

UBUNTU IN THE FACE OF XENOPHOBIA: INTERROGATING THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTRADICTIONS

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Abstract

The study is an attempt to interrogate the contradictions that exist between Ubuntu which is the love and affection for humanity and xenophobia which is the fear and hatred for foreigners. South Africa has the Ubuntu philosophy which prides in African uniqueness and oneness. A philosophy that emphasises the necessity of constantly promoting good relations between and among people that is predicated on a culture of caring, sharing, and respect as the only way of ensuring the well-being of the collective whole. The incidence of xenophobia which is the anti-thesis of Ubuntu is something that no one ever envisaged knowing that South African blacks went through a horrendous regime of apartheid that was anchored on segregation and discrimination. A cross-section of South Africans visited immigrants from other African countries with an onslaught of xenophobic attacks that led to the destruction of foreign business concerns and death of many immigrants. The study deployed historical narrative design in exploring all available documentary information on Ubuntu and xenophobia. Historical narrative design is part of expo facto design. The method of data collection deployed by the study is secondary data collection. The method of data analysis deployed by the study is Relational Content Analysis. The study deployed Relative Deprivation and Frustration-Aggression Theories as its theoretical framework.

Key Words: Contradictions; Immigrants; Ubuntu; Violence; Xenophobia

Introduction

It was in the mid-1990s that xenophobia and xenophobic violence against foreigners in South Africa began. South Africa had ended the apartheid regime in the early 1990s. Series of steps led to the formation of a democratic government in 1994 with Nelson Mandela as the first post-apartheid president.

A lot of efforts led to the transition from apartheid to democratic governance that was for the first time an all-inclusive government. A lot of sacrifice, both human and material, was made to achieve this. Lives were lost during the struggle for the emancipation of the native Africans. The neighbouring states known as the Frontline States contributed much to this struggle. Nigeria, which does to have geographic contiguity with South Africa was made an honorary Frontline State because of her enormous financial and material contributions to the emancipation effort.

In the early 1990s, with the advent of Glasnost and Perestroika in Germany, and the democratic fervor it engendered, United States impressed it on South African Prime Minister F. W. de Klerk to start a democratic transition of the apartheid regime. When de Klerk agreed to this, the US immediately lifted the economic sanction against South Africa and increased foreign aid to her. In 1994, a democratic election was held and Nelson Mandela was elected the first post-

apartheid President of South Africa. With this, many United States' companies that had disinvested in the 1990s returned with new investments and joint ventures (U.S. Department of State, 2001).

With the end of apartheid, the enthronement of a democratic government, the lifting of economic sanctions, and increased foreign investment, the economy of South Africa began to boom. This, of course, led to a lot of immigration, with Africans of different nationalities moving into the country.

With the increase in immigration and the attendant increase in population, a lot of pressure started to bear on limited resources such as housing, education, healthcare, and employment. This pressure on limited resources led the media to portray immigrants as a threat to South Africans and of course, this led to a negative perception of immigrants among the population (Uni24.co.za, 2024). The South African people were also vexed that immigrants were taking away jobs from them, leaving them increasingly unemployed. So, the South African people, especially the black population, believed that immigrants were taking away resources and opportunities from locals leading to an increase in poverty rates among South Africans.

Choane, Shulika & Mthombeni (2011) state that the central thing about the xenophobic attacks in South Africa is the fact that the attacks are following a path of racism, directed more often than not against African immigrants. The issue which Choane *et al* brought up and which is very pertinent is, considering the fact that South Africa successfully came out of decades of racial exclusion and discrimination in the apartheid regime to that of democratic equality and recognition, should xenophobia occur in South Africa?

The Concept of Ubuntu

Canonical (2024) states that Ubuntu is an ancient African word meaning humanity to others. Ubuntu is more or less emphasising our being our brothers' keeper. It tends to tell us as Canonical (2024, p.1) puts it "I am what I am because of who we are". The word Ubuntu is more of a Southern African word. In Zulu language the revered Bishop Desmond Tutu in 2013 stated that Ubuntu means "Who we are: human uniqueness and the African spirit of oneness". According to Wikipedia (2024) Ubuntu in the Bantu language describes a set of closely related Africa-origin value system which emphasises the interconnectedness of individuals with their surrounding social and physical worlds. In Zulu language it means humanity towards others. Wikipedia went further to state that in Xhosa language the term is used in a more philosophical sense to mean the belief in a universal bond of sharing that connects all humanity.

The New World Encyclopedia (2024) states that Ubuntu comes from the Zulu and Xhosa languages and means humanity towards others. It states that the term embodies all those virtues that fast-track harmony and the spirit of sharing among members of society. Ubuntu underlines the appreciation of traditional beliefs, and a continuous awareness that an individual's action today is a reflection of the past and will have far-reaching consequences for the future.

The New World Encyclopedia (2024, p.5) states that a Zimbabwean historiographer and educator stated in 1980 amongst others that the philosophy means:

- i. To be human is to affirm one's humanity by recognising the humanity of others and, on that basis, establish respectful human relations with them.
- ii. If and when one is faced with a decisive choice between wealth and the preservation of the life of another human being, the one should opt for the preservation of life.

How does the general meaning and philosophy of Ubuntu sit with xenophobia which has been ravaging South Africa? South Africa is made up of Zulu and Xhosa people amongst others. Ubuntu is the philosophy of native South Africans. It is the native South Africans who carried out the xenophobic attacks on migrant Africans in South Africa. So what is the place of Ubuntu in the scheme of things?

Conceptualising Xenophobia

Nationalism, which is the love for one's nation calls for patriotism which of course is the love for one's people but sometimes this assertion takes a more extreme form that tilts towards hatred for foreigners. This form of extreme but unguarded patriotism results to what is known as xenophobia. In line with this Rourke (2008) states that valuing one's nation is a positive aspect of nationalism, but it too often leads to feeling superior to others or even fearing and hating them. He maintains that this attitude known as xenophobia is one destructive way in which some people relate to others. McLean and McMillan (2023) agree with the above but however add that xenophobia which is the fear of foreigners or strangers is often used to refer to attitudes of hatred or contempt rather than pure fear. To this effect, xenophobia tends to manifest itself in hostility towards immigrants. Agreeing with the above, Sodaro (2008) states that xenophobia manifests in distrust and hatreds of foreigners.

To Migration and Home Affairs (2024) xenophobia is the attitudes, prejudices and behavior that select, reject, exclude and/or vilify persons based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity. The University of Edinburgh (2024) in its Google space, not only defines xenophobia but goes further to differentiate it from racism. It states that xenophobia is the fear of strangers or hatred for people who are perceived as being different from oneself. This, it states, can be based on a person's race, ethnicity, nationality, religion or other distinguishing characteristics. It further states that even though xenophobia and racism are similar as both have roots in indiscriminate, xenophobia however, usually refers more to a person's nationality and culture rather than exclusively his race or ethnicity. This, notwithstanding, some people can be both xenophobic and racist.

United for Change (2024) is more forceful in its categorisation of xenophobia and racism. It states that xenophobia is the fear of strangers or fear of the foreigners. It avers that it manifests itself as hatred in some cases as the foreigner is most likely to be treated as an outcast, discriminated against, deemed inferior and categorised as the 'other'. On the hand, racism is, according to United for Change, an ideology of domination where one racial group is deemed superior and thereby justifying the interior treatment or social position of other social groups. It went further to state that this belief can lead to prejudice and acts of discrimination against someone who is of a different race. A good example of this type of belief, according to United for Change, is the North American white supremacist ideology which believes that anyone who identifies as black, indigenous, Hispanic etc. that is, none white, is inferior or subhuman. But in the case of xenophobia people of the same race can discriminate against each other on the basis of who is an insider and who is a foreigner while racism is based on the belief that one race is superior to the other. Xenophobia is the belief that one is superior because the other is a foreigner with a different ethnicity and culture.

Xenophobia can manifest in a variety of ways. For instance, United For Change (2024) states that women who wear hijabs may face ridicule and discrimination. Individuals may be ostracised for having a different accent. A person who brings his cultural cuisine to work may be

treated with disdain. But in extreme cases, xenophobia can lead to the destruction of foreigners' businesses, bodily harm to strangers or outright killing of migrants as was witnessed in South Africa.

Theoretical Underpinning

The study will be anchored on two theories. These are Relative Deprivation Theory and Frustration-Aggression Theory. These theories are related and somewhat interwoven.

Relative deprivation is a theory postulated by Robert Milton. It is a situation where someone or people lack the resources to sustain a lifestyle, activities and amenities that he or people are accustomed to or that they widely believe that they should get. Relative deprivation also includes what individuals or group experience of discontent when being deprived of something which they believe they are entitled (Walker and Smith, 2001).

Relative deprivation is a term used in Social Sciences to describe feelings or measures of economic, political or social deprivation that are relative rather than absolute. The term is also linked to similar terms such as poverty and social exclusion. The concept of relative deprivation therefore has important consequences for both behaviour and attitudes, and participation in collective action which sometimes may come out in a show of violence.

Social Scientists such as Robert K. Merton (1938) and Ted Robert Gurr (1970) have cited relative deprivation as a potential cause of social movements and divisions, leading in extreme situation to political, economic and social violence such as rioting, terrorism, civil wars and instances of social deviance such as crime. Similarly, Rose (1982) avers that some social movements arise as a result of grievances of people who feel deprived of what they perceive as values to which they are entitled. Merton (1938) states that individual may also engage in deviant behaviours when their means do not match their goals.

Frustration-Aggression theory is related to Relative Deprivation theory because in most cases it is a sense of deprivation that leads to frustration which in turn may lead to aggression. The Frustration-Aggression theory is a theory of aggression postulated by John Dollard, Neal Miller, Leonard Doob, Orval Mowrer and Robert Sears in 1939. The theory was further developed by Neal Miller in 1941, and even further in 1989 by Leonard Berkowitz. Friedman and Schustack (2014) aver that the theory affirms that aggression is the result of blocking or frustrating a person's efforts to attain a goal. Dollard *et al* stated in their postulation that frustration always precedes aggression, and that aggression is the sure consequence of frustration. Zilman (1999), however, notes that later scholars have modified the theory a bit. He states that Miller *et al* (1941) and Sears (1941) have reformulated the theory to opine and suggest that while frustration creates a need to respond, some form of aggression is one possible outcome. They now believe that while frustration brings about a behavior that may or may not be aggressive, any aggressive behaviour is the result of frustration. This of course, makes frustration not sufficient but, however, a necessary condition for aggression.

Even more disturbing is the issue of transferred aggression when innocent targets are made the scapegoat of people's frustration. Dollard *et al* agree that frustration breeds aggression but when the source of frustration cannot be reached, the aggression gets displaced and transferred into an innocent target. They contend for example that if a man is disrespected and humiliated at his work place but cannot respond to this for fear of losing his job, he may go home and mete out

his anger and frustration on his innocent family. Whitley and Kite (2009) aver that this theory is also used to explain the incidence of riots and revolutions, which are both believed to be caused by poorer and more deprived sections of society who may express that bottled up frustration and anger through violence. So, in effect, deprivation breeds frustration and frustration triggers aggression.

Xenophobic Violence in South Africa

Dratwa (2024) states that xenophobic violence against immigrants has been in South Africa since the mid-1990s. This means the violence against immigrants started immediately after the country's successful transition to democratic governance. The violence and discrimination by which the white supremacist regime ruled the country was immediately transferred to immigrants as if the native South Africans were waiting to find targets to unleash the bottled up anger of violence and discrimination they suffered, the way it was meted out to them. This is not lost to Rufai Oseni of Arise Television. On the way black South Africans treat their fellow black Africans he had this to say on 'The Morning Show' of Arise News concerning the battle of wits on Bolt Ordering that occurred on 23th August, 2024 between South Africans and Nigerians:

...I don't know why the same Nigerians that stood toe to toe with South Africans to fight apartheid are now being fought in return...I will go back to the words of Frantz Fanon that says oppressed people only oppress others. So when you look at it, the oppressed people over the years in South Africa will only look for other people to oppress which is their fellow black African brothers. There is a lot of xenophobic activities. We all remember what happened a couple of years ago here when South Africans went out for Nigerians and we had to go and repatriate Nigerians... (Oseni, 2024).

Since xenophobia reared its ugly head in South Africa, Masiko-Mpaka (2023) states that the country has been grappling with sporadic and sometimes lethal xenophobic harassment and violence against African and Asian foreign nationals living in the country, including refugees, asylum seekers, and both documented and undocumented migrants. She went ahead to report that recently BBC African Eye came out with a documentary which investigated the activities of Operation Dudula, an anti-immigrants vigilante group, that is targeting and harassing foreign nationals.

Operation Dudula was birthed in 2021 in South West Town (Soweto), and now has branches all over the country. Masiko-Mpaka affirms that the anti-immigrants outfit was conceived by South Africa youth activists to address crime and drug usage in Gauteng province's communities. However, as many things are wont to be, this particular outfit that was launched for a particular purpose and localised, has developed many wings and spread across the length and breadth of the country, and at the same time delved into many other issues which include calling for mass deportation of undocumented immigrants, blocking immigrants from accessing healthcare, raiding businesses belonging to foreign nationals and forcing their shops close. She stated that the Zulu word 'dudula' means to push out, which denotes to push foreigners out of the country and back to their countries of origin.

The type of hatred that members of this anti-immigrants members spew on foreign nationals is astonishing to say but the least. They used derogatory language on foreigners and sing struggle songs signifying a readiness to go to war with them. Masiko-Mpaka quoted a member as

saying “To tell you the truth, I hate foreigners. How I wish they could just pack and go and leave our country”.

For members of Operation Dudula, foreign nationals are the root cause of all the economic hardship that South African blacks are going through. To them it is the immigrants that disenable the South African government from delivering needed services. However, Masiko-Mpaka notes that as the BBC documentary and various studies highlight, scapegoating foreigners will in no way improve basic service rendition, reduce crime, or address the triple burden of inequality, poverty, and unemployment (Masiko-Mpaka, 2023).

Neocosmos (2010) agreeing with the above states that prior to the democratic election that brought in Nelson Mandela as the first black elected president of South Africa, immigrants faced discrimination and even violence in the country as a result of competition for scarce economic opportunities. However, contrary to expectations, the incidence of xenophobia increased after the elections of 1994 that ushered in majority rule. Human Rights Watch (2009) estimates that at least 62 people were killed in the xenophobic uprising and attacks in 2008. Another report by Los Angeles Times (2015) avers that another nationwide violence against immigrants prompted a number of foreign government to begin repatriating their citizens.

A report by Tamir and Budiman (2019) shows that 62% of South Africans believe that immigrants in South Africa are a burden on their country by taking jobs and social benefits that should come to natives. The reports also aver that 61% of South Africans thought that foreign nationals were more responsible for crime than other groups. However, Cosser (2023) maintains that there is no factual evidence to substantiate the notion that foreign nationals are the main culprits of criminal activities in South Africa as politicians and public figure sometimes claim.

As has been stated earlier, xenophobia is fuelled by politicians and public figures in South Africa. For instance, Human Rights Watch (2024) reports that candidates in South African elections that were conducted in May 29, 2024 used scapegoating and demonising immigrants as their campaign strategy, thereby risking the rise of xenophobic violence. The report states that among the campaign themes that took centre stage was migration, albeit irregular migration, which is often accompanied by harmful and threatening rhetoric. Masiko-Mpaka (2023, p.3) takes exception to this when she contends that:

Politicians are using immigrants as pawns without regard for their safety in an attempt to score votes ahead of the general elections. The Electoral Commission of South Africa, as an independent constitutional body which manages free and fair elections should explicitly condemn the harmful rhetoric directed towards foreign nationals.

There is no gainsaying that in a country like South Africa, where xenophobic violence, including lethal violence, has been a persistent problem, rhetoric that scapegoats immigrants can too easily spark violence. Human Rights Watch (2024) states that candidates for the general election pushed a narrative not just that migration is out of control, but blamed undocumented migrants for the country's ills and engaged in xenophobia. It states that South Africa's electoral code of conduct which requires every candidate to abide by, prohibits language that provokes violence and requires candidates to speak out against political violence. This, however, does not appear to be followed. In fact, it appears that the politicians think and believe that the use of xenophobic language will enhance their chances of winning the elections as if that language is what the electorate want to hear.

Government officials are not left out in the stroking of anti-immigration sentiment. Human Rights Watch reports that Kenny Kunene, the Deputy President of the Patriotic Alliance political party and the Johannesburg city member of the Mayoral Committee for Transport called for mass deportation of illegal immigrants who are staying in abandoned buildings that were not taking rent as a result of August 2023 fire outbreak in a building in Johannesburg's central business district in which more than 70 people died. It states that in the wake of the tragedy, many South Africans blamed immigrants with some saying that eviction laws protect criminals by making it difficult to remove people who are living in buildings without permission. In the face of this xenophobic sentiments against immigrants, Nyeleti Baloyi, advocacy officer at the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa, told Human Rights Watch that migration issues are clearly being used to circumvent the real issues that are present in South Africa. Masiko-Mpaka counsels that if South Africa is to confront xenophobic discrimination, harassments and attacks, then it also needs to address anti-migration rhetoric and abandon retrogressive migration policies. She conceded that the government can address irregular migration without using electioneering to endanger foreign nationals.

Ubuntu and the Challenge of Xenophobia

When South Africa notorious apartheid regime was replaced by a democratically elected government in the early 1994, there was high hopes that the democratic dispensation will sound the death knell of the gratuitous display of authority and wanton brutality, and human rights excesses by which the apartheid regime was known. Murenje (2020) avers that those who partook in the struggle against apartheid did so in an attempt to realize fundamental human rights and an end to all forms of discrimination. The thought was that the end of apartheid in South Africa, with the coming of majority rule, would herald a new era and indeed a new political and economic dispensation in which human rights, in form of political and economic freedom of all people would become paramount in the country. There was indeed high hopes that the victory of anti-apartheid force would bring joy, hope and positive expectations for people including migrants from different countries of Africa. However, what confronts the African people is xenophobic violence, brutality, arson, burning and looting, and killing of immigrants.

Eyo and Etta (2020) share this same thought with Nurenje. They affirm that the philosophy of Ubuntu unequivocally presents an African world view of care for others, the affirmation of the existence of others, and the participation of others. Altruism which is the closest English word for Ubuntu encourages show of compassion, generosity, care and living with others. Yet, against all expectations, what confronts immigrant Africans in South Africa is the resurgence of xenophobic attacks, which they state is a signposts of misguided individuals who have lost the tracks of personhood and otherness, which are central in the Ubuntu philosophy.

Kaungu (2020) identifies xenophobia as an important contemporary human right issue in South Africa today and notes that xenophobia as carried out in the country mostly experiences black on black discrimination and violence which can really be termed afro-phobia. He notes that in South Africa, there is a consensus that the phenomenon is usually manifest in passive fear, negative attitudes and hostile perceptions among the populace, coupled with accompanying outward acts of overt individual or mob violence, hostility or discrimination against foreigners which ultimately results in loss of property and human life. These manifestations, he contends, constitute an affront to the rule of law in South Africa, which not only boasts of a highly progressive human rights and legal regime but whose government has in fact shown a high level

of generosity towards welcoming and hosting hundreds of thousands of refugees displaced by wars and conflicts from various Africa countries. Kaungu, however, believes that if Ubuntu is fully embraced it could be an effective social intervention to address the prevailing xenophobic attitude often exhibited by black South Africans against black African immigrants.

The questions that agitates the mind are, if Ubuntu is a philosophy indigenous to black Southern African countries and especially South Africa, how come that it is only the South African blacks that fight fellow black Africans? Why is it that the white South Africans whose philosophy is not rooted in Ubuntu, and who showed the opposite tendency during the apartheid period do not overtly discriminating against African immigrations? Is economic and social difficulties stronger than Ubuntu or is it a question of, for better we are friends, for worse we are enemies?

Broodryk (2004) states that Ubuntu philosophy emphasises the necessity of constantly promoting good relations between and among people predicated on a culture of caring, sharing, and respect as the only way to ensure the well-being of the collective whole. Ifejika (2006) states that the main proponent of Ubuntu is Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu who in his book 'No Future Without Forgiveness' states that a person with Ubuntu is open and available to others, affirming of others and has a proper self-assurance.

Xenophobia is therefore the anti-thesis of Ubuntu. Desmond Tutu, the revered South African Bishop and an anti-apartheid and human rights activities in his own words states that:

Ubuntu is every difficult to render into western languages. It speaks to the very essence of being human. When you want to give high praise to someone we say "Yu, u Nobuntu", he or she has Ubuntu. This means that they are generous, hospitable, friendly, caring and compassionate. They share what they have. It also means that my humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in theirs. We belong in a bundle of life. We say "a person is a person through other people" in Xhosa "Ubuntu ungamunutu ngabanye abanuntu" and in Zulu "Umuntu ngumuntu ngabanye". I am human because I belong, participate and I share. A person with Ubuntu is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened, that others are able and good; for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes with knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole. Is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they are less than who they are (Tutu, 1999: p.34 – 35).

Xenophobia is therefore, a complete contradiction of the philosophy and spirit of Ubuntu.

Apologies from South Africa for Xenophobia

On 13 April 2015, several South Africans attacked immigrants in a xenophobic violence in Durban, which later spread to some part of Jōha nnesburg. Several people lost their lives in this attack. Xenophobic attacks on foreigners have happened in 2007, 2008, 2014. Xenophobic attacks has continued since this period. Another one happened in 2019 and even as late as 2023 members of Operation Dudula were seen marching down a street in the Hillbrow neighborhood of Jōha nnesburg to deliver memoranda to several businesses in the area to the effect that immigrants are not welcomed or wanted in South Africa.

After the 13th April, 2015 xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals, South Africa's International Relations Minister, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane met African diplomats on Friday 17 April to brief them on the situation and also apologise for the attacks. She informed the African

diplomatic community that the government had deployed several strategies to halt the attacks. She later made a statement stating that:

It is therefore with a deep sense of pain and regret that we as the South African government humbled ourselves before the African diplomatic community in our meeting with them today and we expressed through them, our heartfelt apologies to the African continent and people for the actions of those of our citizens who have behaved in a shameful manner (African Report, 2015 p.1)

Ebrahim (2015, p.1) quoted South Africa's Minister of International Relations, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane as saying "Pan Africanism has been the motive force of our struggle, and these attacks are a threat to our historical achievements". The historic achievements were as a result of the liberation effort by native South Africans that was greatly supported by Africa in general and the Front Line States in particular including Nigeria that was made an honorary member because of her enormous financial and human resource inputs. It is the citizens of these countries that are being brutally dealt with.

Jacob Zuma, the then President of South Africa, stated that the attacks against immigrants were unacceptable in a televised address and directed his Security and Economic Sector Ministers to take steps to prevent further attacks and devise ways of ensuring long-term peace and stability.

Reacting to the address of the Minister of International Relations, the then Dean of the Diplomatic Corps in South Africa, Ambassador Bene Mpoko, a national of Democratic Republic of Congo, said that "the spirit of Ubuntu must not just be a slogan referred to in diplomatic speeches, but it must be felt in real life" (Ebrahim, 2015 p.1).

Has the story changed for the better? Incidents of xenophobic violence still occur in South Africa. In 2019, there was a xenophobic attack on Nigerian immigrants in South Africa that triggered a reprisal xenophobic violence in Nigeria against South African immigrants and businesses. This led South Africa government to temporarily close its diplomatic mission in Nigeria (BBC News, 2019). Schwikowski (2023) notes that a Zimbabwean in Diepsloot, north of Johannesburg was stoned and set on fire on 17 April, 2023. This means that South Africa is still facing growing xenophobic problem. The South African government has not been able to curb it. It is not yet Uhuru.

Conclusion

South Africa, known as the Rainbow Nation because of its cultural and colour diversity has an endearing philosophical view – Ubuntu which speaks to the very essence of being human. It means being generous, hospitable, friendly, caring, sharing and compassionate. Ubuntu means humanity towards others. One is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished when others are tortured or oppressed or treated as if they are less than who they are.

This wholesome and beautiful philosophy notwithstanding, South Africa has been embroiled in xenophobia which is a direct antithesis of all that Ubuntu stands for. There have been incidences of violent attacks on black immigrants resulting in the destruction of their businesses and death to many of them. Part of the violence emanates from the rhetoric of politicians during their electioneering campaign. If there have been government efforts to stem the violence, nothing concrete has come out of it as xenophobic attacks have continued to fester. It is hoped that more stringent measures would be taken to curb this outrage. And one of them should be the economic

emancipation of the people of South Africa. It is the poor economic situation of South African blacks that brings about the frustration that fuels the aggression. The immigrants are just the scapegoats.

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