



# **Rethinking Non- Racialism: Reflections of a Selection of South African Leaders**

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# Abbreviations

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AA	Affirmative Action
ANC	African National Congress
BBBEE	Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DA	Democratic Alliance
FNB	First National Bank
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation" - ANC military wing)
NDR	National Democratic Revolution
NEUF	Non-European United Front
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (formerly Pan Africanist Congress)
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACPO	South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
SME	Small or Medium [Business] Enterprise
UDF	United Democratic Front

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# List of interviewees

SECTOR	NAMES	OCCUPATION	DATE
Ahmed Kathrada Foundation Board Members	Ahmed Kathrada	Anti-apartheid activist	7 July 2011
	Prema Naidoo	ANC Chief Whip, City of Johannesburg	22 July 2011
	Laloo Chiba	Former MP and member of the Transvaal Indian Congress	14 July 2011
	Ismail Vadi	MEC for Transport, Gauteng	15 July 2011
	Sophie Williams-De Bruyn	ANC MP	13 July 2011
	Barbara Hogan	Former Minister of Public Enterprises	21 July 2011
	Derek Hanekom	Deputy Minister of Science and Technology	1 August 2011
	Firoz Cachalia	Former MEC, WITS Law academic	8 August 2011
Political parties	Gwede Mantashe	ANC General Secretary	4 August 2011
	Baleka Mbete	ANC Chairperson	25 August 2011
	Helen Zille	Leader of the Democratic Alliance	1 August 2011
SACP	Jeremy Cronin	Deputy Minister of Transport	18 August 2011
COSATU	Sidumo Dlamini	COSATU President	19 July 2011
ANC Youth League	Magdalene Moosamy	ANC Youth League spokesperson	3 August 2011
Faith-based Leaders	Farid Esack	Islamic theologian and writer and anti-apartheid activist	19 August 2011
	Frank Chikane	Religious leader, Former DG: Office of the President	18 August 2011
Law Fraternity	Zac Jacobson	Constitutional Court Judge	11 July 2011
	Judge Chaskalson	Former Justice of the Constitutional Court	25 August 2011
Private Sector	Cassim Coovadia	MD of Banking Association of South Africa	10 August 2011
Civil Society	Trevor Ngwane	Social movement activist	13 July 2011
	Vishwas Satgar	Co-founder of the Democratic Left Front	31 August 2011
	Ela Gandhi	Founder of Gandhi Development Trust	16 August 2011
Media	Ferial Haffajee	Editor of the City Press	3 August 2011
	Mondli Makhanya	Editor-in-Chief of Avusa newspapers	11 August 2011
Former Presidents	FW De Klerk	Former South African President	8 August 2011
	Thabo Mbeki	Former South African President	28 September 2011

# About the authors

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## **Fiona Anciano-White**

Is currently a Senior Research Associate at the Centre for the Study of Democracy. Although my special interest is in the relationship between civil society and democracy I have over a decade of research experience in many other areas of Southern African policy and politics having conducted studies on service delivery, labour relations, poverty reduction, skills development, community policing and health systems among others. In 2008 I completed my PhD at the University of London looking at the link between social movements, democracy and socio-economic inequality. I also worked for several years at the Johannesburg based Centre for Policy Studies as a Senior Researcher and Researcher. I have also held other posts including managing the London based Business Exchange on AIDS and Infectious Diseases and teaching at Goldsmiths College, University of London and the University of the Witwatersrand.

## **Johnny Alubu Selemani**

Is a currently a Project Coordinator with the Centre for the Study of Democracy, at the same time busy with a Masters in Public Management and Governance at the University of Johannesburg. I have a burning passion for issues of development in the continent particularly within the SADC region. Being Congolese of origin, I have taken part in a series of initiatives on a consultative basis through Ushindi Consulting. Once I complete my MA I plan to see how I can reconnect with some of the issues within that part of the continent.

## **Authors' note**

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Getting involved with such a project was not only a great opportunity for us to branch out into an interesting field of research but also a fascinating eye opener into the world of prominent South African figures and how they view some of the everyday racial issues that all South Africans face. Racism is something that we are confronted with on a daily basis; it has become so ingrained in our consciousness that we too quickly forget about the original vision of non-racism. These interviews were a great opportunity to hear how influential South African leaders reconnect and engage with the evolving concepts of non-racism. We would like to thank the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation for allowing us this opportunity.

# Foreword

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In 2011, the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation undertook a number of studies that explored meanings and interpretations of non-racialism in contemporary South Africa. Non-racialism in the 1950s and 1960s embodied a particular set of understandings about political cooperation and solidarity. While the rhetoric of non-racialism has remained central in national political policies, particularly those that deal with nation building, there was little consensus about what this means in contemporary South Africa. The aim of the Foundation was to contribute towards the content formulation of non-racialism in post apartheid South Africa, and thus was born a project to explore its meaning and the varied ways non-racialism is interpreted by South African leaders. The study was commissioned by the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation and was conducted by researchers from the Centre for the Study of Democracy.

The Leaders' Project supplements the Foundation's broader research agenda and structured public engagements with ordinary South Africans. These are part of our overarching aim of understanding contemporary meanings and interpretations of non-racialism in South Africa.

The stated research objectives were to examine each the following:

1. *How the broad spectrum of South Africa's leadership interprets and values non-racialism, and how they have each 'arrived' at their position;*
2. *What each leader sees as the overarching imperatives and challenges to building a non-racial society; and*
3. *What, according to these leaders, might the features of a non-racial society be, or what they see as being prerequisite exhibitors of a non-racial society in South Africa.*

The report that follows is a broad synthesis of these conversations and an analysis of how prominent South Africans define non-racialism in a contemporary context, and what this means for society and pathways of change in this country. It is by no means an exhaustive study. It is really the beginning of the Foundation's work on adding content to notions of non-racialism. It was also meant to refine our own thinking on the subject as much it was about raising awareness amongst prominent individuals of the work of the Foundation. Each of these leaders commended the Foundation for its effort to probe the issue, and supported further work in various sectors that they highlighted as being important to building a non-racial society.

Apart from this report, results of this research have been presented at the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation Conference in October 2011, and published in a special issue on non-racialism in *Politikon*. There is a wealth of material in these interviews that is yet to be mined. As a follow-up to this report, the Foundation will make the edited interviews available for use by other researchers, and these responses will also be disseminated in the media. Ultimately, this work should inform public debate on issues of race and thereby shape the on-going work of the Foundation for the next decade.

The Foundation expresses its sincere thanks to the Centre for the Study of Democracy, and to all those interviewed. Your important contribution gives the Kathrada Foundation a sense of where the challenges lay, and what the scope is for building a non-racial and cohesive South African Society.

**Neeshan Balton**

*Executive Director: Ahmed Kathrada Foundation*

# Introduction

This report is the product of a research project commissioned by the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation. The project aimed to gain a comprehensive understanding of definitions and meanings of non-racialism in post-apartheid South Africa through interviews with key public and private sector, and civil society, leaders in South Africa. The report strengthens and supplements a growing body of research with a broad spectrum of South Africans to (a) elicit meanings of non-racialism in contemporary South Africa; (b) arrive at a collective definition(s) of non-racialism; and to (c) tease out what a non-racial South African society might look like.

The project has interrogated a wide range of issues, including how a broad spectrum of South African leaders interpret and value non-racialism. It looks at what each leader sees as the overarching imperatives and challenges to building a non-racial society; and what, according to these leaders, might the features of a non-racial society be, or what they see as being prerequisite exhibitors of a non-racial society in South Africa. The outcome of this research includes an edited set of transcribed interviews with 26 prominent South Africans. These outputs will not only significantly contribute to on-going public debates on non-racialism, but will also guide the Foundation's work, further research, and vision toward building a non-racial future in South Africa.

The first section of the report includes a methodology outlining how the research was conducted and a brief history of non-racialism in apartheid South Africa. The second section looks at meanings of non-racialism; in other words, how the concept is understood by South African leaders today. A section discussing ideal features of a non-racial society follows. Section four deals with significant challenges to the creation of a non-racial society. These derive predominantly from the legacy of apartheid, but are also the consequence of current political realities. Section five looks at how these challenges can be overcome, specifically addressing the role that different sectors, such as education and the media, can play in overcoming racism. Finally the report concludes with some overarching thoughts on the reflections of South Africa leaders.

## Methodology

The research design for this project was straightforward: a qualitative set of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with a broad range of South African leaders. The researchers, in conjunction with the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation, designed a set of open-ended questions which were piloted in interviews with several of the Foundation's board members. Once the questionnaire had been refined, the remaining interviews were conducted. Interviews, which were around an hour long

and taped, allowed respondents open space to discuss the concept and practice of non-racialism.

From an initial wish-list of 35 respondents, 26 interviews were conducted based on respondents' availability at the time. Research subjects were chosen based on their representation of a broad range of sectors and political views. Subjects were chosen from: the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation board members; the African National Congress (ANC); the South African Communist Party (SACP); COSATU; the ANC Youth and Women's Leagues, the Democratic Alliance (DA); faith based leaders, private sector leaders, civil society leaders, leaders in the media and, finally, non-aligned prominent individuals. All quotes in the report are directly from interviews conducted, unless otherwise specified.

## The History of Non-racialism

*"And just to show you how mixed our people lived, the real District 6 in PE city was Southend. There you found a mixture of Indians, I mean Muslims, I mean Hindus, I mean Tamils, and then you had Malays, and then you had the Coloured people, and African people, we all lived there... You'll find the White women, and you would pass on a double decker bus, and you would see a White lady and a Coloured lady standing at the fence, chatting, the other one still had rollers in her hair, you know. And they used to borrow from one another, a cup of sugar over the fence, the one would come back from town, this one having asked her to buy something for her, so the Coloured auntie would bring whatever she asked, so that kind of life. Very harmonious, happy life they lived..."*

This is what anti-apartheid activist Sophie Williams-De Bruyn remembers before the establishment of the 1950 Group Areas Act.

The decision to separate and alienate any sections of a community, be it on cultural, religious, ideological or racial grounds, holds the potential to create a sense of unity between those marginalized. Apartheid, with its legislative ability to separate based on race, did manage to unify people of different colours and creed under the common banner of non-racialism. As former Minister of Public Enterprises, Barbara Hogan, notes, today "we are no longer dealing with non-racialism to fight apartheid". However, during apartheid, this was a central theme towards achieving unity, freedom and a national identity.

The concept of non-racialism is often defined in relation to the African National Congress' (ANC) policies on cooperation with members of different race groups. Frederikse's reference to it as the 'unbreakable thread' between the ruling party and other alliance members suggests that non-racialism has been a focal point since

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the inception of the ruling party.<sup>1</sup> Many respondents in this research project explained that, although it became a central feature of the Congress partners after the adoption of the 1955 Freedom Charter, non-racialism has a much longer history in the anti-apartheid struggle. It is particularly rooted in the relations between different Congresses.

First, the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) was formed in 1894. It was created in response to discriminatory laws against Indian people such as the Franchise Law Amendment Bill denying British Indians voting rights.<sup>2</sup> The ANC was formed in 1912 largely as a result of the birth of the Union of South Africa in 1910. In 1921, the Communist Party was formed; this later became a force for non-racialism and worker mobilisation. In 1938, the NIC's Dr. Dadoo formed a socialist faction known as the Non-European United Front (NEUF); this, according to anti-apartheid activist Ahmed Kathrada, was one of the first non-racial organizations created in South Africa.

These Congresses and formations worked together over decades to overcome apartheid and, in doing so, fostered non-racial relations. Kathrada describes, for example, how in 1943, the NEUF took part with other organisations in the first bus boycott in Alexandra Township, forcing bus companies to reduce their fares by one penny. The 1946 Mine Worker strike was an iconic moment for mass mobilization and included participation from the Indian Passive Resistance Council and the Communist Party. The Passive Resistance movement of 1946 consisted of Indians, a small group of Whites and ANC supporters.

The institutionalization of direct racial segregation through the Group Areas Act further caused the mobilization of these different formations which increased the level of awareness and unity within the different groups. On the 9th March 1947, the Doctor's Pact of co-operation between three congresses was signed in Johannesburg by Dr. Monty Naicker (NIC), Dr Yusuf Dadoo (Transvaal Indian Congress) and Dr AB Xuma of the ANC. This pact is considered by Kathrada as "the first formal non-racial act of unity". This pact later served to set the scene for the Congress of the People in 1955, which led to the adoption of the Freedom Charter. The Defiance Campaign of 26<sup>th</sup> June 1952 propelled mass mobilization to another level with the number of volunteers increasing exponentially. Kathrada saw this as "The first major non-racial campaign. It was jointly led by the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and the ANC. There were 50 volunteers who defied pass laws; Madiba was the national volunteer and chief and his deputy was Cachalia. The campaign spread to other parts of the country like Port Elizabeth and Natal. Over 9 000 volunteers went to prison".

1 Frederikse, J. (1990) *The Unbreakable Thread: Non-Racialism in South Africa*, Ravan Press: Johannesburg. p.13

2 See: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/natal-legislature-plans-introduce-indian-franchise-bill#>.

## THE PERSONAL JOURNEY

*Several commentators, such as City Press editor, Ferial Haffajee, activist Vish was Satgar, and Head of the South Africa Banking Council, Cas Coovadia, view and understand non-racialism through their own historical and political journeys. Haffajee, for example, came from a school that was from the Black consciousness movement and, for a long time, was an adherent of that of the view that "you don't even acknowledge race; you acknowledge class and racial oppression". She then saw the United Democratic Front (UDF), with its strong tenant of non-racialism, as the transcendent ideology and so started working with UDF structures instead. Through this journey she now understands non-racialism, not as multi-racialism, but as moving beyond race. Satgar's personal journey led him to see non-racialism as "profoundly about political solidarity", the solidarity of "Black people, but more broadly about a solidarity of humanity". For Prem Naidoo, his understanding was born out of mobilising against apartheid under the banner of the Transvaal Indian Congress. He had to navigate and explain the practice of organising a particular sector of the community with the wider liberation movement's principles of non-racialism.*



Laloo Chiba, a previous Member of Parliament and member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, sees this campaign as being vital to creating the South African Coloured Peoples' organization (SACPO), in a context where the ANC provided a voice for black Africans; the SAIC was for Indians and Whites had the progressive organization, Congress of Democrats. These four organisations constituted what came to be known as the Congress Alliance. The Congress Alliance played a critical step towards the adoption of non-racialism as a founding principal of the Freedom Charter. According to Chiba, the Congress' Freedom Charter gave birth to the principles of an equal, non-racial and non-sexist democratic South Africa.

The Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 and the formation

of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) saw the continuous involvement of people of different race groups in the struggle against apartheid. During this period non-racialism found fertile ground in the ANC in exile but started losing momentum within South Africa. This can be attributed, to some degree, to the black consciousness movement of Steve Biko, which spoke of an African consciousness or identity but moves away from the idea of non-racialism. Political activist Trevor Ngwane mentions how "black consciousness was a great mechanism to revitalise a tiring struggle but in the long term you can't hope to build a society based on black consciousness because you still have White people in that society". As time passed, other challenges and obstacles presented themselves within the struggle and further challenged the concept of non-racialism.

## QUOTES ABOUT NON-RACIALISM

### Non-racialism as 'transcending race'

"Non-racialism is understanding people as people and not as a particular group." - *E. Gandhi*

"Non-racialism means for me that I don't look at your colour." - *S. Williams-De Bruyn*

A "society where the question of racial considerations play no role in determining what happens to people, what they are entitled to, what their role and place should be in life." *B. Mbete*

"Non-racialism is approaching each person as a unique individual and not merely as some kind of representative of a category". *H. Zille*

"Almost a vision of the future, a utopia". *T. Ngwane*

"It's the universality of our humanity". *B. Hogan*

### Multiple identities

"A society that appreciates the fact that we are diverse...but that there is a concept of South Africanism". *M. Makbanya*

Deputy Minister of Science and Technology, *D. Hanekom*, agrees, noting that: A society where there is "a common identity as South Africans", but with the recognition of "what is important to people" including cultural diversity and languages.

The "tradition of non-racialism in the ANC has never been about denial of diversity in South Africa". *J. Cronin*

"Asserting the positive identities of people". *I. Vadi*

### Multiracialism

"Even today when we talk of non-racialism, the elements of multiracialism come to the fore...keeping identities of people in different races". *G. Mantashe*

There was "a need to categorise people into race, tactically, because the reality of the situation was that the black African people...were the most oppressed...Certainly in the congress movement, we always believed in mobilizing people around their context". *C. Coovadia*

"Non-racialism is an ideal that we pursue by addressing inequalities based on race". *F. Cachalia*

Non-racialism means "we need to address issues of the past...we need to reaffirm the inequalities of Africans in particular". *M. Moonsamy*

"Multiculturalism is as important in South Africa as nation building is". *F.W. de Klerk*

# The Meanings Of Non-Racialism

Understanding the meaning of non-racialism is no easy task. Academically there is no universally agreed upon definition, and the meaning itself has changed as political context has changed. In this research we found that relatively few respondents had clear definitions of the idea of non-racialism; they frequently talked around the idea rather than define it. However, drawing from respondents comments it became clear that there are two main ways in which non-racialism is understood: 'transcending 'race' and multiracialism. In the former category respondents also held onto the importance of accepting and embracing multiple identities, and this was not seen as counter to the idea of 'transcending race'. Those respondents who support the idea of multiracialism have moved some way from a strict understanding of non-racialism, but nonetheless, in practice value holding on to the notion of separate races, and in some cases see this as a step towards non-racialism.

## Non-racialism as 'transcending race'

Many respondents viewed non-racialism as fundamentally about not judging people on their colour: "non-racialism is understanding people as people and not as a particular group"; "non-racialism means for me that I don't look at your colour".<sup>1</sup> For both Chiba and former State President F.W. de Klerk, non-racialism means that there should be no discrimination between people who have different social or ethnic backgrounds, cultures or languages. ANC Chairperson, Baleka Mbete elaborates on this view, seeing non-racialism as a "society where the question of racial considerations play no role in determining what happens to people, what they are entitled to, what their role and place should be in life". In a similar vein, for Democratic Alliance leader, Helen Zille, "non-racialism is approaching each person as a unique individual and not merely as some kind of representative of a category". In this view, regardless of your ethnic identity or race, there is a universal citizenship.<sup>2</sup>

For Haffajee, although it was acknowledged that there are four main groups in the country, as signified in the Congress wheel, these groups could be brought together in the process of unity. Via the induction and practice of a set of values and principles you could transcend the racial wounds of the past...get past the racial divisions, without giving up your core identity. Activist Trevor Ngwane, believes non-racialism essentially looks beyond race, and as such is "almost a vision of the future, a utopia". Hogan stresses that non-racialism:

*"Wasn't just a struggle concept that was used to fight against apartheid...It was something more fundamental as our universality as people...It's the universality of our*

1 Interviews with Ela Gandhi and Sophie Williams-De Bruyn respectively.

2 Interview with Barbara Hogan.

*humanity...I think that it's a statement of human rights, of equality, of how we all belong in one earth."*

## Multiple identities

Within the ambit of non-racialism several respondents embraced the idea of supporting multiple cultures and identities. For many who embrace this idea, the achievement of a common South African identity is paramount, but within the context of respecting individual identities and cultures.

As newspaper editor Mondli Makhanya put it:

*"I suppose [non-racialism] is about constructing a society that appreciates the fact that we are diverse, that we come from different places, spaces, cultures and religions, but that there is a concept of South Africanism. That, at the end of the day, we are in a pot, and we are cooking in one pot, and that, in accepting the fact that we are different, there is a lot more that is common about us than is different, and that our differences are in fact our strengths."*

Deputy Minister of Science and Technology, Derek Hanekom, agrees, noting that non-racialism has to encompass a society where there is a common identity as 'South Africans', but with the recognition of 'what is important to people' including cultural diversity and languages. The challenge is to nurture and respect multiple forms of identity within the context of a common identity as South Africans. Deputy Minister of Transport, Jeremy Cronin, notes that the "tradition of non-racialism in the ANC has never been about denial of diversity in South Africa". Retired Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Arthur Chaskalson, noted the importance of diversity as a part of non-racial society. He found in the Constitutional Court having 11 judges from very diverse backgrounds was "immensely valuable" in dealing with cases.

Similarly, for Prema Naidoo, non-racialism involves never discriminating against a person. However, it must also respect and appreciate people's religious, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Consolidating this view, MEC for Transport in Gauteng, Ismail Vadi, argues that non-racialism is "asserting the positive identities of people". It is important to have a shared loyalty to a South African identity, to a single nationhood, and to a single political system, based on constitutional principles. However, Vadi also subscribes strongly to the idea of multiple identities:

*"I am a South African but I am also an Indian, I cannot discard my heritage. I love my Indian food...and Indian music, Indian languages, but I'm also a Muslim. So I have a religious identity. Gender is becoming a very big issue, for some people being feminist is a part of their identity. So you may be a male, an Indian, a Muslim, a South*

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*In the banking sector, “nothing has been done under the Financial Charter because we’ve been bogged down on a debate about additional percentage of ownership in banks”. The consequence of this is that, while the debate is on-going, banks are reporting against outdated codes, which “is a breeze” for them to score highly against. The codes have no requirements on low income housing, access to financial services, agricultural investment, infrastructure investment or SME investment. Thus real transformation is halted.*

C. Coovadia

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African, somebody might also be gay. All those things contribute to the construction of identity.”

Thabo Mbeki’s *I am an African* speech in May 1996 on the occasion of the adoption of the Constitution is seen by some as a key statement of non-racialism and as encompassing the points above.<sup>3</sup> Chiba explains that what Mbeki meant by an African is “those who are citizens of the African continent” in a very broad sense. For Firoz Cachalia, it is a statement of non-racialism, which addresses the question of national identity. It was a ‘beautiful speech’ that embraced the idea of all, regardless of race, being part of Africa, and indeed as Hanekom says, engendered support for the idea even from the right wing Freedom Front.

### **Multiracialism and multiculturalism**

Although respondents embraced the idea of non-racialism as a long term value to strive towards, many recognised that, in practice, the idea of multiracialism prevails. Multiracialism is defined as the “equality of political representation and social acceptance in a society made up of various races”.<sup>4</sup> ANC General Secretary, Gwede Mantashe, explains, “even today when we talk of non-racialism, the elements of multiracialism come to the fore...keeping identities of people in different races”, but he notes that the ideal of non-racialism is where race and colour will not be an issue, and that is the ideal to strive for.

Indeed historically, although the liberation movement broadly followed the mandate of non-racialism, there was “a need to categorise people into race, tactically, because the reality of the situation was that the black African people...were the most oppressed, while Indian and Coloured people were oppressed as well, the degree of oppression was not as severe...

<sup>3</sup> Text from the speech includes: “I owe my being to the Khoi and the San whose desolate souls haunt the great expanses of the beautiful Cape...I am formed of the migrants who left Europe to find a new home on our native land...In my veins courses the blood of the Malay slaves who came from the East...I am the grandchild of the warrior men and women that Hintsa and Sekhukhune led, the patriots that Cetshwayo and Mphephu took to battle, the soldiers Moshoeshe and Ngungunyane ...I am the grandchild who lays fresh flowers on the Boer graves at St Helena and the Bahamas...I am the child of Nongqause...I come of those who were transported from India and China...Being part of all these people, and in the knowledge that none dare contest that assertion, I shall claim that - I am an African”.

<sup>4</sup> *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, Fourth Edition copyright (2009) by Houghton Mifflin Company.

So the different races at that time found themselves under different conditions and different contexts. Certainly in the congress movement, we always believed in mobilizing people around their context”.<sup>5</sup> Cachalia takes the argument further, explaining that, although idealistically non-racialism could be about overcoming racial identity, for him it is about overcoming inequalities based on race. In other words, “non-racialism is an ideal that we pursue by addressing inequalities based on race”. Youth League spokeswomen, Magdalene Moonsamy, agrees, as for her non-racialism means “we need to address issues of the past” based on assumptions of power and class, going further to argue that “we need to reaffirm the inequalities of Africans in particular”.

For some, such as Satgar, there is ambivalence about working within a multi-racial framework; however, it has had its uses. The idea of the ‘rainbow nation’ which had an effect on nation building was inherently infused with the idea of multiple races.

Maré, in an academic paper looking at the idea of non-racialism, explains that South African’s commitment to non-racialism, in effect, reflects common sense thinking based on the existence of races, but, in reality, is actually multi-racialism rather than non-racialism. His concern is thus that South Africa has not embraced the strict meaning of non-racialism: “that there are not such things as objectively verifiable, biologically/genetically-determined and, hence, inherently *socially-meaningful* categories called races”.<sup>6</sup> As this report will discuss, an implicitly multi-racial view, followed by many leaders in society and government, has consequences for economic and social policy in South Africa. Of course, it must be recognised, as Judge Zac Yacoob does, that true non-racialism does not exist anywhere in the world, and achieving a non-racialism society is a challenge that faces ‘people everywhere on earth’.

Almost all respondents took the view that South Africa still needs to recognise and acknowledge colour difference because of the distorted legacy of apartheid. Historically entrenched social, economic and class differences mean that, in practice, some races are more disadvantaged than others, and this needs to be addressed. As Hogan notes, historically, “non-

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Cas Coovadia.

<sup>6</sup> Maré, G. (2003) *Non-racialism in the Struggle against Apartheid, Society in Transition*, Vol. 34. No.1

*I am just astounded at how my own life is being enriched by my encounter with people from so many other cultures.* F. Esack

racism emerged as a fight against racism". Chiba too explained that non-racialism resulted as a need to have 'unity in diversity'. For Chaskalson, you cannot talk about a non-racial society without acknowledging differences that come from the past. As appropriate as this view is, the consequence is that South African leaders are not currently focussed on fully fledged 'non-racialism' but, in practice, a combination of multiracialism and multiculturalism, with the end goal of non-racialism.

For others, such as De Klerk, multiculturalism is a value to strive for in society. In explaining multiculturalism, McDonald notes that multiculturalists favour recognising all identities, while acknowledging that real recognition can involve treating different identities differently.<sup>1</sup> For some multiculturalists, mere toleration of group differences falls short of treating members of minority groups as equal citizens; recognition and positive accommodation of group differences is required through "group-differentiated rights".<sup>2</sup> Race has a more

limited role in multicultural discourse. De Klerk makes the point that one must not confuse non-racialism with the absence of multiculturalism. For him, "multiculturalism is as important in South Africa as nation building is". We should not face a choice between non-racialism and multiculturalism, but rather, De Klerk argues, the Constitution binds us to strike a balance between these two concepts.

To conclude this section it is important to note that many see building a non-racial state as a process, not an event. For Vadi, non-racialism is a process of construction. He explains that, even in societies where there is no racism, you still have racial identities; what apartheid did was give institutional form and character to racial identity. To erode this form of socialisation in South African minds is going to be a process and not a moment or an event. Building a non-racialist society is a moving target, a process of constant engagement, changing apartheid-constructed consciousness.

1 McDonald, M. (2006) *Why Race Matters in South Africa*, Scottsville: UKZN Press. p.182

2 Song, Sarah, "Multiculturalism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2010 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2010/entries/multiculturalism/>>.

## Values

One area in which many interviewees did have a clear sense of the way forward was in defining the values that should underpin non-racialism:

**Equality:** Concerns are of 'equal value'. Equality before the law. Gender equality. Equal in terms of access to resources and empowerment. Create a society where people can work freely, earn a living, and not be exploited at work. (Coovadia, Dlamini, De Klerk, Hogan)

**Inclusiveness:** A society that is owned by all, not belonging to one political party or one icon. (Haffajee, Hogan)

**Unity of purpose:** Unity in diversity, an injury to one is an injury to all. Social solidarity, social collusion. A common humanity. A shared loyalty to a South African identity, to a single nationhood, and to a single political system, based on constitutional principles. Embrace non-racialism as part of a common purpose and vision of nation-building. Everyone with a role and a responsibility. (Cronin, Haffajee, Vadi)

**Tolerance and respect:** Tolerance to be able to listen to one another, even if I feel you are wrong. A spirit of understanding. Respect for all. Respect for ourselves. Sensitivity towards one another. Sharing and caring. Racism is socially unacceptable. (Dlamini, Gandhi, Satgar, Williams-De Bruyn)

**Responsibility:** Take responsibility for how we do things and acknowledge when at fault. (Williams-De Bruyn)

**Responsibility:** Truth, honesty, integrity (Mbetse, Williams-De Bruyn)

**Pride in our democracy:** (Williams-De Bruyn)

# Features

In questioning respondents about what they feel the key features of a non-racial society are, many turned first to dealing with challenges, and how to overcome these, before they articulated what the features of a non-racialism society should be. This is not surprising, as a non-racialist society is, in many ways, a utopia we have not yet reached, and thus leaders may only have an imprecise sense of what this future looks like. The concern is, however, that without a clearly defined set of goals and practices to strive for, it makes the journey to non-racialism more complex and potentially longer.

## Constitution

For numerous South Africans the Constitution is the cornerstone of our democratic society. This certainly holds true for many of the respondents interviewed in this study who feel the Constitution espouses the correct non-racial values and should underpin a non-racial society. For Gandhi, "what is on paper, our Constitution, is what South Africa is trying to achieve". Cachalia too supports that idea that national identity must "first place be based on our values and commitment to the constitution". However, Satgar, although supporting Constitutional values, argues that South Africa cannot be a society that is exclusively hinged on 'Constitutional rights based approach to non-racialism'. Although it is important he believes that just treating everyone as equal is not sufficient, rather we have locate a rights discourse within a wide understanding and approach towards addressing the racial inequities in society as we have inherited them. Indeed this takes us to the next feature of non-racialism in South Africa: social justice and equality.

## Social justice and equality

A clear argument running through the discussion of what the features of a non-racial South Africa should be is the notion that you cannot separate non-racialism from social and economic justice. In other words, a non-racial state would be one imbued with not only racial equality, but social and economic equality too. Satgar explains that the transformation of racial inequalities would clearly "express non-racialism". For Cachalia, those who want to build non-racialism must focus on social justice, "equality broadly conceived, because the liberty of freedoms as individuals is dependent on opportunities to express those freedoms". Equalizing "the opportunity to acquire the capabilities of achieving a meaningful life" is a key feature of non-racialism for Cachalia. Zille too, strongly supports the idea of an open society and opportunity society as features of a non-racial society: the open society speaks to freedom to be who you are;

the opportunity speaks to redress and empowerment. Taking the argument further, religious leader Frank Chikane believes, "any non-racial project that does not deal with the economy is a liberal concept, and that economic inequalities divide society on the basis of race. The report will look in depth at dealing with socio-economic inequality in the 'Challenges' section.

## Integration

A key feature that many respondents supported was the idea that non-racialism would be achieved when South Africans are socially and spatially integrated. For Mbete, socially, it is important for South Africans of all races to get to a point where they are able to be attracted to each other and even to have families together. People should "relate to people of the same generation as themselves, as just friends and human beings". Mantashe agrees that a feature of non-racialism will be where people stay together, intermarry, practice religion together, and practice their different cultures within the same society. And therefore race and colour will not be an issue: "That is the ideal of non-racialism. We must have a nation we must not have races".

Concomitantly, interviewees noted that non-racialism would be strengthened where different races live in the same communities and neighbourhoods. According to Hogan, "children should not just be suburban children. Whites should not only be suburban...Whites still live a very cocooned life. We live in divided societies, language and location". Williams-De Bruyn agreed that non-racialism means living together harmoniously as mixed people. Esack discusses, in a positive example, that he is "the only Coloured person living in an 12 storey apartment block: "I am just astounded at how my own life is being enriched by my encounters with people from so many other cultures".

Finally, a key feature noted of a non-racial society would be language integration. Both Hogan and Cachalia explained that minorities should learn an African language. Beyond this however, Mbete, Hanekom and Makhanya all describe how having a common language that everyone understands, such as Swahili in Tanzania and Portuguese in Mozambique, would contribute to a non-racial society. As Makhanya notes, it is "intrinsically divisive" when people cannot understand and respond to what other people in a room may be saying. Although many agree it is a challenging task to promote the common use of one language across all races and cultures, it is seen as important by some if South Africans want to break down division and improve integration.

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*I think the how of affirmative action, the unbridled and unchecked racist rhetoric within the governing party, but also in other places, is militating against taking the whole nation along on the road of non-racialism. It is creating more divisiveness. F.W. De Klerk*

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# Challenges

**N**on-racialism as a concept emerged out of the struggle to fight apartheid, and, indeed, the legacies of apartheid present the most significant challenges to achieving a non-racial society. As Mbeki notes, “non-racialism must surely be the eradication of the legacy of apartheid”. Firstly, building a non-racial society is hampered by entrenched notions of race that have been socialised into South Africans. Even with the most noble of ideas of non-racialism it is hard for most people to see beyond colour first. As Mantashe explains, “Social behaviour is not like natural behaviour; you don’t just open and close a tap like water. That legacy is going to stay with us for a long time”. Apartheid also created spatial segregation, which hampers the ability of races to intermix. Bantu Education too created a legacy that reproduces racialised inequality. However, for many, the most damaging apartheid legacy is the enduring socio-economic inequality between races and classes. This section will discuss many of the challenges impeding the building of a non-racial society. It will initially look at concerns arising from deep rooted historical legacies, such as socio-economic inequality, class divisions, spatial division, stereotypes and racial socialisation and then turn to address more recent concerns such as the role of the ANC and on-going racial polarities.

## Socio-economic inequality

For almost all respondents there was a strong focus on the idea that you have to address historical social and economic inequalities before you can have meaningful transformation that will result in a non-racial society. Cachalia affirms that that non-racialism and inequality cannot be uncoupled from each other, with Mbete agreeing that “the socio-economic situation needs to be balanced...to help create an atmosphere that is conducive for people to actually be able to cross the boundaries that were previously put between racial groups”. As Vadi explains:

*In a situation where there is significant inequality in society, in a situation in which socio-economic relations have not equalized, race will still remain a critical factor... With the best will in the world, a desperately poor African person will look at a rich Indian person, a rich White person, in a different way. And, in his or her mind, the thought might come, how come Whites and Indians have so much that I don't have? He is asking a legitimate question on the basis of his economic deprivation. So, in a society of inequality, in which the majority of people are poor are black, and a minority of Whites, Coloureds and Indians are rich, race will remain a factor.*

Certainly Moonsamy and Cachalia agree that that if you want to change racial attitudes and perceptions, you have to change the economy of the country. Moonsamy, however, takes the argument beyond equalising socio-economic relations, maintaining that “economic power must shift from the minority to the majority”.

## Service delivery

One of the challenges facing the reduction of socio-economic inequality raised by several respondents is that of poor service delivery. There is a clear view that, if service delivery and the efficiency of the state in providing basic services to citizens are improved, there would be more opportunities for the poor to access economic opportunities and a concomitant reduction in racially perceived poverty and inequality.

For Mbete, one of the challenges to socio-economic inequality is the volume of service backlogs in areas such as basic services, housing, sanitation, rural development and rural social infrastructure. In particular, she feels that if the state were able to “quickly deal with ensuring that in rural areas people no longer need to come to urban areas, because rural areas are attractive and there is no need to go find jobs...then you will deal with the squalor of the urban areas”. This in turn would reduce urban poverty. Moonsamy agrees that “17 years later something should have been done; basic services at least should have been there”. For De Klerk, service delivery has deteriorated dramatically. A consequence of this, raised by Zille, is that the opportunities the government is responsible for creating are not being delivered: “education, health, water, electricity” are the building blocks of economic opportunity, which in turn will reduce poverty and ultimately reduce racial tensions.

## Affirmative action and BEE

Most respondents, however, feel the best way to address the historical legacy of inequality is through programmes such as affirmative action (AA) and black economic empowerment (BEE). To a much lesser extent, some mentioned land reform as a mechanism. Respondents, including Kathrada, Naidoo, Coovadia, de Klerk, Yacoob and Mbete, all agreed that the rationale behind AA and BEE is good, necessary and appropriate to deal with historical legacies. For Kathrada, “We came into government on the understanding that a priority is for...the most oppressed, and the most oppressed were the African people, the majority”. Coovadia agrees that “BEE is necessary...we’ve got to recognize that, just like politically, economically if we don’t bring the majority of people into the economy, we don’t have a system that is sustainable”.

Some respondents noted the positive outcomes of these policies of redress. For Mantashe they are successful where they empower people and offer ‘operational exposure’ in the workplace. He explains that equity statistics do not always give the full story as they tend to focus on management whereas, in practice, change is taking place at lower levels, such as in the number of black mine shift overseers, for example. Where there is ‘developmental content’ in the implementation of policies such as affirmative action, they are successful. Others such as Vadi and Hogan recognised that BEE has

created a growing black middle class. Haffajee (although noting the lack of wealth distribution) explains how studies have shown that there has been a 'phenomenal creation' of black middle class. The social mobility of this class in South Africa has been faster than any class in modern history, faster than Europe, the UK, and even America, where it takes four generations to move from working to middle class. Here it has happened in one generation.

Notwithstanding some positive views, the majority of interviewees spoke about tensions emerging from affirmative action and BEE. Broadly speaking, they discussed problems with poor implementation of the policies, the concern that they inadequately address redistribution and how they may create a sense of marginalisation for sections of society.

Different arguments were put forward as to why the implementation of BEE and affirmative action has not been effective. Coovadia, for example, argues that the way the policies have been put in place is incorrect. There was too little discussion about the sound economic and social reasons behind the policy, and thus insufficient buy-in from all sectors of the community. Many respondents described how affirmative action and BEE have inadequately addressed redistribution. Questions arose about whether these programmes go far enough in changing the conditions of previously disadvantaged races. For Esack, BEE had the theoretical basis of affirming all of the historically disadvantaged communities, yet, in practice, it is not connected sufficiently "with the very genuine grievances and poverty that exists in black townships and the need to address that". Chiba argues that BEE was actually meant for a handful, a small elite, and it has done nothing more than that. A few have become extremely wealthy. In practice he agrees with Esack, that for the ordinary man in the street, "it means nothing". COSATU's President, Sidumo Dlamini, agrees that BEE policy "continues to serve a few blacks only" as does Ngwane, who maintains that the problem with BEE is the "black aspirant bourgeoisie are using their blackness to become millionaires...when they want a car deal, easy money, they will cry foul, hey - we're blacks. But when they run the mines, they still exploit the black people. I mean I haven't seen any difference between Motsepe's mines and Oppenheimer's mines, sometimes Motsepe's mines are worse". Certainly, as Vadi notes, after 17 years of democracy, we have higher levels of inequality in society, when the official program and project of the government is to reduce inequality. In light of criticisms such as these, Vadi argues that a view is beginning to emerge that the programmes are not radical enough. A consequence of this is the rise in debates about redistributive measures such as nationalisation.

A further concern with affirmative action and BEE is the question, framed by Hogan, of how to address historical inequality without creating a sense of marginalisation. "She questions how you use programmes such as BEE and affirmative action to "set the balance right" while supporting non-racialism. These programmes can lead to a sense of minority groups becoming 2nd class

citizens and becoming marginalised. For Hogan these programmes send out an ambiguous statement; certain groups will have to get less. Instead of focusing on the cake growing bigger, the policies mean certain people will have to be "moved out of that cake or are not allowed access". She asks: how do we create a society where everyone can participate to their full degree? How do we create an economy that meets the needs of everyone? De Klerk argues that although necessary, programmes such as affirmative action and BEE must not be implemented in a way which constitutes institutionalised discrimination. He believes the manner in which affirmative action is taking place is counter-productive towards building a truly non-racial South Africa, because there is no balance being struck between affirmative action on the one hand and merit and representativeness on the other hand. For example, "when judges recently had to be appointed for the Western Cape, notwithstanding the backlog in the courts, the Judicial Services Commission left some posts vacant, notwithstanding the ability of absolutely fit and proper people, just because they are White. They were not appointed. No suitable Black or Coloured candidate could be found and therefore the post was left vacant. It is a clear example of how affirmative action should not take place". For Kathrada, the concern with BEE is that it marginalises non-black (African) races that were disadvantaged by apartheid, "it has become basically a Black African thing. It was meant to be all formerly oppressed people, Africans, Coloureds, Indians, the term itself has been applied more and more to black Africans"

Finally Hanekom, Cronin and Cachalia describe how policies such as affirmative action and land reform can have negative unintended consequences. Hanekom notes that land reform is one of the most glaring means of racial disparity, but to seize people's land and force the issue will not achieve non-racialism. Cronin explains how policies such as BEE and land reform ultimately represent a rights based discourse, and too little attention is paid to outcomes. In relation to land reform, if you look at what has happened to the 8-9% of land that has been redistributed, it is a "disaster...because there hasn't been a discussion based on the agency of people and the need for their productive activity". Mbeki agrees that even where land transfers have occurred, "over the years there has been a mistake in that the government has not supported sufficiently the new land owners... so people might have the land but they don't know how to use it as an economic asset". In terms of negative consequences for non-racialism, Cachalia explains:

*There is a dilemma here, you can't target disadvantage without identifying the target group, and if you are targeting racial inequalities then you need public policies that take race into account. But...you reinforce racial identities; you create incentives for people to identify on the basis of race. You imprison others in a narrow racial category which they do not accept, quite rightly. And I think you create incentives for people to trade on colour, ethnicity, race, because it is a source of privilege, access, opportunity. So any public policy has costs here, we should be aware of that.*

To conclude this section, it is clear that, for many respondents, breaking down socio-economic inequality

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is a long term project. As Mbete noted, programmes that address inequalities are working towards an end goal where a balance begins to materialise. However, "how long that will take; I don't think any of us will be able to say". In light of this progress must be reviewed and evaluated. She concludes that "it can't be correct to say that it must just go on forever, no, there has got to be a time, and I don't think we are able to say how long it will take, that we should be able to review the situation and say that we are now at a point where we have made some difference".

### **Class and non-racialism**

Trying to separate the issue of race from class is like trying to part the sugar and water from your tea with a tea spoon.

South Africa's legacy, like other parts of the colonized continent, was made up of a working class that consisted primarily of Africans as explained by Vadi: "In pre-colonial African society we had basically a subsistence economy, but colonialism led to the introduction of a new form of economy. This new economy was characterised by private ownership of land, manufacturing and mining. Technological advancements later became key features of this new economy. This was, of course, exemplified by White elites who controlled economic power. During the 1920s and 1930s, this kind of capital began to invert, and those who formed the bulk of the working class became predominantly African; later this included Indians and Coloureds". This established a top down system of racial categorization which manifested itself in the form of power relations between Whites, Coloured, Indians and Black Africans which in essence introduced the notion of class.

The key feature of this class distinction was economic control. This, according to Vadi, created a form of racial consciousness and identity that is re-enforced by a lack of material resources. "...So the power was in the hands of the White ruling elite, and of course the majority were excluded from economic and political power. That created a particular racial consciousness and class identities that cannot be divorced from the material context in which people grow up and, because of the predominance of the racial factor in this country, we have an exaggerated notion of racial identity".

The apartheid government made sure that it maintained a strong control over resources, thus allowing it to remain the dominant race and class. Satgar mentions this: "The relationship between race and class and how these things kind of intersected served to reproduce the pattern of racial oppression..."

It is essential to note that these racial and class oppressions also encompassed gender groups. Post-apartheid South Africa has strived to eliminate all forms of discrimination based on things such as gender, race or class. Despite this, we are still operating within the confinement of a capitalist society that relies on the sale of cheap labour and the exploitation of citizens. Dlamini talks about how it is those at the lowest end of the economic spectrum and women that are still the biggest victims of this level of oppression. "...these three things are confronting us today: gender discrimination (which is a triple oppression of women), race (where the minority still dominates the economy of South Africa, with about 83% of economic control still resting in the hands of Whites), and the issue of class is still a big problem. One can still see a very large group of all those that are poor, unemployed and who are part of the working class who are struggling on a day-to-day basis; forced to have to sell their labour to survive. They still don't own the means of production which would allow them to survive".

Government policies such as Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) and affirmative action are designed to address the historical injustices of apartheid. These injustices also include issues of race, gender and class. Over the past decade, it has come to mind that these policies are being manipulated to serve the interest of a small selected group of the previously disadvantaged majority: "whilst you have a BEE policy, it continues to be serving few Blacks only. A class question is confronting us". This gives rise to a new class of economically liberated within a fairly oppressed majority. Haffajee notes that the above mentioned policies have not been able to redistribute wealth but rather create new middle class citizens. "We haven't been able to produce any wealth redistribution at all... for the larger mass of people...class transition has not happened at all"

The formation of a new Black middle class from the redistributive policies has resulted in the alienation of other race groups which were also involved in the struggle against apartheid. Essack mentions how the change in language regarding the empowerment of 'Africans' to now being about 'Blacks' has caused growth of a Black middle class but reduced potential for growth of a middle class in other race groups such as Coloureds and Indians. "I don't think that they are genuinely moved by the concerns of the Black working class. They have now really upped the racial concerns of the language used and it is now all about the Black Africans. The shift from the term Africans to the term Blacks for BEE purposes has proved specifically beneficial for a particular class of politically powerful people. This new class categorization

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*Recently I read about an elderly white woman who caught a bus on a new route from Gardens in Cape Town to the Waterfront... She said it was such a lovely experience, it was Black and white people together, and we all talked. And that's the thing about public transport as opposed to cars, each of us lugging a ton of metal on our own, in our isolated boxes on freeways shouting at each other. J. Cronin*

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## *The ANC must be bolder in its pronouncements on non-racialism.*

G. Mantashe

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has now meant a further alienation of the Coloured and Indian people”.

If we successfully manage to overcome issues of race through a non-racial agenda, it might also allow us to redress issues of class consciousness: “Now the challenge of race is that it allocates to an individual an unqualified, in my opinion, attribute of class consciousness”<sup>1</sup>

### **Spatial challenges**

A further challenge to non-racialism, deriving from the history of apartheid, and in particular the Group Areas Act, is spatial or geographic division. As Hogan and others explain, apartheid divided races in fundamental ways, particularly with the location of Black Africans outside of cities. There is an “active civic life where a whole lot of things are taking place where White people are divorced from the Black reality”. For Mbeki, the old apartheid racial settlement patterns persist.

Cronin and Makhanya agree there is a spatial crisis with a continuation of building apartheid spaces through Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing. For Cronin, people are “crammed into horrible dormitory townships...and still treated as if they are migrants, they are here in the city to sleep and work, and we provide them with rows and rows of sleeping accommodation called RDP houses, far away from everything”. Predictably, spatial separation has led to undesirable outcomes. For Cronin it is symptomatic of spatial challenges that popular frustrations and anger are called ‘township delivery protests’. These are a result of “pressure cooker situations, in which large numbers of working class and poor Black people are crammed, and a lot of the fights are factional fights, taxi associations, small shop keepers against foreign shopkeepers, housing queue people fighting each other and so on”. Cronin asks, “why aren’t we de-racialising towns and cities?” He concludes that there is a need to think profoundly about thorough spatial transformation. Mbeki agrees that “you will be able to tell if there is progress in terms of non-racialism just by watching the way the population is moving”.

Esack points to an even more entrenched problem arising from spatial challenges: that separate living between races promotes “ignorance and fear”. Where there is no fusion of culture, no conversation across colour lines, and people live in racially separate areas, “you have worker disputes and instead of addressing these as worker disputes, you say this guy’s Black, that’s why he doesn’t like me, or she’s White, what else would you expect from the White bosses.” Vadi agrees that separate spaces for different races results in particular racial or ethnic consciousness developing. As Esack concludes, you “start off with ignorance and fear, the next moment you end up

with racism, xenophobia, tribalism, racial wars; because people don’t know each other”. Similarly, for William-De Bruyn, living separately will never change society or help foster non-racialism. Rather, it is when people live together as different groups and start to understand and “know one another” that non-racialism can flourish. This concern links to the next legacy of apartheid: socialised understanding of different races, and concomitant entrenchment of stereotypes.

Others, including Makhanya, Vadi and Dlamini, point to racial separation taking place, indirectly, in the workplace. For Makhanya, there is a need to transform the workplace at a much more rapid rate, implementing meaningful policies rather than “just ticking boxes”. Haffajee agrees that it is important to create opportunities in the work place for previously disadvantaged racial groups. She particularly tries to “break down the glass ceiling for other women in media” and to create teams that are non-racial and reflect the demographics of the country. This encourages “healthy debate and learning from each other”.

Finally, Cronin discusses the important link between spatial segregation and transport. Historically public transport has reinforced apartheid spatial realities. However, he sees the possibility of public transport playing an effective role in “transforming and de-racialising geography” in South Africa. For Cronin decent, affordable, effective public transport, deracialises mobility, transport and access, and creates an opportunity for South Africans to rub shoulders. This happened during the 2010 Soccer World Cup, where all races used public transport to get there and back, and at a rugby Currie Cup semi-final in Soweto. Thus, public transport has the potential to democratise and deracialise space.

### **Socialised racism**

Several respondents raised the issue that racism, as a consequence of apartheid, is a phenomenon that has been socialised into South Africans. The legacy of socialised racism, according to Mantashe, will stay with South Africans for a long time. Mbeki too notes that “The matter is very specific in this country; there are psychological elements to it, racism as a state of mind”. Gandhi agrees that, due to years of indoctrination, people have been taught to believe they are different, and that there is a superior race and an inferior race. From early childhood we are socialized to understand gender and race roles in a particular way. For example, from early childhood you may implicitly understand Black people are only supposed to do certain types of jobs, while White people do other things. In terms of racial socialisation, Chaskalson agrees that Whites have to “internalize and get rid of old attitudes” but this also applies to others races’ socialised perspectives. Ngwane tell a personal story regarding the effect of socialisation:

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1 Interview with Magdalene Moonsamy.

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*I grew up in a kind of cocoon in a missionary hospital, where there was an attempt by those in charge to be very non-racial. So when I came to Jo'burg, I went to Wits university and I saw all those Whites; to me they were just human beings. But I soon realized that other students didn't think that way, they had grown up in isolation from White people, and the White people they knew, they were the police, they were the bad guys...They had an almost inherent, socialized suspicion, even fear, hostility to White people, which I didn't have.*

An obvious consequence of racial socialisation is the creation of racial stereotypes. For Mantashe, "Racism is not only prejudicial; it is also a stereotype. It is in the subconscious mind of a person". The creation and entrenchment of stereotypes presents a clear challenge to fostering non-racialism. For two interviewees, one way to overcome stereotypes is to accept that race is a "spurious concept". For Hanekom, race is a social construct, "biologically it is absolute nonsense, but you have to get to the point where it is socially nonsense as well". Chikane agrees that race is created, and socially constructed, and that to "undo it you have to change the structures that created it".

Some argue that the state is not challenging the idea that race is a social construct because it requires South African's to state their race on administrative forms. For various interviewees this is unpleasant and harks back to apartheid categorisation. As Mbete says,

*I think it can be expected that, for Black people, the very thought of being asked to identify yourself on race is revolting because of the past. It can be said also for Coloured and Indians. For White people, I am quite sure it is revolting from the point of view of thinking about what happened in the past, so why must they continue to think of themselves as being White and not South African?*

Williams-De Bruyn agrees that she doesn't "like putting herself in a box" and so she will leave it empty. For Mantashe too, it "irritates" him; "sometimes I spoil it deliberately and say Xhosa". However, Hanekom, Mbete and Mantashe all pointed out that in order to address historical legacies of disadvantage, for now it is necessary to track racial trends.

## The ANC

Concerns over the role of the ANC in fostering non-racialism were raised by many respondents. Thus the role of the ANC is currently seen as a challenge, by many, to building a non-racial society. This is somewhat troubling given its pivotal role in promoting the concept of non-racialism during apartheid. However, before turning to concerns with the ANC, it is important to acknowledge comments expressed in support for the ANC's actions.

Both Haffajee and Moonsamy pointed out that the ANC has a historical commitment to non-racialism. For Haffajee, the ANC was important in giving non-whites a sense of self, belonging and power. For Moonsamy, "the role the ANC has played in its commitment towards a non-racial society can never be questioned, because it has done so much". Several interviewees also noted that, in practice, the ANC has demonstrated a commitment

to non-racialism. Naidoo explains that the deployment policy in the national cabinet demonstrates that there is non-racial mix of ministers. This is in a context of a support base that is almost entirely African. The mayoral committee in Johannesburg too has "Whites who are members who work with the mayor" and the provincial government in Gauteng has a White and an Indian in the cabinet, so "these things at the ANC level have always been talked about, it's happening". Certainly, for Haffajee, Jacob Zuma is, at his heart, a non-racialist, and thus when he took over, a great diversity in the construction of the Presidency, and amongst Director Generals, emerged. He has a much more diverse Cabinet, for example, than under Mbeki. Vadi agrees the ANC has put out a strong call for a non-racial character in its leadership, and indeed he describes how, of the 4000 people who attend to the ANC conferences every five years, there is a significant proportion, at least a few hundred Whites, Indians and Coloureds.

On the positive side, Hanekom and Naidoo also feel there has been an increase recently in ANC leadership's focus on non-racialism. Hanekom notes non-racialism "has found its way more back into the ANC discourse" with various key people delivering addresses that focus on non-racialism. Indeed, he speculates that that word "non-racialism" appears much more frequently in 2011 in ANC speeches than compared to the last few years. Naidoo argues that "the forces that believe in the issue around non-racism are quite powerful, quite strong...so the ANC is...pushing the non-racial agenda". Yet both respondents agree, as does Coovadia, that the onus remains on all ANC leaders to continuously promote non-racialism.

Bearing in mind the ANC's positive historical legacy, and the comments made above, the majority of respondents raised concerns over the ANC's current role in promoting non-racialism. Interviewees including Coovadia, Williams-DeBruyn, Naidoo and Haffajee all feel the ANC is 'slipping' in its approach to non-racialism. Comments were, respectively "we've just lost the values we grew up with"; "our people have lost sight, they have forgotten"; "the organisation hasn't become different, but it's slipping" and "I think the ANC, in its hundred years, it's been through epochs of greatness, and times of poverty of thought and mediocrity, and I think it's in one of those dips at the moment".

Several reasons were put forward for why the ANC is inadequately promoting non-racialism. Firstly, respondents feel that ANC leadership around non-racialism is weak. For example, they are silent in the face of, according to Esack, more populist, sometimes blatantly racist, views that come from inside elements of the Youth League.<sup>1</sup> Coovadia agreed that the ANC "has not taken the Youth League to task" for racial statements they have made. There is a need to have the leadership continuously promote non-racism. Indeed, Mantashe did concede "the ANC must be bolder in its pronouncements on non-racialism". Hanekom further noted that the ANC

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<sup>1</sup> Interviews for this project were conducted before charges were laid by the ANC against Youth League leaders for bringing the ANC into disrepute.

has not done an about-turn in its policy on non-racialism; rather its 'character' has changed due, he feels, to the absence of strong leadership and strong organizational guidance.

Secondly, respondents feel the ANC does not adequately promote non-racialism because it is concerned with holding onto political power, to the detriment of other issues. Haffjee noted that there is little space for 'thinking' and that the ANC is an era where all it does is roll from one election conference to the next, which causes tension and "fighting". Satgar believes the ANC has lost its focus on non-racialism because it has an antipathy to the Constitution: "It's not serious about the Constitution...if you have the General Secretary of the ANC slamming the Constitutional Court and rubbishing checks and balances and what is essential for a modern political state, you have a very serious problem". For Ngwane, the real challenge is the difference between the ANC as a national liberation movement and a government in power:

*If you are in power, the first priority, unfortunately, is to keep in power... Now your ideas of non-racialism... get deployed to maintain power... they will use non-racialism, not so much to get rid of racism, but to ensure their rule over society. So they might even be prepared to slide back a bit, to waiver on principle, for the sake of maintaining power... you know politics in a sense is a game, but you can't bend so much that you break... One of the forms which Zuma used to become President was his Zuluness, which I think was completely out of order, it was wrong from a principled, non-racial position.*

In a similar vein, Coovadia, thirdly, discusses concerns with the ANC's approach to economic power. He feels the ANC has lost its values because it is faced with the issue of "being in control of and having a significant say in resource allocation". This has created a significant core of leadership both in government and the party, "that's actually utilizing all sorts of strategies to ensure that resources are allocated in a way that suits them". What is troubling is when people are criticised for unethical allocation of resources they raise the race issue, which can lead to "violent public debate". Any constructive criticism is immediately reduced to race without addressing critical issues that need to be dealt with.

A final criticism regarding the ANC and non-racialism, is that it has insufficiently focussed on building non-racialism at the grassroots level. For Naidoo, the ANC leadership could do much more at lower levels of the organisation to encourage racially diverse membership. Vadi agrees that in the ANC now, fewer and fewer White, Indian and Coloured leaders are beginning to emerge. Mantashe maintains that the ANC is very conscious about its structures being representative, and even goes "the extra mile to correct imbalances". However, he is also concerned that the movement is not seeing new activists coming through its ranks. Due to being "stuck" with the groups "we know in those communities", it is challenging to ensure diversity.

Many respondents feel the time has come for the ANC to

reflect on their approach to non-racialism. For Cachalia, now that the ANC operates under conditions of mass democracy, it needs to rethink some of its ideas on non-racialism that were formulated in the 1950s. Formulations to some extent have been static, and they need to be more nuanced, more complex, and more adequate for current challenges. Hanekom and Williams-De Bruyn agree that there is a lack of reflection on whether non-racialism has, or has not, been achieved and it is time for the movement to "apply its mind" to the question of non-racialism. It must be a concerted effort and put on the ANC's agenda. For Williams-De Bruyn, the ANC must reach a consensus on how best to foster non-racialism.

Drawing from respondents' views, and recognising the ANC's significant contribution to building a non-racial state, there is a strong sense that the ANC has lost its way regarding non-racialism and is not providing effective, and cohesive, leadership and vision. As we saw, when discussing the meanings of non-racialism, there are different views emerging about the fundamental meaning and practice of non-racialism from different leaders and sectors of the party. Many respondents, often members and leaders of the ANC themselves, feel the movement is struggling to formulate a cohesive approach to the idea and implementation of non-racialism.

## The ANC Youth League

Given the timing of this research (mid 2011) it is understandable that the role and leadership of the ANC Youth League featured prominently in the interviews. A key concern of several respondents is that the Youth League is promoting a racial agenda and that, given the socio-economic status of many, particularly young Africans, this view is finding resonance among the youth.

Coovadia, Haffjee, Makhanya and Ngwane all expressed concern that the leader of the Youth League, Julius Malema, is promoting racial views. As Haffjee said, "I don't know what he is, but he certainly isn't a non-racialist". Makhanya feels "the youth league spews out comments that are racial, racial, racial". Several examples of racial outputs from the Youth League were given, such as that "all Whites are criminals and thieves". Others described how Malema went to the Eastern Cape when a White person shot a Black person and called it racist, while ignoring the high number of White people who killed on farms by Africans. Concerns were raised about the implications of the leagues 'racial' statements. For Hanekom, they don't "help to infuse and encourage a change of attitude". Others noted the effect they could have on the White population. Makhanya felt the statements are "dangerous, and alienating, and will serve to make a section of the population feel they do not belong here and they are not as South African as everybody else". This in turn will undo the non-racialism project as "most White people are going to remain here... feeling marginalized and alienated, and that can breed a type of backlash that you don't want". Mantashe too expressed that some of the views of the Youth League could have a serious impact because they alienate sections of society.

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To counter this view, however, spokesperson for the league, Moonsamy, argues that “The ANC youth league has at no point raised the issue of race with the intention of advocating racism”.

However, a further indicator of the league’s non-racial stance was remarked on when discussing its membership. Vadi, Williams-De Bruyn noted and Hanekom noted that the leadership is “almost exclusively African”. Of the thousands who attend Youth League conferences there are almost no non-Black African faces. According to Williams-De Bruyn, “When I sat in their conference I didn’t see again any other race group, except one Indian woman who is the spokesperson...it was wrong...they should have had foresight to say we know the ANC stands for non-racialism...let us start recruiting people from other race groups”. Vadi agrees that the league is failing to organise and mobilize young people from different communities and to develop a leadership in these communities and that this is a concern.

The Youth League’s stance on non-racialism must be understood in relation to the fact that the views put forward by the league are, according to Haffajee, “very, very influential...we sit in an epoch where the ANC Youth League is the voice again”. Studies from media research in South Africa have shown that Malema is now the second most high profile political individual, if you count “profile” as being in the media. Several respondents proposed ideas as to why the league is so influential. For Coovadia, the poor education system for the majority of African leaves them ‘disempowered’ and unemployed thus very receptive to strong rhetoric. Others, such as Haffajee, noted the league’s message is powerful because “we have got political freedom but not economic freedom...we are in office but not in power”. Cachalia expounds that the youth “are not seeing change and they think nothing has happened...of course they are wrong, but it’s the consequences that even if we have a changed the society...we have not dealt effectively with the economic challenge”.

In light of the reality of continuing socio-economic inequality, commentators, including Vadi and Mantashe maintain there is “nothing wrong with the youth league raising issues of economic empowerment...strongly”. Mantashe agrees that “sometimes they raise relevant issues” such as the nationalisation debate. However, both noted that the style and manner in which issues are raised by the league can be damaging. For Mantashe:

*We say, listen, society works differently. If you go out and say ‘Whites stole land and they are criminals’ it is not helpful. It may be the same message as saying it is not sustainable to have the current distribution of land. But the reaction and the impact is not the same. The language used alienates society.*

As Vadi concludes, “the roundedness is what I don’t

see, the sophistication and strategies are not coming out, and perhaps its leadership, in the way in which it is raising things, is adversarial rather than constructive”.

Although there is strong criticism of the Youth League’s lack of focus on building non-racialism, the ANC Women’s League and the South African Communist Party did not escape attention. Vadi remarked that there is no focus on non-racialism coming out of the Women’s League, while Esack commented that SACP, “who has a far more principled position on questions of non-racialism is mostly silent”. However, it is important to conclude this section by noting that building non-racialism cannot be a task left solely to the ANC and its affiliates. Certainly, in the early 1990s, the ANC was “imbued with the nation building responsibility” and this was expressed in the Mandela era. Yet, “no political force is “infallible” or has the capacity to do everything. South Africa must keep alive a people-centred notion of non-racialism.<sup>1</sup>

## **Polarities**

A theme running through debates about non-racialism is the concern that society is being polarised by African nationalism on the one hand and Afrikaner extremism on the other. Looking at the former, respondents Yacoob, Chiba, Ngwane, Makhanya and Mantashe all noted that there is a concern regarding the rise of African nationalism. For Chiba, the term ‘African’ is being manipulated in different ways, more recently referring to narrow Black nationalism. His concern is that there is a move away from an encompassing idea of Black referring to all previously disadvantaged races, and now a focus on the African community. Makhanya argues further that there has been “a very opportunistic and crass rise of African nationalism” and “African chauvinism”. For him this is unfortunate as it is “finding a place in the ANC... and that is trickling into different parts of our society. It’s not sophisticated at all, it is chauvinism in its rawest form, and it manifests itself in Malema”. For Makhanya the rise of African nationalism is the result of poor leadership from the ANC. Ngwane agrees that the ANC is moving towards being the custodian of African nationalism, if only as a reaction to the DA, which is trying to become the custodian of non-racialism: “to fight Zille now, Malema must remind us that Zille is White”. De Klerk too feels that extreme views are troubling and are driven by the “more radical elements in the ANC alliance”. His concern is that they “are trying to elevate the things they like in the Constitution to primary rights” and to relegate rights and responsibilities which the ANC made concessions on, under Mandela’s leadership, as secondary rights. He feels this is unconstitutional and if allowed to continue will erode the Constitution and be “the biggest setback the quest for a truly non-racial South Africa can suffer”. Yacoob counters however, that African nationalism is not yet out of hand, although it has the potential to

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1 Interview with Ismail Vadi

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*The reality is that racism is entrenched in this society.*

M. Moonsamy

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*There is no question in my mind that if we were to hold a referendum today amongst whites, asking the question do you remain committed to the values and principles and goals contained in the constitution, and would you like us to succeed in building a truly non-racial state, once again the overwhelming majority will vote yes.* F.W. De Klerk

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have unintended racial consequences. Indeed there is no strong sense from the majority of respondents that African nationalism is rampant or polarising the country.

Afrikaner extremism was raised by a small number of respondents as a counter-polarity threatening non-racialism in South Africa. For Mantashe, an organisation such as the predominantly Afrikaans-led AfriForum is the 'flipside' of African nationalist tendencies that arise out the ANC Youth League. Vadi argues that there are "people in society, across all communities, who still have a racist mentality, a racist view; some in the far right Afrikaner society". De Klerk too, notes that, if you look at some public opinion pieces, such as the letters column in a newspapers, "You see, specifically, also from White Afrikaners, who are not necessarily representative of all Afrikaners, a vicious racist backlash".

Although the fear of strengthening racial polarities was raised by some commentators, there is little sense that polarities are yet to cripple non-racialism in the country. Indeed, several respondents noted that a 'moderate view' is the dominant one in the racial debate. For Vadi, although there are stresses and strains starting to emerge, the mainstream project is still for a non-racial democratic society. Makhanya agrees that 'middle ground voices' predominate. Although "the extremes are louder and more aggressive", overall the middle views are strong.

### **Majority-minority relations**

A large number of respondents voiced apprehension about on-going racism between all race groups in South Africa. In particular is a concern that African-Indian and African-Coloured relations are poor and, in turn, challenging the building of a non-racial country. For example, in relation to African-Indian relations, both Ngwane and Gandhi raised concerns about relations in Kwa-Zulu Natal (KZN) particularly. They note that racism is a two-way street with antagonisms coming from both the Indian and African side. Gandhi describes how there is tension in the Indian community, between White and Indian and between African and Indian: "people are not prepared to look at another perspective...also, there's that view in particular in KZN, amongst a lot of people, that African people can't run a country, they don't have the ability, which I think is the height of prejudice". For Ngwane,

*Black people are still the worst suffering, but they come with their own reverse racism...in Durban among African people there is a strong anti-Indian ideology, and it is spoken about, the Indians are bad...I wrote against that, because, fortunately, I lived in Chatsworth, an Indian area, and the Indians embraced me...so I got sensitive to that,*

*working class Indians. But, at the university, my problem was that there was a lot of Indian racism against Africans, and sometimes I was a victim of that. So it became quite agonizing to me.*

Racism between Coloureds and Africans too is seen as troubling, in this case particularly in the Western Cape. For Hanekom, there is a reality in townships that some Black people are racist towards other race groups, including Coloureds. In return in Coloured townships, "words like kaffir are being used, probably more even than in the right wing White suburbs". Respondents gave several reasons for why African-Indian-Coloured relations are poor.

First is the view that some Black Africans feel Indians and Coloureds have taken advantage of economic opportunities, such as affirmative action and BEE, to their detriment. According to Chaskalson, there is a perception that Indians and Coloureds are being advantaged over Black Africans. Esack expounds that it became clear that Black Africans felt there was a disproportionate number of Indians and Coloureds in the civil service, "and people then started talking about real Blacks...so now there is a much more unashamed articulation of privileging real Blacks". In response to this many in the Coloured community in particular, according to Hanekom, feel that "before I wasn't White enough and now I'm not Black enough". This has caused resentment and frustration towards Black African leadership.

A further reason for poor relations raised by respondents is the sense of alienation that Coloured and Indian communities may now feel from the ANC. For Williams-De Bruyn certain ANC leaders 'made utterances' that "drove other race groups away from local elections... there is the notion that people in other race groups feel like they are being alienated from the party, because they are not being treated in the same way". Coovadia agrees that the Indian and Coloured community by and large don't see the ANC as seeing on their behalf, and consequently have switched party allegiance. This reaction is due primarily to the emphasis by the ANC on racial issues above core problems such as education. Cronin agrees that, in part, it is the actions of certain members of the ANC that has divided Black African and minority communities.

Much of this sense of separation has arisen due to remarks made by Head of Government Communications, Jimmy Manyi, and Malema. Chiba explains how Manyi, while in the Department of Labour, commented to the effect that there was an over-concentration of Coloured people in the Western Cape, and Coloured people should move into other areas of South Africa. Chiba also notes that, at another time, Manyi implied there are too

many Indians holding management positions in South Africa. For Chiba, influential people such as Manyi “make the wrong derogatory statements” which are not “in the spirit of non-racialism”. Similarly, for Cronin, Malema’s “strident anti-Whitism” has given space to the DA to win support from minority communities. The DA framed their discourse as a non-racial discourse, but, for Cronin, it was really about mobilizing minorities against the threat of majoritarianism, and Malema played into this.

## The role of White South Africans

The role of White South Africans in building non-racialism is seen as an important part of the non-racialism debate and the part that minorities play in this. Several, in some cases very different, perspectives were offered regarding the responsibility of Whites in building non-racialism, and the challenges they present.

Some respondents implicitly and explicitly noted that Whites should have shown more remorse for the repression that occurred under the apartheid system and offered a public apology. For Makhanya, the ‘rainbow nation’ celebration after 1994, in the Mandela years, was an important attempt to create a sense of being a South African. However, there was insufficient confrontation of what had occurred under apartheid, “that as a society we were scarred with racial scars, that we were damaged”. The notion of a rainbow nation was celebrated too prematurely, and thus the project was essentially artificial: “the majority of people felt cheated by those years, it was more about White appeasement”. Thus, for Makhanya, White South Africa ‘hasn’t come to the party’. Rather his concern is that White South Africans feel apartheid was an irritation that happened, they feel sorry for it, but just want to ‘move on’.

Moonsamy, from the Youth League, takes this perspective further with a clear view that Whites hold responsibility for the challenges facing South Africa. She argues that “the reality is that racism is entrenched in this society by the White minority. This is not about whether we sit together in a pub or a restaurant, sit on benches together, this is about bread and butter issues about the majority of people who remain marginalized, and on the outside of society”. She feels that that minority groups, and in particular Whites, have not committed themselves in general to this democracy, and thus, “this is where the issue is around who... is responsible for shifting our society from being a racial one to a non-racial one. And that can only be done by those individuals who still continue to perpetuate”.

Cronin raises the point that White South Africans, including those born after 1994, need to recognise that they are the beneficiaries of apartheid. Access to privilege and advantage is still profoundly marked by race. White South Africans need to be “much more sensitive, and much more committed to changing the things that are perpetuating that reality”. However, he does not agree that a White leader should have formally apologised on behalf of Whites, because, he argues, there was no leader who represented all Whites. Cronin himself, as with many

other White anti-apartheid activists, felt Mandela was his representative.

A second key issue, raised by respondents, is that White capital or those who own and control wealth, have not committed to non-racialism. For Makhanya “White business had to be dragged kicking and screaming into implementing policies of redress; they didn’t take to employment equity, it had to be legislated, and there was no voluntary transformation”. Moonsamy again takes this perspective further, arguing that the issue of race is at the heart of the lack of prosperity of the majority as the White minority still controls the economy, and that “the only people who are not committed to non-racialism is White minority capital”. Her argument is that that when White capital gives “back to the state, then we would have resolved our problems”. In a similar, albeit more moderate vein, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, recently proposed that Whites should pay a small ‘wealth tax’.<sup>1</sup> Respondents, including Mbeki, Gandhi and Cronin, feel this would not alleviate racism in South Africa. Mbeki argues that the reduction of racially aligned poverty and inequality will not be achieved by redistribution, rather the “challenge is doing something about growing the economy”. For Cronin non-racialism cannot be seen as a ‘deal’ where Whites can buy moral absolution. Rather non-racialism is:

*a principle and a commitment to transforming the material conditions that continue to reproduce huge regional, gender, racial and class inequities. To be non-racial in South Africa and to be serious about your non-racialism is to be deeply committed to acknowledging that there are massive problems, and there are inequities in privilege and resources, and those don’t get solved with one off acts.*

Following this logic, respondents argued that one way for Whites to support non-racialism is to engage with and understand non-white cultures. For Gandhi and Williams-De Bruyn, Whites should spend more time with other racial groups in their communities, for example, by visiting places such as Soweto. Hogan proposes that Whites should also speak at least one African language and that Whites should not only “be suburban anymore... children should go to townships”. She notes that Whites still live in very cocooned, divided societies and it is their responsibility to overcome this.

Finally, when discussing the role of Whites and non-racialism, De Klerk and Hogan did raise some positive perspectives. De Klerk noted that, in the 1990 referendum, the overwhelming majority, 69%, voted for change and wanted non-racialism to succeed. For De Klerk, it is clear that the vast majority of Whites are committed to the values, principles and goals in the constitution and want to build a truly non-racial state. Further he argues that the internal debate in Afrikaner circles is becoming dynamic and the voices of moderation are intensifying

<sup>1</sup> This comment was not an attack on whites, but rather made in the context of addressing the effects of apartheid and an appeal to government to address poverty in South Africa. To hear the speech see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mfH8rQoAnRg&feature=youtu>

their efforts to be heard, and not to be characterised by the “utterances and philosophies espoused by what essentially is a clear minority, within Afrikaner circles”. Hogan too explains that, coming from a White community when young, she is “still astonished at how much goodwill there is from WhiteSouth Africans” in wanting non-racialism to succeed. Even though there might be differences from certain quarters, there is not a large White community that is up in arms and resisting everything that happens and that this is a great blessing

## **Xenophobia**

A final challenge to building non-racialism raised by respondents is that of xenophobia. Although not all interviewees see a link between non-racialism and persecution of foreigners, many did stress how these concepts, in practice, share a similar dynamic. Their viewpoint derived from their theoretical perspective.

Hogan believes the concept of non-racialism should encompass a prejudice free society, yet, looking at the way South Africans are treating fellow Africans, suggests a divergence away from the ideals of non-racialism: “You don’t want to stretch the concept of non-racialism to mean everything, but I do believe that our extremely intolerant response to foreigners creates grounds for creating the other, and a very negative perception of what the other is. I think that at the heart of non-racialism, there’s a concept that you do not look upon another with a prejudiced eye, you get rid of all prejudice”. Similarly, Yacoob agreed that “if you define non-racialism broadly and if you define race broadly as being any group of people who are different on account of inherent characteristics, then I agree that xenophobia is in a sense a kind of racist thing”.

For Williams-DeBruyn, Dlamini and Haffajee, the issue of xenophobia is linked to control of resources. Certainly, the legacy of apartheid has contributed to widespread xenophobia in South Africa because of poverty and inequality. Haffajee describes how, through her work, she came across a series of people who expressed a sentiment of loss and resentment towards foreign nationals because they believe foreigners are reaping the benefits of the apartheid struggle: “this was our moment for empowerment, finally we were supposed to start owning businesses and getting on our feet and surviving and then these foreigners from Somalia and Pakistan and Bangladesh come and they know how to operate business better than us and they sell cheaper than us and now they must get out”. This illustrates how some South Africans believe that, because they overcame apartheid, the control of resources should be theirs.

Xenophobia is also believed to be the result of an inherent

desire to gain access to economic resources through alienation tactics. Haffajee notes that xenophobia is perhaps linked to an apartheid ideology that tries to create a superior class: “it’s about access and it’s about people who want to establish their own fiefdom. Like drug lords, because that’s where xenophobia manifests itself, not on campuses so much or in other areas. It happens within informal settlements, so there you have people who have their own kind of agenda and they use xenophobia, racism and so on as a way to detract from what they are doing, into something else. I mean I think that is exactly what happened with the Hutus and the Tutsis, you know, to get access to resources, they used racism there”.

Jobs and job quality can also improve access to resource control. The premise behind the argument that foreigners are stealing local jobs is something that Dlamini argues against. He looks at this issue of access and job shortages as a structural problem created by the apartheid legacy rather than by neighbouring Africans: “the fact that there are no jobs in South Africa is a structural historical problem not created by our brothers and sisters from outside of South Africa. There is a flaw in the argument that suggests that there are Africans who are squeezing opportunities for jobs, because they just deal with African foreigners and ignore others. I have never heard anything about foreign nationals who are White or non-African. We are just beating each other which is a very bad phenomenon”

Xenophobia is also viewed as being caused by a loss of common identity between South Africans and their African counterparts. Principles such as ‘ubuntu’ that are created through ideologies such as African nationalism and black consciousness are no longer adhered to, thus creating opportunities for violence between fellow Africans. Dlamini and Williams-DeBruyn both view xenophobia as being more about hatred between fellow Africans. For Williams-DeBruyn “there is a problem of lack of knowledge of what African nationalism means”. Xenophobia is manifesting as an Afro-phobia “because it only applies to African people from the African continent, it doesn’t apply to the Russians and all these other eastern European countries as far as I know”.

Lastly, Esack mentions how not taking the time to understand and get to know each other can result in racism, tribalism and xenophobia, “So you start off with ignorance and fear, the next moment you end up with racism and then you end up with xenophobia which can result in tribalism and racial wars. All this because people don’t know each other and there is no fusion of our cultures, there is no conversation across the lines”. This further increases hatred and erodes away at building a non-racial society.

# Building Non-Racialism

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The previous two main sections have looked at the ideal features of a non-racial state as well as the challenges South Africa faces in achieving these. This section will address respondents' views of how non-racialism can be fostered. Logically, addressing the challenges raised in the previous section is a first step to building non-racialism; thus respondents talked broadly about reducing poverty and inequality, improving service delivery, addressing spatial divisions, improving social integration and leadership. This section will look more closely at how some of these challenges can be met, particularly through the lenses of different sectors. In interviews, respondents were asked to discuss the sectors they feel are important to building non-racialism; thus the areas examined in this section are selected as a result of interviewees' own preferences.

## Leadership

Before turning to the function of different sectors, it is important to raise the role of leadership in building non-racialism in South Africa today. For many respondents a crucial step towards achieving non-racialism is to have strong leadership driving forward its principles. This is particularly significant given that the respondents in the research project are all leaders in their own spheres. Of interest is also the fact that many of the leaders interviewed were highly critical of current leadership on non-racialism.

For Cronin, the answer to building a non-racialism society is strong, non-racial, politically effective leadership, with a sincere commitment to non-racialism. For some, such as Cronin, leadership on non-racial values should come from the ANC. He feels the core leadership of the ANC is non-racial and committed to this, but notes, "The momentum of the machinery of the electorate...is not necessarily carrying us in the right direction". Makhanya too sees potential in the role of the ANC, but argues that there is a "huge vacuum of leadership...the ANC as an organisation that is leading our society is not providing direction about where and what we should be doing". Haffajee looks to government and politicians to lead non-racialism, but again is critical that there is "very mediocre political leadership, that has failed to re-craft, redesign, our non-racialism from an era of struggle" into what is needed today. De Klerk, however, maintains that leading a non-racial vision is not only the responsibility of ANC leaders, but leaders across the board, including business leaders, religious leaders, political leaders and cultural leaders.

Others, such as Satgar, believe the state as a whole

should drive a non-racial project, although he feels at the moment that we "don't have a state that has a common purpose and developmental vision linked to nation building". Yet the state has a crucial function to help South Africans speak about race and to prompt citizens to grapple with what it means to have a post-racial society.

Part of leading South African society into a non-racial South Africa, Haffajee and Coovadia call for 'intelligent strategy' and a "common vision across the critical path in our country" respectively. In a similar vein, Yacoob, Hanekom and Satgar believe there should be policies, programmes and proactive measures in place to build a non-racial country. For Yacoob, "Government and political parties need to adopt non-racialism as a specific area to focus on", while Satgar maintains there is a need to have a "public policy that speaks about race, the inequities of race in our society".

## Debate

Alongside the need for strong leadership is the prominence of debate in building non-racialism. Many respondents raised the importance of having forums where people can "sit and talk honestly and openly; say things without fear of being attacked".<sup>1</sup> For Mbeki, as a country we are not discussing the legacy of racism sufficiently: "there is a certain level of shyness about discussing this". His concern is that people often say "you are playing the race card" in order to stop discussion. Taking the approach that apartheid is long gone and there is no more need for debate is problematic because society remains fundamentally structured according to the racial legacy of the past "and the failure to talk about it means, in the end, that we don't act as purposefully and consistently as we should". De Klerk agrees that there should be on-going, solution oriented, dialogue across colour and ethnic lines about the process of building a non-racial society: "We should be talking with each other instead of shouting at each other". Others, including Cachalia, Coovadia, Hanekom, Haffajee, Mantashe, Mbete, Satgar, Yacoob all raised the importance of debate in building non-racialism. Comments included:

*"It's about having a more profound conversation about how race operates in our society, and how it is reproduced in a racialised way". V.Satgar*

*"The constant mentioning of non-racialism, the debating it, the raising of a public understanding of it, through debate, through exchange of ideas, but keeping it on the agenda". D. Hanekom*

<sup>1</sup> Interview with Ela Gandhi.

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*I think part of the weakness of the education system in South Africa has been the failure to use people's native language as a medium of instruction.*

T. Mbeki

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*I think that the role that we [media] do play and the role we should play is to create one conversation for all South Africans.* M.Makhanya

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*"Despite everything, the most powerful tool in achieving non-racialism is to talk to people". Z. Yacoob*

*"I don't think that non-racialism is something that belongs only to the ANC...The debate about non-racialism must also be a contemporary debate". F. Cachalia*

*"Create the environment where ordinary members of the public can actually come out and talk about their concerns around these issues...the more we debate these things in public, the more we talk about the underlying problems of the country that need to be addressed, the more we start putting ideas on the table about how these should be addressed". C. Coovadia*

*"Debate should take place at various levels. I think it should take place between individuals in their normal activities, at the workplace, between neighbours, between the parents whose children attend the same school etc... Another level should be through existing forums or new forums, to be established aimed at promoting such dialogue". F.W. De Klerk*

As part of the role of debate, respondents also discussed the importance of giving space to analysts who "interrogate the structure of race and non-racialism today"<sup>2</sup> and to 'moderate' voices, who must "make themselves heard".<sup>3</sup>

## Education

Turning to the role of different sectors in society, education was raised by almost all respondents as a first step towards eradicating racism. The potential that education holds to promote non-racialism was framed in two ways: first, as a means to reduce poverty and so foster meaningful and long-lasting racial equality and, second, as an avenue to teach and instil non-racial values in children.

In terms of strengthening social and economic equality, both Zille and Naidoo stressed that 'getting education right' is the foundation of a strong, transformed society. For Zille, "the very basis of opportunity is decent education". It is the role of the state to offer high standards of education from a pre-school age so that citizens can use their political freedom to grasp opportunities to work hard to develop themselves. This will foster long-lasting economic change where the previously disadvantaged will be able to equalise economic opportunities and so reduce poverty. Naidoo agrees that "We need to get education right...and I believe that if we get that right... we will go a long way to achieving the transformation of society...because just by sheer numbers, if millions of African people are going to be educated, go to tertiary institutions, by sheer numbers they will become a dominant force in society".

Other respondents, including Mbeki, De Klerk, Naidoo

2 Interview with Ferial Haffajee.

3 Interview with FW De Klerk,

and Coovadia stressed the skills shortage in the country and the importance of building skills in the economy in order to reduce poverty and inequality. Mbeki notes that, as an economy, South Africa is "losing a great deal by not having skilled people". In the context of a country where there are millions who are unemployed, it is important that people have the opportunity to develop, in particular, technical skills. Mbeki maintains this is "not happening fast enough and as a result even skills at a basic level have to be imported". This "relates very directly to the legacy of racism, of apartheid, which deliberately set out to make sure that a large section of the population was unskilled. We have not been able to correct that". De Klerk agrees that training is very important, particularly that of a technical nature. For both Naidoo and Coovadia the colour of the person providing skills training is not relevant: "It doesn't matter who is giving you a skill, whether it's black or White, as long as, at the end of the day when you acquire that skill, you then become a productive person in society".<sup>4</sup> Finally, Haffajee noted the beneficial role that mentoring could play in improving skills and breaking down racial divides, so long as there is recognition that "black people are perpetual trainees and mentees".

The second perspective on the importance of education - instilling non-racial values in students - is widely articulated by a number of respondents. Kathrada, Ngwane and Gandhi all felt that children should be educated about non-racialism from a young age in the home, but also at school. For Kathrada, "I wish that whoever is responsible for the syllabus, would start right from the beginning a policy of teaching kids non-racialism, and it's easiest early on because kids don't know colour". Gandhi clarifies that in the first seven years "a child gets grounded" and so this is a vital time to support the conscious learning of a child. Good education can reduce prejudice, because "with prejudice, with discrimination, you close in and you don't want to allow any other views to come in...you're never going to broaden your perspectives". For Haffajee the school curriculum can invest people with "a great sense of the possible and with pride" while Yacoob notes that education can teach you that you are not better than another person. For Cachalia, public education can encourage people to "reach beyond the racial stereotypes" and help people build social networks outside of their comfort zones. As Vadi discusses:

Schooling plays an important role, because all of us get socialised through a mass school system. Your values are developed in your home, through your parents' views, and then through the education system. That can be a major platform to propagate the concept of non-racialism, and to fight against forms of racism.

Satgar and Hanekom take the role of education in

4 Interview with Prem Naidoo.

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promoting non-racialism further. Satgar argues that education should include a focus on “the people’s history of struggle” as it related to the “radical idea of non-racialism”. The demise of apartheid was a complicated process that cannot be reduced to just the ANC or Mandela. The importance of a people’s history of the struggle is crucial to imbue a confidence in our society and country, in a way that ensures that we all own the project of fostering non-racialism. Hanekom argues for a “little bit of positive social engineering”. For example, the creation of school residences that are, by policy, racially mixed as “you’ve got to almost enforce a situation where friendships can develop. By the time it happens at university, it is just too late”.

Although the importance of education in tackling racism is noted by most respondents, many also raised the challenges facing South Africa’s education system and how they could undermine non-racialism. Several interviewees noted that the education system as a whole is poor. Naidoo cites a diagnostic report from Trevor Manuel which talks about education being one of the main areas of failure in the state. Zille confirms that, “Our biggest problem is there is that there are too few schools of real quality, far too few”. Cachalia agrees that the state has failed to provide quality education: “we have good ideas, good policies, but we have not succeeded to make the schools work in the way that they should work, and we have not succeeded to make the facilities available to the majority of children”. In relation to non-racialism, Cronin argues that education can be a reproducer of racialised inequality, particularly where it intersects with class realities. Some black people are able to escape the reality of the township, but the majority aren’t, and their education “is dreadful”.

Several respondents raised challenges to non-racialism that are happening in practice, particularly where schools have become more racially integrated. Mbeki notes that language policy in schools can be problematic: “I think part of the weakness of the education system in South Africa has been the failure to use people’s native language as a medium of instruction...you use English as a medium of instruction with a child who does not understand English...if you instruct a child in Geography in English, they will not understand Geography because they do not understand the language you are using to teach them”. For Mbeki, schools need teachers who can instruct children in their home language. This is crucial to “eradicate the legacy of the past”.

Gandhi talks about a comparable problem that affects non-racialism: the reality that teachers will inherently have a biased perspective, derived from their own sense of identity and culture, and this can be difficult to consciously overcome when teaching values, such as in religious studies, for example. Thus, although largely unconscious, teachers may reinforce existing patterns of

prejudice, rather than challenge them. Vadi agrees that, although many schools have become significantly de-racialised, the historical characteristics of schools may not have changed. For example, school management may continue to be predominantly led by one racial group even where there is a large mix of students: “There is competition among the governing bodies, if there is a predominantly Indian governing body, they tend to give jobs to Indian teachers, because in their minds they think Indian teachers will give the best education to our children. But who are our children? The children are now predominantly African”. In this way racial prejudice, inadvertently, may continue to be enforced.

To conclude on a positive note, Mbeki, Makhanya, Zille and others explain that racial integration and progress is taking place at many levels in the education system. Although this is primarily occurring in middle class areas where students have relatively equal economic bases, Mbeki also noted progress in “student populations at university...there are much larger numbers of black students that are accessing higher education than in the past” and potentially more racial integration.

## Media

As with education, almost all interviewees discussed the role that the media can play in building non-racialism<sup>1</sup>. Many noted that it has the potential to perform a critical task in propagating values of non-racialism in society; although overall there is a sense the sector does not do enough to promote these principles. This section will first look at concerns raised by respondents regarding the role of the media and then discuss what can be done by the media to strengthen non-racialism. Concerns raised about the current role of the media included the following issues: lack of in-depth analysis; inaccurate reporting; promoting biased views, entrenched racism and stereotypes; being hostile to political parties, and the ANC in particular and succumbing to ‘commercial’ pressures.

For Zille, Mantashe and Chaskalson the media needs to work on its ‘analytical ability’. Zille raises concerns that the media demonstrate a lack of understanding of important issues and a lack of analytical capacity, which Chaskalson agrees; with saying the level of discourse in newspapers is very poor. Mantashe feels that the problem is that there is too small a group of commentators that influence thinking in society: “the current analysts are overexposed”. For Mantashe reporting on news stories can also be inaccurate, citing an example of e-TV’s misrepresentation of the SACP’s 90<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration rally. Zille agrees that “stories are often twisted”. Both Zille

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<sup>1</sup> The media is a large sector, encompassing many forms, including new, or electronic mediums, print, TV etc. Although respondents did not always specify what type of media they were referring to in the comments, the majority often alluded to traditional forms of media such as print media.

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*We have race debates, but we don’t have debates about non-racialism.*

F. Haffajee

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and Gandhi explained that one reason for this may be the poor training of journalists.

Several respondents, including Gandhi and Moonsamy, are concerned that the media presents and consolidates prejudicial views. For Gandhi it is "Prejudiced in the sense that the media is not a court of law, but it is playing the role of a court of law. It condemns people, it character assassinate people...and once you start doing that ... you generalize. You think that because this person did this, that all the people who belong to that group are the same". Moonsamy argues that the media inclines itself towards discrediting the work of the National Youth Development Agency, for example, as opposed to highlighting their good work and showing what opportunities are available. Others such as Hogan and Ngwane highlight the role the media plays in consolidating stereotypes. Both discuss how adverts, in particular, involve racial profiling, manipulating and working with stereotypes rather than challenging them.

In a similar vein, the media is accused of succumbing to inherent and inherited racism. Ngwane talks about how White voices are used to imply credibility: "even when comrades...do their documentaries, the voice over is always done by a White person. And they do that for credibility...even those who are on my side fall into that trap". For Chikane, the media is a site of racial struggle, even though the media has changed and there are more black journalists. He argues that, although some would even say the media houses are now owned by blacks and there is more black participation, in practice "the media gets used to achieve certain objectives and it tends to go the liberal route. And the liberal route will see a problem in an individual who is black but will not see it if he is White". Thus, for Naidoo, the media "needs to be levelled" and deal with the perception that it is controlled by the affluent White community.

Another form of bias seen arising from the media is that of being hostile to political parties. Zille briefly referred to this in relation to the DA, but Chiba raised it strongly in relation to the ANC:

The media has a particular bias...by and large they are not very sympathetic to the ANC. You can see this hostility between the ANC and the media in general...the media is a very powerful instrument, and the relationship between the ruling party and the media must be a cordial relationship. If it's not cordial, you can have a very antagonist media that portrays the government in less than flattering terms...The media mustn't be seen to be attacking. The media mustn't go overboard by exaggerating things and stating things without a fair amount of investigation into the accuracy of allegations and claims.

Finally, concern around the commercialisation of the media was also raised. Vadi explains, although we have a broadly free media, it is not devoid of ideological control, "and those who own the media also shape the media and have certain values they want to propagate, and they also want to propagate a particular socio-economic system". Ngwane argues that the media tends to focus on selling newspapers or getting viewers, and so bow down to advertiser's priorities, "and the advertisers are not here to

promote non-racism".

In light of these concerns, respondents then looked to what role the media could and should play in supporting non-racialism. First, some respondents did note the positive role the media has played regarding non-racialism. For Hogan, the media has responded to genuine, multi-racial impulses in the country around key moments, such as the 2010 Soccer World Cup. Here the media supported an authentic feeling of 'South African-ness', and so played an important role in affirming our common identity as South African. Williams-de Bruyn highlights the role of electronic media, some television talk shows, and the Primedia 'Lead SA' campaign in bringing out and debating important issues.

Many felt that the media could play an educational role in promoting the values of non-racialism. This view is supported by Mbeki, Chiba, Vadi, Haffajee and Mantashe. For Mbeki, the media is good from the point of view of education", while Mantashe explained, "feature articles must be educational, help us think outside the box, promote ideas. That is where the idea of non-racialism belongs". Others, including Zille, Haffajee, Makhanya and Mbete stressed the potential for media to provide deeper analysis and to strengthen and promote debate on the idea of non-racialism. For Haffajee, the media should have intelligent race debates, not hide away from tough questions, and continuously support people in developing a theory of what non-racial might look like in a democracy. As she notes, "we have race debates, but we don't have debates about non-racialism". Makhanya agrees with this view but stresses that commentators must be willing to share their opinions. For Mbete, the media should play a constructive role in pursuing honest debate; asking the hard questions and not follow views that say apartheid is long over, let's leave the race question aside.

Lastly, certain commentators felt that the media should consciously and actively try to promote non-racialism. For Yacoob, every large newspaper and media outlet generally should have as an objective the achievement of non-racialism. They should try to achieve non-racialism both in their own ranks and in society generally. Mantashe agrees that "the media must promote non-racialism. Commentators, analysts, politicians, journalists, everybody must promote non-racialism. In any newspaper you will see a features or opinion section...These are the sections that must be used to actually shape the thinking of society". For Ngwane, the media needs to be "self-reflective and it needs to be informed not just by the profit margin, the bottom line, but also by social considerations".

Important as the media is in supporting non-racialism, editors Haffajee and Makhanya both raise considerations to bear in mind when discussing the role of the media. Haffajee explains that the media does have a responsibility to report on what is actually happening in society, and not just what is in the interests of nation-building. Although she notes that the media could "do a lot better at focusing on Constitutional principles and bringing those up into the public debate", it also has to balance national interest with what the public interest is. For Makhanya, the media has to reflect society as it

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is as well as the way it should be. One of the biggest contributions to non-racialism that the media can make is to not racially separate interests in the country, but rather create one conversation for all South Africans.

## Other Sectors

### The Private Sector

Several respondents noted the role business could and should be playing in strengthening non-racialism. Coovadia in particular cited four important roles for sizeable businesses. First, businesses should demonstrate they are being non-racist in their approach to employment issues. This should not be a 'tick the box' exercise but rather demonstrate responsible transformation and raise issues that may "be genuinely inhibiting them actually creating a workforce that is more representative of our country". Mantashe feels the private sector has made too little progress in this regard. He explains that "If you go to the management structure of Eskom or Telkom or Transnet, it is not the same as you will find in a BHP Billiton or Anglo-American". Thus transformation is more effective in state-based enterprises.

Secondly, Coovadia argues that businesses need to move from a critical mode, constantly looking at the shortcomings of government, and start to look at how different industries can play a role in addressing underlying issues that give rise to problems like poverty and lack of education. There should be, and Coovadia maintains there is already to some extent, "a realization that the underlying issues are not just issues for government, they are government's issues for the whole country, and business plays a critical role". He does note, however, that there are organisations that are already doing excellent work in regard to education, skills development, low income housing, SMEs and other areas. Mbeki, for example, feels that business should work more closely with other sectors, in particular the further education sector to align skills needs. Mbete further argues that business should not be fixated by profit taking, but rather "ask themselves hard questions as to what contributions they can make to building a non-racial society...where wealth is being made; there ought to be questions about the distribution thereof, in terms of how that particular sector plays a role in helping society". The reality, she contends, is that business will not be able to continue to generate large profits if the imbalances that exist in our society continue.

In a related theme, Coovadia thirdly argues that business should enter into more dialogue with government and labour and try not to talk past each other: "we need to actually sit down and make each other uncomfortable, and put the real issues on the table and swear at each other, and do whatever is necessary, but come out of that with a vision that says these are our...critical priorities. And there are going to be sacrifices on all sides, but these are the sacrifices that we are prepared to make". Haffajee notes that, from the other side, big business has to be

shown a place at the table, and be shown by government that it sees it as a stake holder, although she recognises that, equally, and sometimes fairly, government has lost faith in business' commitment, particularly where there are low levels of investment and high levels of profit taking.

Lastly, Coovadia feels that business could be more outspoken and present in the public sphere about issues of national interest. Business leaders should also "be out there promoting non-racism as a strength of our country". Haffajee agrees that, during the Mbeki era, business 'got scared' and was 'cut at the knees' when it tried to run speak out or run national campaigns such as an anti-crime campaign. This led to business moving into a cocoon and turning quiet. However, now Haffajee maintains the private sector is finding its voice again, although she cautions that this new voice is too often oppositional and has lost the social compact perspective that was present in the early days of political transition.

### The Religious Sector

The role of religion in promoting non-racialism is generally seen in a positive light by many respondents. De Klerk, Haffajee, Mbeki, Ngwane and Williams-De Bruyn all expressly noted that the religious leaders and communities have a progressive role to play in reducing racism. Indeed, Chikane noted that the values imbued in most religions in general would argue for equality of humanity and this is in keeping with non-racialism. Ngwane too explains that liberation theology calls for religious leaders to play a part in the struggle for equality and justice.

Mbeki and Williams-De Bruyn cited positive examples of where religious communities in South Africa support underprivileged communities and non-racial values. For Mbeki "the Jewish community are doing a lot of community development work, a deliberate conscious decision. They are saying that look, we are Jewish, we are comfortable in the professions, and we have some money, so let's go do something in terms of upliftment of people who are not as advantaged as we are". Similarly Williams-De Bruyn notes that Catholic and Anglican churches have social programmes for disadvantaged communities. However, interviewees also explained that religion brings with it its own challenges. Chikane and Vadi recognise that religion can be a source of conflict in society. Where there are clashes of religions they can become a source of instability and conflict in society. For Chikane, "the churches are a site of struggle...because there are others who want to use the church to defend their own gains and interests. And religion gets used for conflict, for class struggles, all sorts of things".

Religion can also be used to negatively support racial prejudice. As Gandhi discusses, in some religious contexts people have been taught to believe that they are different, and that God has ordained that there is a superior and inferior race. In particular she refers to racial beliefs in some parts of the Dutch Reformed Church. On the other hand, Ngwane notes that African independent churches often "affirm African traditional culture, which

is not a bad thing in itself, but sometimes there is a thin line between tradition and racism". Finally, respondents explained that although there is racial integration taking place in many religious settings, such as churches in middle class areas, for example, overall there is little racial integration in the religious sector. Ngwane notes there are many black churches where "only black people attend" and this is problematic. Likewise, Williams-De Bruyn explains that even where churches have mixed congregations, when the service is over, different groups "go their own way". Perhaps as Mantashe notes "religion is a very conservative sector. It operates in a particular way. You cannot walk into a church and say 'please change what you are doing'. You will never succeed in that". Bearing these concerns in mind, there is nonetheless a feeling among several South Africa leaders that religion can and should play a significant role in promoting non-racialism.

### **Civil society**

Several respondents raised the important role that civil society groups can play in fostering non-racialism. The main argument, raised by Satgar and Coovadia, is that the growth of community-based structures allows for the building of relationships and solidarities across races. Coovadia further explains that civil society groups can uphold the values and principles of non-racialism. Dlamini agrees that civil society groups, such as churches, cultural societies and burial societies "have a responsibility and should be driven by a goal that says we are building a nation...that is non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, that has the rule of law enshrined in a Constitution". Indeed, for Coovadia, many of the old leaders of civil society during the anti-apartheid struggle, who supported moral values and principles, should return to public life to start actively debating issues of non-racialism.

Satgar, however, stressed that a more cordial relationship needs to develop between the state and civil society if meaningful change is to take place: "State-civil society relations have been really complicated; the state has become more and more technocratic, so citizens' voices are treated with disdain. You don't have a healthy dynamic between the state and civil society such that you can have a conversation about nation building in South Africa, and it's reflected in the protests across the country". In a similar vein, Dlamini feels that civil society organisations with the same end goals need to stop competing with each other and rather be "driven by an objective of building a caring society". Overall, however, there was a strong feeling amongst these respondents that civil society can play a transformative role in relation to strengthening non-racialism.

### **Political Parties**

The role of political parties, in particular the ANC and

DA, was frequently raised by respondents as holding potential, and indeed responsibility, to deepen non-racialism. However, very few interviewees expressed the view that political parties are playing a positive role; most raised concerns.

A main point of unease is that parties are too readily playing into racial stereotypes to gain electoral victory. As Yacoob explains, political parties for the most part have made acquisition of votes a more important element than the achievement of non-racialism. For Cachalia, the ANC has resorted to "very narrow racial baiting", but the DA's earlier 'Fight Back' campaign too, was a form of negative politics relying on racial anxieties. Satgar is anxious that politics is "increasingly becoming a narrow performance around electoralism and careers". DA leader Zille, herself, described concerns about politicians such as Malema, "mobilizing around the easiest mobilizing tool there is, which is people's identity".

A second, and related, key concern is that political parties are not effectively engaging in debates about governance and the content of policies. For Satgar, South Africa has not been able to develop a party political system that supports the maturation of public conversation:

"Let me put it simply, I don't think the political parties in South Africa...put to the community political choices that really are about a project to change the country...If you look at our political parties...the ANC has become more and more populist, it is losing the seriousness about how you get political conversation going around your policies. Similarly the DA probably speaks to one spectrum of the alternative and so it is also very limited. Other political parties are built around charismatic individuals or ethnic, regionalized agendas".

Mbete agrees that political parties should have "honest communication with one another" rather than undermining each other's viewpoints simply because they are on different sides of the parliamentary floor.

Given these concerns, several respondents did feel political parties hold great potential to instil a sense of non-racialism in the country. Williams-De Bruyn described how the ANC could send task teams into schools and universities to discuss non-racialism. Cachalia believes that the practices of political parties are important: "they can either reinforce narrow racial identities or they can encourage politics which allow people to grow, to change, and to express themselves in new ways". Finally as Satgar notes that political parties "can embody a national project for the country and can articulate that in ways that empowers citizens".

### **Sports**

The idea that cultural activities such as sporting events can spur on forms of social cohesion is something that can

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be investigated. Coovadia gives an example of places like the United States that have understood the key roles of civil society groupings that can promote social cohesion as well as serve as vehicles for democratic principles. In this case he refers to religious and sporting groups. "America, with all its faults, has some good ideas. Its local religious groups, its local soccer team, its local sports groups. It is that richness of society where we get people involved, and through the nature of their involvement, we are actually benefitting from that. So it doesn't need to be pulling people into mass rallies, people want to get on with their lives, but around their lives there are a whole lot of institutions that can be formed".

These types of cultural interactions often help to reduce the level of ignorance, fear, racial stigmas as well as other misconceived prejudice. Essack talks about how being exposed to different cultures can help to cross racial boundaries and result in cultural integration which is believed to be key towards non-racialism: "My own life is...enriched by my encounter with people from so many other cultures...not knowing these people could only result in living in ignorance and in fear which could further develop into some form of racism where one ends up with xenophobia, tribalism, and or racial wars. All this can happen just because people don't take the time to get to know each other, there are no conversation lines and cultural fusion".

Reflection on Coovadia's example, it becomes clear that cultural diversity is not only good for building a democratic society but also presents great opportunities to learn from other cultures too. This can allow us to learn to live together.

Sidumo Dlamini considers cultural diversity as essential to building towards a democratic and non-racial society. "This same cultural diversity presents itself in our desire

to watch and enjoy certain sports and recreational habits"

The role of sports and sporting bodies in advancing the non-racial agenda has proven to be very crucial. De Klerk acknowledges the importance of sports in building a non-racialist society: "I think sport is very important in building non-racialism. I think rigid implementation of quotas in sport militates against non-racialism. The emphasis should be on development of talented young sports people as the best path towards natural non-racialism...in the quest for non-racialism, it is fundamentally important to make each and every South African, irrespective of his or her race or ethnic origins, feel that their concerns are receiving adequate attention and that they are appreciated".

During the FIFA World Cup in June 2010, many fan parks, pubs and other viewing areas were filled with South Africans of different sorts from different parts of the country. Haffajee notes the diversity during the world cup was astounding: "I saw it during the World Cup when people were just like amazed at all these different Africans. There's richness in our diversity and we need to build ways to appreciate the differences in culture...and the similarities"

Sport can serve as a wonderful tool to overcoming issues of racial prejudice. It can also assist in the promotion of a non-racial agenda seeing that it brings people together and exposes social misconceptions. A series of respondents, who were posed the question of the role of sports in the promotion of non-racialism, stressed the point that, although people were finding themselves in common surroundings and chanting with interlocking arms at some of these sporting venues, when they found themselves out of these settings they reverted back to their reserved ways.

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*I really think that the whole race, non-racialism question in a strange way haunts all of us in this country. We can always transform that, away from a kind of nightmare into a positive vision of something different. We don't have to be trapped in the past, we don't have to be walking around with these injuries which were very painful, and let our lives be dominated by that. The new context we are in is very important. We have made a major advance as a society; breaking with institutionalized and ideologies racism of the apartheid era. The question is what do we do with our freedom? Can we really get it to break new ground, not just for ourselves, for the world in many ways. There is an exciting challenge in our midst, and we shouldn't lose sight of that.*

**V. Satgar**

# Conclusion

**W**hat does non-racialism mean in South Africa today? How do we build a non-racial society and what challenges face us in doing so? Answering these questions is a complex and challenging task. This report, however, has benefitted from the astute and thought-provoking views of 26 prominent South Africans, who in turn have provided insight by answering these important, but challenging questions.

When looking at the issues of non-racialism we can too quickly become overwhelmed by current challenges facing society. However, many respondents, particularly those who have a long history in the anti-apartheid struggle, reminded us of the long road South Africa has travelled on the non-racial path. Chikane, Kathrada and Makhanya share stories that illustrate the change that has taken place:

*When I grew up...I went into a shop to buy something, if you were White you would go into the shop to buy the thing, if you were black you had to buy them through the window. So, for people who grew up like that like me, 94 was a huge breakthrough; it was a revolution. And that is why there will always be difference of opinions between the older generation and the younger generation. The younger generation who has not lived through that think that nothing has changed...for Soweto...much has changed since 94. During the apartheid days they didn't think we even needed a pavement, you just build houses and facilities. Today you build houses with roads. So in 1994, it changed radically, killed the concept of racism and apartheid and differentiation; not that there are no racists, there are still racists, but there are very few who are bold enough to declare that I am a racist. F. Chikane*

*Non-racialism is making progress. I can remember a time while we were in prison in Pretoria...if I had to walk into the court with a White woman, or even a woman who looked White, I would be in danger...one example comes to mind, a friend of mine from Pretoria, she's Coloured, but there is absolutely nothing that shows she's Coloured, she looks White. And we were walking home at night from my place. And we couldn't walk two blocks and there came out a crowd of young Whites, who wanted to stop and assault us. But fortunately we managed to evade them, that was one of many experiences. But that has gone... Restaurants and hotels in South Africa, I saw it for the first time at the age of 60, when I came out of prison...and I found it difficult to adjust. I found that younger people in my own family thought they had freedom already, before freedom came, because of these little integrations. These are little things, but not things that can be ignored. A. Kathrada*

*This colleague of mine and I worked with at The Star newspaper, a White guy. After work we would often knock off at 8 o'clock and stop off at the local Bulldogs and have one or two. And then the one day we found that at some point in the late 1980s, he had been in the army, doing conscription, and he had been stationed in the place where I come from...we discovered we were both at the same funeral. And at the end of the funeral, there were clashes, there was a shootout and they shot at us, and there were 2 or 3 deaths at that funeral, comrades died.*

*And then we talked some more about other incidents where we were both at, and basically I said, you know, you could have killed me. It was kind of an eerie moment as we were sitting there together, and we went on and on until the early hours, and it was such a thing. I mean after that, we really became a lot tighter. M. Makhanya*

Mbeki, Mbete, de Klerk and Yacoob agree there has been significant non-racial change. For Mbeki, the biggest success has been in the political sphere, because "I think the political system in the country has been deracialised", although he notes this is "probably the easiest sphere" to change. Mbete agrees that non-racial progress is visible when you "see a lot of black people joining the traditionally White parties in the country...there is a side of me that wants to congratulate them for getting over that mental barrier". For de Klerk, the relative ease with which the transition within education took place, the relative ease with which residential segregation is being broken down, point to the fact that we are on the right track. He notes other areas, particularly regarding the youth where there is a natural transition towards more relaxed inter-ethnic relations: "In my interaction with university students I find them absolutely relaxed about the issues of racism and almost naturally being non-racial in their thinking and their approach. So I am positive. If I put the negatives and the positives on a scale I remain positive about the future of South Africa and our capacity to fulfil our full potential".

That said, the majority of respondents still raised major concerns with progress regarding non-racialism. For Esack, "The state of non-racialism in our country at the moment is badly framed and under threat". Makhanya agrees that "right now we find ourselves in a very bad space in terms of race relations. Stuff is bubbling to the surface; we are being thrown back into our corners and the champion of non-racialism in the ANC is not leading". Coovadia's concern is that "race has become more amplified, particularly in the last few years because populism has crept into our politics...there are some leaders that are actually trying to gain support through populist ideas, and one of those ideas is the issue of race". He feels the reality is, since 1994, racial boundaries have perhaps become more poignant than pre-1994, and that "we just lost the values we grew up with". Gandhi agrees that "we haven't come very close to achieving the kind of society we want to see". Finally for Haffajee, "non-racialism is kind of...fading dream...in our public life, in our public debate. Instead now, if you look at popular culture, I would think that the identity of young South Africans is that they live in a multi-racial society where White people still control the wealth. So it's a movement from non-racialism to multi-racialism".

Given these pessimistic views, what is the way forward in building a non-racial South Africa? First, and, significantly, this report has demonstrated that there is no universally defined understanding of non-racialism. Some respondents subscribed to the strict academic

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meaning of the term: overcoming racial differentiation. For many, however, non-racialism initially involves acknowledging racial and identity difference, before this difference can be superseded. Respondents saw value in acknowledging different races, and identities, particularly where this was useful in overcoming past inequalities. Debates about the meaning of non-racialism raise two questions: how can we move forward in building a non-racial South Africa where there is divergence among leaders about what this concept should embrace; and what are the challenges to understanding non-racialism in the context of a politically free society?

The conversation about the ideal features of a non-racial society again raises concern as relatively few respondents had a clear vision of what a non-racial South Africa would look like in practice. For some it is a utopia that is hard to envisage. However, without a clear sense of what we should be striving towards in building a non-racial society, it is difficult to lead with foresight and strategy.

Respondents had a much stronger sense of what challenges impede the achievement of non-racialism. Overcoming the legacy of apartheid formed the backdrop to many of these challenges. Not surprisingly, reducing socio-economic inequality between race groups is a key step towards achieving racial equality. Other significant challenges included improving service delivery, addressing spatial division and improving social integration. For many respondents, poor leadership, particularly from the ANC, is a major challenge to the

non-racial dream. Respondents have high expectations of the ANC, given their pivotal role in supporting non-racialism under apartheid. However, there is a sense of loss of vision and idealism on the part of the ANC in championing non-racialism today.

Understanding the potential that different sectors of society can play in fostering non-racialism does provide a positive step in the direction of achieving a non-racial society. For many respondents, good, ethically driven, education can play a significant role in undermining racism. So too can the widespread, open and inclusive debate on all aspects of building a non-racial South Africa challenge racist perspectives and set a vision for the way forward. Others sectors of society, in particular the media, but including the private sector, the religious sector, political parties, civil society, sports, culture and the youth were all seen to have potential to contribute to non-racialism in South Africa.

In concluding this report it is important to understand, as many respondents do, that building a non-racial South Africa is the responsibility of all who share this vision and live in this country. As Hanekom notes, we all have to be part of breaking down the myth of differences based on skin colour. There isn't, Mbeki points out, going to be anyone sitting down and drawing up tasks for everybody. Instead, as Vadi correctly explains, we are all going to have to consciously challenge racism in this society, and how effective we are depends on not just one group, but on all organisations, individuals and movements in society who subscribe to the values of non-racialism.











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