

Non-Racialism and Social Cohesion:

Is ANC Failing in its Vision of a National Democratic Society?

**Speech by Y Abba Omar at the Inaugural Annual Lecture of
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Master of Ceremonies and Chair of Inland Branch 42, Wilson Manganyi;
Councillor Paulina Morake;
Zonal Leader, Duduzile Nqozo.
Comrades, ladies and gentlemen.

I would like to begin by thanking the Inland Branch for honouring me with this invitation to address you on what I hope would become an annual event. The topic I have been asked to speak to is one very close to my heart. In my talk I will start by addressing the three closely related concepts in the topic for today: nation-formation in South Africa of which non-racialism and social cohesion are key components. I will then spend the second half of my talk focusing on the way forward and milestones for the future.

And unlike other speakers who give the answer to the question right at the end, I will answer the question now: No I do not believe the ANC is failing in its vision of a national democratic society but we are going through some challenging moments which can be addressed by the ANC playing a leading role in conducting open and critical dialogue on the issues of non-racialism and social cohesion.

This is not the official line from MISTRA or Luthuli House. It is my personal views as a cadre of the movement and I intend being provocative and controversial in some parts.

SOME HISTORY

From the beginning of the 20th century debates around how a South African nation can be created have revolved around many propositions. Some of the main ones are:

- The 'Black Republic' thesis, which, in asserting the rise of a black-led independent state, embodied the modernist impulses of the time.
- The Colonialism of a Special Type (CST) theory which constructed the notion of a colonizing nation and a colonized nation residing in the same territory.
- The Pan-Africanist approach, which is seen as reflective of the ethnic-based school. We have the Pan-Africanism of the Pan-Africanist Congress, which was counter-posed against the principle of non-racialism which was taking root in the ANC. This is different from the Africanist approach of the ANC which recognises the numerical superiority of indigenous Africans in South Africa as the most oppressed and exploited members of society. The ANC accordingly places a special emphasis on African leadership as well as prioritising addressing the conditions of African people.
- The way in which 'blackness' was seen by the adherents of the BCM. It was meant to mobilise Africans, Indians and Coloureds into unity around the fact of their lack of political representation. As Steve Biko wrote about Black Consciousness. "Its

essence is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression - the blackness of their skin”.

- The multiple identities or “rainbow nation” notions which could be seen as instances of the post-modernist approach.

There is general consensus amongst theorists that various strands of nationalism can co-exist at any one time in a democracy. The nation-state evolves over time, with its content being shaped and re-shaped on an ongoing basis. To take England for example. For a long time being English had connotations of being stuffy, white, mildly racist, consuming warm beer and fish/chips. However, the English of today are a toxic mix of migrants from various parts of the world who have imparted a bit of their own culture and cuisine into the English landscape. The Blair government tried to brand this kind of Englishness as “Cool Britannia”. But there is an ultra-nationalist party called UKIP which would like to return the UK to its old values. We can thus see a clear contestation between at least two versions of nationalism: one which is open and even internationalist in its outlook, the other narrow and chauvinistic.

Two important themes have run through the ANC’s century-long discourse on South Africa’s nationhood: that of unity of all South Africans, and the second theme is the creation of democracy. From the very early days of the founding of the South African National Native Congress through the National Conference on Racism (NCR) of 2000 to the NDP of 2012, the issue of representivity and citizenship has been at the forefront of the ANC’s thinking.

This can be seen in Pixley ka Isaka Seme’s famous call to put an end to “the demon of racialism, the aberration of the Xhosa-Fingo Feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and Tsongas, between the Basuthos and every other Native”. It was also captured by Nokhukhanya Luthuli, widow of Chief AJ Luthuli, who expressed on the eve of the National Conference Racism (1999) a truly African dream: “My wish before I die, is to see blacks and whites living harmoniously in a united South Africa”.

Moments like the one we find ourselves in today create a certain nostalgia about the past. One of these has been the manner in which the Congress Alliance overtly displayed non-racialism with the ANC working with the Congress of Democrats which consisted of progressive whites, the SA Coloured People’s Organisation, and the South African Indian Congress. There have been many instances when this non-racial unity found concrete manifestation, such as Maulvi Cachalia being Nelson Mandela’s deputy in the 1952 Defiance Campaign. We had the signing of the ‘Three Doctors Pact’ viz Dr Yusuf Dadoo, Dr Monty Naicker and Dr Xuma of the SACP, SAIC and the ANC. This leadership was shown during the 1949 anti-Indian attacks in Cato Manor when all three Doctors walked through the affected areas calling for calm and unity. It was seen again at the Congress of the People in 1955 when the Freedom Charter was drawn up. The ANC’s Morogoro conference held in Tanzania in 1969 was significant in that it admitted non-Africans to join the organisation as individuals. Non-Africans were admitted to the national executive at its Kabwe conference in 1985.

Julie Frederickse called non-racialism ‘the unbreakable thread’ of the ANC. Hilda Bernstein said that this was actually a very ‘fragile thread’ which had to be fought for every day.

During the 1980s we embodied this commitment to non-racialism in the manner in which the mass struggles were conducted under the leadership of the United Democratic Front. Non-racialism came to represent the very anti-thesis of apartheid. Drawing in people from all races, we were able to isolate the apartheid regime from virtually all the constituencies it hoped to draw in. Coupled with the increasing international isolation of the regime, and the strengthening of the ANC's underground presence we were able to lay the basis for apartheid's demise by 1994.

Pallo Jordan, explaining the ANC's 1994 election slogan "A better life for all", said: "True to itself and its traditions, the ANC also addressed itself to the entire nation, rather than a section of it". Mbeki, in his famous 'I am an African' speech delivered to mark the adoption of the South African Constitution in 1996, reiterated this theme: "It is a firm assertion made by ourselves that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white. It gives concrete expression to the sentiment we share as Africans, and will defend to the death, that the people shall govern".

During 1997 there was an intense debate within the ANC about Africanism and non-racialism. Up to that point, the Africanist strand which existed in the ANC was committed to emphasising the centrality of Africans to the liberation struggle, which rose above ethnic and tribal identities. Peter Mokaba was at the centre of the debate, arguing that given the low voter contribution of minorities to the ANC they were over-represented in senior government positions.

In the context of the 1997 ANC debates Joel Netshitenzhe crafted his Ten Theses on the National Question. I recommend all of us reading it in full but the key points are:

THESIS I:

The "national character" of the NDR is the resolution of the antagonistic contradictions between the oppressed majority and their oppressors; to resolve the national grievance arising from colonial relations.

THESIS II:

National oppression and its legacy are linked almost inextricably to class exploitation...Socio-economic transformation... means, above everything else, improving the quality of life of the poor, the overwhelming majority of whom are defined by South African capitalism as blacks in general and Africans in particular

THESIS III:

A nation is a multi-class entity...The democratic movement must seek to influence these classes and strata - both black and white - to act in a way that promotes South Africa's true interests.

THESIS IV: speaks to the centrality of building working class unity as a major element in forging the South African nation.

THESIS V:

Capturing the national imagination through the campaign for a New Patriotism is critical to nation-building.

THESIS VI:

Our multiple identities do not die in the melting pot of broad South Africanism. At the same time, it should be noted that some of the identities associated with “culture” or “ethnicity” or “religion” can in fact be contradictory to the building of a new nation based on principles of equity: for instance, to use these attributes as an excuse to perpetuate gender oppression, or to campaign for racial or ethnic divisions among citizens.

THESIS VII:

There is a need for a continuing battle to assert African hegemony in the context of a multi-cultural and non-racial society.

THESIS VIII:

The principle of African leadership and balanced representation in racial, gender, ethnic and class terms is a broad one, which should find broad expression in actual practice.

THESIS IX:

As individuals compete for positions in politics, the academic terrain, the economy and elsewhere, the more unscrupulous ones among them will seek to use criteria that exclude those who have all along been disadvantaged; or to use the racial, ethnic and/or language card to advance their personal ambition.

Even within the ANC, tensions will flare up from time to time, especially in periods such as preparations for National Conference and other allocations of positions of power and influence.

One of the two most seminal developments in the past two years has been the *Declaration and Programme of Action* which emerged from the *National Social Cohesion and Nation Building Summit* in 2012. It was replete with symbolism which tried to connect it with the Freedom Charter: the conference was held in Kliptown, the venue for the conference which drew up the Freedom Charter in 1955. The summit was held on 4 and 5 July 2012, as close as diaries allowed to 25 and 26 June, the anniversary of the drawing up of the Freedom Charter.

The Declaration took as its starting point the well-known principle in the South African Constitution adopted in 1996 that “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, both black and white, united in our diversity”. The second principle of the Declaration reveals how far down the road South Africans had travelled in defining their nation: “South Africa is a unitary and sovereign state based on democracy, the rule of law, pursuit of equal human rights, non-racialism, non-sexism, and the equality of all persons”. It represents a decisive move from any race or ethnic conceptions of the nation, to one which is articulated clearly in civic terms. The Declaration captured a wide range of obstacles to the uniting of South Africans: economic development, inequality, landlessness and homelessness, the burden of disease, poor education for the majority of pupils, crime and corruption, gender inequalities, racism

and xenophobia. In this way it connected non-racialism and social cohesion into a symbiotic relationship.

The second major development has been the drafting of the National Development Plan (NDP), also released in 2012. The opening lines of its 2030 Vision states: “We have created a home where everybody feels free yet bounded to others; where everyone embraces their full potential. We are proud to be a community that cares”. Answering the question “Who are we?” the vision statement emphasises: “We are African. We are an African country. We are part of our multi-national region. We are an essential part of our continent” (2012:12-13). Furthermore, “Our multiculturalism is a defining element of our indigeneity”.

Chapter 15 of the NDP entitled *Transforming society and uniting the country* is dedicated to capturing the ongoing process of nation-formation. It also emphasises the role of the 1996 Constitution, describing it as “a national compact that defines South Africa’s common values and identifies our rights and responsibilities as people living together” (2012, p.458). Hence it is not surprising that fostering the Constitutional values tops the list of what needs to be done. This state-led, civic approach to nation-building is to be complemented by active citizenry and leadership. This must lead to a new social compact between government, business and labour so that all sectors of society can be involved in moving to a trajectory of higher growth and employment, increased investment and savings.

THE WAY FORWARD

I have spent a large part tracing the history behind the ANC’s commitment, both as a liberation movement and as the ruling party, to non-racialism, democracy and social cohesion within the framework of nation-formation debates. There is no doubt that the ANC has a whole, evinced by its resolutions and statements by its leaders, as well as through the policies of the government, that are not failing in our vision of a national democracy. However there are a number of issues about our practises, about unintended consequences of policies and dealing with people who go against the ANC’s policies which need to be addressed.

I have also touched on the challenges it has faced from different quarters, especially from within. It is important to see these challenges as part of the rich history of discourse which the ANC has been capable of. It’s a history of intellectual curiosity, of pushing the boundaries of thinking and contributing to international thought which, as we all know today, we are losing touch with.

Today’s world and today’s South Africa have so many complex issues to deal with. In many ways we are in uncharted territory both as humanity and country. A tolerance to new ideas, a willingness to hear the rational views of others should continue the spirit in which we formulate our policy positions.

Apart from looking at ferment within the ANC we also need to see how being in power has changed the ANC. It is with the same rational sense that we need to address the performance of the ANC in government – its policy formulation process, its legislative record, the appointments made, the procurement decisions arrived at or the tenders

awarded. Just as I know that many African people are disgusted at the wrongs committed in the name of affirmative action or BEE, so too are the Indian, Coloured and White communities. When they look at the circus eg at the SABC they wonder: where did the ANC drag these people from?

Nkandla, Guptagate, e-tolling all these encourage a racist narrative that suggests that you cannot trust African people to run this country. That South Africa will be looted to the ground, just 'as has happened in other parts of Africa'. When I was in exile I used to have long fights with non-Africans in the SADC countries who said SA will go the way of other African countries. I had to argue at two levels: that they were wrong to generalise about Africa and that anyway the ANC leadership was different. And in the first few years of democracy they agreed grudgingly, saying the guys we have are different from what the rest of Africa has. Today that narrative comes to the forefront again, even within SA.

The utterances of a Jimmy Manyi or the KZN's Mazibuye African Forum, or the manner in which AA/BEE favours Africans over Indians and Coloureds makes these communities less and less enthusiastic about the ANC and its government. Phumlani Mfeka, of Mazibuye and a contestant for the leadership of the KZN Youth league, wrote "Africans in this province do not regard Indians as their brethren and thus the ticking time bomb of a deadly confrontation between the two communities is inevitable and shall be exacerbated by the antagonistic attitude that Indians such as yourself ... have."

You may be aware that the Human Rights Commission and the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation has taken Mazibuye to the Equality Court on this matter. It should be noted that the ANC through several statements came out strongly against this group's utterances as well as an anti-Indian song making its rounds. But we have to ask ourselves, how did such characters have the temerity to utter such rubbish? And to what extent are we in the ANC culpable for that?

I will now focus on the way forward for our society, state and the ANC.

At the broad societal level we need to be constantly vigilant about any and all forms of racism. But as has been clear from the above discussions this has to happen with the efforts of business and workers; the religious sector, educationists, students, on the playing field and even in the clubs and dance halls of our country. We must acknowledge as an important starting point that race will remain with us as an issue for a long time to come and therefore must not be shy to open up the debates on it. As former President Thabo Mbeki said that whenever we open up debates on the race issue, we are accused of playing the race card. Do not be put off by that accusation – it's an issue which will stalk the next generation and the next – so deep has been the impact of colonialism and apartheid. Shan Bawton of the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation argues that "There has to be a serious dialogue on what it means to be a non-racial state".

A key part of this dialogue on race must be the addressing of the vast inequalities which exist in our society. The eminent economist Sampie Terreblanche pointed out that in "2008 the top 20 per cent (of South Africans) received 74,7 per cent of total income, while the poorest 50 per cent received only 7,8 per cent. Further, 83 per cent of the whites were

among the top 20 per cent of income receivers in 2008, while only 11 per cent Africans were among the top 20 per cent of the population; 25 per cent of coloured were among the top 20 per cent; and almost 60 per cent of Indians were amongst the top 20 per cent". He restates these figures in a very stark picture: "95 per cent of Africans were amongst the poorest 50 per cent of the population. The fact that the Gini-coefficient increased from 0,66 in 1992 to 0,70 in 2008 is an indication that income has become much more unequally distributed during the 'democratic' period".

This then speaks to the need for leadership both from the state and from the rest of society. There has been much talk of a social compact which addresses the many evils which accrue from these unsustainable levels of inequality.

The Inland Branch can start the process by drawing together all the leading actors in this part of Joburg to address one single question: the inequalities here. As a branch alone we cannot reduce the inequalities in SA – we need a systemic approach. However, we can reduce the impact of poverty being experienced through organising things like soup kitchens, volunteering time for better health care and improvements in community policing etc – all these symptomatic of great divisions within our society. In this way we can galvanise the believers out of their mosques, temples, synagogues and churches and the non-believers from wherever they gather to act concretely in lifting up their communities.

Still looking at societal initiatives for social cohesion, we cannot duck the question of South Africans, especially those from the white and Indian communities, learning another language other than English/Afrikaans. At the ripe age of 53 I decided to go for IsiZulu classes. At least now I know if my colleague at the office or a cashier at the shop is gossiping about me. I get amazed when I look at my cousins from Tanzania or Kenya being able to chat with their fellow patriots in Swahili. We all know that the situation in SA is unlike that of East Africa where Swahili is the lingua franca. That should not stop us from at least learning another language – it helps us step into different cultures. Also, if you are my age, learning a new language is good to slow down dementia.

We need to step up our practise of what is referred to as 'banal nationalism' – the displaying of our flags, Coat of Arms, the national anthem and the support of our national teams. Numerous studies have shown that being part of the FIFA World Cup of 2010 ranks as high as standing in the queue to vote in April 1994 and winning the Rugby World Cup in 1995 in our nation's iconography.

I am glad that we are seeing a turnaround in the number of South Africans returning to the country. For this I want to compliment the Solidarity Movement, even though many may question their motives. They have helped establish the Home Coming Revolution, helping people who want to come back to SA. At the same time we have to take on board the real concerns of whites, such as farm killings. Or that of Indians who feel that as a community they largely supported the struggle and now are being placed in the same categories as whites when it comes to jobs and tenders.

Perhaps one of the toughest changes we will have to achieve is the dismantling of the Group Areas Act. There have been creative experiments in this regard to establish new non-racial

housing projects with mixed success. We should not give up on these endeavours, especially since experiences from various parts of the world have shown that unless we engage in apartheid like forced removals we will not achieve true spatial integration for decades to come. Forced removals is not on the cards!

However, we have to look at how integration can be achieved through education both at schools and universities. The new education institutions we are building should be increasingly placed in predominantly African areas with a call for all races to attend. Similarly we can promote integration through health systems by building up the quality of facilities in predominantly African areas; through entertainment, by making clubs, restaurants etc in these areas attractive to all people. I have visited some of these entertainment sites and found that if you do find non-Africans there they would usually be tourists.

Many have spoken of the importance of education as a means to integrate the races. There is huge potential for that but there is also bad news: when there has been an influx of a particular race, that school has been abandoned by others. I was amazed walking through Houghton Primary to find that there was not a single white student – it had become the domain of the children of domestic workers in that area – which in the South African context will remain the domain of African females. Similarly, schools in Lenasia have seen Indians leave in their droves in the face of the tsunami of residents of informal settlements.

This is due to two trends: young Indians moving out of Lenx to homes in the leafy northern suburbs of Joburg, indicating that new, racially-based spatial patterns are emerging. This also speaks to splintering within the Indian community where there has been the worrying increase in faith-based schools in the various areas, which have become the refuge of those wanting to keep their kids away from African children.

The state should lead the dialogue on affirmative action and BEE. We have seen from numerous examples around the world that maintaining such corrective measures as a matter of principle reduces the competitiveness of the very groups it is meant to benefit. The cry for a better model of BEE, one which ensures more black people get a stake in the economy, has come from all quarters.

We have made huge strides in the public sector, with the majority of staff at all levels coming from the African majority. This sets up other challenges. For example, the state needs to ensure that public servants are geared up to meet the needs of all races, not just Africans. Because of the visibly rich members of the Indian, Coloured, and White communities – who use private medical care, education and security – there is a tendency to think that the rest of these communities do not deserve access to such services.

THE ROLE OF THE ANC

As I mentioned earlier, there is a big role for the ANC to play. The ANC's SG Cde Gwede Mantashe admitted: "The ANC must be bolder in its pronouncements on non-racialism". Trevor Ngwane made an interesting observation 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.

There is no doubt that ANC conferences are being attended by fewer members of the 'minority' communities. There is a certain tension at play here where such cadres see themselves now as part of the democratic majority and hence do not like the 'minority' tag. At the same time their communities scan the TV screens in vain looking for the comrades who were active in their communities and universities.

Some of the ANC activists I spoke to suggested that we review the crazy drive to get 1 million ANC members. We have not adequately assessed the calibre of people we have admitted into the movement, let alone ensured that they get a thorough grounding in ANC philosophy and politics. Now every tenderpreneur and his or her uncle can claim ANC membership.

A refrain from ANC members of all races is that branch leadership leads to a position in the local council, which in itself gears one up for access to the treasures of the state. As the ANC's own policy document have noted, leadership in the ANC is seen as a 'stepping stone to positions of power and material reward in government and business'. What we are seeing is a retreat from the ANC by a large number of activists from the Indian, Coloured and white communities, and very little or no new blood coming into the organisation. This then means that the leadership of the Lenasia branch is predominantly African!

At the same time we have to note that there has always been a schism within the Indian and Coloured communities between those who wished to be in alliance with the African majority versus those who wished to seek their own fortunes through collaboration in apartheid structures. As one example, in the 1994 elections, Lenasia voted 30% for the ANC while 50% voted for the NP. Shan Bawltton believes that activists in these areas believed their own propaganda, thinking that the progressive forces were in the majority in these communities.

The real community activists are today to be found in the huge network of burial societies, self-help projects and other forms of community initiatives. While we do have high-profiled leaders like Prema Naidoo, Ismail Vadi and Cde Kathrada, and they engender huge respect amongst all races, they are not seen as representing the interests of the Indians. Similarly Trevor Fowler will not be seen as acting in the interests of the Coloured community. These are genuinely non-racial comrades, who have transcended race and who act in the interest of all South Africans.

What can the ANC do about this? There is a sense that the ANC has to go back to its non-racial roots and that the alienation from the ANC these communities are facing can be reversed. White, coloured and Indian activists I have spoken to all suggest that cadres from these communities need to assert themselves to play a more visible role in the leadership of the state at all levels or in the ANC structures and that these structures should facilitate their playing that role. The sight of such people being profiled is comforting and remains an inspiration for these communities. Undoubtedly, there is a certain pride in the Indian community that Hashim Amla leads the Proteas, as I am sure one day in the distant future,

perhaps in my grandchildren's time, the Springbok captain will come from the Indian community!

The NIC was created in 1894 but was dissolved in the wake of the unbanning of the African National Congress. Feeling neglected by the ANC, and a lot of the Indian ANC cadres themselves alienated from their own communities, there is speculation that perhaps there is a need for structures which represent the needs of their communities – just as the Italian and other communities have organised themselves.

These debates are ongoing within the coloured community in some areas, where cultural bodies cohering around the use of Afrikaans are being fostered. In 2010 celebrations were held to mark the arrival of the Indians in 1860, which is 150 years of the Indians in South Africa. Since then there has been talk of an 1860 Foundation, playing a similar role. Personally I feel that it is a pity that these communities cannot find a home in the ANC and need to resort to such initiatives to voice their grievances, but I can understand where that comes from. Also, we need to ensure that if such bodies do grow they remain committed to the founding values of our struggle and our Constitution.

I would like to cite from a statement that George Sewpersad made as President of the Natal Indian Congress in the 1980s which should act as a guide to such thinking. Speaking of the role of the NIC he said: 'Our role therefore is to inspire the Indian people to strive for a united democratic South Africa. The grievances of the Indian people are linked with the grievances of all the other oppressed people. It is the duty of Congress to drive home to the Indians that their problems cannot be divorced from the problems of other oppressed races. South Africa belongs to all who live in it. Congress will co-operate with the organisations of all other oppressed peoples and all democrats in its struggle for liberty and justice'.

Milestones to the future

I have spoken about some of the options for the way forward. What are the milestones we should aim to reach?

A major milestone will be when we reach South Africa's own 'Obama Moment'. I have been thinking about this since I was asked by a visitor when will SA have its Obama Moment and I said we have had a black man as President since 1994! By the Obama Moment I mean that point in our future when a non-African, who has not only transcended their race and their background, and can represent the deepest ambitions of all South Africans, becomes the president of this country.

Just today we heard that with the passing away of the Zambian President, we have a white man who is the President – even though for a short period. Marcelino dos Santos was Cde Samora Machel's deputy president in Frelimo. There have been numerous examples from other histories – PM of India, Manmohan Singh, came from a tiny minority in India. In Egypt, in the early 1900s, the king appointed as his PM a member of the Christian Coptic community. South Africa, in its first 20 years of democracy, may not have been 'ready' for

this but in different circumstances Joe Slovo or Trevor Manuel would have got my vote for being at least a Deputy President.

The ANC as custodian of the national liberation struggle, as well as its history, needs to ensure that the examples of valour and sacrifice of past generations of Indian, Coloured and Whites is recalled. I recently met up with a comrade with whom I had been in exile. His daughter, one of the 'born frees' was surprised to learn that there had been Indians in exile let alone the armed struggle.

In this area itself you have spawned the fine example of the Cachalia family which suffered through detention, imprisonment and bannings. The Inland Branch could be celebrating This fine example of selfless public service, with one son being a judge and the other a former MEC.

The celebration of national holidays has been a major bone of contention, with the complaint that members of the minority communities not joining these celebrations. For me a major milestone would have been reached when all communities celebrate these national holidays in their own ways while coming together for really significant moments such as the inauguration of the President, or Bafana Bafana at the World Cup finals in 2018.

To begin concluding we have to get non-racialism right because:

- It contributes to social cohesion and the building of our nation.
- It will prove that the ideals of our liberation struggles have not been buried under the avalanche of careerism, cynical manipulation and crass sectarianism.
- It will ensure that we remain committed to the slogan which lies at the heart of our Coat of Arms, which means 'diverse people unite'.
- It will allow for the healthy hybridisation of our identities.
- Non-racialism takes into account the reality that mixed race families are increasing. This is going to increasingly shake up issues of race identification, coupled already with the difficulty a large number of progressives have with identifying themselves as belonging to any particular race.
- It will foster greater pride in our country.
- It will underscore that the ANC leads the country in its entirety and not behalf of certain groups only.
- Non-racialism will help us mobilise the whole-hearted commitment of the Indian, Coloured and White communities to the development of this country. Capital is still largely in white hands, most of SA's high skills base comes from these communities. Leadership can help get them focused on the primary question of our time: create more jobs, reduce inequality.
- Non-racialism will ensure there is no skills flight.
- It will help, as Feroz Cachalia put it, equalise the "opportunity to acquire the capabilities of achieving a meaningful life".

My dream of a South Africa in 2030 is one where poverty and inequality has been reduced; where we all know the taxi sign language, where mixed couples are not a curiosity and where the minorities can proclaim: We, too, are Africans.