

Effectiveness Of Negotiation As Instrument Of Peace In Resolving Apartheid South Africa Deep-Rooted Conflict

Amos Ojo Adedeji^{1*}

¹Doctoral Student, Peace and Development Studies,
Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin. Nigeria

*Corresponding Author: amos_peace61@yahoo.com

Abstract

Seeking peaceful means of resolving conflict instead of violent means make conflict to be dynamic. Negotiation, an Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) has been a viable tool of conflict resolution in Africa. It played prominent roles in resolving South Africa apartheid conflict. The aim of the study was to interrogate the effectiveness of negotiation as the instrument of peace in resolving apartheid South Africa deep-rooted conflict. The study revealed that all strategies employed in the course of apartheid crisis failed until both parties returned to the round table for negotiation. It was also established that the attitude of give and take (compromise) led to the resolution of the conflict. However, the strategy of negotiation was not problem-free in the resolution of the South Africa apartheid conflict. The presence of the spoiler played destructive role of terminating the peace movement. The study concluded by recommending embracement of peace and dialogue instead of violence in dealing with deep-rooted conflict

Keywords: Apartheid, Conflict, Deep-rooted, Negotiation, Peace

INTRODUCTION

South Africa is a large country by African standards with a total population of nearly 70 million (Worldometer, 2022). It is the one of the most diverse countries in the world with eleven official languages of English and Afrikaans along with other nine indigenous African languages (Hauss, 2001). More than two third of South Africans are Christians, traditional African worshipers, few Muslims, few Hindus and few Jews.

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About three quarters of the whole population are blacks indigenous, while the whites, mixed coloureds and Indians are fairly above one quarter. About sixty percent (60%) of the whites are Afrikanas who are descendants of Dutch, German and French immigrants who speak Afrikaans. The other forty percent (40%) are either English origin or have assimilated into that culture. The rest are coloureds, who are mixed-race descendants of settlers and the Khoi people.

There are numerous events and concepts attached to the apartheid system which have negatively coloured the system. The apartheid system in South Africa is a form of citizen-settler conflict, racial discrimination which the parties employed violence to quench. Akinterinwa (1987) observed that apartheid in South Africa (SA) constitutes the object of dispute between the Pretoria-based minority (White) government and the majority Black South Africans.

In 1914, African National Congress (ANC) sent a delegation to Britain and as well petitioned the Crown against Whites South African attempted to institutionalize apartheid policy which will eventually erode standards of equal treatment. However, the efforts were turned down. Mandela and Tambo organized the Youth League in ANC, a new generation of leaders who believed that stronger measures were necessary instead of letters and petitions.

Defiance campaign was introduced against the obnoxious law, though non-violent mode, demanding for equal treatment of all races in South Africa. The situation degenerated to an uncontrollable level. Courageous political and religious leaders who criticized the apartheid system however suffered deprivation, imprisonment, and loss of life in the struggle. The government also suffered incessant attack from the black population on one hand and barn from various international organisation on the other hand.

Recalling to negotiation in South Africa changed the narrative from violence means of resolving conflict to peaceful means. It brought disputants together for dialogue which eventually led to the resolution of the long standing conflict in the country.

Conceptual Analysis

The word 'apartheid' appears to have been first used in the columns of Nationalist Newspaper Die Burger in 1943 (Louw, 1965). The first official use of the concept was on January 1944 when Dr. Mallam, in supporting a republican motion. He henceforth described the nature of the republic which he envisaged in South Africa as a republic that ensures the safety of the white race and of the Christian civilization through institutionalize the principles of apartheid and guardianship (Lemon, 1987).



Though, the word apartheid in the Boer language means “separation”. It was used to describe a policy of separate development in English language. The intention was that government will treat each race in a way that conforms to the normative standard of equal treatment. However, in practice separate never meant equal, it was to justify an inhumane and obnoxious policy of racial discrimination. The former president of America, Ronald Reagan described apartheid as “a deliberate, systematic institutionalized racial discrimination, denying the Black majority their God-given rights” (Akinterinwa, 1987).

Negotiation is a day to day interaction between two or more person without realizing in buying and selling, dealing with a contractor working in a certain project, having an agreement with the bus conductor. Practically, negotiation takes place in all these activities. According to Bello (2017), negotiation acts as a tool for the official commercial agreement, resolving conflicts, and managing operational problem and social relationships. According to Tigari (2008) cited in Adedeji (2022), Negotiation is an interactive process of collective bargaining between two or more parties involved in contractual understanding.

Leverage is generally believed to be the bedrock of negotiation countering power to reach an agreement on a particular party terms (Kirgis, 2014). It is synonyms for power, however, it can be explained as subset of power which may either be used legitimately or illegitimately. It is the types of power rooted in consequences. A party is said to have a leverage when it has the ability to influence another party through threat or imposition of consequences in a negotiation process. Leverage encompasses all forms of power based on the ability of the party to either confer material benefits or impose material costs on the contending party (Kirgis, 2014).

Understanding the Working Mechanism of Negotiation

Man is preoccupied with the mode of aggression to adopt in-order to ward off the impending enemy in conflict. Negotiation has become a need of the moment, in resolving conflict. Quoting former United States President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, “let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate” (Bello, 2017). Negotiation is an ADR mechanism that makes use of skills and strategies that would maintain the status quo between conflict parties. It becomes official when it comes to settlement of conflict or what it is referred to as bargaining. It is a consensus choice of conflicting parties to change from enemy relation to the friendly forum by transform perception of win-lose to win-win mindset.



Negotiators have few broad goals of preventing or stopping violence, advancing and protecting interests, building durable peace and reducing differences between parties (United Nation Institute for Training and Research, 2000). To accomplish the above broad purposes, negotiation need to start with a range of some specific objectives such as changing attitudes and behaviours of disputants, defining a process to follow, jointly solving problem and building relationships.

A mediator is needed in the negotiation process to cushion the discussion and turn a tense atmosphere into a relaxed one. However, there are five styles of negotiation often used by negotiators which according to Society for Peace Study and Practice (2011) are highlighted underneath:

1. **Attack or Fight:** This type of negotiator often called an aggressive negotiator;
2. **Appease or Attempt to Covert:** The negotiator is referred to as a cooperative negotiator;
3. **Flee or Attempt to Evade Problem:** This style is called a distractor negotiator
4. **Displace or Analyze the Problem:** The negotiator is coincidentally refereed to as an analyst;
5. **Truth Seeking:** The negotiator under this style is tag an idealist

In addition, there are various types of negotiation as depicted by various literature such as hard negotiation, soft negotiation, positioning negotiation, principled negotiation, competitive (bargaining) negotiation and collaborative problem solving negotiation. However, positional negotiation and principled negotiation are often referred to as problem solving bargaining (Hopemann, 2006).

Another crucial issues in negotiation is relationships (people in negotiation), a significant factor that serves its own treatment. The success in any negotiation process depends on the kind of relationships. The most crucial among other people in negotiation are counterparts describes as parties in the negotiation table; constituents, those whose negotiators represent; stakeholders, those who have something at stake in a negotiation; ratifiers, they are special constituents who have final approval over negotiation agreement, spoilers often called conflict profiteers; and channels of communication which is the media (Spector and Zatman, 2003).

An additional set of human factors that may affect negotiation outcomes is the influence of culture. Cultural differences if not handled with care have the capacity to introduce



complexity and potential for misunderstanding to a negotiating effort (Avruch, 1998). Leverage is another factor that comes to play in negotiation. Leverage is the effective use of power in a negotiation process to get what a negotiator want at the expense of others. There are different types of leverage which are carrots and sticks leverage, walk-away leverage and normative leverage (United State Institute of Peace, 2010).

Third party becomes a crucial factor in negotiation due to personal ego that usually plays between the negotiators in the process. Third party is a neutral third person in conflict or in negotiation who seeks to help resolve the underlying causes of a conflict as oppose to setting a specific dispute (Ebimaro, 2008). Adedeji (2022) emphasised the importance of third-party to facilitate the process which records more success than when it involves negotiators alone due to egoism.

Apartheid System in South Africa

The root causes of the conflict in South Africa can be traced to 1652, when few Dutch settlers arrived at Cape Town to set up a refueling station for ships sailing from Europe to Asia (Thompson, 1995). The few Dutch settlers took over the control of the area and established slavery of the natives. Invariably, the cruel regime was expanded into today Western Cape Province. In 1795, they lost control of the area to the British and consequently slavery was abolished in 1834. The Dutch left as a result of the defeat suffered from British to the Great Trek. They fought the Africans they encountered in 1838 and won.

The Afrikaners settler had earlier occupied the province they were removed by the British, due to this development, the peace between the British and the Afrikaners did not last. Tensions reached a peak in the mid 1890's when Cecil Rhodes led the English settlers in the Afrikaner republic to rebel. In the latter development, the Boer republic declared war on the British, setting off one of the fiercest struggles the world had seen in 1899 (Heyningen, 2015). In 1910, the various South Africa colonies merged to become the union of South Africa, a self-governing entity inside the British Empire (latter the Commonwealth of Nations), the union was under the administration of the tiny white minority (Byrnes, 1996). However, only a handful of Africans and coloreds had the right to vote.

Apartheid officially started after the victory of the National Party of 1948 election. The policy of apartheid was to fulfil the promise of election campaign (Davenport, 1991; Worden, 1994). By the end of the 18th century, certain racially discriminatory regulations were put in



place to consolidate the policy of apartheid. The cogent ideology of segregation fully emerged and implanted in the period between the end of Anglo Boer war in 1902 and the 1930 (Worden 1994). Apartheid project got broad white support because of the distinct advantages it has for the white English speaking population. Lipton (1987) and Blumend (1987) gave four defining characteristics of apartheid to include:

1. Hierarchical ordering of the social, economic and political structure of South African society on the basis of discriminatory statutory defined racial order. Whites with 18% of the total population were at the top of the hierarchy; mixed-race coloureds together with Indians with 12% were in the middle while the indigenous African populations with 70% were at the bottom;
2. Systematic, political and economic discrimination against indigenous Africans;
3. Political, economic and social segregation of the races, as it manifested in housing, social services, education and health care; and
4. Legislation and institutionalization of the hierarchical, discriminatory and segregated system.

Divide and rule which is a central policy of apartheid strongly featured in its implementation among the indigenous South Africa along racial and ethnic lineage, with the aim of perfecting white survival and her hegemony over other tribes (Kashula and Anthonissen, 1995; Bennett 1995). To have a comprehensive understanding of the intricacies, a brief but concise of those repressive, inhuman and draconian legislation popularly called apartheid law need mentioning:

1. **Mines and Work Act:** The act was known as job reservation which was practiced to reserve high-skilled and high paying jobs for Whites. It was passed in 1911.
2. **Natives Land Act:** The act was passed in 1913, though been in practice since mid-1800. The act limits the amount of land that could be owned by the indigenous South Africans. It consequently moved Blacks into overcrowded and unproductive reserves.
3. **Group Area Act:** It was advance the obnoxious Native Land Act. It was passed in 1950 with the sole aim of keeping blacks from white reserved cities. It restricted blacks into newly- created Black townships. Blacks who lived in long established areas, often with legal deeds of ownership were in many cases driven out of their homes and resettled.



4. **Bantu Authorities Act:** The act was a subsequent advancement of obnoxious native land act which set up series of reserves to restrict the native Africans to unproductive area. It was assigned on the basis of tribal affiliation, diplomatically portrayed as independent nations. The act was subsequently passed in 1951.
5. **The Native Trust and Land Act:** This was passed in 1936, increased the area so set aside 'once and for all' to 13.7%.
6. **Mixed Marriage Act:** This was also passed in 1949 reinforcing the 1865 Act, outlawed any sexual intercourse and marriage between White and Black.
7. **Pass Laws:** It was introduced in 1952 to enforce the separation policy of the Groups Area Act. The main purpose was to maintain a constant supply of inexpensive labour from the native African. They were only allowed into cities during working hours, special employment pass as a requisite.
8. **Bantu Education Act:** The Act was passed in 1953. It restricted the curriculum taught to native Africans.
9. **Separate Amenities Act:** It was introduced in 1953. Under this law, different races used different facilities.
10. **Public Safety Act:** Treason act, suppression of the communism act, criminal law amendment act, riotous assemblies act, and many other measures were put in place under the act to safeguard government obnoxious law.
11. **Banning Orders:** It is a kind of long term house arrest. It was put in place to restrict Black protesters in the struggle against apartheid (Kollapen, 2006).

The list of draconian oppressive law against the native majority of South Africa is endless. It is dynamic, new laws were passed to meet new challenges of continuous resistance of the oppressed majority in South Africa. However, the Blacks fought tooth and nail to restore their 'God-given' rights. In addition, Mahatma Gandhi launched a series of nonviolent campaigns to raise awareness of the world that the South African government grossly violated human rights with discriminating treatment.

By the late 1980, the government and the African National Congress found each other in a mutually hurting stalemate, as violence was costing both side precious things and were paying a big price for the confrontation. From the black community there was the loss of life, loss of



jobs, imprisonment, the education system was collapsing, they were not really having an effective army and life was therefore very difficult.

On the government/white side, the exile movement abroad was getting hot as South Africans were attacked across the border, international banks stopped rolling over South African credit. The government was isolated, and the White population in South Africa was feeling the pain of isolation psychologically, and the nation was becoming ever more and more an international pariah.

Coupled with above, South Africa's security and the economic situation continued to deteriorate; crime rates grew to be among the highest in the world, consequently threatening the security of both Blacks and Whites (Hirschi, 2009). The policies of the system were working against government fundamental interest and needs. A combination of all these factors coupled with the internal dynamics of South Africa; it was realized, that the apartheid system as strong as it may be, was incapable of protecting the government/white, and that White supremacy was untenable.

The hurting stalemate they both experience after trying all violence means brought to their sense that what they were doing is destruction, and they don't want to destroy South Africa further. Both parties also saw the potential for common ground and opportunities for joint gain. The only peaceful available means to end the long term crisis and continue to live as brothers was change because "the forces of change are forces of freedom: and the forces of freedom are the forces of peace (Martin Luther King Jr.) cited in Kasali (2009). Through negotiation, and without hesitating the process was set.

Government and ANC Position in Negotiation Process of Apartheid Conflict

The leading parties to the conflict have different positions to pursue in negotiation. These are discussed underneath:

Government's Position: The establishment of Bantu homelands by the government for the restricted indigenous Africans which they claimed possessed the status of independent nations. The government has the leverage and could argue that indigenous (black) were not citizen of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) rather guest workers who have no legitimate rights equal to whites. This could be possible by relying on independent status of Bantu. Any attempt make by the black to petition against government move, the government could as well claim she has



sufficient justification to support her stand against the Black community. Peradventure, the black took stronger measures, such as protests or riots, governments may feel justified in using any measure where necessary to keep public order.

African National Congress' Positions: ANC positions were basically two folds of political and economic.

Political positions: The position remained equal treatment of all residents of South African including citizens and aliens irrespective of race, status or gender. This is in accordance with international norms and standards, which is also prevalent in the industrialized world. These rights include universal franchise, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and so on.

Economic Positions: The positions were more evasive in Freedom Charter, they demanded for large scale nationalization: 'The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the bank and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of people which are majorly native as a whole'. They also demanded for market-oriented policies: which indicate that people irrespective of race or status shall have equal rights to trade and manufacture where they choose, and as well join all trades, crafts and professions.

Joint Efforts to Permanently Resolved Apartheid Conflict Negotiation: Opportunities for Joint Gain

As elucidated by Saunders (2001) of the first stage of the negotiation process, nobody from the top leadership of the two opposing side was willing to discuss ideas publicly. The process for negotiation was therefore set.

Track 1 and II Efforts

Rather, as established by Saunders (2001), Track I and II leaders from the government and African National Congress met jointly in secret, often to explore options for settlement. In the meeting, an outline for the negotiated agreement was becoming apparent.



Majority Rule/Minority Rights: ANC leaders generally sought to build a nonracial society. They also realized that majority rule would have to be accomplished with protections for minority rights for practical reasons.

Property Rights and Social Investments: The Black community came to realize that it was in their best interest to resist the urge to embark on large-scale redistribution of wealth that may eventually send whites out of the country. The Whites community also realized that without substantial investments into infrastructure, education and job opportunities for nonwhites, the struggle would continue with South Africa on the international isolation list.

Common Identity: Both sides realized that they need an inclusive society of a common identity for all South Africans for peace to be established.

The Importance of Leadership and Building Momentum

There was an historical change in February 2, 1990 as President De Klerk recognized Mandela as the possible government best hope for a negotiated settlement. Henceforth, he surprised the entire world with his stunning but impressive speech by releasing Mandela from prison after nearly three decades of incarceration and also lifted the ban on both the ANC and the PAC (United State Institute of Peace, 2010). De Klerk's decision set off a series of negotiations that eventually lead to the dismantling of the apartheid system and the establishment of an all-inclusive and multiracial democracy in South Africa.

Building on the encouragement from De Klerk's bold move, the government and the ANC swung into action. First and foremost, ANC requested for removing all obstacles to negotiation such as ending the state of emergency, repealing all apartheid laws, allowing all exile politicians to return home and releasing all other political prisoners. All the demands were accepted by the government provided that ANC suspended her armed struggle.

In the later development, the state of emergency was lifted in 1990, and it was called the "Groote Schuur Minute" (Clark and Worger, 2004). Both parties made 'a common commitment toward the resolution of the existing conflict, along with 'a commitment to a stable and the peaceful process of negotiation'. Further, they endorsed the report of a joint working group called "Pretoria Minute", 'Government to release political prisoners and allow



political exiles to return home'. Consequently, the government agreed to repeal her internal security Act while ANC agreed to suspend "all armed actions" (Clark and Worger, 2004).

On the first anniversary of De Klerk's historical speech, he reiterated his intention to scrap the remaining apartheid laws. The last two which was the Group Act and Population Registration Act were removed in June 1991. In this case, De Klerk made effective use of accommodation as a means of resolving apartheid conflict permanently.

Track II and III Efforts

Mandela long and patient preparation coupled with De Klerk bold and accommodating action created the swift, unprecedented change in the South Africa which was called the National Peace Accord (NPA). In building relationships, religious leaders from the South Africa Council of churches and business leaders from the Consultative Business Movement joined forces with the NP, the ANC, and Labour Unions to established NPA. In employing collaborative approach, the parties' representatives see themselves as partners in a problem-solving relationship and this change the way they dealt with the problems (Marks, 2000).

In the process of returning peace to the country, violence brew in the Kwazulu-Natal and Johannesburg provinces between Incatha party and ANC for control. National Peacekeeping Force was appointed to deal with the situation of violence. The National Peace Committee was also established to monitor violence across the country and report it.

Inclusion of Stakeholders: During the constitution making process, De Klerk and Mandela invited leaders across the spectrum of South Africa to attend the multi-party conference. In this development, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) was convened in December 1991 with the mandate to establish a broad set of constitutional principles, make preparations for a smooth transition, and prepare for country first free election (Hirschi, 2009).

Leverage and Its Influence in South Africa Apartheid Negotiation

There was a procedural deadlock on whom will run government during the transition as National Party declared herself competent to run the government while negotiating. In contrary, ANC and her allies disagreed for NP to be a judge in her own case at the same time. In view of ANC, the NP would have too much potential leverage.



In drafting of the constitution, both negotiators agreed that a new parliamentary body should prepare a new constitution for the nation. However, NP wanted provision requiring seventy percent (70%) supermajority to approve a permanent constitution for the Republic of South Africa. In contrary, ANC reject the proposal, considering it too much and a constraint on the principle of majority rule. ANC moved motion to put the draft to a plebiscite or a popular vote decided by a simple majority failure to reach a consensus on a draft constitution (Lyman, 2002).

The NP in otherwise did not accept the proposal, considering it an over-assertion of majority rule. The development resulted to highly competitive behaviour. All other move to reconcile the opposing view ended in failure. The development revealed that both parties altered the negotiating dynamic by applying coercive leverage on the process.

ANC subsequently mobilized supporters for massive demonstrations and work away to soften the positions of De Klerk at the negotiating table. The Government on the other way round employed divide and rule strategy by built up Buthelezi as an alternative to Mandela. She fueled the tension by giving him arms. On 16 June, 1992, IFP massacred 39 ANC members in nationwide commemorations of the Soweto uprising.

As a result of the massacre, Mandela made use of normative leverage by pulling the ANC out of CODESA on June 23, 1992 and demand for security for the native (Black) people and investigation (Waldmeir, 1997). The UN mission responded to the call and set up a high profile UN Mission referred to as Goldstone Commission to investigate the crisis (Worger, 1997). The report revealed the involvement of military and police (government agent) in the killing. The involvement of the third party dramatically changed the dynamics of negotiation.

Collaboration and Trade-off

In the continuation of the negotiation process, negotiators on both side under the able leadership of Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer for ANC and NP respectively drew strengths from their personal relationships developed over time. The international community took eventful step to further straighten De Klerk and Mandela relationship (Hirschi, 2009). They were jointly awarded the Nobel Prestigious Liberty Medal and the Nobel Peace Prize in Philadelphia and Stockholm respectively.

De Klerk and Mandela eventually signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). both NP and ANC made some significant concessions to each other. NP agreed a constituent assembly popularly chosen in a nation-wide election to serve as interim parliament and as well



charge with writing a permanent constitution. Further, the constituent assembly would be only be bound by general constitutional principles. ANC gave in for government of National Unity to carry out the executive functions during the period of transition (Hirschi, 2009).

Both parties gained through the concessions. The ANC was able to advance the principle of majority rule while NP and smaller parties were able to settle for the principle of minority rights. In addition, Mandela maintained and De Klerk acknowledged a common South African identity which is the right of all parties and organizations to hold a peaceful rally anywhere in the country (Hirschi, 2009).

Hard-Liners and Potential Spoilers

In spite of the dramatic progress, smaller parties continued to pose problems during the negotiation. De Klerk and Mandela also had difficulties with their own constituencies. The most ardent supporters of Mandela were in their twenties except few people like Sisulu and Tambo who represent much older generation. He always consider the potential restiveness of this young constituency in his decisions. Buthelezi broke off negotiation with ANC to show his displeasure with the MOU and the reconciliation between the ANC and NP. The decision which led him to form his own movement under the code name "Concerned South Africa Group (COSAG) (Worger, 1997).

The White Conservative Party (CP) also claimed De Klerk has sold out his people, while Klerk's predecessor P.W Botha rejected the approach. On the side of Black, the Pan African Congress (PAC) and Incatha Freedom Party (IFP) raised several objections. De Klerk and Mandela made several efforts to encourage them. However, the CP, PAC and IFP ultimately boycotted CODESA to form a new and more just political parties (Hirschi 2009).

Joint- Problem Solving Mechanism

In the face of violence, committed negotiators of both sides kept at their difficult task, fundamental interests and needs of all sides were a dressed. Trade-off was reflected in drafting the final agreement (MOU) over the formation of an interim government as agreed by NP and ANC. Negotiators compromised on 'a majority of two-thirds of all the members of the constitutional assembly'. The compromise helped ensure that both sides would take a consensus approach.



Through a long and difficult process, negotiators eventually agreed on the distribution of political powers between the central and regional governments, balancing majority rule in a one-person/one-vote national system with respect for the concerns of all South African's disparate populations. According to Henrard (2002),

each level of government shall have appropriate and adequate legislative and executive powers and functions that will enable each level to function effectively. The allocation of powers between different levels of government shall be made on a basis which is conducive to financial viability at each level of government and to effective public administration, and which recognizes the need for and promotes national unity and legitimate provincial autonomy and acknowledges cultural diversity (Section 9/2 of 1993 Constitution).

The broad consensus emerged was also one that combined free market growth with significant investments for under-served populations. After much persuasion, Inkatha agreed to participate in the election only eight days to the election (April 19) (Bouckaert, 1997). It was therefore concluded that widespread violence which can metamorphosis into civil war would be avoided. This and many other vices have been altered through negotiation.

For the first time in South African history, all people voted regardless of race on April 27, 1994. In the event of the election, President De Klerk conceded defeat by congratulating Mandela as elected South Africa President on May 2, 1994 (Worger, 1997). To reciprocate, Mandela surprised the entire world by appointing De Klerk as the Deputy President. He also challenged his fellow South Africans to work together in the creation of a new multiracial society (Worger, 197).

The role of foreign body in apartheid contributed to problem-solving negotiation, this cannot be under-estimated. The interventionists played the role of the third party that facilitated the negotiation processes that eventually brought peace to South Africa. Foreign interventionists such as UN, OAU now AU, the European Union, the Soviet Union and other state actors like the USA, Britain, Nigeria and others in the international system worthy of mentioned for active roles played by each one of them.

Forgiveness played a crucial role in new South Africa and this has resulted into the remarkable post-amiable of National Unity and reconciliation. Government of national unity provided for amnesty for politically motivated offence along the lines set out in an Act of



parliament. It was thus accepted as a necessary tool to cement the peace achieved (Sakin, 1996). De Klerk was appointed as Vice President to cement the relationship and for all inclusiveness government (Worger, 1997). Mandela established Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to further the course of peace (Tutu, 1999).

On amazing accomplishment considering her history, the new South Africa is regarded as the most economically and socially advanced nation in the African continent. The country is one of the candidates for a permanent position on an anticipated expanded UN Security Council. Other nations on the continent look up to South Africa to provide regional leadership. Her currency, the errand is actively traded on world markets.

METHODOLOGY

The method employed in the collection of data for this work was based on primary and secondary data. The primary data was gathered through the administration of questionnaires on the people of South Africa. 100 questionnaires were administered to randomly selected people in the country, through their embassy in Lagos, Nigeria. The secondary source tool involved the use of journals, magazines, documents, internet and publication of renowned scholars of the subject matter. The Inferential Statistics model of Statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) express in simple percentage as Chi-square was employed in the analysis of data collection and testing of the hypothesis.

Findings through Data Presentation and Analysis

This section focuses on the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data collected through the administration of questionnaires. The information was extracted from the selected sample of one hundred (100) South Africa living in Nigeria through their embassy in Lagos.

Table 1: Questionnaires Distributed

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Returned	90	90
Unreturned	10	10
Total	100	100

Source: Field Survey, 2022



According to the above table, 90% (90) copies out of the one hundred (100) questionnaires distributed were returned, while 10% (10) were not returned. Thus the percentage will base on the ninety questionnaires returned.

Distribution of Responses According To Bio-Data Information

This section presents the demographic profile of the respondents of the study using five demographic characteristics, namely Sex, Age, Marital Status, Educational Attainment and Employment Status.

Table 2: Demographic Information of Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	58	64.4
Female	32	35.6
Total	90	100
Age Group	Frequency	Percentage
18-30	17	18.9
31-45	25	27.8
46-60	36	40
61 and above	12	13.3
Total	90	100
Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	45	50
Single	10	11
Divorced	20	22.2
Widow/Widower	15	16.7
Total	90	99.9 (100)
Academic Qualification	Frequency	Percentage
Secondary Education	20	22.2



Post-Secondary Education	50	55.6
Post Graduate Education	20	22.2
Total	90	100
Occupation Distribution	Frequency	Percentage
Career foreign service officer	5	5.5
Non-career officers	15	16.7
Business	45	50
Others	25	27.8
Total	192	100

Source: Researcher Field Survey, 2022

The table above showed that 64.4% of the respondents were male while 35.6% were female. In age bracket, the table indicated that 18.9% were age bracket 18-30, 27.8% felled within age bracket 31-40, 40% were 46-60 years, while 13.3% were age 61 and above. The breakdown of marital status shows that 50% were married, 11% were single, and 22.2% were divorced while 16.7% were either widow or widower. As also depicted above, 22.2% of the respondents had secondary education, 55.6% had post-secondary education while 22.2% had post graduate education. In education distribution, 5.5% of the respondents were career foreign service officers, 16.7% as non-career officers, 50% were in business related occupation while 27.8% were under others as specify.

Presentation of Data According To Variables

This section presents the major core of study as it investigates the effectiveness of negotiation as the instrument of peace in resolving apartheid South Africa deep-rooted conflict. The scale will be used to analyse table 3 and 4 below.



Awareness of Apartheid System in South Africa

This subsection examines the awareness of respondents about the apartheid system in South Africa. Four (4) relevant statements were posed to respondents as the responses are presented below.

Table 3: Awareness of Apartheid System in South Africa

SN	Awareness of Apartheid System in South Africa	SA	A	U	SD	D
				(%)		
1	Apartheid system in South Africa was a policy of racial discrimination	61.1	20	3.3	7.8	7.8
2	Apartheid system in South Africa was authoritarian and totalitarian in nature	50	32.2	2.2	10	5.6
3	Government of South Africa adhere to the fundamental human right principle during the apartheid era	7.8	5.6	4.4	71.1	11.1
4	The current party system in South Africa toes tribal lines as the apartheid period	24.4	36.7	3.3	23.3	12.2

Source: Researcher Field Survey, 2022

As depicted above, 61.1% and 20% of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed respectively that apartheid in South Africa was a policy of racial discrimination. 7.8% were both strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively to the assertion while 3.3% were neutral. Similarly, 82.2% of the respondents strongly affirmed that apartheid system in South Africa was authoritarian and totalitarian in nature, 15.6% were not in line with the statement while 2.2% did not take any side. Also, 7.8% of the respondents strongly agreed that government of South Africa adhered to the fundamental human right principle during the apartheid era, 5.6% agreed, 71.1% strongly disagreed, 11.1% disagreed and 4.4% did not support any side. In addition, 61.1% felt that the current party system in South Africa toes tribal line, 35.5% felt otherwise while 3.3% were neutral.

The Impact of Negotiation in Resolving Apartheid Conflict in South Africa

In subsection, the focus was to interrogate the impact of negotiation in resolving apartheid conflict in South Africa. The analysis of the results is presented below.

Table 4: The Impact of Negotiation in Resolving Apartheid Conflict in South Africa

SN	The Impact of Negotiation in Resolving Apartheid Conflict in South Africa	SA	A	U	SD	D
				(%)		
5	The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) set up by Nelson Mandela immediately after apartheid was effective and efficient	61.1	20	--	11.1	7.8
6	Negotiation is one of the best strategy for African countries in resolving deep-rooted conflict	71.1	5.6	4.4	8.9	10
7	Negotiation in South Africa made apartheid conflict to be jointly resolved	61.1	27.8	--	11.1	--
8	Negotiation led South Africa from the state of crisis to the state of durable peace	51.1	31.1	--	2.2	15.6

Source: Researcher Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, it is cleared that 81.1% of the respondents rated TRC as efficient and effective while 18.9% does not see it as efficient and effective. According to the table, 71.1% of the total respondents strongly agreed that negotiation is one of the best strategy for African countries in resolving deep-rooted conflict. 5.6% agreed, 8.9% strongly disagreed, 10% disagreed and 5.6% were neutral. Similarly, above table indicated that majorities of the respondents with 88.9% affirmed that negotiation made apartheid conflict to be jointly resolved as 11.1% disagreed. In addition, the table revealed that 51.1% of the respondents strongly agreed, 31.1% agreed, 2.2% strongly disagreed and 15.6% agreed to the opinion that negotiation led South Africa from the state of crisis to the state of durable peace.

Testing of the Hypothesis: An hypothesis is tested in this section. A table of frequency is constructed to enable the computation of the expected frequency be possible. The statistical method to be used for testing the hypothesis is chi-square (X^2).

$$\text{Where: } X^2 = \sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$$

Where X^2 – Chi-Square

$\sum$ = Summation

O = Observed frequency

E = Expected frequency

In proofing the hypothesis, H_0 will represent null hypothesis while H_i will stand for the alternative hypothesis.

Hypothesis Based on statement 8

H_0 : Negotiation did not lead South Africa from the state of crisis to the state of durable peace

H_i : Negotiation lead South Africa from the state of crisis to the state of durable peace

Table.5 Analysis of respondents on research hypothesis

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	46	51.1
Agree	28	31.1
Neutral	--	--
Strongly Disagree	2	2.2
Disagree	14	15.6
Total	90	100

Table 6. Analysis of chi-square (X^2)

Variables	O	E	O-E	$(O-E)^2$	$(O-E)^2/E$
Strongly Agree	46	22.5	23.5	552.25	24.54
Agree	28	22.5	5.5	30.25	1.34
Neutral	--	22.5	-22.5	506.25	22.5
Strongly Disagree	2	22.5	-20.5	420.25	18.68
Disagree	14	22.5	-8.5	72.25	3.21
Total	90				70.27

Formula for the degree of freedom = $r - 1$



$$= 5 - 1 = 4$$

Decision Rule: If the calculated X^2 is less than the critical (i.e. value of X^2 from the table), the null hypothesis is accept while the alternative hypothesis is rejected.

Decision: Since the calculated value (70.27) is greater than the table value (7.815), the null hypothesis is reject, thus the alternative hypothesis is accepted.

It is however worthy to say, based on the above statistical testing of the hypothesis that negotiation led South Africa from the state of crisis to the state of durable peace.

CONCLUSION

Negotiation has been described as the process that provides disputants with an opportunity to directly exchange information and commitments through which their perceived differences of interest are amicably resolved. In the apartheid South Africa case, after a long time of violence which claimed thousands of life and destruction of properties, both parties latter embrace dialogue (negotiation). Findings from available facts in literature and from the field survey buttressed the urgent to depart from the violence ways of resolving conflict and embrace peaceful means which is win-win approach. Principle negotiation should be embraced rather than hard negotiation which is the positional bargaining strategy. Common or joint problems solving should be the goal of negotiating parties and parties should understand each other for wise outcomes (win-win). It is the undeniable fact that South Africans historical peaceful transition was in no way guaranteed by Mandela's release nor was De klerk's decision, rather it was the product of a long and difficult series of negotiations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The government should embrace peace and dialogue instead of violence in dealing with technical issues among the existing communities in respectful country in Africa
2. African nations should learn from South Africa in addressing their political situation.
3. For Nigeria and other similar challenges, there is need for a round table conference (meeting) to deliberate the peaceful co-existence of different tribes in this country.

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