suppressive. These three terms are used inter changeably hence an attempt will be made to dwell on one of the terms. By political repression, this consists of government action which grossly discriminates against persons or organizations viewed as presenting a fundamental challenge to existing power relationships because of their perceived political beliefs. Political repressions are usually targeted at those whose presence, existence and activities threaten the power structure no matter how peaceful or violence such phenomena may be. Criminal violations are not regarded danger to the state itself, while those who challenge fundamental political structures or policies may be regarded as subversives committing a crime against the state and subjected to political repression as opposed to ordinary criminal procedure. (Robert 1978:XVI-XVIII) Alan wolf defines repression as a process by which those in power try to keep themselves in power by

consciously attempting to destroy or render harmless, organizations and ideologies that threaten their power. (Robert 1978:XVI). Viewed from all these perspectives, the racist South African government repressed the freedom fighters in that enclave.

Apartheid system in South Africa is both morally, politically, economically, socially or culturally abhorable. This must have inspired its universal condemnation and the struggle to abolish the obnoxious system. Apartheid was described in Resolution 3068 of the United Nations as, "a crime against humanity. At the bar of public opinion, South Africa stands for injustice and inequality" (Mongu 1982:3) Legum (1982:223) stated that "South Africa is unique in being the only country whose political system is unanimously condemned by the nations of the world" and went further to condemn it as an illegal system which was institutionalized and perpetuated through a set of successive laws, an injustice meted out on Africans in African Land by foreigners and a negation or aberration of global democratic waves and values. Apartheid also reduced the vast majority of non-whites to secondary citizenship, compromised their ideals of human rights and racial equality (Njock 1985:46). The evil nature of apartheid must have inspired Wilmot (1983:149) to charge Africans to wage a serious struggle against it.

The destiny of Africa, to return to the stage of world history, cannot be accomplished therefore, unless the idea of freedom in Africa rests on the fundamental basis of the social, economic, political and cultural liberation of the African masses. The ramifying structures of imperialism which hold our populations in thrall, the insidious cancer of neo-colonialism which scars and excoriates the historical development of our people, the icy hands of dead generations which paralyze them under the guise of tradition and culture must be extinguished, if necessary with unparalleled and ruthless displays of energy, organization and decision. The African masses must be allowed to thrust themselves on the stage of

world history where they can transform their suppressed creativities into a living monuments to Africa's vast potentialities.

Africans indeed answered calls for the liberation of black South Africa from the apartheid enclave. According to Imobighe (1989:4), the unliberated apartheid South Africa was among the continents strategic problems which attracted the attention of the statesmen who produced the OAU charter. According to this writer, at the summit conference of the Heads of State and Government in Addis Ababa, 1963, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria urged African leaders not to waste anytime in the liberation struggle to liquidate the remaining pockets of colonialism and the dismantling of apartheid. Subsequently, the Kenyan Nationalists had also to wage their liberation struggle against the British. Here again, Nasser's Egypt helped in boosting up the struggle with propaganda. Milton Obote of Uganda offered his country as a training ground for Africa troops to be used to overthrow the colonial and racist governments in the continent, Sekou Toure of Guinea, on the other hand suggested the setting of a date Africa states should terminate colonialism in the continent. On his own part, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania called for practical approach to end colonialism and apartheid. All these efforts led O.A.U. to establish the liberation committee to harmonize all assistance provided by African and other countries for the liberation struggle as well as manage the special fund set up for this purpose.

From the very beginning, African countries agreed to give some forms of aid and goodwill to the liberation movements but majority of them were not prepared to accept a direct military role in the liberation struggle (Imobighe 1989:6). However, in the 1970s, which was the second decade of OAU's liberation struggle, a few African states ventured to provide some military equipment out of their stock for use by the liberation movements (Imobighe 1989: 64 and 76).

Inspite of the fact that African countries have been accused of contributing in practical terms to the liberation movements in South

Africa, OAU has still received credit for the dismantling of apartheid regime (Imobighe 1989:54). The liberation struggle is all pervasive or embracing. As Leighton Singh (1985:53) puts it: The struggle is not only a struggle for political independence, but also a struggle against all the forces of exploitation, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racialism and apartheid in that part of the world.

However, in the face of OAU's opposition to apartheid regime, Wilmot (1983:54) warned African Governments to deal with injustices in their various countries.

it is therefore contradictory to fight for the liberation of African in Pretoria while suppressing them in Dakar, Abidjan and Libreville. It is contradictory to condemn the violation of Africans in Capetown and Johannesburg while opening up Bangui and Lilongwe as brothels of apartheid

Legun (1982) reported Julius Nyerere as saying that,

South Africa is a tyranny, it is not the only tyrannical police state in the world, nor even in Africa . . . Tanzania was one of a number of African countries which boycotted the OAU summit in Kampala in 1975 because of their refusal to bestow legitimacy on Idi Amin's rule . . . Tanzania cannot accept the responsibility of participating in the mockery of condemning colonialism, apartheid and fascism in the headquarters of a murderer, an oppressor, a black fascist and a self – confessed admirer of fascism . . . racism practiced against blacks by blacks is no more tolerable than when blacks suffer at the hands of whites.

The efforts by the liberation movements must have yielded positive results to inspire the reform in South Africa. According to (Grilomee 1995: 90) the reform process was an elite response to black struggles which from the early 1970s, ended the very foundations on which white power rested. Furthermore, white domination was perceived to be difficult

to maintain if revolutionary violence created sufficient trouble to cause divisions among the dominant group over ways to deal with it (Gilomee 1995:84)

There were also the problems of weakening demographic base- the whites could not fill the vacant positions in the government in the face of qualified blacks to occupy such positions, economic stagnation and hostile external environment. All these factors put pressure on the racist government who was facing a pincer threat to its forty year dominance of white politics to open up negotiations with the African National Congress. When the reform process eventually started, it was not meant to destroy apartheid completely in line with the ideals and principles of liberalization. As Siddique (2000) puts it, liberal reformers tended to see liberalization as a way of defusing opposition to their regime without fully democratizing the regime. They would ease up on repression, restore some civil liberties, reduce censorship, permit broader discussion of public issues, and allow civil society: associations, churches, unions, business organizations, greater scope to conduct their affairs. Liberalizers did not, however, wish to introduce fully participatory competitive elections that could cause current leaders to lose power. They wanted to create a kinder, gentler, more secure authoritarianism without altering fundamentally the nature of their system. Huntington (1991:155) posits same that liberalizers tend to see liberalization as a way of defusing opposition without fully democratizing. Siddique and Huntington comparative analysis is true when compared to the vision of South African liberalizers as contained in this account.

While quite prepared to abolish apartheid and remove other obstacles to negotiations, De Klerk did not envisage competitive elections and a system that could reduce the National Party to a perpetual opposition party. He made his view clear that this would sound the death knell to South Africa. Thus for him, negotiations would only be about power sharing (Gilomee 1995:35). But the last events at the liberation efforts had

proved the reformers wrong. The government however was unable to control the process to a similar extent as did the authoritarian regimes in Spain and Brazil. In the 1980s, blacks had become intensely politicized, a development that could not be turned around. The security forces could not control all the violence that erupted in African townships, or marginalize the radical faction in the African National Congress, keep nationalization off the agenda and curb mass mobilization in the form of marches and political strikes (Gilomee 1995: 94 – 95).

The reform of apartheid system will be further understood in the light of the transitions to democracy that the world has witnessed since the mid- 1970s, three categorical distinctions are drawn; transition through transformation, transition after regime breakdown, transition through transplacement. In transition through transformation, the old order is reformed to give rise to the new order and South Africa followed this pattern. In transition after regime breakdown, the old order is completely broken down for a new order to emerge entirely, South Africa did not follow this pattern. In transition through transformation, the government and the opposition work together to produce a new order and South Africa followed this pattern (Gilomee 1995: 94 –95)

7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The procedure and the instruments for the collection, analysis, interpretation and presentation of data in social science research depend largely, on the nature of the research and the researchers orientation.

This is basically a political historical research that will study the past to understand the present and shape the future. Data for this study shall be collected through one main source: Secondary sources. Data from secondary sources are collected through studying relevant textbooks, journals, magazines, news papers and other publications. Generally, the content or descriptive analysis technique will be used for data analysis by providing a general description of data collated and providing a general

summary of observations and impression. The contents shall be analyzed by editing, elimination and presentation. This is therefore mainly an essay writing thesis.

1:8 **THE SCOPE AND THE LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The study will cover the contributions Nigeria made to the liberation struggle to end apartheid in South Africa from 1960, when Nigeria became independent to 1991, the year apartheid rule was legally abolished. The period was chosen because it was when Nigeria became a sovereign state and could enter into external relations on her own unlike the colonial period when Nigeria external activities were dictated and teleguided by Britain, the colonial master. All major financial and non financial contributions which Nigeria made to the freedom struggle in South Africa as well as those which she made elsewhere but which had bearing on the liberation struggle in South Africa shall be covered.

The limitations of this study are basically technical.

In the first place, the subject-matter is a controversial one. Scholars tend to have divergent views and western and African scholars generally tend to approach the subject matter from their differing backgrounds.

Secondly, some of the sources used are write ups, especially in the print media, which were made by amateurs in foreign policy analysis and which lack the necessary professional touch.

1:9 **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

There is the need to provide a generalized explanation of why apartheid and the liberation struggle to dismantle it took place. In this wise, two classical theories: Imperialism and Liberalism/Liberal Democracy will be used to explain the phenomena being studied.

Apartheid system will be better understood within the framework of the theory of Imperialism. According to Robertson (1993:137) "Imperialism is the policy or goal of extending the power and rule of a

government beyond the boundaries of its original state, and taking into one political unit other nations or lands". Robertson further stated that there are variations in the extent to which the Imperial Power assumes administrative and political control of the states that make the empire; some retain degrees of independence and identity while others are subsumed entirely into the institutions of the imperial state.

Apartheid South Africa fits into both classifications. South Africa is an independent state but yet subject to the whims and caprices and dictates of the Western imperial masters. Secondly, the majority of blacks are subsumed under the domination of the white minority government. According to Claude Ake (1982) the term imperialism is used in two senses, one broad, the other narrow. In the broader usage, imperialism is the subordination of one country to another or at any rate the attempt to subordinate one country to another in order to maintain a relationship of unequal exchange. The subordination may be military, economic, political, cultural or some combination of these. Hence, we talk of political, cultural, military and economic imperialism. The stricter usage of the term owed to Lenin makes it an economic phenomenon. In this sense, imperialism is a stage in the development of the capitalist mode of production. Quoting further from Lenin's book "*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*" Ake wrote as follows: imperialism is capitalism in that state of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed. Capitalism is seen as a means of production whereby the capitalist, owner of capital must be free to maximize his profit and to exploit the worker who merely possesses unskilled or skilled labour.

In the description of South Africa apartheid as imperialism, Wilmot (1983:125) stated that, the apartheid regime is an integral part of the

system of western imperialism which in its current phase of historical development appears as neo-colonial domination on the African Continent. In economic terms, the racist republic is a neo-colony of the western industrial countries because it exports low priced raw materials and super profits to these countries while importing high priced manufactured goods and investment capital from them.

Strengthening this argument, Gwendolen et al (1982: IX) stated that the rich mineral resources of Southern Africa have long attracted western capitalism from Europe and the United States. It was perhaps in their bid to protect their economic interest that the Western Powers frustrated attempts to end apartheid. Njock (1985) argued that the ugly situation in South Africa was perpetuated by the political, economic, and military support given to the white settler minority government in Pretoria by western powers.

Among others, the theory of liberalism/liberal democracy will be used to explain the liberation struggle and the democratization, which took place in South Africa. Both liberalism and liberal democracy are linked together by one concept: freedom.

Banfield and Wilson described liberalism as the willingness to take the welfare of others into account as an aspect of ones own sense of well being, and a willingness to use governmental power to correct perceived wrongs done to others. Thomas Dye and Zeigler Harmon (1972: 120 – 121) stated that liberalism is a philosophy of noblesse oblige-elite responsibility for the welfare of the poor and down trodden particularly blacks. Today's liberal elite believes that it can change men's lives through the exercise of government power: end discrimination, abolish poverty, eliminate slums, ensure employment, uplift the poor, eliminate sicknesses, educate the masses, and instill dominant culture values in every one. The prevailing impulse is to do well, to perform public services, and to assist the poorest in society, particularly blacks. The missionary spirit of liberalism strives to bring freedom – self-

determination, civil liberty, limited government, and private enterprise to all the peoples of the world. According to Robertson (1993:284) liberalism can mean either a particular party creed in a particular time period, especially the late 19th century [the hey-day of liberalism]. Historically, liberalism was a middle class or bourgeois movement for freedom from remaining feudal and monarchical control, and was associated interalia with freedoms both legalistic, such as the economic theory of laissez-faire, and individual. From this position of supporting basic civil liberties or human rights, liberalism has developed a modern political creed in which the independence of the ordinary citizen against any powerful organized labour is taken as vital. Liberalism is one of the best reasons for doubting the suitability of the standard left/right model of politics because it contains both the commitment to equality by the left and to approval of individual human effort and freedom by the right. In this sense, it is often seen as being in the middle of the political spectrum, but most liberals would argue that, far from being center or moderate, they are infact radical, wishing to change much in society. All comtemporary political theories of liberalism claim a common source in their belief in the value of individual liberty (Nigel 1991: 91).

As regards liberal democracy, Robertson (1993: 287) stated that it is actually a combination of two values which do not necessarily go together. Logically, as far as the democracy aspect is concerned, liberal democracy is a form of representative democracy. Thus, the usual system is the election by the whole electorate of a small number of representatives, probably organized in political parties, who form a legislative assembly.

The majority of this assembly makes the law, and may in parliamentary systems like those of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, India and others derived from the Westminster model, select some among themselves to form the executive. It is thus a rather indirect form of majority rule. The liberal aspect refers to a set of traditional

values, drawn from the basic stock of civil rights and natural rights, which are seen as central to the political culture, and may indeed be enshrined in a constitution and protected by the courts. Gilomee (1995:93) added that liberalization and democratization are two analytically distinct processes driven by different considerations and objectives. As comparative analyses point out, it is usually the regime that takes the initiative for liberalization which involves the extension of civil rights. By contrast, the opposition exerts the most pressure for a liberal democracy. By and large, the liberation struggle by the Africans and the democratization efforts initiated by De Klerk followed the principles and patterns enunciated in this theory. The combination of the above-named theories is justified because Imperialism provided an explanation for apartheid rule while liberalism and liberal democracy provided an explanation for liberation struggle which are two major areas in this study. Imperialism explained that the blacks were held under bondage in South Africa because of the exploitative and domineering nature of the racist government and the Western Imperialist nations while liberalism and liberal Democracy explained that the blacks in South Africa were fighting for freedom from racist domination and the establishment of representative democracy involving the majority of the blacks and the coloured in South Africa.

1:10 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following concepts will be defined as they bear relevance to this work.

1. **APARTHEID:** This is a system of racial discrimination and segregation inspired by economic exploitation, political repression and cultural obliteration against the black majority by the white minority in South Africa.
2. **RACISM:** This is a system of discrimination meted out on the blacks and the coloured by the whites in South Africa on account of colour.

3. **REFORM:** Reform means removing or ending apartheid rule and replacing it with democratic institutions.
4. **DEMOCRATIZATION:** This means the process of establishing popular majority rule in South Africa which included the black South Africans.
5. **FRONTLINE STATES:** These are states bordering the territories under racial regimes who have been given a special responsibility by the O.A.U to ensure that the necessary support is given to African Freedom fighters.
6. **LIBERATION:** The freeing of any country or people from enemy occupation. The granting of freedom to people held under bondage.
7. **LIBERATION STRUGGLE:** All the efforts made to end apartheid regime in South Africa.
8. **COLONIZATION:** This is direct control and subjugation of a territory by a foreign power.
9. **FREEDOM FIGHTERS:** These were the Africans in South Africa who waged struggle against apartheid rule.

1:11 **ORGANISATION LAYOUT**

This research work shall be divided into the following chapters:

- 1.0 Chapter One
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Statement of Research Problem
- 1.3 Research Objectives
- 1.4 Research Hypotheses
- 1.5 Justification of the Research
- 1.6 Literature Review
- 1.7 Research Methodology
- 1.8 The Scope and the Limitations of study
- 1.9 Theoretical Framework
- 1.10 Operational Definition of Terms
- 1.11 Organizational layout.

Chapter Two

2:0 Historical Background of Liberation Struggle in South Africa.

Chapter Three

3:0 Nigeria's Contributions to the Liberation Struggle in South Africa.

Chapter four

4.1 Research Findings.

4.2 Summary/Conclusion.

4.3 Recommendations

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CHAPTER TWO

2:0 **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

2:1 Apartheid as the name implies is a policy of segregation, political and economic discrimination against non-European groups in the Republic of South Africa. The Liberation struggle embarked upon by the Blacks was aimed at total freedom of the Black race. Liberation is a movement seeking equal right and status for a group.

Apartheid is beyond comparison with any political system in the world. Under apartheid, peoples lives are regulated according to racial group to which they belong. Apartheid does not mean separate but equal. It means separate and subordinate to South African whites. The main purpose of apartheid is to ensure a permanent subject labour force for the white dominated economy (Wiley 1967:40).

A battery of laws and regulations excluded people classified as black, coloured or Asian from any meaningful share in the running and the rewards of their own society throwing a tightly woven mesh of oppression over the black, 80 per cent of the population denying them of citizenship, political rights and civil liberty (Wiley 1967:105).

Racial terminology was always at work in South Africa. The greatest policy impact has been on the African population. (The Bantu or "Black" is official terminology).

In official (government) circles, four race groups are recognized. Whites, Blacks, Coloureds, Asians mainly Indians (Fanoni 1968:50)

Apartheid controlled where people may live, what work they may do, with whom they may trade, what property they may acquire, where and how they may travel, where they may attend school or religious worship, go on holiday, have a meal, a drink etc. Every moment of life of the Black African is controlled by the state, and every facility permitted to black is inferior to that reserved for the whites. (Fanoni 1968:50)

The minority whites ruled the majority Blacks like slaves. They (whites) deprived the Blacks of their political economic and social rights. This gave rise to violent protest by the Blacks.

2:2 APARTHEID IS LEGAL.

The legal nature or status of apartheid was derived from the laws which are the main buttress of apartheid. The laws were introduced systematically in the early years of the National Party government which has held power since 1948.

They are extensive and complex, the main ones being the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act (both 1950) and the Bantu Education Act (1955), together with the Pass laws, which for many years controlled the movement and work of African people.

However, all these laws were built on the deep rooted inequalities which already existed, the most fundamental of which resulted from the Land Act in 1913, three years after the establishment of the Union of South Africa and its separation from Britain in 1910. The Land Act prevented Africans, 80 percent of the population from acquiring land outside their "reserves" which amounted to only 7 per cent of the country. In 1936, when the remaining African parliamentary voting rights were finally abolished, the Native Trust and Land Act increased the area of the reserves to 13 per cent.

The Pass laws decreed that at all times Africans had to carry a 'pass' to be in any particular place outside their own reserve (later to be called 'Bantustans'). Failure to produce this document at the demand of any official led to fines, imprisonment or forcible removal to a 'Bantustan'. The Pass laws often had the effect of splitting the family ruthlessly apart, and were the most hated of all apartheid laws. Until their replacement in 1986, the Pass laws were a major focus of African resistance to the apartheid system of racial oppression which had been imposed upon them.

South Africa's apartheid laws have consistently sought to deny black people a permanent place in the white cities by preventing them from having freehold rights in the outlying black townships. Instead they were made citizens of ten separate, fountaby states, or 'Bantustans' some of which were given a spurious independence. The Bantustans are the most naked expression of the desire of the apartheid regime to keep South Africa's black population separate from the whites but available to them as a pool of cheap labour. The above reasons among others account for the upsurge of violence and the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

2:3 ORIGIN OF APARTHEID

The arrival of white settlers started in 1652 when Jan Van Riebeck, a Hollander landed at the Cape of Good Hope, with a group of people (men and women) who had been sent out by the Dutch East India Company to establish a victualing station for its ships sailing between Europe and the orient. Van found the cape inhabited by a number of African tribes whom he collectively called the Hottentots, from the way they spoke. These were a seminomadic, Cattle-rearing people, and his contact with them started South Africans race problem. The arrival of white settlers and their establishment of a separate colony on land that the Africans regarded as their own was an important assertion of white initiative as the main factor which was to regulate future relation between black and white. Having been sent out by the company without prior consultation or negotiation with any of the Hottentots chiefs, Van Riebeck looked to the use of the gun to justify his claims to the cape settlement. (Ngubane: 1963:1)

On the other hand, the Africans regarded the arrival of the white man, as an encroachment on their land, on the pastures where they grazed their stock. The climax of the friction that developed was reached about a year after Van Riebecks arrival, for in 1653, the Hottentots made a bold bid to stop white encroachment on their land. They raided the company's

cattle post, killed the herdboy, David Jarisen and made away with over forty of the companies cattles. This show of power was to assert African initiatives as the main factor by which to regulate future relations between black and white.

Following a number of frictions between the Africans and the whites, by 1660, Van Riebeck had been compelled to pursue a vigorous policy of residential segregation to protect his group against the Hottentots. It would be recalled that while the clash between black and white initiatives produced war and segregation, economic and physical realities moved events in the direction of integration (Coker: 1987: 40). The men Van Riebeck had brought to the cape with him worked as servants to the company. Some of them refused to go back to Holland on retirement. They settled down at the cape. They started cultivating wheat and vegetables. They became members of a social class called the free burghers (Coker C. 1987:100).

In 1688, French Huguenot refugees, who arrived with new ideas on the manufacture of wine, swelled the numbers of the free burghers and diversified their economic interests. The pressure on the Hottentots to give up more land for white occupation was therefore intensified. As the white population grew and prospered, the social stratifications at the cape assumed a more complex form – slave labor for example, was imported from Madagascar and the Dutch East Indies – so that by the end of the seventeenth century, these stratifications had been cast into molds from which the present race crisis in South Africa derived its form.

When trouble developed between the Africans and the farmers in the Eastern Cape, Governor Van der Graaft had sent out H.C. Maynier, a man of liberal views, to collaborate with J.J. Wagenaar, the Secretary of the Graaft – Reinet magistrate, in restoring the relations between black and white to normality. Maynier was appointed as Secretary upon Wagenaar's retirement. The farmers felt outraged by the appointment. It projected government policy as being modeled on the principle that the black man

had the right to be treated like a white person. The support given Maynier by the government was regarded by the farmers as an endorsement of racial policies that threatened their physical survival. Maynier was finally expelled from Graaft – Reinet following this development.

— When the French Revolution came, the farmers borrowed its ideals to fill the vacuum created by the failure of the government to evolve a unifying political philosophy for the administration of the cape settlement.

The rising was motivated by the desire to ensure that white initiatives remained the dominant influence in the life of the cape, as well as to fix the pattern of relations between black and white. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the stock farmers had met the Xosa-speaking Africans, who belong to the same family as the Sutu and the fighting Zulus. The regions and cultural differences between the farmers and the Africans were another factor that affected the relations between them. The majority in the Dutch-Huguenot community were Calvinist fundamentalists. They saw the superiority of the white as a divine phenomenon. The ancestors of the Cape-Dutch had left Europe when absolutism was accepted as the main attribute of governmental authority. Fulfillment for the individual lay in obedience. They knew nothing about French Revolution, which emphasized the right of the individual to liberty and equality.

These two factors combined to give rise to an inflexible attitude that saw men from the perspective of the group. All the factors discussed so far combined to transform the stock farmers into a hardy, crude, fearless, self conscious and ruggedly individualistic community with a personality that was to become more distinctive as new pressures from outside made their impact on it. They regarded themselves as having nothing in common – other than race, language and religion with the sophisticated citizens of the metropolis. They called themselves the Trekboers – the emigrant farmers (Cole: 1985:150 –155)

When slavery ended, the Afrikaner Community disappeared into the social stratifications of the non-white community to constitute that section of the nation known as the Cape Coloureds. Before the abolition of slavery by the British, whose occupation of the Cape brought about the introduction of English language, there was language struggle. In the fight, the Dutch Huguenot Community campaigned to retain Dutch on a footing of equality with English. (Kupler L. 1965)

The Trekboers who are interested in identifying with Africans chose to be known as Afrikaners. They finally repudiated Dutch, the language of that Europe on which they had turned their back and take over, in the second language struggle, that lingua which the slaves had helped to preserve. That was how Afrikaans which is today one of the two official languages of the Republic of South Africa came into being.

This development in the Afrikaner, the habit of judging men and events by the extent to which they threatened or secured their survival is the basis for racism. In this mood, they grew to rely on the unity and strength of their own group as their guarantee of security. It is difficult to see how a small minority, always unwanted, often treated with contempt and living under the constant threat of extinction, could have behaved differently in a situation in which they had known only the tradition of absolutism and had been nurtured on spiritual values that set the greater store by the group. The crux of South Africa's race problem lies in the Afrikaner's preoccupation of their land (South Africa) with consideration to survive at all cost. The above reasons account for the existence of racism in South Africa and the birth of Apartheid.

2:4 INTERNAL OR DOMESTIC ACTORS

The brutality of apartheid was first brought to world attention by the Sharpsville massacre. On 21 March 1960, at the African township of Sharpsville, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) led an unarmed crowd to a police station in peaceful protest against the pass laws. The police opened

fire, killing 69 men, women and children. A wave of strikes and demonstration followed all over the country and the government reacted with a state of emergency, arresting over 20,000 people. It also banned the African Nationalist Movements, the prominent being the African National Congress (ANC) the broad-based, anti-racial organization formed to work for racial equality in 1912, two years before the Africans formed their National Party and PAC. (Meer: 1969:20)

In 1943 a group of younger A.N.C. members formed a youth league within the Congress to act as a pressure group for the use of more militant (although not Communist) techniques to secure the abolition of discriminatory laws, among the leaders were Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, and Walter Sisulu. They were supported by members of the Congress Women's League. Another group, led by Paul R. Maseka, broke away to form an African Democratic Party. They too, repudiated communism but wanted activism. (Simkins:1986:20)

The Congress Youth League accepted the concept of African Nationalism as a point of reference, and believed in the employment of extra-constitutional methods such as strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience for the exercise of pressure against official policy. It succeeded in obtaining the endorsement of the 1939 annual conference of the ANC of a "Programme of Action". Thus adopting a new more militant approach. This new approach resulted in Defiance campaign which started in 1952. The body opposed most of the apartheid legislation adopted by the National Party government. Thus the local self government created through the Bantu Authorities act (1951) which strengthened the powers of chiefs, was opposed on the grounds that it fragmented the people.

An organization known as the Coloured People's Congress was formed. Its aim was to campaign for full democratic rights for all adult men and women. In line with the struggle, the foundation for the formation of "Congress Alliance" was laid in 1947 when Dr. A.B. Xuma

and Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, respectively Presidents of the A N C and the Transvaal Indian Congress, signed a pact declaring their common interest and opposition to racial discrimination. Some of the members of this alliance was arrested and tried for treasonable felony some were imprisoned and others discharged and acquitted. (Russell:1990:90)

The South African Students Organization was formed to create black consciousness. Black consciousness philosophy began as the theoretical expression of a younger generation of black South African compelled by circumstances to rethink the very meaning of politics in the South African struggle. The students who were members of the black consciousness with other informed Africans (Blacks) made a lot of contacts with the Liberation movements. The Blacks became aware of the usefulness of armed struggle. South African Student's Organization (SASO) was used by Steve Biko to create black consciousness.

The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) through its guerrilla struggle in 1966 attracted the attention of the United Nation who terminated South Africa authority over Namibia.

Mozambique was involved indirectly in guerrilla war in white ruled Rhodesia, Frelimo was Mozambique Liberation front that was committed to Zimbabwean Liberation. It is worthy to note that the combination of guerrilla warfare and sanctions proved effective, bringing an independence settlement for Zimbabwe.

In South Africa a great wave of unrest swept through the country in the early twenties. In 1920 some 40,000 mine workers went on strike on the witwatersand. and in 1922 a strike of white workers directed against the rise of African workers to skilled jobs degenerated into an armed struggle (insurrection) and African pogrom. (Tuner: 1972:101)

The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) under the militant leadership of Kadalie was active and moderately successful in organizing strikes and fighting court cases.

2.5 THE EXTERNAL PRESSURES

In this subsection, a number of countries and international organizations that did not only show their strong opposition to apartheid but fought it will be mentioned. The tools they used in combating apartheid will be examined as well as the effect of these tools on the economy of South Africa.

2.5.1 THE COMMON WEALTH FIGHTS APARTHEID

The Common Wealth has played a leading role in the international campaign against apartheid. Commitment to non-racialism had its first major test in 1961, when South Africa was forced to recognize that it could no longer be a Common Wealth member unless it abandoned racial rule, and had to be withdrawn from the Common Wealth. Four years later the same principle led to a Common Wealth stand against the usurpation of power by a white minority in South Rhodesia. This stand contributed significantly to the eventual defeat of minority rule and the birth of independent Zimbabwe in 1980. (Fiori:1990:30)

In the Declaration of Common Wealth principles, made in Singapore in 1971 Common Wealth Heads of Government forth rightly condemned all forms of racialism and agreed to combat it in their own countries and to give it no aid anywhere else. Subsequently the Common Wealth played a prominent role in pressing for the United Nations embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. At both their Melbourne (1981) and New Delhi (1983) Summits, Heads of Government identified apartheid as the root cause of violence in South Africa and of instability in the region.

2.5.2 UNITED NATIONS CONFRONTS APARTHEID

In resolution 3068 of 1966, the UN General Assembly Condemned apartheid not merely as a racist system of government set up specifically to deprive the majority people of one country of their human and political

right, but as "a crime against humanity." The Gleneagles Agreement of July 1977, which has had a powerful impact in its own right, also paved the way for a fully global campaign launched by the UN'S sports boycott at the end of 1977.

Implicit in the Common Wealth stand is the recognition that apartheid is racism enshrined in and enforced by law, a flagrant denial of the UN Charter on Human Rights (1948) of human equality and fraternity which is fundamental to the Common Wealth. As the Common Wealth's 1985 Nassau Declaration on world order underlined, the UN is the central instrument of international peace, security and co-operation, in whose support, the Common Wealth stands steadfast.

SANCTIONS IMPOSED ON SOUTH AFRICA

Sanctions were imposed on South Africa to force her to give up apartheid. Sanction is an effective instrument in situations like this. The sanctions are enumerated below.

1 THE OIL EMBARGO

Since 1960, the UN General Assembly has passed a number of resolutions calling for a complete oil embargo against South Africa. Although these calls did not have the mandatory character of Security Council resolutions, they conveyed the will of the overwhelming majority of the world community and so have had the effect of imposing a voluntary embargo. All Common Wealth countries supported the oil embargo. In the Common Wealth's Nassau Accord, all member governments agreed to a ban on the sale and export of oil to South Africa, thus formalizing a situation which already existed. A ban on the transfer of technology which would enable South Africa to circumvent the oil embargo was one of the measures recommended to Common Wealth leaders in 1989 by the Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa.

2:6:2 THE ARMS EMBARGO

The denial of arms to South Africa is therefore a powerful weapon against apartheid. In 1962 the UN General Assembly called for the termination of diplomatic relations and trade with South Africa. The UN security Council's 1963 call for a voluntary arms embargo leading to the Mandatory arms embargo of 1977 was one of the steps taken by UN to wipe out apartheid. The Common Wealth stand at Singapore in 1971 marked an important stage in the evolution of the Common Wealth position. In the declaration of Common Wealth principles, Common Wealth leaders said that 'no member country will afford to regimes which practice racial discrimination assistance which in its own judgment directly contributes to the pursuit or consolidation of this evil policy. (Freire: 1970:50) This had direct bearing on the supply of arms, at the same meeting, Heads of Government discussed fully the questions of the sale of arms to South Africa. The negotiation between Britain and South Africa was stopped due to the issue of arms embargo.

2:6:3 ISOLATION IN SPORTS

Another lead in South Africa's isolation by the international community was given by the Common Wealth in 1977, this time focused on sport. With the Gleneagles agreement, Common Wealth leaders sought to cut the sporting connection. Member governments agreed to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any form of support for and by taking every practical step to discourage contact or competition by their nations with sporting organizations, teams or sportsmen from south Africa or from any other country where sports are organized on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin. Moreover, six months later the UN General Assembly adopted the international declaration against apartheid in sports, imposing a worldwide boycott on sporting links with South Africa. (Faton: 1986:101)

2:7 O.A.U. VS APARTHEID

The formation of the Organization of Africa Unity (O.A.U.) met the existing struggle for liberation. The birth of O.A.U in 1963 was a blessing for the freedom fighters in South Africa. The incarceration of the A N C (African National Congress) leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela was vehemently opposed by the regional body. The Nigeria government under General Olusegun Obasanjo committed a substantial amount of money towards achieving this formidable objective via O.AU. Nigeria supported the UN Sanction as well as other members of O.AU. Prior to the birth of the O.A.U the independent African states called for or spearheaded the international crusade against South Africa. The OAU established a liberation committee in 1963 to support and intensify liberation movements in South Africa and other African countries under colonial rule.

2.8 APARTHEID AND THE WORLD

In 1958 the first All – African People’s Conference of Accra urged all states to initiate economic sanctions against South Africa, “a protest against racial discrimination”. The onslaught intensified at later Pan-African meetings, notably at the Tunisia All-African People’s Conference of December, 1959; The June 1960 Conference of independent African States in Addis Ababa, the Casablanca Conference of 1961, the Freedom Fighters Conference of Accra in 1962, and the 1962 summit meeting of Casablanca Powers in Cairo. In spite of the rift which, until 1963, separated the moderate Monrovia group from the more militant Casablanca Powers – All African States were unanimous in their abhorrence of apartheid, and in their readiness to combat it by all available means. At the 1963 Addis Ababa Conference all independent African states, in view of the failure to liquidate colonialism by other means of opposition, urged the use of force in South Africa and the Portuguese territories, established a freedom fund, and discussed methods of military co-

operation. Between 1961 and 1963 twenty one nations have declared a trade embargo against the republic namely: The Sudan, Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone etc.

No independent country in the Soviet or Afro-Asian bloc had diplomatic relations with South Africa.

2.9 THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE STRUGGLE

It would be recalled that the tool used by the international community which included sanction did not bring the end of apartheid but had much impact on the pressure against the racist government. Another impact of the struggle is that after so many centuries of whites and blacks severed relationship, peace has come to stay. The then Prime Minister, P.W. Botha repealed the hurtful and unnecessary discriminatory laws after his tour of the black home land in 1979 while his successor, Frederick D'Clerk started the process of democratic reforms in late 1980's

The emergence of Mr. Nelson Mandela as the first black President in 1994 was a mark of the end of the struggle for liberation in South Africa after the termination of apartheid in 1991 and the establishment of transition to democracy. The internal struggle coupled with sanctions proved effective for Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia and others.

2.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter is mainly aimed at creating the basic and background understanding of the historical development of apartheid and the liberation struggle and not a full – scale study on these subjects mentioned now.

Following the setting up of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, one can say that the liberation struggle achieved its aim. It is also pertinent to point out that the actors both domestic and international have finally made an appreciable impact. The racial problems in South Africa was caused by the whites. The problem was also settled by them. The failure of sanction to bring the racists to their knees is a clear indication that the South African problem was internally generated and its solution cannot entirely come from outside.

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CHAPTER THREE

3:0 NIGERIA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA:1960 - 1991

3:1 In the previous chapters, there has been the examination of apartheid system and the liberation struggle to dismantle or terminate it. This chapter constitutes the nitty gritty of this research in that it would assess Nigeria's contributions, the main *raison detre* for this study. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The section "A" makes a review of the perception and capability of Nigeria as a regional leader which made her qualified to have contributed to the liberation struggle. The section "B" will asses the Nigeria's actual contributions to the liberation struggle in South Africa. Before proceeding, it will be pertinent to identify that even though our main area of focus is South Africa, it would be quite difficult to discuss what happened in South Africa without touching or discussing what happened in other parts of Southern Africa. This is because the liberation struggle was endemic and over-lapping in the region.

3:2:1 PERCEPTION OF NIGERIA REGIONAL LEADERSHIP

— Nigeria has been perceived at both the sub-regional West African level, regional African level and the globe at large as a regional leader. Professor Anatoli Gromyko stated at the Nigeria Soviet Union dialogue that the Soviet Union and Nigeria are the largest countries in their respective regions, their peoples are engaged and interested in lasting and durable peace. (Alkali 1997:14). In 1981, President Ronald Reagan wrote to President Shehu Shagari that: "I want you to know that I view Nigeria as a leader among African Nations which share to us desire for peace throughout the world." (Alkali 1997:114).

Furthermore, we shall take the few quotations from Onwumere Chidi (1987:2) to strengthen this argument.

- (a) Nigeria belongs to African and Africa must claim first attention in our external relationships.
Abubakar T. Balewa 1962.
- (b) Africa is and remains the centerpiece of our foreign policy, we in Nigeria believe that we have certain responsibilities towards the continent of Africa.
Brigadier Joseph Garba, 1976.
- (c) We believe that Africa must remain the centerpiece of our diplomatic activities because, Africa is our primary environment.
Professor Ibrahim Ganibari
Nigeria Minister of External Affairs, 1984.

The President of Niger Republic Hammani Diori was quoted to have said sometime in June 1973 that any economic arrangement in West – Africa that excluded Nigeria would be futile and unrealistic. Nigeria is also described as the “Giant of Africa” and the “Locomotive Engine of ECOWAS”. The above statements are attestations or references of how Nigeria is perceived as a formidable regional leader. But this perception has a question mark as reflected by Alkali (1997:123).

As long as there are elements in the country who question the unity, sovereignty and the various basis of Nigeria as a nation, no other serious minded nationalities will take Nigeria seriously... Nigeria geo-political position within the West-African sub-region, its relations with its neighbouring countries and the pervasive presence of France in the francophone countries further undermine not only the precariousness of Nigeria continental role.

In addition to these internal and West- African threats, Nigeria has been in regional leadership rivalry with countries like South Africa and Egypt.

Nevertheless, by the time we examine the elements of Nigeria 's national power or her capabilities and her performances in South Africa liberation, the genuine nature of these threats shall have been well revealed.

3:2 NIGERIA'S CAPABILITY TO FIGHT APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA.

3:2:1 There have been arguments in favour and against Nigeria's capability to make South Africa comply with the eradication of apartheid in the country. We shall examine three major ones namely economic capability, political capability and military capability.

3:2:2 ECONOMIC CAPABILITY

Economic capacity is an important element because economic activity is the source of wealth. A buoyant economy translates into a wealthy nation and the positive impact of such wealth is expected to ramify into all facets of society. (Ogaba Oche 2000:11) During the height of liberation struggle, Nigeria has a great economic potential with a population of some 80 million, an area of 356,669 square miles or 923, 738 sq km. Its agricultural products include cocoa, palm oil, groundnuts, logs, cotton, rubber and coffee. Its mineral resources include tin, columbite, tantalite, wolfram, gold, lead, zinc, limestone, clay, kaocin, marble, coal, uranium, lignite, natural gas, and crude oil. (Aluko 1982:135).

Despite her non-utilization or exploitation and mobilization of these resources and her intermittent dismal economic performances, the Nigerian economy has the advantage of commanding the fastest growing market on the continent. Nigeria also has immense trade relations with those imperialist countries and this opportunity could make Nigeria exert

considerable political leverage on these countries if she decides. (Aluko 1982: 135 - 139)

3:2:3 POLITICAL CAPABILITY:

The eradication of apartheid in South Africa had always fallen within the spectrum of her foreign policy. Nigeria maintained unequivocal, firm, uncompromising and resolute stand against apartheid. We have also had leaders who maintained personal, vocal and strong commitments towards the eradication of the obnoxious system. Moreover, the entire Nigeria populace wanted apartheid eradicated especially the period they were mobilized (1970's) to contribute funds for the eradication of apartheid.

3:2:4 MILITARY CAPABILITY

The military strength of a state still remains a major measure of state power. A state military capability is measured by three major factors.

- a. The size of the armed forces and their level of training.
- b. The quantity and quality of a state's weapons and equipment.
- c. The level of industrialization of a country. (Ogaba Oche 2000: 12 - 13) The military capability of Nigeria is very low compared to that of South Africa. According to Aluko (1982:139), one of the factors accounting for South Africa's superiority is that it has developed a nuclear capability, which is non-existent in Nigeria.

By and large, Nigeria was entrusted with the responsibility to lead the support for the liberation struggle. As Aluko (1982) puts it:

Given the fact that Nigeria is the largest black country in the world with a population of nearly 80 million and given its relative wealth, it is understandable that it should champion the cause of black people in Africa especially in Namibia and South Africa

We have seen that Nigeria possesses the economic and political capability to compel the racist South Africa to terminate the apartheid policy. It is in military capability that Nigeria has limitations. However, she can surmount this problem by not engaging in direct military confrontation with racist South African regime but can give military aids to the liberation movements in South Africa and this is exactly what Nigeria did.

3.3 NIGERIA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The eradication of colonial rule and white minority rule in Africa had been a cardinal policy of Nigeria which she sought to achieve in collaboration with other African states. (Izah 1991:58) stated that since 1960 when the country became independent, successive Nigerian governments had prioritized the eradication of colonial rule and racism from Africa continent. The Nigerian Prime Minister Alhaji Tafewa Balewa said at the UN General Assembly on the occasion of Nigeria's admission as the 99th member on October 6, 1960 that one of the guiding principles of Nigeria's foreign policy was the creation of the necessary economic and political conditions to secure the government territorial integrity and national independence of other African countries and their liberation from imperialism and all forms of foreign domination. (Ashiwaju et al 1995:298). President Shehu Shagari re-affirmed this position 20 years later in his address to the UN General Assembly on 6 October 1980 that " ... Nigeria would continue to assist, encourage and support that struggle for ... the elimination of apartheid in South Africa, with all our might and resources." (Aluko 1982:130). Five years later, Professor Bolaji Akinyemi the then Minister of External Affairs in the military government of Gen. Babangida repeated the same thing by enumerating the following as one of the overall objectives and principles of Nigeria's foreign policy:

Unwavering support for all efforts to dismantle the system of apartheid in South Africa and all forms of racial bigotry and prejudice. (Ashiwaju et al 1995:209)

Nigeria's policy toward African liberation revolved around four related issues:

- a). Having direct ties and support with and for the liberation movements recognized by the OAU liberation committee. In April 1976, the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) became the first liberation movement to be permitted to open office in Nigeria followed later by the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress.
- b). The mobilization of the Nigerian public in support of the whole doctrine of African liberation.
- c). The confrontation with the imperialist powers that were supporting allies or protectors of the white minority governments. For example, Nigeria federal government nationalized *British Petroleum* and renamed it *African Petroleum* in 1977.
- d). The supply of instant material support for the newly emerging governments as they grappled with their circumstances. (Bukaranbe 2000: 115-116).

As regards specific issues, Nigeria spear headed the move that led to the withdrawal of South Africa from Common Wealth at the Prime Ministers Conference in London in March, 1961. (Aluko 1982). In 1963, when the OAU Liberation Committee was formed, Nigeria was selected as one of the main states to handle the affairs of the commission, Nigeria played a very active role in this committee especially towards her special fund. She contributed \$100,000 which was equivalent to 10% of the total fund in the first year. In the second year, she contributed \$74,000 and

\$84,000 in the third year. Still at the O.A. U level, General Gowon's government blocked the proposal for dialogue with South Africa at the June 1971 OAU summit in Addis Ababa. (Izah 1991:59; Aluko 1982:128).

Furthermore, it was stated that since 1961, Nigeria has aided refugees in Southern Africa with relief materials and supplied technical and financial assistance to bona-fide national liberation movements but such contributions swelled up sequel to the oil boom of the early and mid 1970's. Indeed, Nigeria provided direct military, material, financial and moral aid to the three leading liberation movements: the African National Congress (ANC), the PAN- African Congress (PAC), and the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia. From the mid seventies, Nigeria started providing them with an annual financial subsidy amounting to about N5 million and this continued for a very long time. Scholarships were awarded to the members of the liberation movements who also received their military training in Nigeria.

Following the impressive performance of another liberation movement in South Africa known as South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRACO) led by Khotso Seathlolo who shook South Africa with the Soweto uprising of 1976, which was believed to have threatened, and undermined the existence of the apartheid system in South Africa, Nigeria decided to recognize it as a "third force" in the liberation movement. Nigeria awarded scholarship to the members of the SAYRACO for higher education, made its headquarters in Lagos, with diplomatic immunity granted to its representatives as was done to members of other liberation movements. Nigeria was also providing military training to the members of SAYRACO and coordinating their training, with the help of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (Aluko 1982: 142-143; Izah 1991: 58).

Among others, Nigeria attacked the imperialists who were agents for the perpetuation of apartheid rule in South Africa. The Federal Government took a stiff position on this by making it impossible for any

firm operating in South Africa to get new contract or even do business in Nigeria. The Obasanjo government promised to set up an economic intelligence unit to monitor the activities of Multinationals operating both in Nigeria and South Africa with a view to taking appropriate steps against them. But the heavy presence of Multinational Corporations in the Nigerian economy prevented the government from achieving its aims. It was only British Petroleum and the assets of Barclays bank that were nationalized in 1977 and in 1978 respectively.

Closely related to the above was that in July 1979, Nigeria nationalized the British Petroleum share of shell BP in which the British government had an interest. (Aluko 1982:144-145 and 129). Very strategic in Nigeria's anti-imperialistic stand was her opposition in 1975 to US policies in Angola, which it interpreted as support for the South African invasion of that country. The American embassy in Lagos was bombed in January 1976 and over the following seven months, requests by the American Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger to visit Lagos were refused three times. Nigeria accorded recognition and full co-operation to the MPLA government in Angola led by Dr. Augustine Neto to spite the racist South Africa and imperialist America which supported the FNLA led by Holden Robertos and UNITA led by Jonas Savimbi. Soviet Union and Cuba joined Nigeria in supporting the MPLA group.

At the extra-ordinary Summit Conference of the OAU held in Addis Ababa in 1975, the then Nigeria Head of State, Gen. Murtala Mohammed strongly condemned racist South Africa and U.S.A for supporting rebel groups in Angola and splitting the liberation movements. Nigeria followed this attack by giving the MPLA over 13 million Naira to aid her in the war efforts. Beside this, Nigeria sent a high powered delegation to asses on the spot other areas Nigeria could be of help. From then on wards, Nigeria became the center or focus point of the liberation movements. The Obasanjo regime continued from where Murtala stopped after his gruesome death.

The government established and launched a "Southern Africa Relief Fund, which was subsequently launched in all the 19 states capital. Civil servants were requested to pay in 2% of their month's salary into this fund. Nigeria businessmen also contributed generously to this fund. As at 1977, there were over one thousand students from South Africa, Angola and Namibia studying in various institutions in Nigeria enjoying scholarship from such fund. It was from this fund that relief materials were extended to refugee camps in Southern Africa. (Izah 1991: 125 - 127, Aluko 1982: 128). At the international Fora, in addition to the Common Wealth and the O.A.U., Nigeria has been very vocal at the UN level to impose sanctions on apartheid South Africa. As Aluko (1982) puts it: Nigeria has continued to champion the anti-apartheid crusade at the UN General Assembly and at Security Council meetings." He cited an example that Nigeria wanted to be a non - Permanent Member of the Security Council in 1977 to mount pressure and shape issues in apartheid South Africa. Izah (1991:59) re-echoed this position that Nigeria took an active part in the UNO to see that pressure was put on apartheid South Africa to change its policy.

It is important to refresh our mind that a one-time Nigerian Permanent Representative to the UN, Alhaji Maitama Sule was made chairman, UN committee on apartheid. Among others, even though Nigeria shared no border with the racist enclaves, she was made a Frontline State because of her position and contributions towards dismantling apartheid. All these appointments are eloquent demonstrations of the confidence people had in Nigeria in fighting apartheid rule.

Nigeria also used propaganda machines in her support for the liberation struggle. Aluko (1982: 143 - 144) stated that Nigeria used the Federal Radio Corporation, the encouragement of anti - apartheid publications, the formation of the National Committee on the Dissemination of Information on the Evils of Apartheid, the hosting in

August 1977 in Lagos of the UN Action Conference on apartheid all to orchestrate propaganda warfare against South Africa.

At the end, the liberation struggle achieved its purpose. The apartheid system was dismantled in 1991 following the democratic reforms started by Prime Minister Frederick D'Clark in 1989. A multiracial democracy started in 1994 after Nelson Mandela was released from 27 years imprisonment in 1991, contested and won election under the banner of African National Congress and thus became the first black President in South Africa. Nigeria was a party to this success. Nigeria had a clear stake in the fortunes of the liberation movement in South Africa. She is one of the formidable forces of progress in Africa and the whole world who contributed towards the defeat of those decadent regimes from the continent of Africa.

Nigeria's contributions are epitomized in (Bukarambe 2000:117) :

The budgetary commitments have been fulfilled; the donations, scholarships and relief materials disbursed, and the great powers confronted. And whenever opportune, the rhetorics were appropriately pan-Africanist and nationalist.

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CHAPTER FOUR

4:0 FINDINGS, SUMMARY/CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4:1 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In the course of this research, new areas or issues seem to have been discovered, some puzzling or cloudy areas appear to be clarified while the problems of the research seem to have some solutions. It is all these that will be discussed below:

4:1:1 This research has shown that Nigeria started making contributions to the liberation struggle in South Africa from 1960 when the former gained political independence up till 1991 when apartheid rule was dismantled. But the crux of the matter is that Nigeria's contributions from 1960 -1970 were mainly rhetorical, through expression of her foreign policy objectives on apartheid South Africa and through the OAU Liberation committee. But much of the practical contributions to the liberation struggle and on bilateral basis started from the 1970's. Some factors have been identified to be responsible for the disparity in the period of contributions.

- (a) Nigeria's economy during her 1st decade of independence was weak, ailing and epileptic which was compounded with the three years civil war between 1967 - 1970. Thus, she was not able to do as she did from 1970.
- (b) Nigeria witnessed an oil boom from the early 1970s. Thus, she had abundant wealth at her disposal to spend on others.
- (c) Nigeria was disappointed with the western capitalist countries which refused to supply her with weapons to prosecute the civil war. On the other hand, Nigeria was pleased with the African countries which did not encourage the fragmentation of Nigeria but instead gave support to the unity of Nigeria. This made Nigeria to increase her support to

African countries after the war of which the eradication of apartheid was one of them. (Izah 1991; Aluko 1982)

(d) Nigeria's foreign policy was conservative being mortgaged to British foreign policy particularly from 1960 – 1966. It was the exigencies of the Nigeria – Biafran civil war from 1967 – 1970 which brought elements of radicalism in Nigeria's foreign policy. It was this posture, which gave Nigerian government the effrontery to confront the racist South African government decisively from 1970.

4:1:2 Nigeria's contributions to the liberation movement in South Africa were not minor and peripheral but deep, tremendous, outstanding and immense. Nigeria made Africa as the centre – piece of her foreign policy and saw the restoration of the rights of the black man as her cardinal foreign policy objectives. As President Shehu Shagari told the UN General Assembly on 6th, October, 1980:

The destiny of Nigeria is inextricably linked with the fortunes of all the countries and all the peoples of African descent.

Therefore, Nigeria should not have folded her arms and allowed her fellow Kinsmen to be oppressed under the clutches and yoke of apartheid. Nigeria leaders and the populace were deeply involved to the extent that the civil servants were contributing part of their salary to aid the liberation movements in South Africa. The rest of these contributions are recorded in chapter three of this work.

4:1:3 We discovered that the efforts of both internal and external forces and actors outside the racist enclave and the OAU family contributed to the collapse of apartheid. Such a external actors included the UN, the Commonwealth etc.

4:1:4 To test the 1st Hypothesis of this research, I wish to confirm the hypothesis that Nigeria's contributions were central rather than peripheral to the dismantling of apartheid rule in South Africa. By the definition of Frontline States, Nigeria should not have belonged to that group but her major contributions in the fight against apartheid qualified her to be a Frontline State. Again, Nigeria posed a formidable risk or threat to racist South African government which accounted for the support given by the racist regime to the rebel Biafran during the Nigerian civil war. If Nigeria was insignificant in the fight against apartheid rule, logically, the racist regime should not have bothered supporting Biafra. That racist support to Biafra was an attempt to fragment, balkanize Nigeria and weaken her fight against apartheid rule. Nigeria's contributions were not peripheral. Nigeria did not attack from the rear but had always emerged boldly and at the centre fighting against apartheid as was presented in chapter three of this study.

4:1:5 As regards the 2nd Hypothesis, I wish to nullify that Nigeria's contributions were insignificant factor in the struggle to end apartheid. In the 1st place, Nigeria had the economic, political and military capability to have contributed to the fight against apartheid rule. Secondly, Nigeria's efforts contributed mainly in the pulling down of the walls of apartheid in South Africa. Nigeria's efforts shook the foundation of the racists rule. Nigeria equipped the freedom fighters, both financially, psychologically and militarily. She confronted racist government diplomatically especially at the Commonwealth and the O.A.U. Nigeria used her economic resources to fight the Western countries such as Britain who were supporting the apartheid rule. Nigeria did not relent in her struggle until apartheid was finally dismantled.

4:2 SUMMARY/CONCLUSION

This section shall present the summary of this work according to each chapter.

4:2:1 Chapter one presented apartheid as an evil to humanity and oppression to indigenous majority Africans by white ruling minority in South Africa which Nigeria as the Giant of Africa was determined to terminate. The problem, which necessitated this study, was the intellectual controversy over Nigeria's contributions to the liberation struggle. The specific objectives of the work were also defined while two research hypotheses to guide the researcher in data collection and analysis were put forward. The chapter also presented what the governments of both countries, international community and the academics would benefit from the research. A review of existing literatures on the subject was also made. It was stated in the chapter that data for the study was to be collected through secondary sources, while the content or descriptive method was put forward as data analysis technique. The theories of imperialism and liberalism/liberal democracy were presented as tools of analyzing apartheid and liberation struggle respectively. The scope of the study was delimited to cover Nigeria's contributions to the liberation struggle in South Africa from 1960 – 1991. The constraints to the researcher were also presented. The chapter also defined some key words in the work and presented the organizational layout of the work.

4:2:2 The chapter two traced the origins and growth of apartheid and liberation struggle. The key factors, forces and processes which shaped apartheid and the liberation struggle in South Africa were discussed extensively. The chapter was not restricted to South Africa and Nigeria alone but made an over view of international actors which had one thing or the other to do with apartheid and liberation struggle.

4:2:3 — The chapter three is the heart or the centre of this work having discussed the perception and capabilities of Nigeria as a regional leader which made it possible for Nigeria to have championed the liberation struggle in Africa to terminate apartheid in South Africa. The actual contributions of Nigeria to the liberation movements were also discussed in this chapter.

4:2:4 The chapter four discussed the research findings, summarized every chapter and made some recommendations on how to improve Nigeria – South Africa relations and other important areas.

4:2:5 In conclusion, I must have to admit that this work is an interesting academic exercise with some practical relevance. The work was able to analyze the relations between two Powers in Africa whose Unity can go a long way in achieving the cause of Africa and the black man at the global level. The work touched on virtually all the burning issues raised in Nigeria's contributions to the liberation struggle in South Africa. I am therefore confident to recommend this work to anybody in need of materials in this area. Nevertheless, there are still unsolved problems in Nigeria – South Africa relations which will attract the following recommendations.

4:3 **RECOMMENDATIONS**

As a result of the research findings, the following recommendations will be made.

4:3:1 It is obvious that Nigeria contributed significantly to the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa. This should be a framework for cordial bilateral relations between the two countries in economic, political, diplomatic, cultural etc matters.

- 4:3:2 It is a blessing for Africa that South Africa with immense power potentials has become independent and integrated fully in the comity of nations. There is therefore the need for both Nigeria and South Africa to unite and redress the peripheral position African countries occupy in global affairs. The leadership and the entire populace of the two countries should be well enlightened to understand that the Western imperialist nations are interested in fragmenting and balkanizing Africa to find the leeway to exploit her rich economic resources. They dislike a united Africa and will do everything possible to make her disunited. Such enlightenment is very important because it will shun divisive tendencies among the two countries thus paving way for a united, greater and Nkrumah's Africa.
- 4:3:3 These two African Powers among other countries in the continent should negotiate for more voices, seats and opportunities for Africa in global organizations to accommodate new and emerging powers such as South Africa in the African continent. Such expanded opportunities will reduce tension and unnecessary rivalries among African countries. For example, Africa continent should be allotted about two Permanent seats at UN Security Council.
- 4:3:4 To promote good relations between the two countries, they should employ the *modern diplomatic tools of consultation, dialogue and threat of force*. The use of confrontation and the exercise of force will always generate fear, envy and unhealthy rivalry tantamount to lack of peaceful co-existence and undiplomatic conduct.
- 4:3:5 The Nigeria - South Africa's relations especially in Trade matters have not been studied sufficiently. This work covered the period between 1960 – 1991, on the liberation struggle and the democratization of the country and the Nigeria's effort in these regards. The relations between the

two countries between 1991 – 2001 are very important to the governments of the two countries and efforts should be made to study this area and make recommendations to their respective governments.

4:3:6 More bilateral trade talks, agreements and projects should be encouraged to enable the two countries make the synergy advantage of areas of strengths of themselves.

4:3:7 Nigeria should not stop providing purposeful and dynamic leadership to the continent. If she abandons this position which destiny has imposed on her, she will lose the position and South Africa will take over the leadership.

4:3:8 Nigeria government should foster unity and national integration to command the respect of other countries and carry on with the burden and challenges of this leadership. As Alkali (1996: 123) puts it:

But Nigeria must first of all put its house in order. As long as there are elements in the country who question the unity, sovereignty and the very basis of Nigeria as a nation, no other serious minded nationalities will take Nigeria seriously.

Finally, I am of the strong opinion that if the above recommendations are taken seriously by the leadership or governments of both countries, both of them will occupy their rightful positions in Africa while at the same time united and having healthy relations. Both countries are great powers in Africa no doubt but seniority should be accorded to Nigeria. Moreover, South Africa is still suffering from her racist hangover. Extreme care should therefore be applied when according such recognition to her.

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