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**SPEECH BY FORMER PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK
TO THE FW DE KLERK FOUNDATION'S ANNUAL CONFERENCE
CIVIC CENTRE
CAPE TOWN
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THE FUTURE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

The FW de Klerk Foundation decided to dedicate its annual conference this year to the consideration of the future of multiculturalism in South Africa.

We did so because of the strains that have been developing in relations between our communities and because of the central importance of reaching agreement on how communities in our complex multicultural society should relate to one another in the future. These are questions that will play a key role in determining the long-term success of our society and the security and happiness of all our peoples.

This is also a challenge that increasingly confronts countries throughout the world. The main threat to peace during the 21st century no longer comes from the possibility of conflict between countries but rather from the inability of states to manage relationships between ethnic, cultural and religious communities within their own borders.

The age of the single culture, single language state is over. Two thirds of the world's 200 countries have minorities comprising more than 10% of their populations. Cultural and ethnic minorities now comprise more than one billion people throughout the world - one in seven of the human population.

Our own country, South Africa, is one of the most culturally and ethnically diverse societies in the world.

Like so many other African countries, South Africa was a creation of European imperialists. At the beginning of the last century the British drew arbitrary lines on the map of southern Africa which created South Africa as we know it today. In so doing they incorporated within the same state a wide array of different peoples with different cultures, values and levels of development.

In 1910 when the Union of South Africa was established, the British gave white South Africans a monopoly of political power. During the subsequent decades whites used their monopoly of power to promote and protect their own interests. Their relationship with the other peoples of South Africa was characterised at best by condescending paternalism - and at worst by naked exploitation and dispossession.

26 years ago today I initiated the process that would end the white monopoly of power and that would open the way to our present non-racial constitutional democracy.



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During the constitutional negotiations the participating parties gave extensive attention to the manner in which the rights of all our communities would be protected and how they would work together in a new spirit of unity in diversity. Our new constitution recognised our 11 official languages and proclaimed that they should enjoy parity of esteem.

- It required us to strive for unity within our diversity.
- It prohibited discrimination, *inter alia*, on the basis of race, language and culture.
- It enjoined the state to take special action to develop our indigenous languages.
- It stated that government at national and provincial levels must use at least two official languages.

The Constitution importantly recognised the right to receive education in the language of one's choice in public educational institutions, where such education is reasonably practicable and provided that it does not lead to discrimination.

It also created space for language, cultural and religious diversity.

- Everyone would have the right to use the language and participate in the cultural life of their choice.
- People belonging to cultural, religious and ethnic communities would be able to enjoy their culture, practise their religion and use their language.
- They would be able to form cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.

Our new Constitution was in line with international thinking on multiculturalism at the time.

A United Nations Development Programme report, published in 2004, pointed to what it called the newly emerging 'identity politics'.

"In vastly different contexts and in different ways - from indigenous people in Latin America to religious minorities in South Asia to ethnic minorities in the Balkans and Africa to immigrants in Western Europe - people are mobilising anew around old grievances along ethnic, religious, racial and cultural lines, demanding that their identities be acknowledged, appreciated and accommodated by wider society."

The Report affirmed that cultural liberty was a vital part of human development. If handled well, it could lead to greater cultural diversity and enrich people's lives. However, if it was mismanaged it could *"quickly become one of the greatest sources of instability within states and between them."* The answer was to *"respect diversity and build unity through common bonds of humanity"*.

The UNDP Report recommended that states should promote cultural liberty as a human right and as an important aspect of human development. Neither did the UNDP believe that cultural rights could be secured *"simply by guaranteeing individuals' civil and political*



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rights”.

On the contrary, the promotion of cultural rights required explicit state action:

“...states need to recognise cultural differences in their constitutions, their laws and their institutions. They also need to formulate policies to ensure that the interests of particular groups - whether minorities or historically marginalised majorities - are not ignored or overridden by the majority or by dominant groups.”

It is only within such a framework of tolerant multiculturalism that all of us who live in multicultural societies can achieve our full potential as human beings in the many different areas in which we operate.

For example, I am an individual. I belong to the De Klerk family. I belong to the Reformed Church. I am a member of a number of private organisations - including a number of golf clubs. I am an Afrikaner. I derive my language, my history, and my traditions and much of my identity from all these associations. I am also very proud to be an active citizen of the new vibrant and multicultural South Africa. Like my ancestors since 1688, I am an African - and I like to think that I am a citizen of the world.

None of these relationships is mutually exclusive. People can be all these things at the same time. Their reasonable rights in all these spheres need to be protected. Neither should they suffer discrimination because of any of these affiliations.

I believe that we South Africans are all richer because of the cultural diversity that we enjoy. I am confident that we can show that diversity does not need to be a source of tension and conflict - but can help to enrich our lives by providing differing perspectives of the world in which we live.

Unfortunately, virtually every one of the provisions relating to cultural and language rights that we negotiated into the 1996 Constitution has been ignored or diluted:

- English is increasingly the single *de facto* official language.
- The supposed official status of the remaining 10 languages is increasingly an illusion.
- Little or nothing has been done to develop our indigenous languages.
- Afrikaans, as a university language, is under enormous pressure - and there are increasing pressures on especially single medium Afrikaans schools.

Perhaps the most ominous threat to diversity comes from increasing demands that minorities should conform to the goal of pervasive and all-embracing demographic representivity. The idea is that in a perfectly non-racial society all institutions in the public, private and non-governmental sectors should reflect the ethnic composition of society at all levels - down to the first decimal place.



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In a multi-community society like South Africa demographic representivity would mean that minorities would be subject to the control of the majority in every area of their lives: in their jobs, in their schools, in their universities, in their charitable institutions and in their sports. It would be the antithesis of multiculturalism. It would constitute African hegemony - and negate the idea that all South Africans are equal, regardless of the community to which they belong.

Our communities also continue to be deeply divided by our very different perceptions and experiences of the past.

During the negotiations we reached agreement on the need for reconciliation and for actions to promote national unity. We accepted that our approach to the past should be based on:

- a need for understanding - but not for vengeance;
- a need for reparation - but not for retaliation; and
- a need for Ubuntu - but not for victimisation.

We also agreed to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to examine our deeply divided past and to promote reconciliation and national unity.

In the course of the TRC's proceedings, I made a full and sincere apology for apartheid. I apologised in my capacity as Leader of the National Party to the millions of South Africans

- who had suffered the wrenching disruption of forced removals in respect of their homes, businesses and land;
- who over the years, had suffered the shame of being arrested for pass law offences;
- who over the decades - and indeed centuries - had suffered the indignities of humiliation of racial discrimination;
- who for a long time were prevented from exercising their full democratic rights in the land of their birth;
- who were unable to achieve their full potential because of job reservation; and
- who in any way suffered as a result of discriminatory legislation and policies.

I said that this renewed apology was "offered in a spirit of true repentance in full knowledge of the tremendous harm that apartheid has done to millions of South Africans."

Nothing has changed since I made that apology. I stand by it. I believe that all white South Africans should continuously try to understand, acknowledge and process the pain and humiliation that apartheid caused black, Coloured and Indian South Africans. We need to be involved in addressing it.

At the same time, black South Africans must show much greater sensitivity for the enormous complexity of our history. They should not judge previous generations by the moral



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standards of today - either Paul Kruger or King Shaka. History is not a simple cowboy story about bad guys vs good guys.

The main motivation of my people throughout our history was simply our desire to establish and maintain our own right to national self-determination.

Our critics must also understand that even more important than apologies is the determination to put right what has been wrong. It was *inter alia* for this reason that my colleagues and I took the decisions and actions that were necessary to get rid of apartheid forever. We also agreed that our new Constitution should make provision for restitution, for a balanced system of land reform and for measures to promote equality that would not result in unfair discrimination against anyone.

Despite the considerable risks involved we gave up our virtual monopoly of power and of our historic quest to rule ourselves. Instead, we put our faith in the non-racial Constitution that we negotiated with all our fellow South Africans. In March 1992 almost 70% of white South Africans supported the course that we had adopted.

Now, 22 years after the founding of our new society we continue to be more deeply divided by our past than ever.

Many white South Africans live contentedly in their own first world bubbles oblivious of the plight of less advantaged communities. This manifests itself too often in what blacks perceive as an unconscious racial superiority - and sometimes in crass, racist and hurtful remarks and attitudes.

On the other hand, the attitude of many blacks towards white South Africans is becoming harsher and more uncompromising. Many feel that little has changed since 1994. Many believe that whites “stole” all the land that they now possess and that their relative prosperity is based not on hard work and enterprise, but on the historic exploitation of black South Africans.

Whites are increasingly blamed for the problems of inequality, unemployment and poverty that continue to afflict many South Africans. The Government openly attacks their history and their heroes - such as Jan van Riebeeck and Paul Kruger - who, ironically, led one of the greatest anti-Imperialist struggles in African history.

South Africans are once again perceiving people from other communities

- in terms of negative racial stereotypes and not as individual human beings;
- in terms of past animosities rather than in terms of the need for present and future cooperation to achieve national goals.

More seriously, prominent political parties are competing against one another in their attempts to mobilise their constituencies on the basis of hostile racial agendas.



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We simply cannot afford this kind of racial polarisation. We must remember the UNDP's warning that if relationships between communities in multicultural states are mismanaged they can *"quickly become one of the greatest sources of instability within states and between them."*

We need to return to the spirit of reconciliation, compromise and goodwill that characterised the first years of the New South Africa. We need to hear Nelson Mandela's call for reconciliation and nation building again.

We need to rediscover the vision of multiculturalism in the Constitution - in which:

- all our indigenous languages will be fully developed and enjoy real official status;
- all our languages will be treated equitably and with parity of esteem;
- the human dignity and moral equality of all our peoples will be respected - regardless of their race or language;
- all people will be treated on the basis of non-racialism and non-sexism;
- no one will be subjected to unfair discrimination on the basis of their race, gender or language;
- everyone will enjoy the right to education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions; and in which
- everyone will have the right to use the language and practise the culture of their choice.

Leaders of goodwill from all our communities must now urgently come together to call for calm:

- They should unambiguously condemn racism from whatever quarter it might come;
- They should call to account those who seek to incite violence - whoever they are;
- They should encourage South Africans to abandon negative stereotypes of people from other communities;
- They should urge all South Africans to treat one another with respect, courtesy and toleration;
- They should promote open dialogue between our communities to gain understanding of the sources of their anger; their fears and their sense of hurt;
- They should learn more about one another's cultures, languages and histories; and
- They should encourage us all to unite around the values in the Constitution and to work for a society in which those values will be translated into reality.

We must all understand that all of us are mutually dependent: none of us will prosper and feel secure if all of us do not prosper and enjoy security. We really do have a symbiotic relationship and cannot survive without one another. As Pik Botha used to say, it makes no difference whether a zebra is shot in a black stripe or a white stripe: the whole animal dies.

Because of the importance of healthy multiculturalism to the future of South Africa, the FW



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de Klerk Foundation has decided to establish a Centre for Unity in Diversity that will operate alongside the Centre for Constitutional Rights, which we established in 2006.

- The new Centre will uphold the Constitution's vision of unity in diversity; the language and cultural rights that it ensures; and everyone's right to equality - regardless of their race, gender or language.
- It will monitor any developments that might harm national unity; and that might constitute unfair racial, gender or language discrimination.
- It will actively participate in the national debate on issues related to the rights of South Africa's language, ethnic, cultural and religious communities; and
- It will - where possible - assist people to claim their language, cultural, religious and gender rights.
- It will support and promote nation building and social cohesion.

Like the Centre for Constitutional Rights, the new Centre will be assisted and guided by a Panel of Experts. We hope that the new Centre will be up and running within the next six months.

In conclusion I call on all fair minded and moderate South Africans:

- Let us say no to all forms of hate speech and destructive dialogue.
- Let us distance ourselves from all extremists.
- Let us take hands and build bridges towards a healthy multicultural nation.
- Let us build a successful, peaceful and prosperous South Africa.
- Let us revive the spirit and intent of 1994.

Let us work together to make the vision in our Constitution of human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms a tangible reality for all South Africans.

Rhoda Kadalie
The Future of Multiculturalism
Is there a future for Coloured Identity in SA?
2 February 2016

Can SA have a future without coloured people?

So many academic papers and treatises have been written about coloured identity that I am not going to revisit the usual arguments set forth when this topic is addressed. Not least because it was the label that determined my entire life under apartheid, but also because it still follows me wherever I go. 1994 did nothing to save me from this classification and today I feel quite ambivalent talking about colouredness. Despite my misgivings, it is a notion that is central to a truly multicultural society. Scholarship on coloured identity includes a broad range of perspectives, which I shall mention but not go into:

1. Colouredness as a by-product of biological miscegenation and the shame that went with it;
2. The effects of legalised racial classifications particularly on brown people versus other South Africans;
3. The construction of identity by coloured political actors themselves (Sean Jacobs);
4. The construction of coloured identity within the broader understanding of non-racialism;
5. Colouredness as a manifestation of false consciousness amongst coloureds (in the sense that they “are unable to see things, especially exploitation, oppression, and social relations, as they really are; the hypothesized inability of the human mind to develop a sophisticated awareness of how it is developed and shaped by circumstances.”)

The various analytical paradigms allude to the fluidity of the concept and the difficulties sociologists and anthropologists have in pinning down what many consider to be an “imagined community.” Regardless of the fluidity of the concept, let me try to give an account of what it means to “be coloured” today? I shall use much of my own experience to weave a tapestry of the complexity of what it means to live in the interstices of race and ethnicity in the new SA.

I want to recount three anecdotes that demonstrate my point rather forcefully:

Story No: 1

After the last national election, Pallo Jordan asked a prominent coloured leader to convene a meeting of coloured leaders to discuss why the ANC is unable to capture the coloured vote. Many of us who went had all been involved in the anti-apartheid struggle in various ways and after 1994 followed different paths. Some got involved with the ANC very closely; others remained on the periphery; some dumped me for my critical voice; and some retained their friendship with me regardless of their loyalty to the party; some felt betrayed by the ruling party.

There was a great reluctance amongst us to initiate the conversation. So I foolishly entered where angels feared to tread. I tried to construct a narrative by stating upfront the following:

- That the ANC has always failed to capture the coloured vote, except once in the WC, because it simply does not know how to connect with the coloured people; it also simply refuses to get to know the coloured people – as this meeting demonstrated so palpably;
- That their understanding of coloured people is stereotypical and punitive based on their notion of the hierarchy of oppressions. Because the coloured people enjoyed relative privilege under apartheid, they therefore deserved to be ignored and treated as “second class citizens” in the new SA;
- Coloured people have always been portrayed as co-optable through the CRC, the Tricameral Parliament, the coloured labour preference policy, as though black Africans were never co-opted through the Bantustan policy and the traditional leaders of SA. Those coloured institutions were and are always used to demonstrate how easily we allow ourselves to be lured into the white camp, whereas similar analogies are rarely articulated about black people, the homeland governments, and ways in which they were co-opted;
- That a profound misunderstanding of the coloured people has to do with the dominant ANC leadership being imprisoned on Robben Island or living in Exile; the ANC leadership mingled more easily with whites in liberation movement than with coloureds. (Madiba in Anthony Sampson); for ANC “whiteness” is easily understood as bipolar opposites, or rather, categorising all whites as oppressors makes life simple. But dealing with people whose origins are indigenous, first nation stuff, a direct threat to the hegemony of the majority (Thabo Mbeki would not participate in the human genome project);
- That the ANC negated the origins of the coloured people, its role in various resistance movements, its leadership roles in various institutions, both conservative and left-wing; and the many different ways coloureds have tried to construct their identity prior to and post-1994.

All hell broke loose, I had hardly completed my faltering attempt to start a conversation when Pallo Jordan interjected with annoyance, as only he can: “You coloureds called Mandela a kaffir when he went to Mitchell’s Plain after he came from prison.” The outburst of the ANC’s leading intellectual portrayed a subliminal anger towards the coloured people that was so deep that he was prepared to blame an entire group for the racist utterance of one.

As much as we got together as a fragmented group with variations of loyalty to the ruling party, Pallo’s outburst united us in ways we never thought possible. Ryland Fisher retaliated and said: “Did you come here to listen or are you here to impose your dominance as is typical of the ANC towards Coloured people?” Henry Jeffreys piled on, followed by Russell Botman, and others. I almost felt sorry for Pallo. There he confronted the full might of our subterranean anger, unleashed by an African nationalist who exemplified the contempt the ANC has shown coloured people for decades.

Those of us who met with Pallo came from wide spectrum of institutions and activities, and the group included Muslim, Christian, urban, rural, and diverse professions, yet we felt united in our retaliation against him. The question is - what was it that united us? Was it Ethnicity? Age? Cultural ties? Or common historical experiences? Perhaps it was not just one thing that united us, but a combination of all of those things.

I realised that coloured people are as diverse as putting all of the following people of the same colour in the same room and asking them what unites them – J Gerwel, N Alexander, F Sonn, P De Lille, W James, Peter Marais, Allan Hendrickse, Allan Boesak, Tom Swarts, Alatheia Jansen, Cheryl Carolus, Trevor Manuel, Gerald Morkel and the swathe of Khoisan leaders vying for supremacy. It is not that easy, but you get my point.

Story No 2

In 2014, I submitted a Land Claim on behalf on my family. A requirement was to write a brief narrative on how the GAA affected us as a family. I wrote a story about forced removals and their effects on us as a family – both the maternal and paternal kin. When I sent it to my siblings, they asked me to submit it to the newspaper. The editor liked the story and asked for accompanying photos. It was published in the *Cape Times*. Responses from my white friends were astounding to say the least. Many thought they knew me well, but did not really. The honesty with which they cited their ignorance about my experiences moved me but it also pointed to one big flaw in our society – that “when one is considered equal with white people by virtue of one’s class position” one is considered to have no history; or that one has escaped the vagaries of political disruptions under apartheid, when in fact they profoundly shaped one. Exposing that part of my past in the newspaper suddenly made them view me differently. And I appreciated that.

Story No: 3

After our second national elections, Ebrahim Rasool, MEC of Finance, labelled coloured people who voted for DA, coconuts. Needless to say, my pen could not resist responding to this outwardly racist primordial public insult. Given Rasool’s position in the Call of Islam and as someone who promoted Ecumenism, I could not believe what I read. I wrote a column that went viral in which I stated that the only thing that vaguely resembled a coconut was the inside of Rasool’s skull. Subsequent to this outburst, I was asked to debate the issue on radio with Rasool – he chickened out and sent the honourable Yusuf Gabru to take me on. A friend, and fellow ANC member, I could hear that it was painful for him to take me on but he had national duty to defend his leader. The debate was nevertheless civil. Unable to argue with me, Rasool went on to say in the newspapers, “Rhoda is a bourgeois elitist, who, in any case, is no longer a member of the ANC.” By labelling me he continued the negation of my place in the rainbow nation on behalf of his party. I promptly produced my membership card and revealed that I had renewed my membership but that the ANC member who collected my fees and those of others I had signed up, never issued receipts and disappeared. I also proudly declared that I was one of nine children, the daughter of a township pastor, who never earned more R3 000. That revelation shut him up once and for all. The ANC does not tolerate coloureds who are uppity, who can debate, and who can assert their independence and rights to equality.

In that debate I felt it was important to assert the following – that:

- All my maternal and paternal kin were evicted from D6;
- My family was evicted from Mowbray
- That I went to five different schools because of apartheid
- That I charred for a white woman for pocket money
- That white friends paid for my education
- That I refused to go to UCT because of their subliminal racist admission policy for physiotherapists

- That I went to UWC under protest
- That I had to leave the country to be married
- That my husband and I were hounded by the police because we dared to violate the mixed marriages, immorality act and the group areas act.

This broad experience of discrimination and poverty put me squarely in the political arena with ANC blacks, who often claim that only their experience under apartheid was authentic.

As a coloured leader of an African Nationalist party, Rasool was guilty of a number of things that recur prior to every election when the ANC rabidly campaigns along racial lines.

- Coloured people are viewed only as voting fodder – and the more unpredictable the coloured vote the more frantic the ANC becomes – voted with NP, then with ANC, then DA. The ANC must realise that they make a mistake when they stereotype the coloured vote; the idea of THE COLOURED VOTE is in need of serious deconstruction!
- They perpetuate the notion of hierarchy of oppressions – I was more oppressed than you therefore you deserve to be excluded from the economic pie;
- In the greater scheme of things, coloured people are viewed as good enough only for token appointments, never as equals;
- There is a tacit understanding that Coloureds must not even entertain the idea of being president; in other words coloureds are peripheral to the ascendancy of leadership within the ANC; in fact when Minister Nene was appointed Minister of Finance, the media repeatedly claimed him as first black finance minister, in effect negating Manuel's ethnicity;
- Within the ANC, it is expected of coloureds to know their place.

What all these anecdotes reveal is that “colouredness” cannot be pigeonholed. People of mixed race, mixed origins, are difficult to define as a group, that is why the concept of coloured is elusive and often defined in the negative – non-white. Not black Not white. Almost a negation. The political football between two poles – black and white. And this is what coloured people rebel against.

Hence the resurgence of indigenous people's movements with claims to land, origins, and recognition by the UN in terms of Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; hence the demand for Coloured Economic Empowerment; hence the Constitutional Court case (Solidarity and coloured correctional services officers) against the tyranny of majoritarianism posed by laws around AA and the supremacy of national versus regional demographics.

So what we should rather be concerned about is, what is the future of identity politics in South Africa? No one really knows what that future holds, but if we look at identity through the prism of Coloured, we get a sense of the frailty of racial identities in a country where freedom of association, as enshrined in the Bill of Rights has become sacrosanct. People can now marry or live with whomever they choose, they can adopt across the colour line, they can choose to be who they want to be, paving the way for a thoroughly mixed society where race will eventually become redundant.

The ANC knows this and the more it fails to deliver, the more it will invoke race and mobilize around race and ethnicity to lay the blame for its failure elsewhere. The ignominious race debate and witch-hunts witnessed over the past weeks resurrect their heads prior to every election. And the media plays along instead of engaging in responsible journalism.

Apartheid might be dead BUT we are still trapped by racial hierarchies reinforced by new laws of racial preference – and the imperatives of racial redress through AA and BEE. That is why the case of the correctional services officers before the Constitutional Court is so important.

The real challenge is to live outside of a racial paradigm. The ruling party believes it needs to invoke race to improve society and provide opportunities for those excluded historically, yet reliance on racial categories is the very thing that has the power to destroy us. Racial ambiguity has always been a pesky problem for both the colonial and apartheid orders, and how best to deal with it for the ANC, is to reify and institutionalize it.

I am afraid, today coloured people have embraced this identity with some pride, if anecdotal accounts are taken into consideration. Coloured people seem to view the idea of non-racialism as a threat to their identity. UDF – nonracialism (all oppressed identified as black against common enemy only to realize that once the enemy had been defeated, the majority denied them “blackness”).

Coloured correctional services officers, POPCRU, my colleagues, family, coloured members within the ANC members, DA members, faith-based groups, and so on. It amazes me and reveals that when society refuses to integrate and assimilate parts of society as equal, they will construct an identity they feel comfortable with.

In conclusion the question that remains is: is there a future for coloured identity in SA? Of course there is. In fact the future is coloured. A multi-racial and multi-cultural society like SA, can only thrive if we take our Constitution seriously. Not only does it guarantee equality on the basis of race, ethnicity, culture, gender, and other characteristics, but it is also a protection of the minority against the tyranny of the majority.

Wikipedia’s definition gives this perspective:

Unity in diversity is a concept of “unity without uniformity and diversity without fragmentation” that shifts focus from unity based on a mere tolerance of physical, cultural, linguistic, social, religious, political, ideological and/or psychological differences towards a more complex unity based on an understanding that difference enriches human interactions.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen

Allow me to begin with expressing how much pleasure it gives us to work with the FW de Klerk Foundation as a partner.

In the past few years the partnership between the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the FW de Klerk Foundation as well as with its Centre for Constitutional Rights (CFCR) has been most productive and fruitful. We have jointly hosted many conferences, workshops and seminars on important constitutional topics that are pertinent for a sustainable democratic future of South Africa.

As a German political Foundation, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung aims to promote democracy, good governance and the rule of law. In order to achieve these objectives we need good partners, we highly value the expertise of local partners. That is why here in SA we implement most of our activities in cooperation with state institutions, civil society organizations, think tanks or universities. Without a doubt we consider ourselves lucky to have the FW de Klerk Foundation as a partner and source of expertise.

The theme of today's conference, which deals with the future of a multicultural society, is not only relevant for the South African context but also for the situation we are currently facing in my home country Germany.

The influx of migrants has led to an intense debate on how to manage cultural, religious and ethnical diversity. People in Germany are anxious what the future will look like. Politicians and the society as a whole are confronted with some fundamental questions:

- How can we show solidarity and fulfill our humanitarian obligations without losing our cultural identity and overstressing our ability and willingness to help?
- How do we deal with the increase in extreme political positions that threaten our democratic values?
- How do we deal with people's fears, concerns and negative sentiments caused by the current refugee crisis?
- How can we promote the integration of foreigners and how do we safeguard our social cohesion in times of such crisis?

Michael Thielen, General Secretary of the Konrad Adenauer-Stiftung, has urged in a recent comment to discuss the current challenges more rationally and less emotionally and not to paint a picture of doom and gloom for the future of Germany.

The Foundation is convinced that it is important to have a solid understanding of the multiple challenges that Germany is currently facing. These challenges must not lead to pessimism and

passivity or resignation. Instead we must use them as political drivers to actively shape the future.

Reading this comments and sitting in Joburg reminded me of the situation in SA

South Africa too seems to be under immense pressure these days. As a foreigner and guest of this country I do not feel authorized to comment on the political situation of this country, especially when there are so many experts and political actors in the room.

However, when visiting Exclusive Books, I notice book titles, such as “How long will South Africa survive?”, “What if there were no Whites in South Africa?”, “We started our descend” or “Dominance and Decline”. These are certainly no uplifting titles. The reading of newspapers or tweets does not help to improve the mood either.

To make a long story short, I think Germany and South Africa have quite a few challenges and problems in common, such as:

- The increase of extremist political views and positions;
- A questioning of national identity and social cohesion;
- A departure from a rational and fact-based debate towards an emotionally loaded and heated debate
- A new attraction of populist groups and parties that are not able or do not want to contribute to the solutions of the problems in any meaningful way.

I think what Germany shares with South Africa is the necessity to call upon political leaders, leaders from business, civil society and religious groups to abstain from emotionally loaded debates and practice a culture of informed and fact based debate.

We need to call on them to address the concerns and fears of the people and not to ignore them.

We need to call on them to be part of the solution and tackle the current challenges constructively.

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation hopes that platforms such as this conference today will promote constructive dialogue and will help to develop a common vision for the future of South Africa. I am therefore looking very much forward to the upcoming presentations and discussions.

I thank you!



The Future of Multiculturalism in South Africa

Mathews Phosa

2 February 2016

The Cape Town Civic Centre

Observe all protocols.

Firstly, let me start by thanking former President de Klerk for the role he played in bringing about real change to our country. When all the noise has died down future historians will judge positively the role you played in the liberations of all South Africans, black and white. Real leaders make difficult and selfless choices and become statesman, and you did just that. You and President Mandela crossed the dangerous Rubicon when you were called upon to do so.

The other day I read an article that was published in *The Star*, Tuesday 10 May 1994, and I quote:

“On the eve of changing the reins of power, South Africa's outgoing and incoming presidents last night called for reconciliation and expressed confidence in the country's future.

Outgoing president FW de Klerk told a civic banquet in Pretoria that he would play his part so that reconciliation became reality.

President Nelson Mandela said it was necessary to join hands to promote the spirit of reconciliation to build the country.”

Today, almost twenty-two years on from this event, we celebrate the freedom of all South Africans. Freedom for which we can all be thankful to not only Mandela and De Klerk, but to many ordinary South Africans that made the ultimate sacrifice for us to be free today. We honour their legacy and their commitment to celebrate a free South Africa.

On 2 February 1990, all South Africans collectively held their breath as they waited for the then President of South Africa, FW de Klerk to speak. What he said that day changed history and cemented his efforts to bring lasting peace to our country and in his efforts since then, to highlight the impact of racial oppression to the world.

However, many South Africans tell me today that irrespective of arguably the most balanced and liberal Constitution that any nation can hope for, they don't feel free or safe in their homes, in the streets, on the busses and trains, schools, universities and at the tourist attractions in our beautiful country.

We need to change this!

However, in any endeavour you have to understand the past to understand and shape the future, as nothing ever happens out of context.

During the Presidential Address to the ANC (Transvaal) Congress held on 21 September 1953, our revered former President Nelson R Mandela started off by saying:

“Since 1912 and year after year thereafter, in their homes and local areas, in provincial and national gatherings, on trains and buses, in the factories and on the farms, in cities, villages, shanty towns, schools and prisons, the African people have discussed the shameful misdeeds of those who rule the country. Year after year, they have raised their voices in condemnation of the grinding poverty of the people, the low wages, the acute shortage of land, the inhuman exploitation and the whole policy of white domination. But instead of more freedom repression began to grow in volume and intensity and it seemed that all their sacrifices would end up in smoke and dust.” It is from these circumstances that the celebrated Freedom Charter of 1955 and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 was born.

As a result of the direction that the De Klerk government took on 2 February 1990, all South Africans went to the polls on the 26th to the 28th of April 1994. This first fair and free election in which every South African participated in their own way, was born from the CODESA negotiations that resulted in an interim Constitution for the country. South Africans from all walks of life cast their ballots and elected their leaders, with hopes of economic prosperity and growth, education and empowerment through their own efforts and labour.

They also went with the hopes of laying the foundation of a united nation with many cultures and religions, where everybody will be free to choose, not only where they want to live – in the communities of their choice – but also free to receive quality education for their children and quality health care for the sick and the elderly.

They were also free to choose their language of tuition and practicing the culture of their ancestors.

We all held high hopes for the democracy that was born on the 27th April 1994. With white domination eventually crushed, the nation was jubilant and we all embarked on a journey

where our freedoms and our rights were soon entrenched in the final Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. We are a diverse nation with diverse cultures and respect for each other – at least on paper.

It's not easy to forget those triumphant early days of a free South Africa. We all thought everything was well in the rainbow nation. The world praised us for what was achieved and our economy grew at a pace hardly seen before, supported by uncontrolled international economic expansion and prudent fiscal and monetary management and discipline at the Reserve Bank and the Treasury.

A policy of prudence that was to stand us good amongst our peers and developed nations in 2008 when the global economy rapidly contracted to produce the worst economic crisis the world has seen since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The South African economy, in contrast to other countries, slowed, but never faltered. The institutional and political leadership of the time steered our country well through times to leave our economy fit and ready to grow again strongly in an era now redefined by the global economic events of the 2008 economic crisis. Times were tough but still good as foreign investment readily found its way to our shores and we could borrow freely internationally as a country.

We have had many success stories to celebrate and should rightly feel proud of our achievements as a nation. South Africa is seen to be a leader in its fiscal and financial management policies and legislation. Our monetary prudence saw our economy blossoming and our people moving swiftly towards a multicultural society in the early days of our democracy. Our leadership was principled and confidently represented our country and our continent on the world stages where we provided much needed guidance on complex issues.

Our economy was the envy of many of our peers, which led to unprecedented movement of people crossing our borders illegally to share in our growth. Our government set targets for meeting our local objectives as set out in the Bill of Rights, participated in international conferences and acted as a valuable contributor to the global debate on climate control and other pressing issues.

Our foreign affairs policy of non-alignment made us a strong ally and positioned South Africa as a trusted member of the regional and international communities.

And then everything started to change.

We have seen the once established and principled leadership eroded at national and provincial level.

Negative defining moments for South Africa were the shootings at Marikana, Nkandla, the case of Hasan Ahmad Al Bashir, economic disruptive load shedding implemented by Eskom, the expansion of the executive to more than 70 members, the removal of former Finance Minister Nhlanelo Nene, all following in close succession.

The bloated presidential, ministerial and deputy ministerial executive structure is costing you and I, as taxpayers, hundreds of millions of Rands.

All of this at a time where the unemployment rate is more than thirty percent of potential economic active citizens of the country. What is often obscured in this statistic is the severe unemployment amongst the youth, even those with university degrees.

A fair question seems: Do we really get value for this amount of money spent?

Bloated structures like this do not happen without cause. We do not want uncritical citizens who see every criticism as from the enemy or racists. By accommodating friends, acquaintances and other hangers-on to use the party as a ladder to positions and wealth, our beloved ANC has weakened itself, the Alliance, the economy and the country.

By acknowledging and accommodating individuals from other power groups, endowing them with a say in party policy matters we have created a climate of policy uncertainty at best and policy vacuums at its worst as individuals take their own positions on matters of national importance. External voices fuelled with hungry self-interest have seemingly found a welcome seat at the main table.

Black Economic Empowerment – the cry to economic empowerment of the masses – has failed. Whilst a few have been empowered, I do not only see endemic unemployment, but also rampant poverty and hopelessness wherever I visit.

There are those who are punting the development of “Black Industrialists” with billions of Rands set aside to implement such a skewed and misinformed policy that may have an impact on employment in the distant future. As much as entrepreneurs are not created at will by declaring them, handing out key infrastructure and other tenders to cronies and relatives won’t do it either.

Only the market and strong willed and principled business leaders, supported by highly skilled and educated specialists irrespective of colour or culture, can create entrepreneurs that can develop into industrialists. There are many successful black entrepreneurs that are also seasoned industrialists to be found on our continent and even in our country. They all did it by working hard and risking relationships and other assets to achieve success.

Many of us are spurred on by a belief that we can create something where the market has failed. This is an expensive misguided policy that is doomed for an expensive failure. It has no place in a mixed economy where capital intensive efficiencies are required to compete with other nations.

A broader based partnership between government and the private sector is essential to drive human and economic development. With government and the private sector working together as partners, we can move our resource based economy to a globally focused, knowledge based economy in the next decade.

We must realise that the world has changed and that global economic conditions will allocate industrial and other economic activity to geographies, where conditions are most suitable and labour most efficient.

Having said that, I read about some members of the youth eloquently quoting the writings of Karl Marx in attempting to detract from the fundamentals behind the poor economic growth in our country. I beg them to look around them and read articles and writings about the failings of socialism in countries like Poland, the former USSR, Cuba, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and other nations where the rate of unemployment and poverty became equal to or far greater than in South Africa. The people will not eat slogans.

And let me add, THE ANC IS NOT A SOCIALIST ORGANISATION, NEVER HAS BEEN AND NEVER SHOULD BE. We have a socialist party, the SACP, don't attempt creating another one!

Good leaders read widely, debate openly with a view to learn while developing their opinions and honing their skills. Informed leaders never blindly follow any policy or person into the abyss.

There is a proverbial queue of State Owned Entities at the door of the National Treasury looking for bailout money. If it is not PetroSA with a multi-billion Rand hole to fill, it is SAA, which is fast approaching bankruptcy. Not to mention the SABC and Eskom. We must however thank Eskom, under the leadership of Brian Molefe, for having stopped the 'painfull' load shedding.

The State Owned Entities are taxing the country with an estimated fifty billion Rand short-term requirement, on top of crippling increases in tariffs and other service charges in attempting to get their finances onto an even keel is again proof of the disastrous policies and mismanagement of assets perpetrated on an on-going basis.

Sadly, we operate in silos. All the above and many more State Owned Enterprises (SOE's) operate and report to separate Ministers, overseen by a multitude of qualified and unqualified board members.

Is it not time for us to seriously look at consolidating all legislation relating to the management of all SOE's and placing it in a single ministerial portfolio?

If multinational companies can operate across many industries and markets, under a single Board of Directors and a single CEO, why do we need a multitude of SOE's, each with its own Board, its own CEO, CFO and other duplicated positions?

I am sure we can come to an arrangement where deployment is replaced by professionalism in managing all state entities for the benefit of society. By taking this bold step, we will be releasing a multitude of skills and money back into the economy.

A strong governing party and governments' operate from inner strength. Such inner strength will allow it to listen to the nation, admit its mistakes, and correct them. We, as the ANC govern, but we run a considerable risk if we forget that we govern on behalf of those who elected us through the ballot box.

Is nuclear power generation an affordable or desirable alternative for meeting our electricity generation needs when the world is overwhelmingly declaring it archaic and unaffordable both from an economic and ecological perspective? Before we take a decision on this matter, one way or the other, we must ensure proper feasibility studies are done, environmental issues are clearly highlighted, internal skills in South Africa are developed and we need to agree whether or not it is affordable.

Whilst Eskom and the Municipalities succeeded in bringing electricity to almost every household since 1994, the on-going affordability of such electricity is rapidly putting it beyond the reach of many. It's no longer only the poor and the elderly that is suffering from this, but high energy prices and inadequate and irregular supply made South Africa an unfavourable investment destination. Should Metropolitan governments not play a bigger managerial role in energy management?

Certainly, the globally lauded successes of our dynamic renewable energy programme should be the vehicle that we expand and accelerate rather than nuclear energy? We have created an unparalleled, smoothly managed, cost effective programme of public and private sector holding hands. Why, if we have succeeded, do we want to walk away from a working, successful model?

Government is currently presiding over a struggling economy and some will argue, a fast approaching, failing State.

We were all astonished when former Minister of Finance, Nhlanhla Nene, was removed from his post in December last year. Our economy and our country's reputation have suffered incalculably.

Fearless questions need to be raised about our leadership when such actions lead to the global impoverishment of our political and economic currency.

We need the facts about these decisions and we need them soonest. Unsubstantiated political spin will not keep us from approaching the economic cliff. With the indeterminate impact of the drought and other global economic events, we need to be aware, prepared and ready for what may transpire.

We must be careful that we never argue with those who believe their own distortions.

The actions of our leadership on 9 December last year empowered investment fund managers to move South Africa off the list of desirable investment destinations. Capital flight as a result of a lack of investor confidence in our economic policies and questionable political stability has seen billions of dollars leaving our markets in the past month. In addition, it was the stimulus to a substantial destruction of wealth.

It is ludicrous to imply or state that the value of the Rand and the state of our economy is not determined by what a leader says or does. History is clear in its reaction to leader's utterances. Many a war was started and many a Dollar was lost on the back of what leaders said and how it was perceived. Look at the reaction of the markets if you doubt what I am saying. To change perceptions about our country and our economy, government must provide leadership to ensure private capital is made to feel welcome.

It is easy to treat history with a revisionist brush, ignoring the lessons imbedded in it. A former President recently wrote in an essay that history always finds a way, over time, to birth the truth.

Through this revisionist approach to history we don't allow ourselves to learn from its triumphs and failures. We expose ourselves to having to revisit past failures through our own failures. The only way to a balanced future is to correctly record our history, and then, to teach our children the honest truth about its glory and its failings. A revisionist approach to history never succeeds.

Recent demonstrations are by far not over in the higher education sector that is in no shape to take fee write-downs and debt forgiveness. To ensure long term education and skills delivery for economic growth these consistently underfunded institutions needs to be strengthened.

The calls for free services, be it university fees or electricity to name a few, will continue and reach a crescendo as government has made widely popular but economically unsustainable decisions in the past to please the masses.

Next time you hear that government has made a decision to fund something, remember government is one hundred percent (100%) taxpayer funded. Whatever we get that is labelled "free" is funded by the taxpayer. What right does anyone who pays no taxes have to demand that someone else should pay more?

Remember, I am one of the people who pays for all the "free" services that government gives you. I want to see value for money, economic growth, a bigger tax base, sustainability; nothing else.

As for the current Higher Education Amendment Bill: Taxpayers, alumni, lecturers, students and the ordinary South African, demands that our Tertiary Institutions are not treated and or reduced to glorified high schools.

Whilst the State has an obligation to subsidize tertiary education, it must refrain from the need to reduce University Councils to Parent Teacher Associations. Even as our universities occupy eight places in the top ten in Africa – South Africa has twenty tertiary institutions

ranking in the first 2 000 of the estimated 16 000 Universities worldwide – meddling in their affairs will certainly influence their international ranking. We hope our government will not be tempted to power grab as it will not only harm our Universities but our students will suffer too, as their ability to compete internationally will be diminished.

The much debated National Development Plan is not a plan for Government, but a plan for society, therefore for all of us, developed by all of us!

Now, my question to the leadership of our country is:

- Why don't we implement the NDP?
- Why do we pay lip-service to the plan?
- Why don't we make the NDP central to all our actions, activities and budgets?
- Why don't we evaluate the implementation of the NDP in the performance agreements of our Ministers and senior officials – and then, publish these agreements?

Decisive leadership – not populist, survivalist and corrupt – must take all the required steps to make the NDP the only national strategy for development for South Africa.

Reaction to incidents of racism is not always fully understood. Criminalising racism will only fill our courtrooms and ultimately our correctional services facilities. It will also lead to further racism and will entrench the differences in society even further. It takes nothing to join the crowd that supports racism and sexism – It takes everything to stand alone and work towards creating an understanding that will change people's minds and perceptions.

Our leadership must address racism through their actions. When a political leader starts supporting racism in commenting on social media we are in dangerous territory. Our leadership must *lead* in this matter. They must be strong in their condemnation but even stronger in their leadership that will create a balanced framework to address it.

For the record, I need to say that Khumalo does not represent me and the millions of black peace loving South Africans nor does Sparrow represent former President de Klerk and the millions of white peace loving South African.

No living people, black or white, are responsible for what other black and white people did generations ago. It is true that your past does not determine who you are. However, your past prepares you for who you are to become.

We must accept responsibility for failing to provide leadership and implement programmes that actively promotes multiculturalism in society, as called for in the Constitution. I have not seen programmes aimed at bringing the different South African cultures together to ensure understanding and nation building. Just look at how divisively we celebrate our national days and you will understand what I am saying.

It's time that we realise that we are not black, white, yellow or brown: We are South Africans with diverse cultures. We have the same needs, desires and wishes for ourselves and our children. We are one nation.

Let us develop our sports men and woman, let's empower our teams to win, then support them with pride!

Whilst investor confidence can be severely scarred by removing an accomplished Finance Minister, the reappointment of another respected individual, without making other confidence restoring changes, cannot, in the short or medium term, restore our position in the international financial community overnight.

Money always flows to where gains can be made. It measures risk and determines a price that leaves room for a reward – profit. When the risks change and become unpalatable, money will leave, as is the unfortunate case in our economy now.

To bring investor confidence back, government will have to implement sound fiscal and monetary policies, develop or restore investor friendly development policies and legislation and align education and skills development to what the investment world needs.

In this regard, I applaud the Governor and the policy committee of the South African Reserve Bank for taking a bold position on the repo rate. It has already had a short term positive impact in the markets.

Yet, a lack of policy cohesion and political leadership will lead to investors looking to more favourable destinations for their projects and money. This in turn devalues our currency and our ability to borrow in the capital markets at reasonable cost.

Investor friendly policies must be aligned with the objectives of the NDP and other legislation, legislation preventing development, must be reviewed and realigned for growth.

The leadership must not be scared and hesitant to engage other structures in society – labour, business, education – to inform policy reviews and legislative change that will address job creation, economic participation and poverty.

Lasting socio-economic change will remain a myth if a prudent transformation approach is not followed. We can only bring sound political transformation – I refer to professional political collaboration with society as the benefactor – and socio-economic development benefits to our country if we are clear about our objectives.

Our leaders must be clear about what we need to succeed as a nation. As citizens, we want:

- A sound education system that produces results in line with the needs of society and the economy;
- All South Africans to have the ability to participate equally in the economy without exclusion;
- All of the resources in our country to be aligned with growth, job creation, poverty reduction, food security and economic participation; and
- Multiculturalism to be celebrated as a strength – if not, society will spiral into distrust, dishonesty, entitlement, blatant pessimism and conflict.

Our leaders must remember that it is not government's role to create growth, it is the domain of the private sector. Government's role is to create the environment for the private sector to thrive and for them to create sustainable jobs in support of sustainable communities. It is a symbiosis that must be mutually beneficial for all economic participants to meet their objectives.

Business is ready to engage meaningfully with government to address job creation and growth. Government must clarify its policies and level the playing field. The current practice of continuously changing the rules of the game while its being played is counterproductive. We want a clear game plan, firm policies and government's commitment to the plan then we can all play for the benefit of the Nation.

To move forward, we must train the next generation of skilled workers collectively, we must make it attractive for those South Africans that can help us develop skills and build the country that are being lost to emigration (those that are leaving are not only white or middle class). The private sector must be supported and incentivised for creating further opportunities for learning and skills development other than through the use of expensive tertiary resources such as universities.

South Africa invested in all its people through taxpayer funded education, skills development programmes and tertiary education programmes. To be successful beyond our borders, no South African with skills can be ignored. Everybody must have an equal chance to be appointed to a job. Historically job reservation was practiced with disastrous economic consequences. Why are we repeating the mistakes of the past? Can the outcomes not be seen?

During the Mandela days nation building was ultimately strengthened through the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission – the TRC. The Arch spoke, he listened, he guided, we cringed and those that were wronged offered forgiveness to remorseful perpetrators. The lessons of the exercise have been documented and promptly banished to the bookshelves. It is time for us to reflect on the history and the actions that lead to the TRC, the objectives of the TRC and the healing we found through the process. We owe a big debt to Archbishop Tutu and his team!

Whilst it was a difficult process, South Africa grew as a nation and we must all now work as one to build a future that is worthy of the sacrifices of the past. The youth must pause and understand where we all came from before they make uninformed utterances about our past and current leaders and their decisions.

It is time for South Africans to make this nation great again. It is time for us to hold hands in the street again as we did in the lead-up to the 1994 election. I remember those days of bridge-building, outreach and joint ownership of our future fondly.

The question now is, what do we do not to totally lose that momentum.

I call on Treasury to present a balanced budget that is a true reflection of the state of the economy of our country. Making empty promises now and reversing them in the Medium

Term Budget Policy Statement after the Local Government elections will only speed up the classification of our sovereign bonds as junk, by international rating agencies.

Be honest to the nation, especially about the economy and the likelihood of hardship. Prepare the nation to respond to the hardship by setting an example of discipline and frugality.

Attacks on former Presidents Nelson Mandela, Kgalema Motlanthe, Thabo Mbeki and FW de Klerk for opinions expressed in public are uncalled for. Rather than engaging them, utilising their experience and insights, in thought provoking debate, those with platforms engage in personal attacks without substance in order to appease their followers. What has happened to debate, discussion, opinion forming and mutual respect? Let us agree to disagree without being disagreeable. I do not need to personalize or racialize debates if I disagree from you.

The short of this is that as a diverse nation we will always have diverse opinions – lets embrace them, debate them and build a new understanding regarding our own past and future without ignoring the lessons history can teach us.

In a multi-cultural society there will always be difference of opinion. That in itself is not destructive if our objective is to engage and to educate.

Attacking diversity will only enhance the current levels of division amongst people. The current climate of cultural and political intolerance between population groups and power groups will weaken our nation further, as is already visible in our poor performances on the sport fields, in the board rooms and in Parliament. We must treat our differences with dignity and allow debate. There is dignity in our differences.

The news is not about news anymore. It is about individuals destroying others and shoving a dictatorial agenda down the collective throats of decent South Africans.

We need the good news. We need to see and hear that we are a United Nation, where all actions and activities are aimed at making us a great nation, not only in Africa but also in the world. I want to again stand here telling you about the nation we started building in 1994 and in the decade thereafter. We don't deserve the divided nation we have become. We are so much better than that.

As for those advocating socialism and equalised poverty, we should be grateful for wealthy people – they maintain and create jobs when they spend their money and build their businesses. They care about growth and development. They take the risks to develop their businesses by investing in our economy, our people and our children through the taxes that they pay.

At present, the enemy of the poor and economic growth is not the rich, nor the international investors. It is *our* leadership, *our* government and *our* teachers that pitch up drunk at schools – if they even bother to come – and ultimately, all of *us* that is paralysed by indecision and career driven correctness.

Ladies and Gentlemen, above all, I want a leadership with ethics and honour and a society where all cultures and languages are respected and every community has the freedom to practice their cultures without fear for retribution.

I say all of the above as a loyal member of the ANC but also as a person who believes that good men and women cannot be silent when the wrongs and wrongdoing reach such substance that it becomes criminal to be silent.

A famous Afrikaans poet and writer, NP van Wyk Louw, wrote beautifully on the topic of what he termed “lojale verset” (loyal resistance). I am putting my cards on the table today as I deeply believe that one of loyalty’s most important elements is speaking the truth to power; whatever the personal or professional consequences. As leaders, our collective silence has simply become too costly.

I thank you.