



3 FUTURES

... FOR RACE & TRANSFORMATION

Stepping out of a dark past characterised by segregation presents us with the unique challenge of transformation. Yet 15 years on, it would appear that little has changed. There is also a sense that rather than unite us, our multiracial make-up tends to keep us apart. The Dinokeng Scenarios suggest that until we forge a single common identity out of our diversity, we will not be able to harness the social capital needed to address the country's challenges. Overleaf, Dr Mamphela Ramphele writes about how we could begin to walk together to do just that. Julius Malema argues that until we tame the beast of racism lurking among us we will never walk at all, while Professor Kader Asmal cautions against overflagging the race card, which could force the project of transformation to a halt.





SA IS ALIVE WITH PROMISE

Change that includes, rather than excludes, enlarges the pool of talent

TRANSFORMATION conjures up different meanings and images in the minds of South Africans across the political spectrum.

The term entered our discourse to signal a departure from the old apartheid ways of doing things, to the new milieu ushered in by our transition to democracy.

The ideals of a transformed South Africa are captured eloquently in the preamble of our rights-based constitution of a society united in its diversity where discrimination on the grounds of race, class, gender or beliefs has no place.

In the context of our constitution then, transformation should be understood to be a process of radical change of our society in both form and substance to become that which is envisaged: a non-racial, non-sexist, egalitarian, prosperous democracy.

Transformation viewed in this comprehensive way involves change in the way we relate to one another, ushering in new social relationship models – more egalitarian ones – away from authoritarian, patriarchal ones.

It entails more inclusive approaches to ensure that black people and women, traditionally excluded from public life and wealth creation, become active agents of development.

Transformation seen in this way enriches society by enlarging the pool of talent, harnessing leadership styles from a diversity of backgrounds and forging new ways of tackling the complex problems of the 21st century.

Success of such a transformation process would be measured by the extent to which the society moves towards those ideals as evidenced by diversity of profiles of leaders, managers and practices in our homes, communities, workplaces – in private and public entities – and in our wider public life and the conduct of our politics.

The twin goals of promoting equity and excellence in all we do become aligned to the ideals of our constitution.

Unfortunately, the past 15 years have seen a divergence of views and practices of transformation. For many people, transformation is seen as the replacement of white



IT'S ABOUT DIVERSITY: Transformation should bring about a non-racial, non-sexist, egalitarian society, where there's a place in the sun for everyone.

people with black people in public and private entities.

Some go as far as suggesting that as the apartheid government had supported Afrikaners to become leaders in both the economy and the polity, the post-apartheid government should support black people.

This approach informs the mechanistic implementation of black economic empowerment (BEE) policy to ensure that politically well-connected black people have access to opportunities to enjoy the benefits of wealth creation.

Success in this formulation would be measured by how many black people have become wealthier and are visibly occupying key positions in society in both the private and public domains.

The unintended consequences of the replacement model of transformation are becoming evident across our society and are undermining the hopes of many committed citizens.

In public life, the same hierarchical, male-dominated patriarchal and patronising leadership styles have led to disengagement of citizens.

The middle class, which is essential to strengthening democracy, has either disengaged completely and turned its focus on material well-being for itself or is parasitic, part of the new elite feeding off state tenders.

Disengagement by poor people is

BY DR
MAMPHELA
RAMPHELE



driven by a sense of powerlessness and inability to hold those they have voted for accountable to deliver on the promises of freedom.

The system of proportional representation has made public officials and politicians accountable to their parties rather than voters.

It comes as no surprise that a significant number of public servants often treat the poorest people with disrespect, rubbing salt into the wound of marginality.

Disengagement by citizens in our democracy contributes to weakness of the state, setting off a vicious cycle of failure, frustration and loss of trust between citizens and the state.

Mechanistic implementation of BEE has also created a vast opportunity for a culture of corruption and nepotism that threatens the integrity of our public life.

Rewarding loyalty above competence undermines the integrity in the public service and violates the clear stipulation of the Public Service Act.

It is encouraging that the ANC

leadership now admits that its deployment policy has undermined the quality of public service.

The chaos that is crippling municipalities – as reported by Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs Sicelo Shiceka to Parliament recently – can be laid at the door of this misguided policy.

Poor people who have had to put up with incompetence at every level of their daily lives – from lack of potable water to dysfunctional health facilities – have largely paid for the empowerment of the new political elites.

It is tragic that in their eagerness to defend incompetent corrupt black managers in the private and public sector, by playing the race card, politicians are inadvertently tarnishing the image of black professionals.

There are many competent black professionals in the public and private sectors who are often overlooked when appointments to key positions are considered.

BEE viewed merely as dividing

the existing economic cake has led to missed opportunities for South Africans to work together to broaden the base of our economy into innovative service sectors that have opened up in the 21st century, thereby accelerating economic growth.

A significant proportion of the private sector has also been short-sighted in actively contributing to the instrumentalist implementation of BEE.

The opportunity costs of empowering a narrow, politically well-connected segment of society for short-term gains for individual corporates at the expense of long-term benefits of broadening the base of our economy are very high. Such practices are also corrupting and promote nepotism.

In some cases companies have knowingly granted equity stakes to entities that are fronts for the ruling party or well-connected officials.

While not subscribing to the conspiracy theory that BEE was designed by corporate interests to protect their strong economic interests, I certainly believe that a significant segment of corporate South Africa has allowed itself to become associated with the promotion of a culture of greed and corruption.

The private sector has also failed in another respect – empowered companies led by black people have not always differentiated themselves by excelling in ethical business practices.



... LET'S JUST BUILD ON IT!

Why can we not experiment with programmes to engage poor people in the planning and building of their own homes and community facilities? Imagine the energy and sense of purpose that could be unleashed in informal communities that have shown local leadership!



SENSE OF PURPOSE: Johanna Sello, Miems Coertzen, Basetsana Malema and Miranda Jooste dig the foundations for a house in Mamelodi. Having poor people construct their own homes will give them back their self-respect.

PICTURE: HERBERT MATIMBA

Recent cases of anti-competitive practices that have kept and/or raised prices artificially high for basics such as bread and essential services such as cellphones or banking are another form of tax on poor people to pay for the empowerment of the elites.

State-owned enterprises led by black people have also not necessarily performed in a manner that demonstrates that black or female leadership brings added value to the specific businesses.

Transformation of business practices with an eye on efficiency and effectiveness that benefits the broadest base, especially the least among us, has yet to become commonplace.

The challenge of transformation is to create a social climate in which South Africans can walk and work together for the greatest long-term good for most people in our society. A prerequisite is acknowledgement that walking together is the hardest approach for us as a society with our history both before and after 1994.

We need a new approach

Using all people's energy and skills for the greater good

that acknowledges the social pain that many still live with, notwithstanding the success of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

We need to accept that the level of humiliation and disrespect suffered by black people remains deeply etched in social and personal memories.

We also need to acknowledge the pain of loss of power and influence suffered by white people, especially Afrikaners, whose own history of humiliation remains fresh.

Many feel excluded and marginalised despite their commitment to serve and contribute to a prosperous democracy.

We need to create open spaces for acknowledgement of this pain to occur and for joint action around concrete programmes.

The huge public investment in infrastructure should be used as a platform to train some of the millions of young people marginalised by lack of education and skills.

We need to radically change our development model away from top-down authoritarian patronising approaches that have created a dependency culture that underestimates the capacity of poor people to be a source of creative solution to complex problems.

Involving poor people in the re-imagining of our society and the

form of development approaches we take would unleash the huge energy that lies within them and channel it into productive purposes.

Development becomes sustainable to the extent that it enhances the capabilities of those who stand to benefit, turning them into active agents of their own futures. Handouts deprive poor people of the opportunity to participate in the economy and regain their self-respect as engaged citizens.

Why can we not experiment with programmes to engage poor people in the planning and building of their own homes and community facilities?

Imagine the energy and sense of purpose that could be unleashed in

informal communities that have shown local leadership!

We need to acknowledge the reality that the skewed nature of investment in skills over many centuries is bound to remain reflected in the profile of available skills.

Our tendency to wish away white male skills has cost us much, especially in areas that matter most to poor people; technical skills to run public services have been lost in the past 15 years.

It is not too late to invite retired engineers, town planners and financial managers to walk with young black professionals to tidy up the chaos in municipalities.

A refocus on competence as a key criterion for public service would make it attractive to many young South Africans, some of whom have left our country in despair.

We need to embrace the skills and talent of all South Africans – black and white – to ensure that we become more competitive in our efforts to grow our economy.



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This week on **The Big Debate**, host Redi Direko chairs an expert panel as they unpack the complexities of race and transformation in a post-democratic South Africa



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UNTRANSFORMED

24 years of hard work, stuck in a suburban twilight zone

STAFF REPORTER

PATIENCE* is 43 and hails from a barren village in the north-west of Limpopo. Like many small villages and towns around the country, it holds few opportunities for her. It never has. And that's why she boarded a taxi in 1985, heading south in search of greener pastures. She has been working as a domestic helper in Joburg ever since.

She started out in the suburb of Linden. Over the years, she has had four different employers in various parts of the city. Today she calls Melville home; she lives in a small room at the back of the modest house of her white employers.

It houses her life's possessions. Her single bed is tucked into one corner. Next to it is her dressing table. On top of that is an old TV set. Some old and fading photos and a plastic red rose are stuck to the mirror. Her dresses and a winter coat hang in the small wardrobe. Her black beret hangs on the door. A rug covers most of the concrete floor. Just off the room is her bathroom. This is all she has to show for 24 years of hard work.

She works six days a week. She puts her back out cooking, cleaning, washing and ironing, at her employers' beck and call from the morning into the night.

By law she should work no more than 45 hours a week. In practice,



TRAPPED: Many domestic workers work long hours, cleaning, washing and ironing. PICTURE: LIZA VAN DEVENTER

she's lucky if she works fewer than 60.

She earns a pittance: R300, which will keep her trapped in poverty for the rest of her days. Though she's entitled to a minimum wage of more than R1 300 a month, she knows better than to object. She knows that she would be quickly shown the door. And she also knows that there are many women who would be only too willing to take her place. R300 may not sound like a lot, but it's better than nothing.

But it makes Patience's outlook on life as bleak today as it was in 1985.

She calls her employers "madam" and "the master". They call her by her first name. They talk about her as their "maid". She lowers her head when they raise their voices.

"Yes, madam," she whispers when the tension rises, regardless of whether she is right or wrong.

Yet she's resigned to her fate, and in many respects she's happy with her lot. She knows no other life. And though her income is pathetic, she feels that she's better off than some.

"Eish, some of the stories," she says. Though she's encountered her fair share of verbal abuse over the years, none of her employers has ever raised a hand against her. She has never been sexually abused, though she knows that many domestic workers have.

It's estimated that there are more than a million domestic workers in the country today.

And they are not the sole servants of white families. These days there are as many to be found in black homes.

Because many of them work in the twilight zone, their true number is hard to calculate. But it's a given that most of them are black women who represent the last vestiges of apartheid, the section of the population for whom transformation has been practically non-existent and that is likely to be caught in the same time warp of subservience 20 years from now.

* Not her real name

TRANSFORMING

United for a common goal: peace in KZN

BHEKI MBANJWA

ONCE engulfed by political violence, KwaZulu-Natal is now a shining example of how peace can be achieved if all work together for a common goal.

While there is no official figure of how many people were killed in the violence that raged between 1985 and 1995, political commentator Protas Madlala and others estimate it to be more than 20 000.

The violence had also created several "no-go areas".

Fourteen years later the no-go areas are gone, says Madlala. Before the April 22 elections the ANC could campaign in the IFP strongholds of Nongoma and Ulundi, areas it would not have dared to go before.

Professor John Daniel of the University of KwaZulu-Natal says the April elections were by far the most peaceful in the province since 1994.

"Enormous progress has been made and the level of violence was the lowest of all."

He attributes this to the commitment to work together shown by the IFP and ANC. Leaders of the two parties had

been meeting from February to ensure that they don't hold gatherings at the same place at the same time, he says.

"Clearly the key here was the two major political rivals willing to co-operate."

Daniel believes that while it remains impossible to eliminate violence in the province, the two parties have demonstrated that it could be significantly reduced through co-operation.

Madlala says violence in the province has declined since the parties initiated peace talks in the mid-1990s.

"You had the leadership from both parties being able to sit down and talk. People who spearheaded this process included (President Jacob) Zuma and IFP president (Mangosuthu) Buthezi."

While the senior leaders of both parties held talks, leaders at grassroots level also got involved.

In Mpumalanga Township, near Durban, for instance, community leaders Meshack Radebe of the ANC and Sipho Maba of the IFP are credited with bringing peace to the violent township.

They have received numerous local and international awards in

recognition of their achievement.

Daniel also credits the police for their role in bringing down the levels of political violence.

Before the elections, the police discovered 22 illegal firearms – including three AK-47s, two 303 rifles and a shotgun – in Nongoma.

More recently a task team investigating politically linked murders in Greytown found more than 160 illegal firearms.

But police were not as proactive as they should be and they "have contributed to peace in the province more by omission than commission", Madlala believes.

"What was different is that now there has not been wholesale sponsorship of one side by the police as used to be the case."

While significant progress has been made, isolated cases of political violence are still reported in areas such as Greytown and Mhlabazane (near Estcourt).

In Greytown the ANC and IFP have started peace talks facilitated by the provincial leaders of both parties. The parties' representatives in the town's council are also taking part in peace workshops.

It may not be perfect, but it's happening.



ADAPTATION: A scene from Brett Bailey's opera *Macbeth*, set in modern-day Africa, with the Cape Town Opera company at the State Theatre, Pretoria.

TRANSFORMED

With no fuss and great success, they're vocal about breaking barriers

MICHAEL MORRIS

WITH its Mozartian effulgence, its voluptuous grandeur, opera seemed – 15 years ago – to be about the most untransformable feature of the post-democratic cultural landscape.

It was seen as elitist and almost trivial, yet another impenetrably alien leftover of an era of white privilege and obsessive Eurocentric chauvinism. Devotees' protests that it was no more Eurocentric than soccer fell on deaf ears in the 1990s.

Funding fell sharply as political sentiment lighted on other, sexier cultural enterprises; it was doubtful that the fat lady would even get to sing, and opera companies went to the wall. But Cape Town Opera, Africa's only full-time opera company, hung in there. Without fuss or quotas or the public anguish of so much of the "transformation" project – recriminations, declining standards, the whiff of racism – Cape Town Opera burst into the new century with a reverberant Africanness that continues to grow, earning acclaim at home and abroad.

The dynamic confluence of two choral traditions did not happen on its own, but no sooner had the merging begun than it took off.

Former chief executive of Cape Town Opera, Angelo Gobatto noted: "Our steady perseverance in tilling the vocal fields in the black communities was clearly successful, for, with the advent of... democracy in 1994, we were rewarded with a flood of exceptional black vocal talent."

In a short time, he said in 2001, "we found we did not have to apologise for making opera. In five years, we have moved from being regarded as high class 'apartheid' elitism to being something which people enjoy."

One of Gobatto's innovations was the launch of a studio programme to provide bursaries and other support to nurture new – though not exclusively black – talent. Extra musical and stage training was provided and expanded through a choral programme.

Soon, he recalled, "opera, the art form which so many had sworn went against the very nature of our black communities, was in the throats and on the lips of thousands of glorious black voices".

The transformative impetus of this sweeping change went further: "What became a pressing artistic issue, however, was the creation of a suitable operatic repertoire for these singers and the possible adaptation of the production styles of the standard repertoire to create novel dramatic possibilities."

Building a "transformed" audience, said marketing manager Lesley Liddle, was an ongoing project – among the features of this drive is "Siyaphuma – Taxi

Night at the Opera", which offers a steadily growing township audience a much-reduced ticket with transport to and from the Artscape Opera House.

The process begun in the 1990s has only strengthened under present chief executive Michael Williams and his team. The measure of it, just last month, was the rapturous reception Cape Town Opera earned on its first tour of Britain.

The programme itself is an instance of the revivifying influence of opera's renaissance: Gershwin's celebrated statement on race and social degradation, *Porgy and Bess*, but transposed to an apartheid-era Soweto setting.

The tour was a rave success. London Times critic Richard Morrison declared: "The only full-time opera company in Africa has never before toured the UK. On the strength of its glorious Gershwin it should be invited back – soon and often." He wrote that at a time when British opera executives were setting up "long-overdue projects" to persuade young black and Asian musicians that you didn't have to be white to make a career in opera, "this company is a stunning exemplar – especially coming from a country where,

only three decades ago, non-whites couldn't even buy a ticket".

South Africa's opera phenomenon has shattered preconceptions about the artistic passions of a populace in Africa, and provided career options to young performers undreamt of in past years.

A telling reflection on this comes from tenor



WITH IT: Makungisa Balimtuku, Yolanda Ngcukana and Noluvuyo Atleni play modern yuppies in Cape Town Opera's *By The River*.

Musa Nkuna in a piece written after watching a Cape Town Opera performance in Nuremberg in August.

Bemoaning the insufficiency of funding and sponsorship for the arts, Nkuna wrote: "It is high time that someone recognises the musical and artistic talent of our people. Cape Town Opera meets and even exceeds the much-fought-for black economic empowerment. And they are not just affirmative action black people but... highly trained and talented people. Nobody can cry foul saying quota this, quota that."

"These guys live up to and go beyond the expected standard – just as UCT student Pretty Yende recently showed in Vienna when she became the first person in the history of the prestigious Belvedere International Singing Competition to win all four major awards, beating all those Europeans singing in their mother tongues.

"For a young black girl from Mpumalanga to win the opera section of such a prestigious competition would be equivalent to an English person from Leeds winning a traditional Zulu dance competition in Ulundi."



FIONA FORDE

‘WHEN I see a white person begging at the robot, there’s

something wrong with the picture for me,” explains Polo Radebe.

“Something in me asks what could have gone wrong. What happened? Yet when I see a black person begging, it’s not that I don’t feel sorry for them, but it appears as more of a normal picture for me to see,” she continues, as she acknowledges the stereotypes she has built up in her own mind over the years.

“But I believe that once our society normalises, we will probably see a proportional number of black and white people in every walk of life. But we’re not there yet.”

The 30-something graduate of commerce joined the Department of Trade and Industry in 2004 as the Director of Access to Finance for Black Economic Empowerment, which by then was attracting its fair share of critics for having lifted only very few black boats in the rising tide.

The BEE Commission had delivered its verdict some years earlier, arguing that there were too many transactions at the expense of too little skills development and not enough transfer of wealth.

And so it was that the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act was passed in 2003 to try and widen the net and the benefits of the slowly transforming economy.

A year later Radebe found herself drafting the codes of good practice for BBBEE which were gazetted two years ago.

Today she is the CEO of Identity Development Fund, a company that is wholly owned and managed by black women professionals who support small and medium-sized black-owned business, yet she monitors the pace of transformation closely.

She looks askance at the South African economy where black-owned companies account for less than 10 percent of all listed companies on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. “And assuming you can take that to be a reflection of what’s happening in the rest of the economy, then that’s what ownership is sitting at today.”

What is meant by black ownership is a term that has varying definitions.

JSE CEO Russell Loubser says if indirect ownership is taken into account, then the black-owned slice of the cake would be far greater than 10 percent, adding that the exchange is currently trying to establish “an intellectually defensible” definition of the term that would “dispel many of the existing myths”.

Radebe prefers a more clinical definition. “I always say that we should look at what would be left of our estates in the morning if we died, what exactly our children would inherit, once the banks and other stakeholders are paid out. That’s what would give us a true account of black ownership, and that’s where we are sitting, at much less than 10 percent.”

Just prior to the Asian crisis in 1997, the JSE was trotting out figures suggesting that black ownership of the listed companies was anywhere around 9 percent or 10 percent.

But by the time the crisis had ended, it had dwindled to about 3 percent, a challenge that was staring Radebe in the face when she

embarked on the codes soon after:

“And that was because the BEE transactions were unravelling,” she says. The early deals had been struck during a moment of optimism and on the assumption

that the share prices would continue to climb.

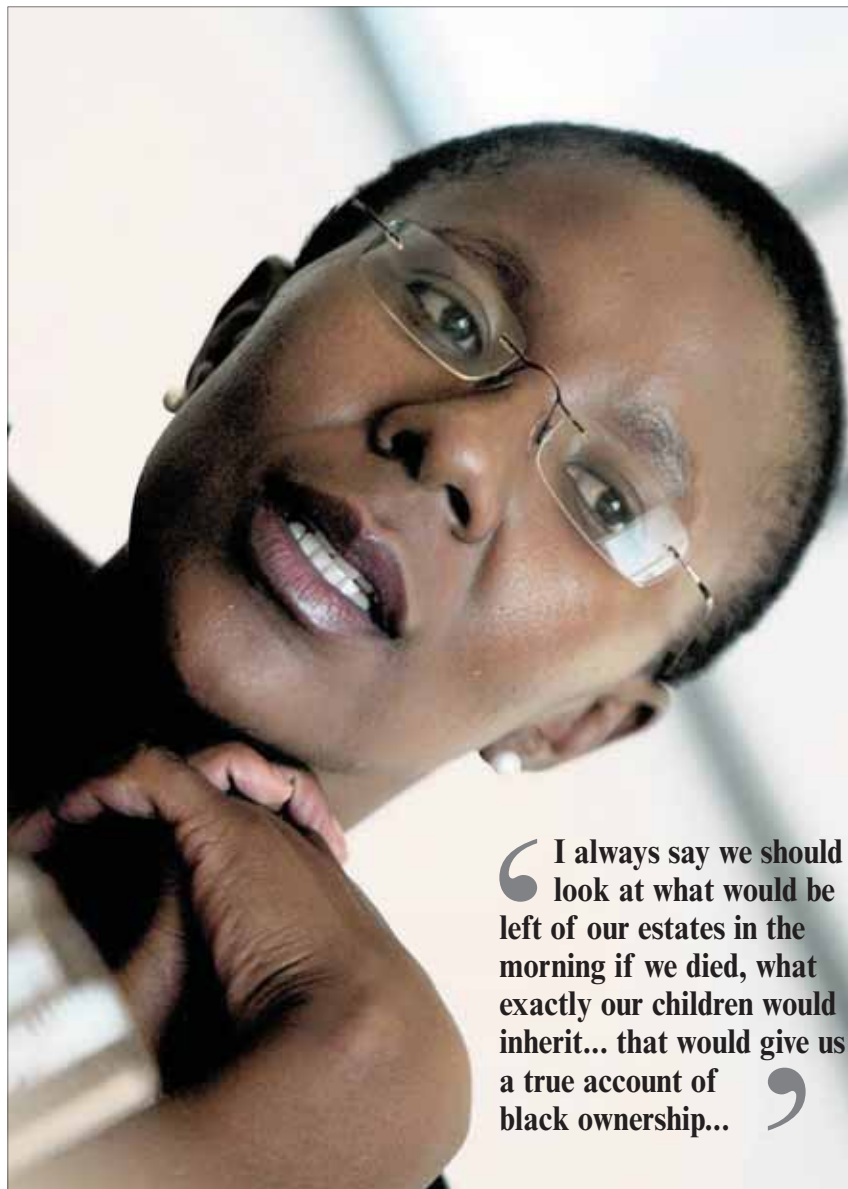
It was from that dismal low that the codes started out. “They were supposed to be multi-faceted: to transform the economy and change

its face and colour,” she explains.

“But we also wanted to grow the pie. It was too small for everyone to enjoy so we had to try and grow it so that more people could enjoy this economy of ours.”

COLOUR BLIND!

Promoting SMEs and developing skills will lead to meaningful economic transformation



“I always say we should look at what would be left of our estates in the morning if we died, what exactly our children would inherit... that would give us a true account of black ownership...”

HOPEFUL: Polo Radebe is the CEO of Identity Development Fund, a company that supports SMEs. She is confident that the new model of BEE will be effective.

PICTURE: SIZWE NDIRANGANE

Their aim was to have 25 percent of the economy in black hands by 2017. To get there, skills development would be critical, as would enterprise development to promote SMEs. Without an entrepreneurial spirit, it just would not happen. Yet South Africa records a worrying low level of entrepreneurship. In the most recent survey carried out by Global Entrepreneur Monitor, the country ranked 23rd out of 43 countries, well below the 13.2 percent average for all middle to low income countries.

Added to that is her concern that the general support structures are either not in place or are still not optimal. “It’s debatable how effective our institutions are and it’s a concern that we’ve had for quite a while, but I don’t see us jumping up and down and saying there’s something fundamentally wrong with what we’re doing.”

There’s also a sense that the left hand is not talking to the right hand at government level, she continues.

“We should have realised that we’re still not getting it right. We’re spending a lot of money on BBBEE, but the truth is we’re probably wasting a lot of money as well.”

The structures of the BEE deals don’t help matters, with too much benefit skewed in favour of the financiers. “We get all excited when we see these deals in the papers but it’s the banks who are smiling behind the scenes.” The oft too high asking prices just add to the debt levels.

All things told, “we still haven’t learnt our lesson, because we’re making the exact same mistakes today as we did at the time of the Asian crisis. We’re telling the exact same stories as we did in 1998 and 1999, with so many companies going under.”

Yet she’s reluctant to throw the baby out with the bathwater and believes she’s witnessing transformation becoming more relevant today, even if the pace is still painfully slow.

“The skills pool is growing. It’s not there yet, but it’s growing in the black communities,” she believes.

Budding entrepreneurs are beginning to develop some excellent ideas for small-sized enterprises, rather than just buying into existing companies.

The BEE score cards are proving critical, not for the sake of ticking the boxes, but because they are forcing business to think differently.

“The procurement guy now knows that telling us that he has used the same guy for the last 30 years is not a good enough excuse anymore.”

Diversity training and management are also playing a big role in cracking the racial divide.

“Mentoring is helping, even if it’s not wide-scale. Take the white accountant who is forced to teach the black woman about debit and credit. “She knows nothing about it. So he has to force himself to think in a very different way to try and help her and meet her half way. It’s a fantastic exercise because it’s meaningful on both sides and helps in more ways than debit and credit. He no longer just sees black when he looks at her. He now sees a person.”

“It’s about getting the basics in place and building up from the bottom. If we don’t get that right, then we will still be sitting with 5 percent ownership in 20 years’ time. But if we correct our mistakes, then economic transformation will happen so quickly that we won’t know what hit us.”



15 years after Mandela lauded a new dawn for SA we still have not found ...



IN 1994 Nelson Mandela told the world that "Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world."

But 15 years later we are still struggling against racism in South Africa. Despite the many progressive strides that have been recorded in the new democratic dispensation, a significant legacy of racism exists in all spheres of society.

Racist attitudes, stereotypes and actions continue to characterise our society. Only a few days ago the incident at the University of the Free State showed its face again, more than a year-and-a-half after African workers were shamefully humiliated by white racist students.

But racism does not stop at the Free State. And it is not only alive in schools and institutions of higher learning. It exists in the workplace and in the corporate sector. It can be found in every city and town. It is building stereotypes every single day of the week. What is revealed in the media only tells a very small part of the story because the majority of our people continue to suffer in silence and isolation all the time.

Although the spotlight is on the Free State, corporate South Africa is not much better. The slow pace of transformation in the private sector is mainly due to the dominance of white males, men who were bred

and cultured under institutionalised racism and who are unable to appreciate and comprehend that black people, and Africans in particular, are human beings too and that they are as capable, if not more capable, of doing the job.

The majority of private corporations in South Africa do not employ Africans into key and strategic positions. If we look at the positions of chief executive officers and chief financial officers across the country, they are mainly occupied by non-black South Africans. In instances where non-whites take the seats, it is often where they are closely partnered with a white counterpart who watches over their shoulders. The black CFO of Nedbank is one example. The CEO of Eskom is another.

The underlying message is obvious: white South Africa is still unable to embrace their black brothers. And it doesn't stop with corporate South Africa. Millions of farm hands, factory workers and domestic helpers live with brutal racism on a daily basis. The only difference is that their voices are not heard.

Many white children are reared within a belief system that teaches them that Africans are sub-humans, inferior to them and sitting at the bottom of the race ladder. In multi-racial schools, African children are forced to adapt to white people's way of doing things. They are encouraged to take on their accents,



BY
**JULIUS
MALEMA**

because all things African are associated with inferiority.

It is a fact that in modern South Africa, African cultures are dying. African children living in our suburbs are beginning to denounce their cultural practices and language, because the culture and language of white people are presented as the superior models and the more acceptable way of life.

Is this what we fought for? Is this the new South Africa, one that does not differ much from apartheid South Africa? These racial attitudes and stereotypes should be uprooted in society, particularly amongst children, the future of tomorrow.

The reality is that the majority of white people, despite the practical assurances made by our democratic constitution and government, continue to believe that black people are out to get them.

White people feel threatened, but there is no basis for their insecurity. Many suffer from jungle fever, a fear of all things black, but again there is no basis for their fear. They tend to protect their space against what they imagine to be black dominance.

But they must know that with

the inspiration of Nelson Mandela, the ANCYL will never be proponents of black dominance.

It is time that we, black and white South Africans, began to appreciate that the fight against racism is not about leaning on one side or the other, or about short-term solutions, as these could undermine the efforts of constructing a single, united nation.

The ANCYL has been open and robust in its programme to confront racism. And it will continue to be so while we struggle to build a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

If we allow racism to continue, we can never achieve our goals.

Racism belongs to another era. It was the ideological weapon of the apartheid oppressors to subjugate the African majority, and blacks in general, under a racist government which denied our people basic rights.

But it cannot belong to our democracy. And where it does, the ideological weapon of racists should be exposed and defeated through open confrontation.

This is not an easy task because racism is not always overt. Its roots are deep in a long history of economic exclusion. It is one of the most difficult evils to uproot. But that doesn't mean it cannot and will not be done.

If we want to be rid of racism, we have to accept some truths. The massive class and economic divide that exists between black and white people is keeping us apart. Black

people, and Africans in particular, should share in South Africa's wealth and benefit from the opportunities presented by our democratic government. The ANCYL's call that we should realise economic freedom for the black majority and Africans in particular in our lifetime is a vital component in the struggle to build a non-racial better South Africa. The struggle did not end in 1994.

Our frank engagement on the issue of race does not mean that we are blind to the many positive developments that are happening. There are both black and white people who are growing to understand and appreciate that South Africa belongs to all people who live in it, regardless of their colour. If we do not recognise these advances we would only undermine the progress the country is making in building a truly non-racial society.

The ANCYL calls upon white people to participate in the developmental agenda of our democratic government. We also call on them to bury their fear of the unknown. We will never support any dominance by any one race, including any call to drive the whites to the sea.

But we will continue to engage each other in a more open and robust way until we get a buy-in from everyone to redress the imbalances created by the nonsensical apartheid regime.

● *Julius Malema is the president of the ANC Youth League.*



GREAT EXPECTATIONS?



CONSCIENCE: Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu has said white South Africans have not acknowledged the crime of apartheid.

PICTURE: GARY VAN WYK

IN THE land of the free, in year one of Barack Obama's presidency, a judicial officer (white) refused to marry a couple not because they were gay but because she was white and he was African-American.

There is, it seems, a separate world south of the Mason-Dixon line. It is a world that has not reconciled itself to the abolition of slavery nearly 150 years ago.

It is a world that only legalised mixed-race marriages just over four decades ago.

Yet, a month ago, the marriage officer's fears of miscegenation – that frightful and frightening word of apartheid hate-mongers – compelled him to say publicly that he will not marry the couple because he would feel sorry for their children, who presumably he chose to view as neither fish nor fowl.

So, is this not simply a problem for the United States? What has it got to do with us, in South Africa, with our enlightened Constitution and a government, many of whose members not only fought against the racist lunacy of apartheid but were imprisoned and tortured by some of the very people who are unrepentant about their past?

Well, that great social scientist, intellectual and activist WEB du Bois warned that the problem of the 20th century was the problem of the colour line. It seems that a hundred years later, the world has not really resolved this matter, to judge from the enormous revival of racist

Overt signs of racism are gone, but nastiness lurks below the surface

political parties in Europe and the racially motivated attacks on the president of the United States.

We have not done very badly ourselves, though.

In a country where the all-white legislature had passed scores of laws governing the exclusion of black people, covering every aspect of their lives from the cradle through to the grave, and where church, state and business had conspired to oppress the majority of the people, the dramatic transfer of power in 1994 introduced a new element into our public life: equality.

We are entitled to congratulate ourselves that the overt signs and examples of racial discrimination and racist actions are few and far between. Yet, there is a gnawing fear that beneath a reasonably calm surface, there is still the nastiness lurking: a young Afrikaner takes his guns to a township and kills a number of people, including a baby, without provocation; the word "k*****" appears in a song together with Nelson Mandela's name, and so on.

So, are we too touchy about race? Are we expecting too much when we say that there has been no response to Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu's complaint that



BY
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white South Africa has not acknowledged the great crime committed against black people under apartheid in this country.

Are we unreasonable in criticising the newly-appointed vice-chancellor of the University of the Free State when he absolves a group of white students who humiliated poor black workers by treating them as objects for their racist pleasures?

Should we not make a distinction between the role of the previous oppressor and victims?

Conversely, are we playing the race card when we are not able to launch a credible argument or when we have run out of options? If we don't get what we desire – a BEE deal, a job or an appointment, is it a question of a chip on the shoulder if we shout "racism"?

There can be little doubt that when even ministers demand that Transnet must appoint a particular

black person that they are playing a race card of a particular variety, although they ought to have recognised that the candidate the board may have had in mind was a himself a black person!

Or even more recently, the director-general of the Department of Labour with his Black Management Forum hat on opined that the possible resignation of the CEO of Eskom as a result of its board's unhappiness with his performance was part of attacks on black chief executives.

This is hardly credible. The board is appointed by the government.

The government is now also beginning to realise that its employment policy has had unintended consequences, especially at local government level, where service delivery has been seriously disrupted because of unqualified or inappropriately qualified persons who have been appointed to senior managerial posts.

Yet, there are a huge number of vacancies across the board in local government, provincial and national departments which are left open because of the need to meet "representative" levels.

At a political level, when the

going gets tough, there is a tendency to have recourse to euphemisms such as the need to discuss the implications of the "national question" to the matter at hand, when what we really mean is that there are too many white people, Indians or coloureds around.

It is therefore not good enough to refer to the opening lines of the Freedom Charter: South Africa belongs to all those who live in it, black and white, as a total answer to the problems of allocating resources, posts, offices or benefits. The clarion call of the Freedom Charter – which drove us in the freedom struggle through its deep humanist appeal – does not provide an answer to the way we should deal with the damages present in our society through deprivation and prejudice.

What we need, therefore, is to debate the deep roots of prejudice in our society, not the flawed approach of the vice-chancellor of the University of the Free State, but one that draws on our history, our needs as citizens and which clearly adumbrates individual responsibility for our actions against fellow citizens and those who come from across our borders. Scenario planning is of little help in this necessary process.

In this way, we may claim to live up to the foundational and core values of our Constitution – equality, freedom, dignity and justice.

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