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Prospects for Nigeria-South Africa Relations

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Abstract

This paper analysed prospects for Nigeria- South Africa relations. Using the idealist theory, it proved that Nigeria and South Africa are constantly at various levels of democratic consolidation in their respective countries, sharing aspiration for continental leadership in Africa, and participating in the formation of formal structures and institutions to underline their commitment in pursuing common economic and political objectives. In furtherance of the study, the paper outlined and discussed the strategies implemented to realise a mutual Nigeria-South Africa relations putting into considerations factors such as the economy, foreign policy, strong domestic base, leadership and viable infrastructure. The study further recommended that Nigeria and South Africa should energize their strategic continental partnership and imperatively use their influence and resources to address multilateral issues of concern to Africa, and a progressive cooperation in not only the diplomatic and political levels, but more especially at the economic and commercial spheres should be emphasised.

Keywords: Prospects, Nigeria, South-Africa, Relations

Introduction

It is found that Africa's two super powers acknowledge themselves as friends due to the ties forged during the decolonization struggle but, their friendly relation is buffeted often by a myriad of both local and external forces causing a love-hate relationship between them. It has also been observed that the relations between the countries can become a very special kind of relationship if taken deeper and allowing for more strategic partnership that will undoubtedly strengthen the South African Economy and political clout on one hand, and at the same time, energize and accelerate Nigeria's institutional growth on the other hand. As regional powers, history has imposed on them the enormous responsibility to finding solutions to some of the most pressing African concerns. African countries today face greater challenges to peace and security, and are a volatile mix of insecurity, instability, corrupt political institutions and poverty. It is therefore imperative for Nigeria and South Africa to bear responsibility to steer the continent away from the repression of authoritarian governments towards a path of social and economic development and good governance.

Theoretical Framework

The idealist theory, which is a group of philosophies which asserts that reality is fundamentally mental, mentally constructed or otherwise immaterial as It ascribes priority to the mind asserting that all entities are composed of mind or spirit and human ideas (beliefs and values) that shape the society. From the time of the ancient Greece to the Modern period, the Idealist theory of state has had its advocates for example, Plato and Aristotle who tried to identify the state and society and endeavoured to find out an ideal state in which individual could achieve the highest ends of its existence and then, say that the state is self-sufficing. Aristotle further said that states came into being for the sake of life and continues for the sake of good life.

Furthermore, Idealists on the other hand, believe that states become diplomatically salient to each other by maintaining some level of official exchange, especially where they share measurable bounds of common interests. Against this backdrop is Nigeria and South Africa's mutual interest on trade and investments which defines the essence of interdependence amongst political collectivises and how they benefit from cooperative activities. This idea is

rooted in economics which assumes that naturally bounded activity would lead to international cooperation and development as well as international prosperity.

Explaining Nigeria-South Africa relations on economic cooperation in the post-apartheid era basically between 1999-2008, the establishment of BNC, NEPAD and South Africa's investment rate in Nigeria. This has gone a long way in enhancing relations between the two states and identifying Africa as a large market for investment. It not only guarantees economic progress and human development, it as well implies a shift from competitive-security or other force-related goals towards cooperative and mutually rewarding arrangements. It makes right the postulation of David Riccardo's theory of international trade that;

"relative gains accrues from cooperation than pursuing the parochialistic preferences of secured interests and the functional idea of shared interests dulls the keen edge of individualism thus-mitigating the reciprocal and dynamic interactions of states involving the pursuit of wealth and power in the international system"

Idealism on the other hand is an approach to international politics that seeks to advance certain ideals or moral goals. It is the spirit that impels an individual or group of individuals to a higher standard of conduct from that which ordinarily prevails around him, and expects every sane and normal citizen to desire improvement to be increasingly regulated with the highest attainable standard of conscientious conduct. Idealism in foreign policy holds that a state should make its internal political philosophy the goal of its foreign policy. Writers of idealist theory believe in progress, and in particularly that the system of international relations that had given rise to the World War 11, was capable of being transformed into a fundamentally more peaceful and just world order, following President Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points speech which was embodied in his idealistic thoughts and led to the creation of the League of Nations which committed itself to peace and bringing down tyranny thought to be the root of war. It holds that war is an aberration in the course of normal life and that it is also an old, ineffective and harmful mode of behaviour. Therefore, use of force and violence should be abandoned in favour of new ways such as educating people for peace, build systems of collective security of The League Of Nations and the United Nations, and employing other means as determined by knowledge, reason, compassion, and self-restraint.

Idealism stands for improving the course of international relations by eliminating war, hunger, inequality, tyranny, force, suppression and violence by advocating and depending upon reason, science and education. The idealist further stressed that interaction between states is not purely conflictual but involves cooperation which is very necessary in the sharing and benefiting from a common interest and in furtherance of it. In the emergent globalisation period, interaction among states is evidently on the increase therefore, the importance of inter-states' cooperation cannot be overemphasized (Reich,) The increased rate of globalisation as a matter of fact, is diminishing the concept of Power Politics, hence the logic of interdependence where force is no longer fashionable as an instrument of state's policy.. In view of this, it is understood that Nigeria-South Africa relations in the post-apartheid era, is more premised on the recognition and

respect of issues of human rights, rule of law, democracy and other international values.

Economy,

Given Nigeria and South Africa's commitment to regional integration, their strategic and partnership in fostering economic ties, cooperation, trade, manpower development, and cultural, industrial, mining ventures would be a vital step toward African Economic Integration.

"...Both countries could move one step further toward the harmonization of ECOWAS and SADC policies as a vital step toward the actualization of an African Economic Community (AEC) (Joy, 1999).

Francis Fukuyama in his book: *The End of History and the Last Man* argued that no country can develop without a free market economy and also political liberalism which is essential to democracy as mentioned before. First and foremost, Nigeria must adopt a centralized economic planning which is the only way out of her economic backwardness. In essence, economic development must be anchored on democracy and our interests therefore must embrace the tenets of democracy, transparency, rule of law and accountability not because we want to please the international community but because that is what is right for the Nigerian people. We cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the civilized world and embrace an alliance with the pariah states as did the Abacha regime for temporary political succour.

We must go back to reason and align our foreign policy with our national interests of rapid economic development within the shortest possible time (Jide, 2005). Nigeria's internal problems stem from a lack of economic growth which has negatively impacted its politics and ethnic relations in the face of competition for scarce white collar jobs. Our economic regression and depression have had telling effects on our welfare, education, internal security, and Nigeria's power position within the international system. The democracy we preach is not just the question of holding periodic elections, important as this is, it means developing a democratic culture underpinned by the rule of law. We must build an egalitarian society with careers opened to talents. The feelings of inequality should be assuaged through practical power sharing mechanism. We must reverse the process of dependent economy by building industries.

Furthermore, we must reverse the process of operating a dependent economy based on export of raw materials and industries of import substitution by building in particularly, agro-based industries, as well as the production of agro-local cotton and support huge textile and garments industries. We should cut our tastes for unnecessary luxury goods and use what we can produce. The well-known cliché that foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy makes it possible for Nigeria to conveniently feed her teeming population without having to depend on importation of any of the so-called "essential commodities". Nigeria's economy should be diversified so that she would not be solely dependent on crude to new industrial policy which will ensure that her industrial development is not at the mercy of imported raw materials. Apparently, the Nigerian oil boom is virtually over and this could present a major economic constraint on Nigeria's foreign policy. Therefore, a less fragile base for national economic development should be urgently developed. With

the sharp decline in world oil demand, budgetary and long-term economic plans of the administration are bound to suffer reversals. Where the economic crisis leads the Nigerian economy to become vulnerable, there will be deficit, chronic trade account, a rising debt, an umbilical dependence on one source of revenue for expenditures which will keep the country underdeveloped and dependent. Therefore, it is needful that all sectors of agriculture, manufacturing and mining be expanded to meet the increasing needs of both the internal and external markets. Nigeria's role in Africa is that of rapid economic and industrial development hence, a position of leadership in Africa will clearly be difficult to sustain in a situation of economic dependency in foreign powers. It should then be part of Nigeria's overall objectives to utilize its oil revenues to consolidate its economy by not only enlarging its industrial base through the application of modern technology but also to expand and modernise its agriculture so as to achieve self-sufficiency (Imobighe, 2003).

Depending heavily on successive oil booms in order to meet obligations in and outside Nigeria will turn the country to a future fragile giant. Substantial petroleum revenues have been discovered in other strategic areas of the world such as, Latin America, the North sea, the South Atlantic and Alaska. More so, alternative sources of energy are increasingly being developed by the industrialised states in their quest for "independence" from oil cartels and oil itself as a source of energy. There is therefore a compelling call for Nigeria to divert attention to the domestic arena. Here, it will be fair if the government diversify its domestic economy especially in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors, produce much of its own machinery and reduce dependence on external loans and foreign investment.

A heavy emphasis on agriculture will increase prospects of agricultural exports and meet domestic needs and provide the government with an enduring basis of political legitimacy at home and credibility abroad. It is common knowledge that the structural conditions emerging from the historical experiences of Nigeria's colonization and incorporation into the global capitalist system have given rise to a social formation characterized by distortion and domination. Lacking any interest in radically changing the existing pattern of economic activities into one of independence, the ruling Nigerian political class has continued to depend on advanced capitalist nations not only for access to world markets, technology and investments, but also for political and, quite frequently, military support. Its political links and cultural affinities with the west are cemented by ideological values, carefully cultivated by the metropolitan bourgeoisie during colonial rule.

The Nigerian neo-colonial formation has continued to behave true to its nature in terms of its tendency to reproduce the essential conditions of dependency, irrespective of the consistent intervention of exuberant military officers and the ephemeral fortunes of the oil industry. Regional economic cooperation implicitly proves to be one of the widely recommended means of promoting self-sustaining growth and development in Africa. It seems clear that growing "political instability" in the continent such as coups, apparent ethno-religious conflicts, long-drawn out civil-wars, are directly rooted in the failures in the state policies to provide answers to the questions of increasing disparities of economic fortunes between groups

(South Africans against Nigerians in South Africa) and the persistence of widespread poverty among the masses.

According to Simon (1967), No nation which is weak at home politically or economically can be strong abroad. In other words, foreign prestige is the function of home strength therefore, the primary interest of any sovereign state is to avoid dependence by establishing a strong economic base for development and utilize such a base as a political leverage to act in the external relations. It is generally believed that "the subordination of Nigeria's economy to that of the West is another basis for Nigeria's impotence", therefore, it is imperative upon Nigerians to takeover complete control of the material resources and social wealth collectively produced by their labour. In addition, the Nigerian as well as the Nigerian economy should be disengaged from the existing relations and structure of foreign exploitation and domination blocking the realization of her potentials (Akindele & Basse, 1986). Nigeria also needs to enhance her credibility in the international society by building a strong domestic economic base. This will minimize the number of asylum seekers and immigrants in search for greener pastures reduce the rate of crime and criminal activity in the country and, reform the image and reputation of the country from what it is known to be. Against this background, a call for a vigorous national economic policy that cannot only provide enough food to feed the nation and raw materials for industries but will also lay the foundation for an internal resource-based industrialisation of the economy and the development of an indigenous technology. Nigerian leadership should take lessons from history and the experience it had gathered from her relations with the international society that, by making the country more internally self-sufficient and self-sustaining, as well as endowing the country with leverages in the conduct of its external relations then, a better prospect and support for the pursuit of a vigorous foreign policy will be provided. Nigeria and South Africa need to define their Economic relations in terms of their relative economic position. Nigeria for instance stands a good chance to benefit immensely from South Africa's high technology in areas of computer, energy, electronics and telecommunications. South Africa on the other hand, will also benefit from Nigeria's oil resources and the country's robust market which could serve as Disposable Avenue for South African goods (Solomon, 2005). Furthermore, the two countries should maintain a high level of bi-lateral dialogue on trade, industry, technology so as to enable them air their complaints and avoid confrontations.

Foreign Policy

A state can claim to operationalize its national interest when it possesses the capability to achieve its stated objectives. But when proclamation of objectives outweighs capabilities, national interest remains a non-operational aspiration. Nigeria therefore should consider the importance of assessing and understanding her dynamism or lack of it in her foreign policy pursuit. In the field of foreign policy, forecasting and predicting the future of a nation is involved and it needs some measure of credibility. And in order to be credible, the shape of the future has to be consistent with the feasibility, proposed goals and the ability of those nations to attain those goals (Ogwu, 1986). The essence of this forecasting is to explain the past,

identify generalisations and patterns which might serve to provide paths to the future and the choices available.

Furthermore, in operating our national interests, a number of analysis of future studies today have alluded to the importance of using historical perspectives (the past) in exploring the future. According to Patrick Henry, "I know of a way of judging of the future but by the past". Kothari in his book, "Footsteps into the future" observed that ; "a future" should take into account a long history- the "past". A total break with the past is both an impossible and dangerous proposition. Foreign policies are not forged in vacuum. Our ability to influence events within the continent and abroad depends ultimately on our own domestic economic strength and political stability. It is not possible to pursue a strong and dynamic foreign policy with a weak domestic base like, our substantial economic decline, foreign debt burden, narrow economic base, and lack of political stability are all matters which call for major political and economic reforms at home. There is need to recognize a continuous monitoring and examination of the formulation and implementation of the country's foreign policy in order to ensure its consistency with national interests and objectives.

A Strong Domestic Base

Nigerians should recognise the need to build "a solid domestic base of genuine democratization of political power at the local, state and federal levels to enable every Nigerian defend the country and its resources should be given to the global implications of it. It should seek to pursue the "highest moral ends" in its external behaviour because a significant weakness in the objectives makes the objective unrealisable and will not provide a rational and realistic basis for the country's external behaviour. Note that, "morality" is a necessary element of foreign policy. It cannot be substituted. Nigeria should upgrade her participation and use of intra-African organizations by publicising the activities of these organisations. The time is yet to come when Nigerian leaders will make anniversaries like 'OAU's Day', 'African Liberation Day', etc. Nigeria should use her membership in this extra-African organisation to further her African interest. In addition, we must use our diplomatic resources and skill to support the peaceful resolution of disputes both continental and global. Global peace is pre-condition for steady growth and development of the African economies. Looking at this proposition, one would find in actual fact that there is no contradiction provided the conduct of the country's foreign policy is allowed to be guided by Nigeria's national interests which are inseparable from the destiny and interests of Africa.

Nigeria as a dominant power in Africa on one hand needs to exercise herself to ensure domestic stability. The truth is, there will always be political differences in a multi-party democracy such as Nigeria, but it is essential that these differences do not escalate into a situation where the nation's survival as an entity could easily endanger dominant approaches to recognized severe constraints such as poverty, disunity, domestic expectation and external penetration, pervasive influence of global economy, military asymmetries, identified structures of dependence, penetration and subordination that impede the freedom of actors in analysing African foreign policy. Seeing how Nigeria in the first decade of independence dragged its feet

on African affairs, basically because of its preoccupation with domestic affairs and the incessant domestic political crisis it faced, it is therefore imperative on her government to maintain a sure domestic political stability. Nigeria's concept of citizen's diplomacy is without respect for the citizens and due for a change in government's attitude. For example, the extent of interceding on the behalf of distressed Nigerians in foreign lands not only in South Africa, suggest that the country has not been adequate. The number of asylum seekers from Nigeria and a high number of the citizens serving jail terms in other countries have not promoted the image of the country. More unfortunate is the refusal of jailed Nigerians abroad to be repatriated home to complete their jail terms. This is an expression of lack of confidence in Nigeria only known to be throwing his weight around (Mailafia, 2012).

Nigeria's Afrocentric interventionist policy has been believed by some to be blatantly pursued without any specific regard for the country's domestic interests and economic woes. Take for instance, while on a visit to Mali, Nigeria's President Good luck Jonathan reported to have said Nigeria had already committed about seven million dollars (\$7m) to the intervention and even promised the construction of Military clinics for the Malian Army (Vanguard. Jan. 30, 2013), at a time when all the major Police barracks in Nigeria are horrendously dilapidated. This is concrete evidence that it is now habitual and a priority for the Nigerian government to solve crisis in neighbouring African countries faster than the crisis at home. If the federal government had responded in a similar manner to the Boko Haram menace during its formative years their activities would have been nipped in the bud. Hence, the "brilliant record of Nigeria' participation in peace mission in neighbouring African countries counts for nothing when compared to the insurmountable security challenges at home (Theophilus, 2013).

To overcome this, Nigeria must first confront her domestic problems by consolidating her democracy. Democracy, not just by question of holiday periodic elections, but by developing a democratic culture underpinned by the rule of law (Ogwu, 2005). Nigeria needs to arrest the infrastructural decay and pervasive corruption and ethno-religious conflicts. More importantly, efforts should be geared at achieving political stability in order to gain the confidence of foreign investors. Nigeria should systematically and comprehensively identify the conditions that are necessary for the actualisation of Nigeria's preferred destiny in international relations. For this will enable her to live up to the role which both Nigerians and the international community expect of her as the first truly Black African power.

What is more challenging for the most part is that Nigeria is not being appreciated and accorded the deserved respect rather, African leaders have learned how to access more of Nigeria's resources by blowing up her ego and upon departing the country, their first action will be to exhibit anti-Nigerian sentiments (Ogunsanwo, 2010). A vivid example is South Africa who voted against Nigeria when it contested for the presidency of the African Development Bank (ADB) regardless that Nigeria was her one time benefactor who also for its (South Africa) sake, incurred the wrath of the West due to her anti-apartheid policies. In view of this, it is imperative upon the Nigerian government to be more concerned about its people.

A trip to the High Commissions and Embassies of a country like South Africa presents a picture of the agony Nigerians undergo. Even in their country, Nigerians are treated with disdain, disrespect and xenophobic attacks. Some are merely beaten up by security agencies, jailed, denied entry visas and even killed. While the government of Nigeria is yet to take diplomatic measures to stem the tide, the citizens continue to bear the brunt of this maltreatment and government's ineptitude. Hence the question "when is Nigeria going to stand and recognize its own?" it is sad and indeed unfortunate and painful (Mahmood, 2009). The cases of the xenophobic attacks on the citizens by a section of the South African population between 2008-2017 are a sharp reminders of the agony the Nigerian people faced just for being citizens of the most populous Black nation in the world (Jephias, 2008).

In a null shell, Nigeria's foreign policy has been too externally oriented that its citizens has not been the net beneficiaries neither has it paid off in terms of tangible and psychological benefits thus implying a lack of domestic focus. It is imperative therefore for the government of the Nigerian state to bridge the discord between foreign policy articulation and local expectations by taking drastic and focused steps towards the adoption of a foreign policy approach that takes into cognisance the wellbeing and welfare of Nigerians in future intervention. The citizens must be government's priority because domestic considerations have an intrinsic place in foreign policy formulation thus; foreign policy is economic policy (Kerry, 2013).

For South Africa to play a stronger role in global economic governance, it has to recalibrate its foreign policy in a way that emphasises mutual respect and new forms of co-operation with other African states and regional organisations. The South African Government should ensure that the conditions of black South Africans are improved at a satisfactory pace else, whites become targets of hostility from blacks as a revenge on past unfair practices suffered under apartheid laws. (as what is obtainable today. Whites been deprived of their lands and farms in South Africa and are forced to return to their origin. Again, the government should endeavour to abolish all the pillars of apartheid especially that which brings about the existing compartmentalization of the South African society. This will make the neighbourhood become more heterogeneous thus, reflecting the countries racial and ethnic mix. Furthermore, well-to-do blacks will begin to identify with the interests of individuals from their socio-economic background rather than their ethnic and racial background which will promote integration.

Viable Infrastructure

A strong factor which has constituted a clog in relations between Nigeria and South Africa is Nigeria's weak infrastructural base. The inadequate supply of power, poor road network and water supply have collectively served as constraints to improving Nigeria's institutional capacity and attracting more foreign investments. More meaningful relations could have been forged had Nigeria the capacity to absorb, add value to its export and its expertise as South Africa does to Nigeria. Again, recognising that corruption in public and private life is a major problem in Nigeria, a reduction of this scourge via the EFCC and ICPC, well as her government ability to maintain its democracy through

development of its infrastructure will go a long way in re-positioning it for more meaningful relations with South Africa.

About two decades ago the projection of their relations was based on what Nigeria should expect if South Africa was liberated from apartheid catches up with Nigeria in developmental terms. But today, the question is what Nigeria should do to benefit maximally from relations with South Africa as they partner in addressing bilateral and continental issues. South Africa with its superior Infrastructure, capital base and medium technology is likely to remain better placed to take advantage of better opportunities offered by post-apartheid bilateral agreements and the bi-national institution.

Nigeria must therefore work hard through multilateral and bi-lateral institutions and impress on South Africa its capacity and readiness for effective participation of Nigeria's capital in mutually beneficial ventures between it and South African business environments. It will also require a strong political will on the part of the Nigerian state and its officials to be determined to create the conditions at home that would inspire the nationals to take its capital base so that it can create opportunities for Nigerians to work in South Africa. This will go a long way to strengthen the much needed African renaissance for the development of Africa and its people.

Leadership

Nigeria should provide a leadership which is in consonance with Africa's collective development and aspirations without threatening the sovereign authority of the individual states. Nigeria must know when to speak and when to remain silent, and should understand that standing by other African countries should guarantee its own security and independence, and that it should expect to reap full benefits from the increasing financial and economic assistance it renders to those countries. "we have responsibilities to Africa (just as) Africa has responsibilities to Nigeria. if we owe a responsibility to stand up for and respond to Africa, we are owed an obligation to be consulted when the situation allows for consultation, we must not and cannot allow states which of their own free will adopt policies that lead to crisis to assume that Nigeria will automatically be dragged into that crisis. That is not a position of leadership that is a position of subservience" (Professor Akinyemi in his welcome address at the Kuru Conference).

The Nigerian leadership should also build an egalitarian society with careers opened to talents so that any Nigerian of talent will find it possible to rise to any position that those talents entitle him or her. The sense of patriotism also should be fostered by the political expedient policy of federal character yielding place to open competition. The feelings of inequality by the citizenry should be assuaged through practical power sharing mechanism.

The abolition of apartheid pillar like the statutory law will begin the process of bringing about equality and, will further make the resources of the country accessible to all South African citizens regardless of race, ethnicity and class. Therefore, there is the need for all those in positions of leadership to sustain efforts towards an unequivocal commitment in the change process to the upliftment of all South Africans and not only special and favoured groups. The leaders should learn to consult with all relevant groups

and also communicate constantly and effectively with the general citizenry. The nation should serve as a role model for other countries to emulate in resolving race, ethnic, and class conflict and government should seek to revamp the schooling system and remove inferior education as it is recognized that a good education for future South Africans, Blacks and White, means acquiring skills that will prepare them for running the country's economy effectively and efficiently.

It is certain that the problem of job scarcity can stimulate conflict. Therefore, the government should do well to provide job opportunities and channels for skill acquisition. The existence of divergent political ideologies should be tolerated by developing a process or plan whereby the different political organisations and parties can express their ideologies, and find new recruits without fear of reprisal. On the other hand, just like the apartheid regime deliberately manipulated real or imagined ethnic distinctions South African government should discourage all forms of ethnic identifications to gain followership, as well as all forms of intimidating language, racial and ethnic provocations.

The two African giants need to justify their leadership positions in SADC and ECOWAS respectively by ensuring the two regional economic organisation wax stronger. They need to compare their experiences, coordinate their responses and promote joint regional action (Solomon, A. 2005). The basis for mutually beneficial interaction and interdependence does exist between Nigeria and South Africa hence they stand to benefit tremendously from each other given the existing cordial relations between them. South Africa for instance cannot responsibly ignore Nigeria's huge market and enormous oil resources, while Nigeria cannot reasonably afford to ignore South Africa's industrial and technological expertise and being driven by a similar strategy based on consensus building, national reconciliation and a private sector-led development paradigm, it is imperative therefore for the leadership of both countries to fashion a strengthened strategic partnership in a rapidly changing global system. This convergence especially of their giant economies can propel the economic growth of Africa and deliver the continent from the looming effect of globalisation (Solomon, 2005).

Generally, both states need to strengthen existing mechanism that facilitates compromise and cooperation, especially at the unofficial level. Therefore it is important that information about their respective values be disseminated and generated in order to diminish areas of conflict arising from misperception. Furthermore, the two African Super Powers need to understand that Africa's development part has to be inward looking by taking note of the peculiarities of African socio-economic and political conditions. The patron-client links be broken, and aspects of intra-African divisions be minimized. The existing structures, institutions and process of cooperation must be very accommodating. Given their antecedents as sub-regional powers and stabilizers, Nigeria and South Africa can effectively champion the cause of continental development by playing down those defensive forces that inhibit the emergence of an "African Security Community". Nigeria and South Africa are in a vantage position to integrate their regions with a wider Africa economic and political agenda hence the structural subordination of the continent and her congenital susceptibility to imperialist's pressures will no longer be its story.

Africa's "Big Brothers" Nigeria and South Africa, needs to comprehend the structural dynamics that generate the persistent syndrome of unequal trade relations between Africa and advanced capitalist states by ascertaining the deformities in the structure of African economy and improving the conditions of trade that inhibit market access to African goods and services. Both Nigeria and South Africa have sufficient growth potential and opportunities for sizeable and profitable investment, restructuring of domestic political and economic order and in the fashioning of new developmental strategies. At a meeting of the Nigeria-South Africa business forum during a visit by Nigeria's president Goodluck Jonathan, he stated that;

"our two countries need to work together and complement each other to push an African agenda which put regional integration, economic and infrastructural development at the forefront...we see the social relationship between Nigeria and South Africa as a necessary building block towards the vision of a new Africa".

Nigeria and South Africa should explore constructive dialogue involving official, civil society and private sector actors on strategies and goals that feed off knowledge on relations, as well as opportunities linking this to African regionalism and multilateralism. It is needful for Nigeria and South Africa to synergize their diverse resources, especially using the instrumentality of the Bi-National Commission (BNC) in other to realise their common goal of continental renaissance.

Conclusions

The foregoing has provided a panoramic view on the prospects for Nigeria's relations with South Africa as it examined and discussed the prospects for an improved foreign policy. Thoughts about the future are designed to help us engage in self-analysis, clarifying values and developing long range planning for alternatives. The significant factor here is to envision how to make current decisions and better anticipate new ideas, new alternatives and goals.

Recommendation

1. Nigeria and South Africa should energize their strategic continental partnership and imperatively use their influence and resources to address multilateral issues of concern to Africa like reform of the international financial system, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the United Nations.
2. Both countries should ensure that cordial and progressive relations remain strong not only at the diplomatic and political levels, but more especially at the economic and commercial spheres where the levels of reality and implementation is technocratic and non-African in character.
3. In sum, collective support for Nigeria and South Africa by other friendly African countries as they address developmental problems in Africa will ensure the attainment of a more progressive, peaceful and better Africa. The Africa of the future cannot but benefit from a Nigeria and South African partnership. Our future Foreign Policy will also need to face the challenge of consolidating good governance at home and on the continent we must support the embrace of democracy as a way of securing peace in our region and on the African Continent.

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