

Q: Current understanding of non-racialism?

My perception of non-racialism is approaching each person as a unique individual and not merely as some kind of representative of the category. So race is one identity marker and obviously given our history it is an important identity marker, but it is not the only identity marker. To make race subsume everything else and to believe that racial categories are the only ones that can define a person's aspirations, views, positions, political philosophy, is fundamentally false. So each individual has many many identities. The common experience of a racial reality is certainly one identity but it cannot be seen as the defining identity imposed on other people. If that is the defining identity people choose for themselves that is good for them, they can do that. But in a free society people don't have an identity imposed upon them by virtue of racial category prescribed by others. That is my understanding. That is also the DA's perspective.

Q: What is your view on other perspectives on non-racialism? I.e. from other political parties?

Well you see my political philosophy is one of the open society and the opportunity society. They are both very important. The open speaks to freedom; the opportunity speaks to the redress and the empowerment. From an open perspective you can't prescribe to someone who they are, what they must believe, what their aspirations must be, what their identity is, because it fundamentally takes away their freedom to choose what they should be. So it quite wrong to impose upon society rigid racial categories that define who people are, what they may think, what their views should be and how they may mobilise politically and whatever. And the opportunity part is that obviously some South Africans, often on a racial basis, have faced great oppression in their lives and lack of opportunity so it is our job to ensure that is redressed, without preventing other people from using their freedoms and fulfilling their aspirations. That happens though sustained economic growth and good education. But the point is race is not the only marker of that. Of course we believe in equity and affirmative action but not as an imposition of racial categories as the only marker of redress and not in the way that sees redress as a zero sum game.

If you can drive economic growth at the rate it should be driven, which I think is possible and you see a pie getting bigger, not just fighting over a shrinking pie, then you talking about an increased opportunity society, and so the DA looks very much at increasing opportunities and not at manipulating outcomes and certainly not through imposed racial categories. We believe very strongly that all people are legitimate and full citizens.

Q: How do you envisage achieving non-racialism?

The only way to achieve it is by our political philosophy we believe. Let's look at an issue on gender. I have just spoken to the Gender Commission. They have come to me and asked what the DA is doing to achieve the commission's vision of 50/50 gender representation. I said, first we don't believe in quotes. Second, we don't believe in manipulating outcomes. We believe in broadening opportunity. We believe in opportunity driven AA. And in the case of women we are doing that by running a very broad based inclusive young leaders programme in which we seek out people who are very passionate about political involvement, share our values and have the attitude and aptitude to succeed. We bring them in, we train them, we give them opportunities and then they move up through the ranks often with astonishing speed. (*Gives examples*). Because they are brilliant and good and passionate and interested. That is the opportunity based equity. I have taken the gender commission on a bet, that through opportunity based

equity for women we will in five to ten years have far more women in top positions, and be a far more successful party because we have the right women in top positions, than the ANC which has displaced all its goals to outcomes manipulation, usually for the politically connected few, using the smokescreen and fig leaf of so called non-racialism and non sexism. They will have fewer and fewer because they didn't create the opportunity AA and the equity AA. And they will be crumbling organisations, with less and less equity. So I have taken them on a bet and exactly the same applies to the other side of non-racialism.

Let me give an example. When the DA came to power in the City of Cape Town the tender system worked like this: before you could get a tender you had to be politically connected in one way or the other. People knew if they didn't have a good political connection it wasn't worth their while to submit a political tender. Therefore the maximum the ANC could every get for SMEs and HDI companies in the tender system was 40%. In the first year the DA was in office, by broadening opportunity, by saying political connections will get you nowhere, you have to add value, in light of the points system. Political connection is nowhere on the map, you have to add value. In the first year we were up to 60%, it has peaked at 80%. That is the opportunity driven BEE. It is a wonderful story of opportunity driven BEE, and it will operate with non-racialism, and it will work with gender. In ten years time it will all look so obvious, but we will be the only people who have done that.

*Q: How would you expand your approach to non-racialism, as encapsulated by your young leaders programme, to wider society?*

First of all we need to win. That is number one. Let me give you another e.g. We started a skills development forum, which we want to make a place where supply meets demand. At the moment when businesses want skills they can't get in South Africa, they go overseas, like hospitals go to India to get nurses. We are saying, tell me what skills you need and we will design courses to train those people in South Africa. We have a huge gap in the terrible curse of drug addiction. We have opened rehab centres but we can't find people to staff them. We have created 3 courses at universities for addition specialities.

Of course the very basis of opportunity is decent education. That is why the role of the state in creating opportunities is ? You see it is the open opportunity vision: you open freedom, the opportunity means the wherewithal, the chance, to work hard to become the best you can be. That is the vision, that combination. Freedom we all know about, the opportunity starts with decent education, decent health care, decent basic services, and then it can only happen if people are prepared to use their freedom to grasp their opportunities to work hard to develop themselves. That is the only combination. All of those things have to happen together.

That is why we are driving education as hard as we are. We have said, for example, that no one can be a matric marker unless they have passed the competency tests. There is a complete outcry, SATU is boycotting. We said fine, boycott. We are going improve education no matter how tough it gets. Children come first, in this sort of thing, not what suits everybody else. They have to be given opportunities by the state otherwise they don't get opportunities. We are going to sign performance contracts with principles and deputy principles and SATU hates it and we are going to drive it through. Because we are going to improve education outcomes whatever it takes. We are not going to displace the goals and get sidetracked. The state has to do what the state has to do, which is protect everybody's rights and freedoms, expand everybody's opportunities and do those thing for people that cannot be expected to do for themselves. If the state does all those three very well, then you are creating the wherewithal for people to be the best they can be through their own efforts.

*Q: Do you need more focus and redress on those who were previously discriminated for people to embrace opportunities?*

Yes I agree with that.

*Q: Although you don't believe in quotas, in your programmes do you favour some races to create redress?*

Yes, we would definitely. Let me give you an example. In our Young Leaders' Programme I was going through the applications and I see an application from a young girl who was from a very bad school, dreadful place. She got a University matric and then did her degree, and she did quite well. So I realise given her background she must be very bright and I said get her in. She didn't do nearly as well as other people who applied, but taking account of her circumstances I said this person is obviously exceptional.

When we were at UCT we had all the alternative admissions tests, which looked at your aptitude to succeed, not what you previously learned. This is a valid way of doing it. I completely agree with finding the brightest and best from all walks of life, even if they haven't had decent opportunities. Doing bridging programmes or whatever it takes and admitting them to university. I agree with all those things. We have just started a new maths and science school – the third I've started, to get kids in dreadful situations, with an aptitude in Maths and Science to get the best teachers. We believe in all of that, but we believe it in opportunity driven, not outcomes manipulation.

*Q: Can you say a bit more about what you mean by 'outcomes manipulation'?*

An example: Our parastatals, we talk about creating jobs and driving the economy and a developmental state but we can't run Transnet and we certainly can't run Portnet. Those things are strangling our capacity to grow economically and create jobs. But instead of saying the purpose of the Chief Executive of Transnet is to be able to turn this dysfunctional transport parastatal around so we can shift goods from road to freight, so we can get the port operating, it is instead, the ANC has to have a huge debate on which cadre must be deployed there. It is complete goal displacement. People are unfit for what the job is supposed to do get put into positions and therefore the institution just stops doing the job. It is exactly what happened with Eskom and why the lights went out. If you look at Eskom's targets, it was all economic targets. They had bring down costs etc. I read a fascinating interview with the HR Director of Eskom. She said her goal was to appoint 3 people every day of which two had to be black women. She said she was far ahead of her target and she was going to get a major bonus etc. Just as she hit her target the lights went out. It would be completely wrong to conclude that black women can't keep the lights on. That is not the conclusion. The conclusion is that you start with the outcome and not the opportunity. If I was her I would have said I want to build in the next five year as many black women engineers as I can. Maybe there are many who have the matric science and maths so let's go find them, let's put them on courses, let's mentor them, let's back them. Let's make sure, even if I can't do the radical transformation now, in ten years there is a huge supply side to achieve our objectives.

The issue share is that you do supply-side affirmative action. Not outcomes manipulation affirmative action. And then it works. That is what we have done everywhere we have been in 10 years time the DA will be the most empowered party with the most brilliant people. Black, white, coloured, Indian. And woman all over the place. Because we have been running our young leaders program which started four years ago, and it will transform this party. Because we have looked at the supply side, not the manipulation of outcomes.

*Q: how do you think one should deal with BEE and affirmative action the way it is currently enforced?*

The way it is currently enforced has got nothing to do with that. It is a fig leaf, a smokescreen, for cadre deployment. It is if fig leaf for putting your pals into jobs. It is like Mugabe's definition of land reform. Which minister wants the next farm? It distributes nothing, it empowers nothing, it increases the productivity. If I could wave a magic wand, I would get voters to see that they get the government they deserve. To see through the things that being said, and to change their vote. That is the only way we are going to get the right kind of empowerment and affirmative action.

FW: That raises the issue, I read an article that was highly critical of the ANC, but it said that the problem is that the DA also used race purely as a means to get votes.

HZ: Could you give me an example, just one? In this last election?

FW: I personally don't think you do, I just remember that's what they said in the article.

HZ: I didn't do it for a single minute. Not once. It might well have been the case in the past but definitely not now because I have realized that we have to think differently. The leadership philosophy that I follow is Steve Jobs', he started Apple and he was too radical, thought too differently, was too abrasive. Eventually, Apple got rid of him. Ten years later, Apple was about to go bankrupt. They called Steve Jobs back, told him he could have any salary he wanted, but please could he save the company. Then they wanted him to sit down and build a better pc and build a better computer and beat IBM and Microsoft. And he said 'Don't be mad. That's their brand. We're not gonna beat them at that. Start with the client. Start with the young generation. Because they are a new market and we've got to give them something they want, let's think differently. How can technology best serve them?' And they came up with the Ipad, and the iPhone and then the Ipad, and the rest is history. He did something different. He thought outside of the paradigm. Now the dominant paradigm in South Africa is this contestation between race. I will never beat the ANC in terms of the contestation between race, and it is so entrenched in so many people's heads. I have to look to a new generation, especially those who have come through education, and say to them, I am offering you a government that will give them the fairest possible opportunities, and redress for past injustice, not for skin colour, although there is often a correlation, but not purely anymore. And that we will give you a serious opportunity and you must use your freedom to use that opportunity to become the best you can be. And it's a totally different offer, the open opportunity society. And I have never once mobilised on race, I would love someone to find just one example where I have. Not once. But Ferrial has to say that. I like Ferrial a lot, but everytime she criticizes the ANC, she has to say well the DA is irrelevant, or just as bad.

FW: It was rather like an add on, just one sentence at the end.

HZ: That's typical Ferrial. Yesterday, she wrote a piece, and I'm still going to phone her and blast her about this piece, she wrote a piece responding to critics who explained that she's never investigating where white parties get their money from, you know after this whole Julius Malema thing. So she says yes she knows she hasn't but it's actually a compliment to the ANC that she investigates them because the DA is really so small and irrelevant. I'm saying that's not why you're not investigating us. It's because none of us, on a salary of R20 000, are building a R60 million house.

FW: Anyway statistically you're not irrelevant. Laughs

HZ: Well, anyway, I know. But you see that's the kind of thing that goes down.

FW: I also read an article that you wrote recently, about putting a positive spin on the Malema situation, saying that ultimately..

HZ: He'll help drive the realignment of policy. Not just the youth.

FW: I was going to ask you about that, so if part of your policy is addressing, I mean I'm paraphrasing, building a non-racial society, and obviously to extend opportunities.

HZ: Yes I mean what's happening in former DET schools is just horrific. And those opportunities are going down the drain on a daily basis, and that's why our biggest obstacle is that, to opportunity.

FW: How then do you relate to this idea of the Malema – the fact that the youth, a large number are proposing support, and how does that relate to you wanting to..

HZ: Well you know people get the government they deserve, that's the number one thing. They get the government they voted for. Now there are many, many people in the ANC who think that Malema would be a total disaster. And there are many, many people in the ANC who believe in the philosophy of a non-racial society, because that's the Freedom Charter – South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white. And they believe in the open opportunity society because they know that the state can't do everything for everybody on the tax they get. We've got 15 million people on the grant system and 5 million registered personal tax payers. So we have to drive opportunity as hard as we can, we have to do and we must do it. And they all know that, and they all agree with it. And they know that we have to achieve excellent economic growth to make that possible, without making it a zero sum game. And they know that populist solutions because they simplistic and quick fixes and all of that, will never work. And so the ANC is going to have to decide what it is, and they can't hold together over the next 5 years, they can't. And my job is to build a significant enough base – we've already got 25%, so we only need another 26%. And we'll realign the policies so I think its likely to happen.

FW: And when you say a realignment of policy, I mean I'm trying to.. Obviously I'm very interesting in the future of this country.

HZ: What is your PhD in?

FW: Trying to understand the impact of social movements on democracy.

HZ: Well social movements have a big impact on democracy, but the only impact on democracy that ultimately counts, those are all additive and useful, is a voter that is willing to change their mind. Because social movements can do whatever they like as long as governments are satisfied that everyone, especially on a race basis will continue voting for them, why should they bother?

FW: It's interesting to see your positive take, that actually, it could help build a more positive society in some ways. How do you see that?

HZ: You know I started that article by saying that there's an old saying that if you like sausages, don't watch them being made. And over the next 5 years, South Africa will be a sausage factory politically.

HZ: Will things will be a bit rough, a bit white-water rafting for the next couple of years but then they will be fine. I'm completely confident.

HZ: Well you know, I'm very optimistic about the future, I have to say.

FW: We've been talking a lot about the kind of features you see in a non-racial society. Is there anything you want to add about that, and particularly if you want to add more of the kind of institution sectors of society such as media, religion, education, anything else that you see as the key features we can use to build this

HZ: Well education's the best one. If kids go together to school from pre-primary and if the education is good. Our biggest problem there is that there are too few schools of real quality, far too few. That's our biggest problem. And you see all the state schools of real quality are non racial schools. And that's the best crucible for the new south Africa by far, by far. And they starting in preprimary school, as my children were fortunate enough to do at UCT educare and then go to grove primary school, which were really integrated with a very sincere commitment, and then Westerford high School, it's a fantastic forum.

FW: Living in Johannesburg, people don't seem satisfied with the public schools.

HZ: Well you see that's the problem. That's where the opportunities stop before you begin. Another big break of opportunity is teenage pregnancy. Huge. Destroys women's opportunity. It's the biggest, biggest. I said to the gender commission, what are you doing about teenage pregnancy, that's what stops women's opportunities. Not that I'm not sitting here making half my cabinet be woman. Its got to start on the supply side. That destroys your opportunity one time.

FW: A lot of teenagers want to be pregnant, for many reasons.

HZ: Well it destroys your opportunity one time.

FW: Yes I have friends who have said to their daughters, you know if you fall pregnant you'll be losing all the money I've spent on your schooling

HZ: I used to do all kinds of things, contraception for my domestic workers' daughter, now one of her daughters works for me and we are raising her two kids just like we raised her and they are doing really well. The little boy's at Rondebosch and doing really well, and the little girl is still tiny.

FW: Other areas that have come up, I mean the media, for example, what role will they play?

HZ: The media has to massively improve its professionalism its analytical ability, you know, I mean they've got to work on the supply side. They are so frustrating me beyond measure at their superficiality, their lack of understanding at the issues, lack of analytical capacity, lack of understanding... Don't even

go there. You know its also because they haven't developed the supply side, its all been manipulating outcomes, you know.

FW: In terms of specifically building a non-racial society, how do you think they could be more effective?

HZ: Certainly not by twisting stories the way they often are. But I mean I don't want to go into a media bashing exercise, it doesn't help. I mean their role is to report south Africa as it is. Who is going to report south Africa if not newspapers? You know to give people the facts, to understand the significance of certain events. And to analyse them, you know. No one is interested in being lectured ot in a newspaper. They want the best and most objective rendition of the facts that they can make up their minds, and then they like analytical pieces, but then I want them to be clearly marked as analytical pieces, so I know I am reading someone else's opinion.

FW: What's interesting, I'm just.. reading between the lines a bit of what you've said, a lot of other interviews have focused more on the social engineering approach, and you haven't said anything that implies that. Its just interesting to see the differences, to a lot of interviews in the media, want to open discussion and to have forums and it seems that that isn't your take at all.

HZ: No. I believe that the state has a particular role, the media has a particular role. It would help very much if we had a public broadcaster that wasn;t stuck in the paradigm of 20 years ago. Umm or 30 years ago. Everyone needs to understand what their mandate is and do it, and we'll be fine. The states mandate is to increase opportunity for everybody, protect everybody's rights and freedoms, and do those things for people they cannot be expected to do for themselves. That's our mandate. And if we get that right, we will move to a non-racial society in about one and a half generations, properly.

FW: How do you define what people can't be expected do for themselves?

HZ: That's a very good question and that is very difficult. Now I mean if you look at housing policy for example – you've got to ask yourself how much in the country of our level of economic development can we spend on housing. Can the state spend on housing, given the competitive requirements of education, of health, of all the other stuff. And then, given the fact that we can do x million, do we use that to do a little bit for many people, or a lot for a few. Now when you do a lot for a few, and even a RDP house is a lot for a few, because you can't build many RDP houses with the allocation of the budget every year. What often happens is that it is given as a gift worth about 75000 to a poor person, and because the person wants an income stream more than they want a house usually, they immediately move back into a shack and let it out to someone else or even sell it for a minute amount, meaning that someone who actually didn't need state help is getting a free house from the taxpayers of south Africa and a large proportion of them are not south africans. I mean we did a survey recently that showed that 90% of recent beneficiaries no longer occupied their houses. They'd moved out and rented them out, moved back into shacks, and then they'd put their names back down on the list for houses again. And then you try and upgrade an area and then you say that you don't qualify for this upgrading thing because you've already had a house, and then you start a war in the local community and god knows what else. So my preference is to rather provide basic services to many, rather than do a lot for a few which are then downmarket raided by the middle class who shouldn't be qualifying for a huge state subsidy in any event. But it's a huge debate. When you say you do a little for many how much is many? How much is that? There's a huge debate about what the

state should do for people, but it boils down to this: What is affordable, and what are the basic rights that people need to use their opportunities. And it is always a partnership. You know we can build a school, but unless the children arrive on time and the teachers are prepared to take their responsibilities really seriously and come to the training that we lay on, unless the parents are prepared to come to the SGB meetings and nominate the really best people to be teachers and not just friends or family members who need a job, then we will never make progress. It is a partnership.

FW: So how do you change that?

HZ: Well, I think that progressive politics is doing as little work as possible for as much reward as you can get. This became the thinking under apartheid, you know. They don't see progressive politics as saying that I would have succeeded in making a progressive contribution to our country if any child that gets to the end of the year in my class, is at a comparable international level of competence in my particular area. It's going to be much easier to fire people, I'm afraid, and now we're having these contracts and people are required to sign the contracts, and obviously we'll set targets for each school based on their previous bests. And then if people can't meet their targets, we'll analyse why, we'll end in a team to help, we'll do everything we can to support people, but if there's consistently no progress, we're going to have to get new personnel there. There's no choice.

FW: I mean, that makes sense.

HZ: There's no other way.

FW: I don't want to, what's fascinating talking to you is the very different approach you take to many other people I've interviewed..

HZ: I'm the Steve Jobs of politics, man. It's so obvious to me, so bleeding obvious. Gender commission, very nice people, and they are sitting there talking about 50-50. And I say, if you're looking at outcomes, look at the supply side. Why are there so few women around? Lets look at that, and fix that problem, rather than do some superficial tinkering when there are some fundamental problems that we must solve. And if you were working very hard on the South African culture that men can have sex with anyone they like, and inter-generational sex, and impregnating teenagers, then I'd be with you all the way. Because that's what destroying women's chances, and women's futures.

HZ: Well let me tell you something insightful that I heard in a focus group. Because you do a lot of research before an election. In a focus group once, this woman says 'The Da? The da is a very good party for its people.' Now what was like a dagger through my heart was 'for its people.' And I thought, now why do you not think that you are one of our people? And this is what has to change. We can be just as good a party for you and far better than the ANC, because you are our people.

FW: That leads me to the interesting point of how do you, as a party, go about creating opportunity. But how do you foster opportunity for people to see themselves as part of the DA rather than the ANC?

HZ: Well you see you start winning. You start winning where you can and govern better. And I mean, there are, most people would say that we govern Cape Town better for all the people. I mean we inherited 224 completely unserved informal settlements from the ANC, now all of them have got



services. I mean they haven't got houses yet – if we had built houses it would have been a tiny little group who got them, and many of them have got houses – but what we have built is services, electricities to shacks, a whole range of other things.

FW: Going back to the ideas of opportunities, the foundation that you are looking at to foster opportunities to strengthen non-racialism, what are you hoping for?

HZ: Well, the very very best thing is to get outstanding quality schools, when the middle class want to keep sending their children to, and have an access for the poor. And you will get that, where the quality of the education is good enough. That's all we need.

FW: So the key focus for you is good, strong education.

HZ: It's got to start in primary school levels, otherwise when black kids go to the good high schools, they just completely flounder. Westerford and places like that. My son's the maths teacher at Westerford so.. But the way that child works to make sure that every single lesson, I mean, he really works.

FW: So what's the differential between Westerford, and places with strong education, what is it that makes a school like Westerford so successful where others aren't?

HZ: I'll tell you what makes it successful. It's got very good management, it's had parents who've taken it incredibly seriously and get involved year after year after year, it's had very good staff appointment policies and they only want the very best, and they go out looking for the very best, and that feeds on itself because they attract the best students, and it becomes a whole virtuous cycle, so that's how it happens.

FW: So that needs to be replicated in local council areas. So, aside from education?

HZ: Education, health, water, electricity – electricity is a critical opportunity. Sewerage, roads, transport, those are all opportunities that the government is responsible for creating. That's the government's job to do that. But I mean we can have all high, vaulting ambitions, but we can't get the basics right. Just get the basic stuff that you have to do properly, get bloody Transnet running properly. Get Eskom running properly.

FW: I mean, if those basics are running properly, do you think that will help to equalize and undermine race?

HZ: Massively. Massively. If I could just get the national government department to be efficient enough to come and have a meeting about land parcels that the national government owns and that we want released for integrated housing developments. I wrote thirteen letters, three meetings have been postponed. All these plans, and we can't actually even get a meeting together and follow up on anything.

FW: How do you break down racist stereotypes?

HZ: The best person to break down these stereotypes is Maisie Morkel. She goes on radio, she decimates anyone in a debate, anyone from any background, she wipes the floor with them. No one is going to think

that she's a tea girl except Julius Malema. You break racial stereotyping by starting at the supply end of the scale, and ensuring that people get great opportunities to become the best they can be. In one generation, through proper opportunities, through decent education, you can change everything.

FW: That's interesting, because the next question is in your own personal capacity, what are you doing to change these stereotypes? This is one of the things that I always ask prominent leaders - What do you do to break down barriers?

HZ: Well, let's see what I've done. I mean I've never lived, except here, in a white suburb. The first house I bought was in not the lany part of Woodstock, but in the completely nonracial, mixed part of Woodstock, and I lived there for many years. After that, my husband and I moved to Observatory, and now we live on the border of Mowbray and Rosebank, where there are a majority of black South Africans. And we've always loved that, and it was a principal possession that we would never live in a whites only area under apartheid, and we never did. And my husband when I met him was so strict, that we never even went to a movie because it was segregated. We went to nothing, if it was segregated. It became a principal. When the police were harassing people in crossroads, we took a man in with his family of 4 children, because the one child was really ill, and we nursed the child back to health. In the state of emergencies, we hid activists in our house. When I was building up the DA branches in the townships and people were being really harassed and persecuted and victimized, they came to stay with us as well. I mean, I can go into a million things. We educating our domestic workers children, many other kids I've sent to various schools.

FW: I mean the reason I'm asking this, is to try and get a sense about what society can do to replicate. I mean to say that this is what leaders do that works.

HZ: well I mean that's what I did. I bought my domestic worker a house, I educated her children. I've always done my best. I've sent my children to non-racial schools, never sent them to private schools.

FW: Its fascinating, reading some articles, said all this great stuff but then said that 'well, obviously I've only ever lived in my community, I've never lived anywhere else so I can't speak..' and I just thought, well hang on – you've just said that in order to break down racial stereotypes you need to interact with different people.

HZ: You know, when Tommy was at school, Tommy was completely non-racial, and most of his friends were black kids. Most of them.

FW: Kids don't see the difference.

HZ: No, they don't, they don't.

FW: Have you found in practice that people who live in your community with you have broken down their own stereotypes?

HZ: Yes. You know I remember, it's chilled, we all go greet each other and my boys make the most noise

in the street so they always get blasted by the neighbours, but no its been fine. Its been more than fine, its been lovely. You know when I was still a single woman I went and bought a house in Woodstock for R11 500. Lived there for a long time. And there were literally a handful of whites, let along single white women living alone.

FW: As I said, I've got a very good sense now of the approach that you are taking, which is great, because its very different to other people's. Um, my second last question would really be about what key challenges there are to building a non-racial society, other than those we have already discussed?

HZ: Well, the key challenges are that it is always so tempting for a government that wants to stay in power to mobilise on racial fault lines. So the ANC has an absolute need to keep race alive. They desperately need to keep race alive, that's why you have the kind fo rally you had just before the election, where the rhetoric was that the DA is a white man's party. Now, race is not a political philosophy. You get black dictators and black democrats. You get white dictators and white democrats. People should be voting for a political philosophy, because its going to make a difference to the future for all. And, so the biggest danger is tat the government will not be able to resist the temptation to continue to mobilize around race, because that's all they've got left. And that the ambitious populace like Julius Malema will just take that a step further. That's the biggest risk to our future.

FW: And what do you think that will look like?

HZ: He will just say, I mean Mugabe is taking a step further, still blaming things on whites when there is hardly a white left in his country. It's the British or the whites or whatever, you know. It's politicians mobilizing around the easiest mobilizing tool there is, which is people's identity, and inflating one component to make it the entire identity, and then to abuse that sense of grievance and to keep people believing they are aggrieved permanently, in order to keep a few people in power who are actually exploiting them. As in Julius Malema.

FW: So are there any other things? Anything structural?

HZ: yes, well again, if we can't improve education. We are pouring money into education. If we can't eradicate corruption, it's very serious. Because we'll never get economic growth, and if we can't grow the economy, that's the biggest serious thing of all. Because a growing economy that is requiring more and more skills will not make it a zero sum game, because then everyone will have opportunities. Corruption destroys economic growth, lack of education destroys economic growth, inefficient bad government full of red tape that can't get anything done destroys economic growth. That's all the risks to the future.

FW: And anything specific around social challenges? I mean, obviously like economics, but anything in terms of cultural or social challenges.

HZ: Well, I mean the biggest social challenge is that it's difficult to move people to individual agency. And to achieve social cohesion, a sense of people belonging and taking responsibility for their environments and their future. Drugs are a massive, massive problem and getting worse. Massive.

FW: Particularly in the Western Cape.

HZ: Yes, believe me it's all over, but it is particularly bad in the Western Cape.

FW: Just lastly in terms of challenges, how do you see xenophobia playing into all of this? In terms of racism?

HZ: It's a very complex thing, first of all, people migrate when there are better prospects elsewhere. And because of all these ethnic and race-based policies North of us, in many of those countries, they have destroyed their economies. And people are desperate, and they need another place to live, but we don't have a big enough tax base to provide extensive services to millions of other people. And then there's massive competition for scarce resources, and that creates that kind of huge anger. So when you're a mother in Delft and you're taking your baby to a clinic because your baby is sick, and there are 200 people in front of you whose language you don't understand because they come from somewhere else, then you get really angry and alienated. And I mean, that is the extreme side of where a lot of the anger comes from. On the other hand, when you vacate your own house to let it to a foreigner who wants to run it as a shop, and they are making a good living and you're back in a shack, even though you voluntarily gave up your house for whatever you did, you afterwards get hugely resentful. And so I can go on. So it's a struggle over scarce resources. And that is what lies at the heart of xenophobia. It's a terrible thing, but if you've got to solve it at the root you have to resolve the dictatorships and bad government and civil wars in the rest of Africa, and you have to then resolve the access to resources here, but we have literally got a tiny tax base. We cannot support the whole of Sub Saharan Africa on our tax base.

FW: So again we come back to the root cause.

HZ: yes, but you can't have economic opportunity unless you've got a good government. Unless you've got a good open government, people who can do the job, who are prepared to be efficient and not corrupt.

FW: My last question would be given your perspectives, what do you think practically, can organisations actually do to be moving forward – what would your suggestions be?

HZ: Well you see non-racialism, what we really need is very rapid economic growth, and very rapid improvement in education. And that combination will be the best. The more kids you can get into really good universities, and also see non-racialism in practice, you know have friends from other groups that they literally see as friends that they can work with, laugh with, joke with, that's the way. Because then you build a common culture. It's very hard, though, to create artificial environments. People have to live and work together, see each other in difficult times, get a shared sense of common values.

FW: And that would go back to the education.

HZ: Yes, I mean if you can get your kids into a really non-racial crèche, and then move up from there, they have such a headstart. I've seen that with my two boys, they are genuinely non-racial children.

FW: I think it's interesting in what I have seen in my brothers children, both of them went to study. One of them went to a very wealthy school, St Stithians. He had good values, and all the rest. And since he has become to UCT, he has had almost a white reaction. He has changed so much, living in residence. He says he has become racist. His experience of living in a residence he found so frustrating, because he has suddenly been confronted with different values, different cultures. He is very resentful of affirmative

action, he's worried about a lack of his future opportunities.

HZ: But you see, if you have a growing economy, and if you recognize his rights just as much to compete for a position. If you have more and more conflict about a dwindling number of jobs because the government is driving investors away and not doing its job properly, then you have a tighter and tighter scramble over the few jobs there are, and the people who get them are those with access to those in power, and that is exactly the way to collapse a country.

FW: Its interesting though, because on the flipside, I've seen people in my generation, all men actually. White guys from my year were all terrified they were never going to get work, whereas they all got jobs.

HZ: Anyway, my job to get it right, and educate myself here, always doing some courses or other.

FW: Would you like the comments?

HZ: Yes, I would like them actually. Who wrote these?

FW: Um, I haven't been involved in the focus groups at all, but I was just sent them. I think this was just one of the exercises they had to do, to write letters to people about non-racialism, and just give some suggestions about what to do. There aren't really many practical steps forward, but they are just interesting. What I found interesting was the number of people who wrote to you.

HZ: It would help if you stopped with the attitude of criticizing other people, but being one and being united with other people, especially black people. See the point is, that multi party democracy is one in which there are challenges and different views, you can't all be united in one party because you know what the consequences of that are. Anyway, that's life.

FW: Well thank you very much for your time, I really appreciate it.