

THE FOOTNOTES FOR:

Fit to Govern:
The Native Intelligence of Thabo Mbeki

By Ronald Suresh Roberts

Introduction to Footnotes

Italicized key words from the main text introduce each reference or citation. Where an item is sufficiently identifiable as referenced in the main text, it is not necessarily repeated here.

In addition to referencing, many of these footnotes enlarge upon points made more summarily in the text. Because the main text is uncluttered by footnote numbers, footnote aficionados cannot always immediately tell, while reading the main text, whether or not I have developed particular points here. You need to scroll down these notes to the relevant page, to see whether and how certain points are taken further. For user-friendliness, each note below is directly keyed to the page to which it refers. And if you convert the pdf to text format after downloading the notes, you can search them using Word.

For readers uninterested in either referencing or elaboration, the main published text constitutes a stand-alone read. Nothing in these notes is indispensable in order to follow the basic argument of the stand-alone book.

In any ambiguity between the main text and these footnotes (e.g. the date 1487 at page 245 of the main text was wrongly “corrected” by a proofreader to read 1847), the footnotes are authoritative. Such moments are, however, mercifully rare.

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EPIGRAPH

- 6 *The high-sounding principles . . .*: Nelson Mandela, *Liberation*, June 1953, reprinted as “The Shifting Sands of Illusion”, in *No Easy Walk to Freedom* (London: Penguin, 2002), p35.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- 8 *contractually protected*: Thus paragraph 4.1 of my funding agreement with ABSA provides that “The Author must exercise due, proper and untrammelled professional and aesthetic judgment in all matters concerning the Book in a manner intended to maximize the independence and broad intellectual credibility of the Book.”

PREFACE: AN OCCASIONAL DISCOURSE ON AN ‘ENIGMA’

- 10 *commonly traced back to . . . Carlyle*: In *On Heroes: Hero Worship and the Heroic in History* (1841) Carlyle wrote: “Burke said there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important than they all. It is not a figure of speech, or a witty saying; it is a literal fact, . . . Printing, which comes necessarily out of Writing, I say often, is equivalent to Democracy: invent Writing, Democracy is inevitable. . . . Whoever can speak, speaking now to the whole nation, becomes a power, a branch of government, with inalienable weight in law-making, in all acts of authority. It matters not what rank he has, what revenues or garnitures: the requisite thing is that he have a tongue which others will listen to; this and nothing more is requisite.” Membership of Carlyle’s “democracy” was, as I make clear in the main text, extremely circumscribed. The attribution to Burke rests on Carlyle’s un-sourced say-so, hence people tend to rest with the attribution to Carlyle.
- 10 Carlyle “*bitterly opposed democracy . . .*” Eric Williams, *British Historians and the West Indies* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1966), p59.
- 10 *ANC parliamentarian*: Kader Asmal, *Business Day*, 8 February 2007.
- 10 *press can threaten press freedom*: Tawana Kupe, “Under Attack”, *The Media Online*, 1 July 2005: “Barely a month after World Press Freedom Day on 3 May it appears that multiple threats to free expression have emerged in South Africa. These threats are both internal and external to the media houses involved. They remind one of the crises that engulfed the media in 2003, when journalists were caught out plagiarising, revealing the contents of off-the-record briefings, and sullyng themselves through conflicts of interest.” Kupe was moved to this comment by the conduct of the *Sunday Times* newspaper, which described the commentator Xolela Mangcu as a liar, then refused him a right of reply, then appealed against the ombudsman’s instruction that Mangcu should be given a right of reply, then lost the appeal and grudgingly published the reply (under the invidious headline, “Why I am not a liar”), then—for good measure—wrote an editorial column denouncing the ombudsman as a threat to press freedom because he had found in Mangcu’s favour. Such conduct was, according to Kupe, evidence of an “internal” threat to press freedom—a threat posed to press freedom by the misbehaviour of the press itself.

- 10 *Venezuelan media and coup against Chavez*: Richard Gott, “Venezuela’s Murdoch”, *New Left Review* May/June, 2006, p.149. Gott has in mind Gustavo Cisneros, the repressive media mogul. “No slouch at self-promotion, Cisneros can now boast a glowing biography by Pablo Bachelet, replete with an introductory panegyric from the liberal Mexican novelist, Carlos Fuentes.” Fuentes delivered the 2006 Nadine Gordimer Lecture in Johannesburg within weeks of the appearance of the Cisneros hagiography. Contrast, Colin Burgon “We should back Chavez”, *Mail & Guardian*, 1 June, 2007: “In the United Kingdom, if a TV channel aided an attempted coup against the government that resulted in civil unrest and even death, would anyone be supporting the renewal of its licence? . . . As the coup failed and Venezuelans questioned Chavez’s ‘resignation’, [the station] prohibited correspondents from airing these developments.” The problems of South African media are more subtle and the remedies are certainly not Chavez-style licensing closure. President Mbeki’s most determined detractors acknowledge his commitment to free speech, however flawed the practice of it: “Freedom of speech has grown under Mbeki (partly because he makes so many groups of people angry), and the more controversies we endure the more democracy we seem to create. Our practice should be not to shut up but to shout. And then be shouted at.” *Business Day*, Editorial, 7 February, 2007.
- 10 *liberals keen to blacklist*: Consider the evidence of the *Mail & Guardian* editor, Ferial Haffajee, writing as chairperson of the South African National Editor’s Forum (SANEF) in 24 March 2007: “I am flabbergasted by the numbers of freedom of speech disciples who believe that Ronald Suresh Roberts, author and articulate pain in the butt, should not be allowed in print. Numerous liberals of varied hue have told me, with growing irritation, that I’m selling out the side by letting him onto our pages . . . It’s an odd quirk coming from people at the forefront of the ranks of advocates of free expression. Freedom of expression’s fine, they seem to say, as long as we can determine who gets it and who doesn’t. Ferial Haffajee, “Press Freedom: Some More Equal than Others?” *The Media Online*, 24 March, 2007.
- 11 “*The Press is No Innocent Messenger*”: Mputhumni Ntabeni, *Mail & Guardian*, 4 May 2007.
- 11 *ANC Gauteng Membership Survey*: reported by David Makhura, *New Agenda*, First Quarter, 2007, p.9, citing the findings of the ANC’s Strategy and Tactics Research Group.

CHAPTER ONE: ‘A KIND OF FAREWELL TO MONSTERS’

- 12 “. . . to whom we owe the gift of liberty”: TM, “Address at the Ceremony to Hand Over the Garden of Remembrance, Freedom Park,” 8 March 2004.
- 12 *They ‘set an example’ . . .*: TM, Heritage Day Address, 24 September, 2006.

- 14 *like a wet newspaper*: Lin Sampson, “Charlize’s Secret”, first published in *Cosmopolitan*, May, 1999. Abbreviated reprint in Lin Sampson, *Now You’ve Gone and Killed Me: True Stories of Crime, Passion and Ballroom Dancing* (Cape Town: Oshun Books, 2005), 71.
- 15 *Susan Sontag’s trademark honorific*: “Only the serious can offer us that rare, warm, bright-hearted felicity” writes Elizabeth Hardwick in summing up Sontag’s sensibility.” Elizabeth Hardwick, *Introduction, A Susan Sontag Reader* (London: Penguin, 1983), xv.
- 15 “*creating slaves and monsters*”: Jean-Paul Sartre, Preface to Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth*, cited by Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 237.
- 15 *Country of my Skull*: The Samuel L. Jackson film of Krog’s book was initially released as *In My Country*. But for its international release (to which Theron referred) it was renamed to match the title of Krog’s book, *Country of My Skull*. See <http://us.imdb.com/title/tt0349260/>.
- 16 *Flamingo scenario*: For a competent account of the policy and technocratic thinking that backed this metaphor and made it real, see Alan Hirsch, *Season of Hope: Economic Reform Under Mandela and Mbeki* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2005).
- 16 *a polarization that Mandela himself rejects*: TM, 4th Annual Nelson Mandela Lecture, 29 July, 2006, and Mandela’s description of Mbeki, on that day, as the best President South Africa has ever had.
- 17 “*Dying generations*”: WB Yeats, “Sailing to Byzantium”: “That is no country for old men. The young/ In one another’s arms, birds in the trees/ —Those dying generations—at their song...”. WB Yeats: *Poems Selected by Seamus Heaney* (London: Faber and Faber, 2004), p66.
- 18 “*reluctant to still the demons*”: TM, *ANC Today*, 3 September 2004.
- 18 “*...depress us...* ”: Mondli Makhanya, *Sunday Times*, 5 December 2004.
- 18 “*evil time*”: David Mamet, *Writing in Restaurants* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1987), p10.
- 18 “*the invention of the Xhosa themselves*”: Noel Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa’s Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (London: Pimlico, 1993), 904-905.
- 19 “*...normalised perception...* ”: Patti Waldmeir, *Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of the New South Africa* (New York: WW Norton, 1997), 69.
- 19 “*thrashings*”: Emmanuel Kant, “Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime”, as quoted by Paul Gilroy, *Against Race* (Cambridge: Harvard, 2000), p60.
- 19 “*confined to a separate house...* ”: Puseletso Mompei, “Robert Sobukwe: Power and Persuasion”, *Tribute*, March 2007, 40.

- 20 “...ain’t so”: Certain versions render Twain’s comment in direct address: “It ain’t what you don’t know that gets you into trouble. It’s what you know for sure that just ain’t so.” In addition, Twain tends to fight it out with numerous others for the credit here, most notably Josh Billings (the pseudonym of Henry Wheeler Shaw, 1818-1885) American humorist and lecturer, who said: “The trouble with most folks isn’t so much their ignorance, as knowing so many things that ain’t so”. So maybe it just ain’t so that Twain ever said this—which would deliciously underline the point he (never?) made. Ardent quote-chasers may consult Ralph Keyes, *The Quote Verifier: Who Said What, Where, and When* (New York: St Martins Press, 2006)
- 20 “*experienced first hand . . .*”: “From the Desk of the Secretary General,” 31 August, 2001: <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/anctoday/2001/at32.htm>.
- 21 “*fascinating and contradictory...*”: John Reed, “Online, but not in line with the populists”, *Financial Times*, 19 March, 2005.
- 21 “...*off his rocker*”: RW Johnson, “The New Apartheid,” *Spectator*, 26 August, 2000.
- 22 “...*fanatical behaviour...*”: Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 41.
- 22 “*of base moral character*”: In *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle For the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005) Gumede writes at page 247 Gumede that “vindictive as always, Mbeki sacked Buthelezi from his 2004 Cabinet.” Leave aside the fact that no Cabinet Minister in any government anywhere would long survive going up against his own government in the High Court over a policy matter, as Buthelezi did over the immigration legislation that fell within his portfolio. Merely hold Gumede to the lesser standard of internal consistency. Is Mbeki, even within the four corners of Gumede’s own text, in fact “always ... vindictive”? The answer is a resounding no, even without any need to appeal beyond the four corners of Gumede’s own book. By the time he found Mbeki “vindictive as always” towards Buthelezi at page 247 of his book Gumede himself had already himself detailed, at his own page 43, how Mbeki had in fact held out against those who allegedly wanted simply to “crush Buthelezi and the IFP” in the period immediately preceding the 1994 election. Gumede evidently went to print before deciding in his own mind whether or not Mbeki is “vindictive . . . always” (his thesis at page 247) or is rather a wise conciliator (his thesis at page 43).
- 21 *central quest for the “soul”*: Despite his title, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*, Gumede doesn’t seem to have settled precisely what battle for which soul of the ANC he wishes to write about. At page 30 he writes that “the biggest battle for the soul of the ANC would be waged as it prepared to enter into negotiations with the apartheid government and embarked on the difficult transformation from a ‘broad church’ revolutionary liberation movement, consisting of several different strands, to a political party equipped to govern.” But by the time he reaches page 127, Gumede has changed his

mind. The battle for the ANC's soul is no longer the so-called fight to make itself fit to rule ("equipped to govern"). Now the problem is supposed to be that "the identity of the ANC is changing fast and its soul is becoming harder to locate." Why is this? Because the old hospitable network of branches has been replaced by the savvy managerialism of a New Labour style "party makeover". At page 30 the ANC is too little a political party; at page 127 it is too much so. By tangling himself in the coils of the discourse around Blair's New Labour party reforms, Gumede outright forgets that he is supposed to be discussing a party, the ANC, that was banned between 1960 and 1990 and therefore had no warm recent history of branches that it could betray in the 1990s! What on earth does Gumede mean, then, when he says that "branches used to be the heartbeat of the party [ANC]"? Or when he claims that these branches used to host the amenities (reminiscent of British Old Labour), "not unlike those of community organizations or churches", offering members a place to drop in for "support for anything from funerals to administrative headaches, such as registering a birth, or just to enjoy the warmth of human solidarity." In a final twist, having blamed Mbeki for changing a non-existent recent history of branches Gumede made a dramatic turnaround in a comment to the *Mail & Guardian* two years after his book appeared: "Gumede said the management of the branch structure is not strictly Mbeki's responsibility. 'Mbeki most probably cannot be expected to nurture and service the branches. According to the ANC constitution, part of the secretary general's [Kgalema Motlante] job is to ensure the organization functions optimally". *Mail & Guardian*, 2 March, 2007. So the branches are not, after all, the embattled soul of the ANC.

What next? At 132, we read that "if there is a single defining event in the battle for the organisation's soul, it must be the internal struggle over economic policy." OK, then. This could be interesting. Gumede spent much of the later 1990s predicting a left revolt in the governing alliance so one expects him to suggest that, if pro-poor economic policy is the "soul", it has been sold and he indeed casts many an unargued insinuation in that direction. What a surprise, then, to read at page 236 that Gumede finds it "patently unfair to say the ANC has sold out or that Mbeki and party leaders are not committed to providing a better life for the poor. Nor is it true that the ANC has sold its soul to business." In short Mr Gumede is thoroughly confused by what he himself would like to regard as the "soul" of the ANC, the supposedly central subject of his book, let alone a supposed battle for it, to say nothing of the alleged loss of it.

- 22 *glimpses into the supposed soul of the man, Thabo Mbeki*: Gumede unleashes a string of hostile and inherently subjective adjectives, bereft of fact: "Mbeki was bitter"; "for Mbeki the decision was painful" (42); "After leaving office, and fully aware of Mbeki's insecurities, Mandela went out of his way not to undermine his successor" (55) yet Mandela's "occasional admonishments drove Mbeki to distraction." The problem with Gumede's adjectives and mind-gazing is not (or not only) a problem of truth or falsity. Falsity is bad enough but, more fundamentally, such suggestions are simply and fundamentally unknowable: equally unverifiable and unfalsifiable. In an advance excerpt from the September, 2007 second edition of his book, Gumede adds that "Mbeki selected Zuma [as Deputy President in 1999] precisely because it was considered highly unlikely that he would make a mid-term bid for the highest office in the land." How does Gumede know that?

23 *mistranslation*: *Business Day* columnist Linda Ensor, a relatively astute observer, saw the mistranslation problem, but nevertheless collapsed into mistranslation herself. In a column headlined “Where Mbeki lets his case, and SA, down on crime” (*Business Day*, 20 March, 2007) Ensor discussed Mbeki’s recent internet letter on crime (*ANC Today*, 16 March, 2007). Mbeki had acknowledged the seriousness of crime. He had then gone on to say that the prominence of crime discourse in national life reflected racial preconceptions about black people. Both of these propositions could be and were in fact true at one and the same time, but they were mistranslated as mutually exclusive or competing alternatives.

Mbeki predicted in that he would be “falsely and dishonestly” accused of minimizing the crime problem. Ensor pointed out that this was precisely what the Democratic Alliance spokesperson Dianne Kohler-Barnard did. But Ensor then perpetrated her own mistranslation: the gist of Mbeki’s message was, she said: “Your problem [as whites] is crime; the problem of Africans is racism. We hear you; can you hear us”. Mbeki of course never denied that crime was a problem for black as well as white, the basis upon which Ensor finally and falsely faulted him for letting the country down. He merely identified a problem of crime and another problem of the discourse surrounding crime. Ensor had understood this distinction in a *Business Day* column dated 22 December, 1998 and headlined “Demonisation of Mbeki shows up irrational white fears”: ‘But a suspicion lurks that, in some quarters, the motivation for the derobing of our heir apparent is to validate preconceived fears about the catastrophe that awaits all whites and has done since the dawn of democracy. If one has a foreboding that the core is rotten, is there not a compulsion to dig and dig until one discovers the “truth” of one’s fears? How terrible, but how deeply satisfying, to have one’s worst horrors validated? . . . the black hordes, if unleashed, would rape our daughters and rob our homes . . . A “Mbeki phobia” has taken hold.’

23 “*opposition to the communal drone*”: Susan Sontag, quoted by Regina Marler, *New York Observer*, 25 February, 2007. *At the Same Time: Essays & Speeches* (2007). There may still be people who think that “objectivity” rather than undoing confusion or joining in opposition to the media drone is what writers and scholars are about. The critique of self-styled “objectivity” is so far advanced that its discussion merits no space in the present text. Good surveys of the debate are: Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The ‘Objectivity Question’ and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and Alan Montefiore Ed., *Neutrality and Impartiality: The University and Political Commitment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

23 “*rightwing-ish political contrarian*”: Bongani Madondo, *Sunday Times*, 25 February, 2007. The reference in the text to the *Sunday Times* editorial one week earlier ought instead to read three weeks later, 18 March, 2007.

23 *a multi-part series*: *ANC Today*, “The Sociology of Public Discourse” in 10 parts, 14 January through 18 March, 2005.

23 “*reject the coloniser’s interpretation*”: TM, *ANC Today*, 8 October, 2004. Mbeki was citing Ngugi wa Thiong’o, *Decolonising The Mind: The Politics of Language in African*

Literature Oxford: James Currey, 2006), 2. On the same page, Wa Thiong'o continues: "the imperialist tradition in Africa is today maintained by the international bourgeoisie using the multinational and of course the flag-waving native ruling classes" including "the academic and journalistic laureates of the neo-colonial establishment." This theme is developed in a subsequent chapter, "Massa Day Done", below.

- 24 *tradition simply means*: This deceptively simple definition of "tradition" I take from footnote 14 of Robin D.G. Kelley's Foreword to Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (1983),(Chapel Hill,University of North Carolina Press,2000), xxv. *See also*: "The tradition of all the dead generations," Karl Marx wrote in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, "weighs like a mountain on the mind of the living". Karl Marx, quoted by Francis Wheen, *Karl Marx* (London 4th Estate, 1999), p9; *See also*, James Baldwin, "Many Thousands Gone" in *Notes of a Native Son* (London, Corgi Books, 1964), 28: "For a tradition expresses, after all, nothing more than the long and painful experience of a people; it comes out of the battle waged to maintain their integrity or, to put it more simply, out of their struggle to survive."
- 24 "useful past": Peter Bruce *Business Day*, 5 September, 2005.
- 24 "usable past": Xolela Mangcu: To find a discourse that captures the imagination of the country "we also need to use what Eric Hobsbawm calls the 'usable past.'" Xolela Mangcu, "Lessons from the Field: A Decade of Democracy," November, 2004, p3. Actually the term "usable past" was first employed by Van Wyck Brooks in *America's Coming of Age* (1915). For a subtle assessment of the notion of the "usable past" see JR Pole, "The American Past, Is it Still Usable?" *Journal of American Studies*, 1 (1967), 77. Pole rejects shallow "instrumental" readings of history in favour of a morally and politically alert re-constitution of the political debates of the past. This and Pole's other invigorating essays are collected In *Paths to the American Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979). Mangcu, always reliably imprecise, may have in mind Hobsbawm's essay, "The Sense of the Past" which speaks in passing of "the social uses of the past", a discourse aligned to but distinct from the well-developed syllabus of "the usable past". Hobsbawm is principally concerned with history as an instrument of Marxist struggle, a set of case studies that assist today's revolutionaries in the avoidance of predecessors' errors—an accumulation of wisdom for "directional change" in the spirit of the proverbial child who, having burned her fingers, learns to stay away from fire. See, Eric Hobsbawm, "The Sense of the Past" and also "What Can History Tell Us About Contemporary Society" , collected in Hobsbawm's *On History* (New York: The New Press, 1997), pp20, 24, 31.
- 25 "a deep sadness...": Desmond Tutu, *Sunday Times*, 23 April, 2006.

CHAPTER 2: FIT TO GOVERN

- 26 "the native is to be treated as a child...": Cecil John Rhodes quoted by Robert Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, (1988), 225.

- 26 *merely an F-grade*: Francis Galton, quoted by Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006) 268, citing *MacMillan's Magazine*, 1865, p326.
- 26 "...in the most unqualified manner...": Francis Galton, quoted by Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting*, 266-268.
- 27 *Anton Harber*: The "Fit to Rule" headline is most famously associated with Howard Barrell's *Mail and Guardian*, which used it in 2001. But David Beresford (*Weekender*, 21 October 2006) points out that it was first used in May 1996, during Anton Harber's editorship of the same newspaper, produced in collaboration between Beresford and Harber. The May 17 1996 cover of the newspaper, headlining a piece by Gaye Davis, blared: "Is Thabo Mbeki Fit to Rule? To some he'll make a suave, excellent president. To others he's just a ruthlessly ambitious manipulator. Gaye Davis probes Mandela's enigmatic heir". Beresford in turn wrongly claims to have been "originally responsible for the line". As is clear from the text, RW Johnson had raised the fitness of the ANC in 1992 and the theme is, more broadly, not anybody's catchphrase in recent journalism but an enduring theme of and justification for apartheid, the imperialism that preceded it and the new imperialisms at large in the word today.
- 27 "*post-anti-apartheid era*": William Kentridge, quoted by Rachel Donadio, *New York Times*, 3 December 2006.
- 27 "*very distressing*": Thabo Mbeki, "The ANC is taking proper care in return of exiles to South Africa," London *Independent on Sunday*, 14 October 1990.
- 27 "*The paragraphs I had contributed...*": David Beresford, *Weekender*, 21 October 2006.
- 28 "*habits of mind . . .*": RW Johnson, *South Africa: The First Man, The Last Nation* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2004), 200.
- 28 "*If we are ever...*": Ruth Benedict, epigraph to Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting*.
- 28 "...*the mind of the African...*": James Stewart quoted by Leon De Kock, *Civilising Barbarians* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1996), 89.
- 28 "*political maturation*": Eusubius McKaiser, *Business Day*, 10 March, 2006. British "maturity" according to McKaiser is supposed to have been demonstrated by Robin Cook's impotent revolt against Blair's complicity in the Gulf War. South Africa's multilateralist maturity in solidly opposing the war would, by McKaiser's rudderless logic, have been even more "mature" had some ANC faction revolted against it. McKaiser also confused "internal party democracy" with Westminster's parliamentary procedures of accountability.
- 29 "*What single thing...*": James Stewart, quoted by De Kock, *Civilising Barbarians*, 93.
- 29 "*growing awareness...*": Ewen & Ewen, *Typecasting*, Preface, xv.

- 29 “*I am apt to suspect the negroes...*”: David Hume, “Of National Characters” (1748), quoted by Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812* (New York: Norton, 1968), 253. The quotation is from a footnote added in the 1753-54 edition of Hume’s work. Jordan cites David Hume, *Essays: Moral, Political and Literary*, eds. TH Green and TH Grose, 2 vols (London, 1875), v.I, p252. For an excellent overview of the place of race in the philosophical canon including Hume, see Andrew Valls ed., *Race and Racism in Modern Philosophy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005). There various contributors address the questions that Vallis raises at the outset: “Is modern philosophy racist? Does it matter that Locke defended slavery and helped run companies involved in the slave trade? That Berkeley owned slaves? That Hume thought blacks inferior to whites? That Kant agreed with Hume, and developed elaborate theories on the various races of humans? Are these facts merely incidental, calling for no thorough reexamination of the views of those figures? Or do the facts reveal something deeper about their philosophies, and about modern philosophy itself?”
- 29 “*the most degraded...*”: Georges Cuvier, quoted by Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting*, 87.
- 29 “*The Western bourgeoisie...*”: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, (London: Penguin Classic, 2001), 131.
- 29 “*...sordidly racist*”: Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), 37.
- 29 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*: See Articles 2 and 21(3) in particular.
- 30 *Helen Suzman*: quoted by Joanna Strangeways-Booth, *A Cricket in the Thorn Tree: Helen Suzman and the Progressive Party* (Johannesburg, Hutchinson, 1976), 36-37.
- 30 “*slave-ridden oligarchy*”: WEB Du Bois, *People’s Voice*, 14 October 1947, cited by Herb Aptheker, “WEB Du Bois and the Struggle Against Racism in the World” (1983), available at <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/solidarity/dubois-0783.html>. Xolela Mangcu, a Non-resident Fellow of Harvard’s WEB Du Bois Institute, misleadingly gives this quotation as Du Bois’s characterization of “apartheid” whereas in fact Du Bois was speaking of pre-apartheid Smutsian colonial and mining house South Africa. See, Du Bois, (mis)quoted by Xolela Mangcu, *The Meaning of Mandela*, xxii and compare to the Aptheker reference given above.
- 30 “*The peculiarly African Character*”: Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, p93, quoted by Gilroy, *Against Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), p65.
- 30 “*One man, one vote*” was dangerous: Harry Oppenheimer, cited by Anthony Hocking, *Oppenheimer and Son* (Johannesburg: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973), 381.
- 31 “*While fully understanding...*”: David Pallister, Sarah Stewart and Ian Lepper, South Africa Inc (Johannesburg: Lowry Publishers, 1987), 58-59.

- 31 “No, not ‘one man one vote’”: Helen Suzman, quoted by Phyllis Lewsen, ed., *Helen Suzman’s Solo Years*, (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball and AD Donker, 1991), 29.
- 31 “equality under paternal despotism”: For a swift summary of Dilke’s philosophy see Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects* (Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 2002), 436-38.
- 31 “the conscience of the ruling class”: *Business Day* editorial, 5 July, 2006.
- 32 “The True spirit of American democracy”: Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting*, 307.
- 32 “In his opinion”: Sir Frederick Moor quoted by Edgar Walton, *The Inner History of the National Convention* (Cape Town: T. Maskew Miller, 1912), 123-124.
- 32 “Natal Fever”: Bernard Friedman, *Smuts: A Reappraisal* (Johannesburg: Hugh Keartland Publishers, 1975), 55.
- 32 “(W)hile enforcing...”: Sir William Baillie-Hamilton, “Forty-Four years at the Colonial Office,’ in *Nineteenth Century*, April 1909, cited by Sir Charles Jeffries, *The Colonial Office* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956), 15. Baillie-Hamilton wrote in 1909 even as the Convention was deliberating upon native laziness, unfitness and lack of civilization. He had entered the Colonial Office in 1864, during the settler viciousness of the Frontier War era.
- 33 *Mbeki...gives attention to precolonial history*: The place of pre-colonial culture in the Algerian revolution was analogous to Mbeki’s emphasis in the South African context: “Algerian nationalism is not simply a revival of ancient traditions, old attachments; it is the only way for the Algerians to put an end to their exploitation”: Jean-Paul Sartre *Neocolonialism*, (New York Routledge Classics, 2006), p53.
- 33 “produced no Mozart”: Jacob Dlamini, *The Weekender*, 22 April, 2006. Susan Sontag punctures Dlamini’s brand of frivolity with her trademark seriousness: “All modern wars, even when their aims are the traditional ones, such as territorial aggrandizement or the acquisition of scarce resources, are cast as clashes of civilizations—culture wars—with each side claiming the high ground and characterizing the other as barbaric.” Susan Sontag, “Literature is Freedom” in *At the Same Time: Essays and Speeches* (New York: Farrar Straus & Giroux, 2007), 196.
- 33 “we have the native capacity”: TM, Address at SA-Mali Project Fundraising Dinner, 8 April, 2005.
- 33 “receptive void”: Tim Cohen, email to Eusubius McKaiser, 6 April, 2006.

- 33 “unrewarding gyrations...”: Hugh Trevor-Roper, quoted in Unesco, *General History of Africa*, Vol. 1 (London: James Currey, 1990), p12: quoted by TM, Inaugural Lecture of the Parliamentary Millenium Project, 1 April, 2006.
- 34: “there are important voices”: TM, Inaugural Lecture of the Parliamentary Millenium Project, 1 April, 2006.
- 34 “new liberal imperialism”: Robert Cooper, “Why we still need empires” London *Guardian*, 7 April, 2002 quoted by TM, Inaugural Lecture of the Parliamentary Millenium Project, 1 April, 2006.
- 35 “The Indian Congress and other elements...”: Winston Churchill, quoted by Eric Williams, *British Historians and the West Indies* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1966), 194.
- 35 “Mau Mau must be crushed”: District Commissioner, quoted by Caroline Elkins, *Britain’s Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005), 52, 280.
- 35 ‘authoritarian’ versus “totalitarian’ regimes: Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War and the Roots of Terror* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2004) 96; Ronald Suresh Roberts, *Clarence Thomas and the Tough Love Crowd: Counterfeit Heroes and Unhappy Truths* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 175.
- 35 “like a parrot” David Hume, “Of National Characters” (1748), quoted by Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812* (New York: Norton, 1968), 253. Thus for Edwin Cameron Mbeki is an AIDS “denialist” whose “tools are quasi-rationalist methods of argument, evasion and distortion.” Cameron, *Witness to AIDS* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2005), 132.
- 35 “apartheid liberalism of today”: Thus for instance, the apartheid illiberal RW Johnson, portrays black academics as follows: “there was something in the post of vice-chancellor which frequently brought out the very worst in the members of the new black elite. The whole notion of a campus was peculiarly alluring: a tiny fiefdom all its own, its chieftain was by definition endowed with great intellectual and social authority, had the right to dress up in brightly coloured mock-medieval costumes and bestow honorary doctorates not just on their cronies but on men and women so famous as to imply even greater distinction in the degree-giver himself. On such occasions the vice chancellor would give orations which exalted the African Renaissance, black empowerment and his or her own determination to achieve yet more and faster transformation in the institution. Crudely, this meant getting rid of whites, whatever their qualifications, and promoting blacks and cronies, whatever their qualifications. (RW Johnson, *Focus*, June 2002, 11-12).
- 35 “Tomorrow a column”: Noel Mostert, *Frontiers* (London: Pimlico, 1992), 1098.
- 36 *military dictatorship, unconvincingly re-branded*: Mostert, *Frontiers*, 910-911.

- 36 “*democracy of human culture*”: Du Bois, “Future of the Negro State University”, collected in *The Education of Black People* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001), 178. The idea of Negro University, Du Bois explained, did not mean the teaching of a distinctive Negro science, Negro history or Negro mathematics. Instead he was speaking “in the larger and broader sense that here science and education are being so followed that the place of the Negro in the world and his [or her] relation to the body of his fellow human beings is made clear”.
- 36 “*there is no such thing as society*”: The famous quote, in full, was: “They are casting their problems at society. And, you know, there’s no such thing as society’. There are individual men and women and there are families. And no government can do anything except through people, and people must look after themselves first. It is our duty to look after ourselves and then, also, to look after our neighbours.” Margaret Thatcher, *Woman’s Own*, 31 October, 1987.
- 36 “give their support” Harry Oppenheimer, quoted by Anthony Hocking, *Oppenheimer and Son*, 354.
- 36 “*voice of every colonist*”: *Grahamstown Journal*, quoted by Mostert, *Frontiers*, 987.
- 37 *difference between profit and loss*: See Charles Van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933* (London: Pluto Press, 1976) 24-25, 33.
- 37 “*...broken for the mine-owners...*”: Walter Sisulu, quoted by Janine Roberts, *Glitter and Greed* (New York: The Disinformation Company Ltd, 2003), 43.
- 37 “*I do not believe in...*”: Rhodesian mine owner, quoted by Charles Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 74.
- 37 “*no inherent natural right...*”: JA Hobson, *Imperialism*, p241, quoted by Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p231.
- 38 *ended up on the same side of the table*: “[I]t is of supreme importance that the great experiment of democracy should not be unduly hampered by excessive inpourings of ill-assimilable foreign blood, and by dangerous contacts with obsolete or inapplicable European institutions.” Hobson, *The Morals of Economic Internationalism* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1920) 28-29. Hobson was stating what he regarded as a forceful counter-arguments against his own preference for the most free possible movement of trade and persons. He rejected anti-immigrant arguments not on any abstract ethical or political grounds, but in the economic self-interest of America. Nor was he in principle a democrat. Economic democracy, Hobson said, had to be created by the decisions of experts, not by the “crude conception of political democracy formed during the revolutionary era”, by which he meant the idea that “all men, irrespective of their wide differences in ability, character, and experience are supposed to count equally through the

- franchise and the representative system”. JA Hobson, *Confessions of an Economic Heretic: The Autobiography of JA Hobson* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 177, 181.
- 38 “To characterize any conduct”: JS Mill, quoted by Robert JC Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 2001), 86-87.
- 38 “No ‘native’...”: Eric Williams, *Inward Hunger: The Education of a Prime Minister* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1969), p45.
- 38 *continues to be expressed today*: see, e.g., Denis Campbell, “Low IQs are Africa’s curse, says lecturer” *Guardian*, 5 November, 2006 reporting that: “Satoshi Kanazawa, an evolutionary psychologist, is now accused of reviving the politics of eugenics by publishing the research which concludes that low IQ levels, rather than poverty and disease, are the reason why [African] life expectancy is low and infant mortality high.” See also, Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, *The Bell Curve* (1994) (arguing that there was a “cognitive elite” and that blacks are not part of it; that social factors such as nutrition, social policy or racism cannot explain differences in IQ and that the US has been in denial of these facts); contrast Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981).
- 38 “greatest Briton”: “It amazes me that President Mbeki feels that he should insult the memory of the greatest Briton by associating him with British colonial policy of 120 years ago” said illiberal, Douglas Gibson, after Mbeki had referred in a speech to Churchill’s book, *The River War: An Account of the Reconquest of the Sudan* (1899), www.gutenberg.org/etext/4943. See, “Mbeki Attacks ‘Racist’ Churchill, *Guardian*, 5 January, 2005. It was of course Churchill in this book (and frequently elsewhere) who “associated” himself with British colonial policy, past and present.
- 38 “the nauseating spectacle”: Winston Churchill, quoted by Robert JC Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, 328.
- 39 “had not become...”: Winston Churchill, quoted by Caroline Elkins, *Britain’s Gulag*, 139.
- 39 “Indians and Kaffirs...”: Winston Churchill, quoted by Anthony Sampson, *Mandela: The Authorised Biography* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 1999), 75.
- 40 “took us to task”: Albert Luthuli, *Let My People Go* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1962), 130.
- 40 “chaos and disorder”: Harry Oppenheimer, *Manchester Weekly Guardian*, 26 February, 1984, quoted by David Pallister et. al., *South Africa Inc*, 52.
- 40 “she can call...” TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.
- 40 “sweet bird”: Oliver Tambo, Sechaba, 1 January, 1971 quoted by Mbeki in his internet letter, 7 January, 2005. On 22 April, 2005, the editor of ANC Today indicated that a member of the ANC had written to President Mbeki, citing favourable sentiments that Tambo expressed about Suzman at a Forum in Lusaka in 1989. “At the start of the

welcoming address to the delegates, Comrade Oliver Tambo extended a 'warm welcome, with great felicitation, (to) the many luminaries from the broad antiapartheid front who grace our gathering. There are many among us who deserve a special accolade, including parliament's unfading star, the indefatigable Mrs Helen Suzman'. . . . to warm applause from all the delegates, Mrs Suzman was called to the rostrum and invited to sit there for the remainder of the opening session". Tambo's courtesy in 1989, fostering broad momentum for negotiated change, hardly amounts to a repudiation of his earlier historically analysis, in its own context.

40 "asked to go home": Randolph Vigne, *Liberals Against Apartheid* (Macmillan, 1997), p200.

40 *closed to black members until 1986*: Institute of Race Relations, *Annual Survey 1986* at p168.

40 "If anyone thinks...": Stan Uys, *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 22 November, 1959, quoted by Pallister et. al., *SA Inc.*, p54. Patti Waldmeir in *Anatomy of a Miracle* (page 30) mistakes Oppenheimer for a Liberal Party member parliament from 1948 (when the Liberal Party did not yet exist) through 1957, during which period he was actually a member and financial backer of the more conservative United Party rather than the Liberal Party. In 1959 he backed the Progressive Party, which did not (as did the Liberal Party in and after 1960) back universal franchise.

40 "Africa owes...": Harry Oppenheimer, quoted by Anthony Hocking, *Oppenheimer and Son*, 379.

40 "Even within Europe": Ewen and Ewen, *Typcasting*, 17.

41 "the truth is that": Susan Sontag, *Partisan Review*, Winter 1967, p. 57.

41 "Comrade Nigger": See, Robin DG Kelley, quoted by Kader Asmal, "Roll Away the Stone to Look Upon the Face of Moses" (review of Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary (1999)). Asmal's review was written by Ronald Suresh Roberts. <http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?include=pubs/acommunist/1999/issue150.html>.

42 "Precisely because...": Jonathan Hyslop, *The Notorious Syndicalist: JT Bain: A Scottish Rebel in Colonial South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2004), p174. The truth is more directly stated by Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 2002), 65: "White Englishmen were able to use the power of the colonial stage to disrupt the traditional class relations of their own country and enjoy new forms of direct power over 'subject peoples.'" They were far less concerned than Hyslop implies to (as he puts it) "combine their egalitarianism with their position as colonists in southern Africa." Hyslop, *The Notorious Syndicalist*, 78. The truth is also more directly stated by Jeremy Krikler in his excellent and subtle history, *The Rand Revolt: The 1922 Insurrection and Racial Killing in South Africa* (Jonathan Ball, 2005), 150: "In March 1922, given the twisted connections within

white proletarian consciousness, black people had become a fearful mirror. The whites concerned could not abide what they saw in that mirror and they proceeded to smash it.”

- 42 “*Carlyle was an upholder...*”: Jonathan Hyslop, *The Notorious Syndicalist*, 60-61. Hyslop describes Bain as “more radical” than Carlyle, meaning that Bain was socialist and Carlyle not. But this misses the point: Carlyle was indeed radical: radically racist. See, Anthony Egan, “The Life of Bain,” *Mail & Guardian*, 3 December, 2004 suggesting (misled by Hyslop) that Bain drew humanist “inspiration” from “radical thinkers such as Thomas Carlyle.” Egan concedes that Bain practiced “a distinctly white socialism” but allows the progressive odour of the word “radical” to linger, without asking how a true radicalism worthy of the name could ever be “distinctly white” in a context where most people were distinctly black. The West Indian poet, Derek Walcott, once reviewed an anthology of Anglo Saxon colonial literature and finds himself forced to confront a breach in tradition that Hyslop, in his more standard approach, never does: “If we follow the standard concept of a literary tradition in our use of the texts, nearly all written by Englishmen, we arrive at an abyss, like one of those engravings in which the traveler is posed on the lip of a chasm or precipice with an awesome and inaccessible world beyond. The world behind the traveler, with its charted track, is recorded History. The vertiginous and trackless world opposite is part of the landscape, but the immense fissure that separates the traveler from the opposite world is not only the seismic crack made by the abolition of slavery but the mental division made by the necessary rejection of the formerly subdued. In other words, where does recent history begin?” Derek Walcott, “A Frowsty Fragrance”, *New York Review of Books*, 15 June, 2000 (review of Thomas W. Krise ed., *Caribbean: An Anthology of English Literature of the West Indies, 1657-1777*, University of Chicago Press).
- 42 “*Carlyle’s ‘Occasional Discourse’ marked a watershed*”: Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 368, 378-79.
- 42 “*Quashee Nigger...*”: Eric Williams, *British Historians and the West Indies* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1966), 66, 75.
- 43 “*said that the CPSA...*”: TM, Address at the Special National Congress of the South African Communist Party in April, 2005.
- 43 *ill-concealed contempt*: COSATU called for intervention by government in the legal proceedings of Deputy President Jacob Zuma. In response, Joel Netshitenzhe said Mbeki would not “break the law, trash the constitution, or undermine our young democracy” by interfering with judicial processes (*Business Day*, 18 August, 2005). See, further, *Business Day*, 8 June, 2005: “In stark contrast to Zuma’s supporters in the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the South African Communist Party (SACP), Netshitenzhe said that government ‘accepted the outcome of the (Schabir Shaik) trial’ and that Mbeki was the ‘custodian’ of the rule of law in the country. This is a rebuke to Cosatu, the SACP’s youth wing and the ANC Youth League, which have all cast aspersions on High Court Judge Hillary Squires and questioned the legitimacy of his judgment. Cosatu general secretary Zwelinzima Vavi launched a blistering attack on the judgment yesterday, saying Shaik’s trial was ‘nothing but a political trial of the deputy president in absentia’”.

- 43 *was contested by...*: See, Dale T. McKinley, “The Strategic Necessity of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat: A Reply to Comrade Jeremy Cronin”
<http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?include=pubs/acommunist/1996/issue145.html>
- 43 *in a recent attack*: William Gumede, *New Statesman*, 2 April, 2007.
- 44 “*Cosatu Speaks for the ANC*”: *Mail & Guardian*, 2 March, 2007.
- 44 *Irish Times*: 2 January, 1934, cited by WJ Mc Cormack, *Blood Kindred: WB Yeats: The Life, the Death, The Politics* (London: Pimlico, 2005), 125.
- 44 *Leon’s description*: Tony Leon, “The Imperial Presidency and its Consequences”, 21 September, 2000, published on the Democratic Alliance Website, www.da.org.za.
- 44 *borrowing from the Cold War liberal*: Schlesinger wrote *The Age Of Jackson* (1945), *The Age of Roosevelt* in 3 volumes (1957, 1958 and 1960) and *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (1965)—all approving of the sort of strong Presidency that he then disapproved in *The Imperial Presidency* (1973).
- 45 *expressed open contempt*: The discussion document published in Bua Komanisi, 1 May 2006, referred to Mandela’s “sometimes arcane, quasi-feudal, pre-capitalist corporatist values (everyone, regardless of station, ethnic background, etc. has a “place in the sun”, “there are good men and women in all political parties” – provided we all know “our place”, etc.). But while acknowledging the special personal qualities of Mandela, it would be wrong to ignore the ways in which the particular balance of class forces nationally actively helped to construct Mandela-ism.” The ANC rejected this as “what seems an attempt at psycho-analysis of Nelson Mandela” and “descends into colonial anthropology of the worst kind.” ANC National Working Committee Notes for Bilateral Meeting with the SACP, 19 June, 2006.
- 45 *tried to topple Hugo Chavez*: Richard Gott, *Hugo Chavez and the Bolivarian Revolution* (London: Verso 2005), 210-213: “It was an unusual kind of trade union that cooperated with the bosses to try to bring down an elected government.”
- 45 *some of the strongest resistance*”: Simon Romero, “Chavez Plans One Big Venezuela Leftist Party, Led by Him,” *New York Times*, 4 January, 2007. A similar situation appeared in South Africa after Leon conceded that Zwelinzima Vavi had evolved into a kind of ally. Mbeki mentioned this in his internet letter for 25 May, 2007: “In its 4-10 May 2007 edition, the weekly publication, “Mail & Guardian”, published an interview with Tony Leon, the outgoing leader of the largest opposition party in our country, the Democratic Alliance (DA), which is also the strongest political and ideological opponent of the ANC. Answering the question - “Wasn't your open hostility to the trade unions a miscalculation?” - Tony Leon replied: “My attitude has shifted. They have a role in advancing certain values, and Cosatu's (Zwelinzima) Vavi has been a more strident opposition leader than I have been. I'm not scared of being on the right side of an argument with the wrong people. On labour

legislation, I feel they have too much power; on other issues - because they're completely sidelined in the ANC - too little."

Having quoted this, Mbeki commented: "Tony Leon stated the matter clearly that he and the DA would like those he described as "the wrong people" within the context of DA politics, who nevertheless stand on "the right side of an argument" - specifically against the ANC - should have more power stridently to oppose the ANC, to reinforce the anti-ANC offensive of the DA and the domestic and international forces it represents. Thus did Tony Leon answer the question for all of us - whose interests are served by the grossly malicious and insulting allegation that, to disguise an offensive against the working people, the ANC and our government have resorted to "propaganda similar to that of Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany".

- 45 *"the school of thought..."*: see, e.g., Patrick Bond, *Talk Left, Walk Right: South Africa's Frustrated Global Reforms* (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004): "Mbeki has confused matters with his tendency to talk in a radical manner, while he acts to preserve the overall premises of capitalist globalization" (10); "Mbeki's attack on global apartheid aimed high rhetorically, but conclusively failed to reverse inequities at home" (16); "Mbeki and his top political aides have articulated strong, but ultimately hypocritical opposition to Rightwing Resurgence, especially in the 2003 war against Iraq" (21). Characteristically, Bond does not trouble to explain the supposed hypocrisy of Mbeki's opposition to the Iraq War. And these quotations give a sense of the fatal subjectivity of his method. He not only critiques Mbeki based upon indeterminate language of "success" and "failure" measured against ill-defined and often unarticulated standards, he also attributes varieties of bad faith to Mbeki.
- 46 *"We can't have..."*: Zwelinzima Vavi, quoted by *Weekender*, 14 April, 2007.
- 46 *The most significant recent research*: Sakhela Buhlungu Ed., *Trade Unions and Democracy*, 6, 9, 13: "In assessing the radicalism or otherwise of historically radical trade unions in a democratizing society such as South Africa it is necessary . . . to look not only at the influence of unions on democratic policy, but also the reverse: one must also examine the influence of political change upon the core membership of trade unions." See also, Tumi Makgetla, "Cosatu joins the nouveau riche", *Mail & Guardian*, 6 October, 2006.
- 46 *"South Africa is not Algeria..."*: Oupa Bodibe, *Mail & Guardian*, 4 July, 2006. Contrast Fanon, with all due respect to Bodibe: "Algeria is a settlers' colony. The last settlers' colony to be talked about was South Africa. The points made are familiar to all." Frantz Fanon Preface (July, 1959), *A Dying Colonialism* (New York: Grive Press, 1964), p28.
- 46 *"have lost all contact with the peasantry..."*: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 96.
- 46 *"We cannot afford..."*: TM, Address at FAO Conference, Sandton 4 March, 2004.
- 47 *"a spectacularly appropriate coincidence"*: A Google search will confirm the Callinicos/Acton link.

- 47 “the number of black people who believe...”: Patrick Bond, *Talk Left, Walk Right* (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004), pp13-14.
- 47 “the black majority were misled”: John Pilger, *Freedom Next Time*, (London: Bantam Press, 2006), 218.
- 48 “a definitive account”: Naomi Klein, London *Guardian*, 25 November, 2006. Klein described the book as her “pick of 2006” although it was published in early 2005.
- 48 “the civilization and improvement of Africa”: African Institution, quoted by Rachel Holmes, *The Hottentot Venus: The Life and Death of Saartjie Baartman* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), 79.
- 48 “helping to define”: Tamara Straus, *AlterNet*, 22 August, 2000.
- 48 “[O]n the basis of a false presentation...”: TM, ANC Policy Conference, Kempton Park 27 September, 2002.
- 49 “government could not challenge . . .”: Alan Hirsh, *Season of Hope: Economic Reform Under Mandela and Mbeki* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2005) 76-84, especially 80.
- 49 *privatising hardly anything of significance*. “[L]et me set out the case on private involvement in the delivery of water, electricity and transport. With the exception of two water schemes, all 200 odd schemes in South Africa are 100% publicly owned. We have a further 3 schemes that are 100% publicly owned but a private company manages the scheme on behalf of a municipality. The use of the private sector in the supply of water in Brazil and Venezuela is extensive and has continued under the Lula and Chavez regimes. It is estimated that about 10% of the citizens in each country get their water from private providers. In electricity, South Africa has a 100% state owned company that provide for all the country’s electricity needs. In both Brazil and Venezuela, there is a mixed electricity market with both public and private suppliers. In Venezuela, the private sector own and operate a number of the large power stations. In Brazil, most of the bus companies are privately owned but they do receive significant government subsidies. In South Africa, the rail system is 100% publicly owned. Private minibus operators in South Africa transport around 60% of the workforce to work. South African Airways is again 100% state owned, the airports company is again 100% state owned. In both cases, minority stakes were sold to the private sector and in both cases, these shares have been repurchased by the state. All ports are 100% state owned and operated. The new second network operator (telephone) license has gone to a company where the state is a significant shareholder. The Industrial Development Corporation owns everything from ferrochrome plants to fertiliser factories. Together with the public investment commission, the state is indirectly the largest shareholder on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Anonymous Official, South African Treasury, “Is SA’s economic policy neo-liberal? No way!”, unpublished informal memorandum, 30 August, 2006.

- 50 “*My friends who hang out...*”: Anonymous Official, South African Treasury, 30 August, 2006.
- 50 “*widely recognized as revolutionary*”: see, e.g., *Sunday Times*, “Manuel’s Revolution”, 25 February, 2007.
- 51 “*In reality, each annual Budget. . .*”: TM, *ANC Today*, 20 February, 2004.
- 51 “*the translation of radicalism into stable social progress...*”: See, International Crisis Group, “Bolivia’s Rocky Road To Reforms” 3 July, 2006. See, also: *Business Day*, 12 April, 2007: “Following last year’s visit by Bolivian President Evo Morales, Deputy President Alvaro Garcia Linera was in Pretoria yesterday on a working visit to his South African counterpart, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka. At the close of the working session, Linera said SA was the ‘mirror in which we, Bolivians, can look at our strengths and weaknesses and decide what should be corrected or improved’. Bolivian authorities have recently been making efforts to establish a constitutional democracy, a feat SA has accomplished in the 13 years since the end of apartheid.”
- 51 “*just a few months ago...*”: *Sunday Independent* editorial, “Mbeki, Not Zuma, is the man we back”, 23 October, 2005.
- 51 “*right now it appears...*”: Gumede, “Civilian Control over intelligence vital if it is to serve democracy”, *Sunday Independent*, 6 November, 2005:
- 52 “*some kind of intriguing insight*”: “When the discussion turned to South Africa [conservative African American law professor] Stephen Carter had to *ask* whether the African National Congress (ANC) should be seen as ‘primarily for some form of democratic change,’ and he helpfully pointed out that the South African government (circa 1987) ‘does not see it that way.’” Carter, quoted by Ronald Suresh Roberts, *Clarence Thomas and the Tough Love Crowd* (New York: New York University Press, 1995) p.175.
- 52 “*tried and failed three times*”: Tony Leon, *Cape Times*, 26 February, 2007.
- 52: “*never rejected free and open politics*”: For a useful elaboration of attitudes similar to Mbeki’s on this point, see Bernard Crick, *In Defence of Politics* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1992) esp. “A Footnote to Rally Fellow Socialists” (pages 195-241) and “A Final Footnote to Rally those Who Grudge the Price”, 242-272.
- 53 “*equipped with the theoretical tools*”: Joe Slovo, “The South African Working Class and the National Democratic Revolution”, Umsebenzi Discussion pamphlet (South African Communist Party, 1988), cited by Anthony Butler, “How Democratic is the African National Congress, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 31, Number 4, December, 2005, p728.

- 53 “*One of the great challenges...*”: Xolela Mangcu, quoted by Siphos Seepe, “Leon helped deepen democracy”, *Cape Times*, 19 February 2007.
- 54 “*Her election a year ago*”: Mariette Leroux, AFP, 13 March 2007 quoting Helen Zille, as carried by iAfrica.com, 15 March 2007.
- 54 *a rather romanticised picture of Leon*: “Greener Pastures: Raenette Taljaard says that leaving Parliament has enabled her to reclaim her intellectual independence”: *Sunday Times*, 16 July 2006. See., also, “Taljaard revels in the opportunity she has had since leaving party politics in 2005 to regain her intellectual freedom.” *Business Day*, 20 April, 2007. See, also, *Mail & Guardian*, 16 March, 2007: “Tensions between the DA and one of its former leading lights, Raenette Taljaard, flared this week as a DA-backed blog attacked Taljaard’s leadership of the Helen Suzman Foundation. It has been suggested that the DA is seeking to exert greater influence over the foundation, which claims independence of any political party.”
- 54 “*sometimes illiberal machinations*”: *Weekend Argus*, 30 September, 2006.
- 55 “*unwilling to adopt this path...*”: TM (as Molifi Mini), “Class Struggle and African Unity”, *African Communist* (3rd Quarter) 1973, p22.
- 55 “*The national democratic front...*”: TM (as Molifi Mini), “Class Struggle and African Unity”, *African Communist* (3rd Quarter) 1973, p28.
- 55 “*a devout Stalinist*”: James Myburgh, “A Carpetbagger With an Agenda”, *Financial Mail*, 1 December 2000 (Myburgh attributed his work to his parliamentary colleague, Nick Clelland).
- 55 “*almost Stalinist*”: Tony Leon, CNN.com, accessed 13 February 2007.
- 55 “*war against the ANC’s totalitarianism*” Gareth Van Onselen, *Cape Times*, 25 April 2006.
- 55 “*we stand with the majority...*” TM, “Class Struggle and African Unity,” *African Communist*, p40.
- 55 *mere liberal softies*: This view, expressed in his 1977 book, did not prevent Johnson asserting quite the opposite in his 2004 book, *South Africa: The First Man, The Last Nation*, where he warns that South Africa has “perhaps the most Stalinist Communist Party still extant [sic] outside North Korea and Cuba”. RW Johnson, *South Africa*, 209.
- 56 “*Such a [vanguard proletarian] party...*”: TM (as Molifi Mini), “Class Struggle and African Unity”, *African Communist* (3rd Quarter) 1973, p41.
- 56 *mere renegades*: TM, “Africa: Notes and Comments”, *African Communist*, 1969 1st Quarter, p50.

- 56 “*the bourgeoisie will be...*”: TM (as Molifi Mini), “Class Struggle and African Unity”, *African Communist* (3rd Quarter) 1973, p40.
- 57 “*‘elemental force’*”: TM (as Molifi Mini), “Class Struggle and African Unity”, *African Communist* (3rd Quarter) 1973, p35.
- 57 “*the feudal elements...*”: TM, (as JJ Jabulani), *African Communist* 1968 (4th Quarter), p61.
- 58 “*The warning contained...*”: TM (as Molifi Mini), “Class Struggle and African Unity”, *African Communist* (3rd Quarter) 1973, p44.

CHAPTER 3: “MOTHER COUNTRY”

- 60 “[U]ntil relatively recently...”: TM, *ANC Today*, 7 November 2003.
- 60 “*There can be no Mother India*”: TM, “Foreword” to *Timol: Quest For Justice* (Johannesburg: STE Publishers, 2005), 7.
- 61 “*One unusual feature...*”: Noel Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa’s Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (London: Pimlico, 1992), p528-29.
- 61 “*White writing is white...*”: JM Coetzee, *White Writing*, 6.
- 61 “*The settler makes history...*”: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 40.
- 61 “*Historically the European settlers...*”: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.
- 62 “*We’re off the agenda...*”: Brian Bruce, quoted by Rowan Philip, “SA out in the Cold at Davos”, *Business Times, Sunday Times*, 28 January, 2007.
- 62 “*many whites, together with...*”: RW Johnson, *Prospect*, November, 1996.
- 62 *is hardly in doubt*: JA Hobson, *The Morals of Economic Internationalism* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920), 14: “[T]he suspicions, jealousies, and hostilities of nations are inspired more by the tendency of groups of producers to misrepresent their private interests as the good of their respective countries than by any other single circumstance.” Hobson thus analysed the Boer War: “Irrational from the standpoint of the whole nation, it is rational enough from the standpoint of certain classes in the nation . . . The economic root of Imperialism is the desire of strong organized industrial and financial interests to secure and develop at the public expense and by the public force private markets for their surplus goods and their surplus capital. War, militarism, and a ‘spirited foreign policy’ are the necessary means to this end. See, Robert JC Young, *Postcolonialism: An*

- Historical Introduction* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 99, quoting Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1903), 47, 106.
- 62 *benefiting the plutocratic elite*: See, Kevin Phillips, *American Dynasty: How The Bush Clan Became the World's Most Powerful and Dangerous Family* (London: Allen Lane, 2004), 64-69.
- 62 *meant more to cement a geopolitical block*: “John Seeley, professor of history at Cambridge and prophet of imperialism, made the point squarely in 1885. ‘If the United States and Russia hold together for another half century, they will at the end of that time completely dwarf such old European States as France and Germany, and depress them into a second class. They will do the same to England, if at the end of that time England still thinks of herself simply as a European state, as the old United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, such as Pitt left her.’ The only alternative was to think imperially, by which Seeley meant to concentrate on the White Dominions, not on non-White colonies which could never be brought into true federation with Britain.” Dominic Lieven, *Empire: The Russian Empire and its Rivals From the Sixteenth Century to the Present* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 20.
- 62 *Ferguson openly argues*: Niall Ferguson, *Colossus*, 29, 33, 48. Robert JC Young points out that universal suffrage was finally conceded in Britain in 1928, merely three years before it was granted in the colony of Ceylon “and historically coincides with the beginnings of decolonization.” Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, 9. In other words, when ordinary people got the vote, imperialism in its military early twentieth century form began to wane, as in the popular revolt against the Vietnam War. George W. Bush has hardly re-popularised imperialism with the Iraq adventure.
- 63 *I am proud... ”*: Tony Blair, quoted by John Kampfner, *Blair's Wars* (London: Free Press, 2003), p3-4. The initial inclusion and then deletion of the proud phrase is mentioned by Kampfner.
- 63 *worst “constructive engagement” speeches*: Anthony Sampson, *Black and Gold* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1987) 13-14.
- 63 *“Colonialism's Back”*: Paul Johnson, “Colonialism's Back — and Not a Moment Too Soon,” *New York Times Magazine*, April 18, 1993, section 6, p. 22.
- 64 *Fabian imperialism*: Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2003), 258: “[I]t was possible to promote the Empire from the Left as well. William Thomas Stead, who inherited the [liberal] Pall Mall Gazette from Gladstone's ardent votary John Morley and then founded the *Review of Reviews*, described himself as an ‘imperialist plus ten commandments and common sense.’”
- 64 *the neocolonisation crown*: RW Johnson, the *New Statesman*, 3 November 1989; London *Daily Telegraph*, 22 May, 2000; *Business Day*, 13 August, 2003.

- 64 *vigilance against local reaction*: Thabo Mbeki (JJ Jabulani), *African Communist*, 4th Quarter, 1968, 70.
- 64 “*Smuts, rather than Nelson Mandela...*”: RW Johnson, *London Review of Books*, 6 May, 2004.
- 65 “*Mbeki told*”: Jeremy Michaels, “Africans Must take blame for inaction in Rwanda-Mbeki,” *Independent online*, 23 February, 2005.
- 65 “*trapped in a settler mentality*”: In Nadine Gordimer’s first novel, *The Lying Days* (1953), such a character (whom Gordimer critiques) comments: “These [mining] reef towns are hardly more than putting up a shack and making it look like home in some other country. And then the temporary dwelling becomes permanent, is thirty or forty years old . . . and never loses its makeshift character . . . It’s hardened into the character of the place-contemporary makeshift.” Gordimer, quoted by Ronald Suresh Roberts, *No Cold Kitchen: A Biography of Nadine Gordimer* (Johannesburg: STE Publishers, 2005), 55.
- 65 “*an act of the United Kingdom...*”: Theodore Gregory, Ernest Oppenheimer and the Economic Development of Southern Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 106.
- 65 *Anglo’s overriding loyalty*. The Oppenheimer’s British loyalty is a theme throughout Gregory’s book. In addition, Anthony Hocking, commissioned author of the story of Ernest and Harry, *Oppenheimer and Son* (London: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p92 makes great play of Ernest’s knighthood, conferred in 1921: “Ernest could not know that within six years a private member’s bill would end for all time the granting of such honours to South Africans on the recommendation of the Union’s Prime Minister. In fact, Ernest was one of the last two South Africans to be knighted in this way—one of South Africa’s last links with the tradition of the British Empire.”
- 66 “*census data*”: William Minter, *King Solomon’s Mines Revisited: Western Interests and the Burdened History of Southern Africa* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), 43.
- 66 *references to RW Johnson*: *New Statesman*, “South Africa’s Inconclusive Election,” 9 December, 1977; RW Johnson, *New Society* 8 April, 1982.
- 67 “*apartheid is simply one form...*”: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 40.
- 67 “*I am completely at one with you...*” TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.
- 69 “*when talking about the policies...*” TM, “The Historical Injustice,” *Sechaba*, March, 1979: www.marxists.org/subject/africa/anc/1978/historical-injustice.htm - 50k -
- 70 “*the womb of the earth*”: Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), 149.

- 70 “Government Notice...” Noel Mostert, *Frontiers*, 1071, 1096, 1103
- 70 “*not only a law of nature*”: 30 Charles Dilke, quoted by Porter, *Critics of Empire* (London: Macmillan, 1968), 50.
- 71 “*Friday sits...*” JM Coetzee, *Foe* (London: Penguin, 1986), 94-95. Coetzee is portraying a psychosis with a long history: Francis Galton judged in the nineteenth century that even when an African child was withdrawn from his or her habitat and raised in a civilized setting, he immediately regressed to “civilized” barbarism” when returned to the jungle, all vestiges of civilized training having evaporated. Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting: On the Art and Sciences of Human Inequality* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), p268.
- 71 “*Strange Case..*”: Llewellyn Kriel, *Citizen*, 12 October, 2004.
- 72 “*sweet and girlish...*”: *Business Day*, 30 January, 2006.
- 72 “*our demographics*”: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.
- 73 “Mbeki’s Afro-Radicalism...”: Achille Mbembe, *City Press*, 23 April, 2006.
- 73 “*a tried and tested...*”: ANC Today, 26 October, 2006.
- 73 “*I suggest that after apartheid...*”: Achille Mbembe, *City Press*, 23 April, 2006.
- 73 “*on propaganda against nationalism*”: Lembede quoted at Gerhart, 74. My objection is not to the underlying ideal of cosmopolitanism, which is a mere synonym for what the ANC has already called non-racialism. “The Trinidadian is a cosmopolitan” says VS Naipaul, in a comment that Homi Bhaba quoted in his Preface to a reprint of his *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge Classics, 2004), xiii. What is offensive is Mbembe’s attempt to erase the true content and current relevance of non-racialism in order to create a false need for his new term, “Afropolitanism”. Mbembe ignores the already existing cosmopolitanism of the ANC so that he can posture as a wise man who must educate and groom a supposed bunch of crude essentialising ANC Africanists, supposedly led by Mbeki. He fails to see the more powerful threat posed by English monoculturalism since Milner’s Credo began with the words: “I am a Nationalist and not a cosmopolitan.” Milner, quoted by WK Hancock, *The Sanguine Years 1870-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 74.
- 73 “*by appealing to the basest...*” Xolela Mangcu, *Business Day*, June 8 2006. Mangcu referred to Mbembe’s rather loose and spectacular analogy between Jacob Zuma and Nongqause, the nineteenth century prophetess associated with the Xhosa cattle killing.
- 74 “*Mbeki’s global project...*”: Mark Gevisser, *Sunday Times*, 26 June, 2005.
- 74 *Westminster in 2007...*: Those who, for instance, forever remind the natives that absolute power corrupts absolutely (see Chapter 5: ‘Tradition Contenders’) seldom notice that the Westminster parliament is a model of absolute power: “The sovereignty of Parliament is,

from a legal point of view, the dominant characteristic of our political institutions. ...”Parliament” has the right to make or unmake any law whatever...and.. no person or body is recognized by the law of England as having a right to override or set aside the legislation of parliament.” A.V. Dicey, *Law of the Constitution* (1885), xviii.

74 “*Of the three great revolutions...*” Peter Hallward, *Radical Philosophy*, January/February, 2004.

75 “*The peaceful transition...*”: William Mervin Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005), p.244.

75 “*The sacrifices they made...*”: TM, *ANC Today*, October, 2003.

75 “*the simple people of Haiti...*”: Nadine Gordimer, *The Black Interpreters* (Johannesburg: SPRO-CAS/Ravan, 1973), 5, quoted by Ronald Suresh Roberts, *No Cold Kitchen* (Johannesburg: STE, 2005), 305. In *White Writing* JM Coetzee correctly identified the trope of “simple” people as a symptom of a colonial scale of valuing humanity, in which the European was implicitly at the apex. JM Coetzee, *White Writing: On the Culture of Letters in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) pp10, 22.

75 “*overwhelmed...great gratitude...*”: Nadine Gordimer, quoted by Celean Jacobson, “South African Author Nadine Gordimer Awarded French Legion of Honour”, 3 April, 2007, <http://www.canada.com/topics/entertainment/story.html?id=d29ac3ae-ef16-4964a040-fbb3a3e819b9&k=97788>. “The doyenne of South African literature admitted that she thought France’s highest award went ‘only to generals in the army’, but said she was ‘honoured’ to receive the medal.” Lauren De Beer, *Business Day*, 7 April, 2007.

76 “*could undermine Mbeki’s international standing...*” Gregg Mills, *Financial Mail*, 9 January, 2004.

76 Peter Hallward, *Damming The Flood: Haiti and the Politics of Containment* (London: Verso, forthcoming 2007): “The Security Council resolution that mandated the invading Franco-American troops as a un Multinational Interim Force on 29 February 2004 called for a follow-up un Stabilization Force to take over three months later. In March, Kofi Annan duly sent his Special Advisor, John Reginald Dumas, and Hocine Medili, to assess the situation on the ground. The ‘Report of the Secretary-General on Haiti’, published in April, took the obfuscatory euphemism of UN discourse to new levels. ‘It is unfortunate that, in its bicentennial year, Haiti had to call again on the international community to help it overcome a serious political and security situation’, wrote Annan. The circumstances of the elected President’s overthrow were decorously skirted, the Secretary-General merely noting that: ‘Early on February 29, Mr Aristide left the country’. The toppling of the constitutional government was deemed to offer Haitians the opportunity of ‘a peaceful, democratic and locally-owned future’.”

76 *spanning the centuries up to 1947*: Peter Hallward, *Damming the Flood*, forthcoming (2007). Hallward explains: ‘In April 2003, the desperately cash-starved Aristide attempted

to rally his countrymen with the demand that, in the bicentennial year of Haitian independence, France should reimburse the 90 million francs that Haiti had been forced to pay between 1825 and 1947 as compensation for the loss of colonial property. Assuming a low return of 5 per cent in annual interest, he calculated that the sum was now equivalent to 21 billion American dollars. As Michael Dash has noted, “Aristide got a lot of support for this demand both inside and outside of Haiti”, particularly in Africa and Latin America. Unlike most slavery-related reparation demands currently in the air, the Haitian claim refers to a precise and documented sum of money extracted in hard currency by the colonial power. Though quick to pour scorn on the claim, the French government was clearly rattled, with Chirac soon resorting to threat: “Before bringing up claims of this nature”, he warned in the summer of 2003, “I cannot stress enough to the authorities of Haiti the need to be very vigilant about-how should I put it-the nature of their actions and their regime”.

76 “*Once again...*”: Tony Leon, public statement, 4 January, 2004.

77 “*legitimizing a man...*”: Mondli Makhanya, *Mail & Guardian*, 12 January, 2004.

77 “*for the first time...*”: Adam Hochschild, *Bury The Chains* (London: MacMillan, 2005) 296.

77 “*In the late 1790s...*”: Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black; American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812* (New York: WW Norton and Company, 1977), p380.

78 “*even though, as you know...*”: William Minter, *King Solomon’s Mines Revisited*, 60.

78 “*its strongest link...*” Peter Hallward, “Haitian Inspiration: Notes on the bicentenary of Haiti’s independence”, *Radical Philosophy*, Jan-Feb 2004, citing Robin Blackburn.

78 “*one of the most astonishing...*”: Brian Rostron *Business Day*, 7 January, 2007.

78 “*the trade and diplomatic...*”: Peter Hallward, *Damming the Flood*. Mbeki delivered substantially the same analysis at the 6th African Renaissance Conference in Durban, 26 March, 2004.

79 “*is progressing steadily...*” TM, *ANC Today*, 3 Oct, 2003.

79 “*exhibits unrelated to slavery*”: RW Johnson, *Business Day*, 10 May, 2006. The untutored ignorance of this is impressive. Johnson gives no indication of even seeming to grasp the argument that he needs to address. First because much recent research suggests that a certain number of slaves were in fact snatched from the South African coast. The denial of this is a figment of apartheid ideology, which entirely attributes the depopulation to the supposed depredations of Shaka’s expansion. This is among the liveliest present debates of South African historiography. See, Julian Cobbing. “The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo” *Journal of African History* v.29 (1988). More fundamentally, Johnson misconceives the logic of anti-colonial critique, which is a criticism of a globalised and often integrated system. Robert JC Young summarises: “[T]he question being addressed

is whether at a discursive, ideological level, colonialism also constituted a system of sorts that can be discussed, assessed and criticized-or could be resisted-according to general theoretical and discursive principles. The importance of the work of Edward W. Said was that he did provide just such a general theory [in *Orientalism*]. He demonstrated that the habitual practices, and the full range of effects of colonialism on the colonized territories and their peoples, could be analysed conceptually and discursively, and it was this that created the academic field of post-colonialism and enabled such a range of subsequent theoretical and historical work . . . [ellipsis added] While insisting on the singularity of colonial practices, it is also worth recalling Fanon's comment on the tendency of colonial administrators to regionalize, split up, divide and rule . . ." Thus Mr Johnson divides as of old, alas now without ruling. "Postcolonial critique tends to take the same point of view [across differing geographies]", Young continues, "because it identifies with the subject-position of anti-colonial activists, not because of its ignorance of the infinite variety of colonial history from the perspective of the colonizers." Young, Introduction, 18-19.

- 79 "For too long...": Address by President Nelson Mandela at the Mercosur Heads of State Summit, Ushuaia, 24 July 1998.
- 79 "The ANC is part of an international movement...": Oliver Tambo, *Sechaba*, April 1968.
- 80 "Our PNM Movement...": Eric Williams, *Inward Hunger: The Making of a Prime Minister* (London Andre Deutsch, 1969), p54.
- 80 "Rather than a political struggle": Hallward, *Damming the Flood*, forthcoming 2007.

CHAPTER 4: MUSCULAR LIBERALISM

- 82 "we need to get...": Gavin Relly, quoted by Joseph Lelyveld, *Move Your Shadow* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1986), 234. Lelyveld dates the conversation to the period just before Relly took up the Anglo Chairmanship in 1982.
- 82 "What's wrong with policy capture?": Jonathan Oppenheimer, quoted in *Mail & Guardian*, 9 December, 2005.
- 82 *not previously known as a development agency*: The Brenthurst Foundation's pursuit of developmental goals with a militarist tinge is illuminated by reference to the history of United States thinks tanks, which shifted from military to developmental rhetoric as the Vietnam war rendered their military origins unpopular. In the Brenthurst case, the attempt is to popularize military solutions through the rubric of developmentalism. In the late 1960s a military strategist at the Institute for Defense Analyses explained the logic of a newly formed Office of Civil Programs: "First, I think there is a general lack of continued interest in Vietnam and the war. People think we've done an awful lot in this area—its time to move onto something else. Second, I think there's a shift going on in the nation which will

result in more money going into civil programs. Third, think tanks are getting new, younger people who don't want to do defense work and, finally, more pioneering is going on in the new civil areas, and this is where bright young people want to be." Paul Dickson, *Think Tanks* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971), 230. The strategy was to present the military think tanks as ideally placed for assorted "wars" on social problems—much as South Africa sees misplaced war talk on AIDS, poverty, crime and so on (akin to the Reagan-era "War" on drugs).

The problems with the suggestion that military valour might solve social ills was seen long ago by Paul Dickson in his fascinating book, *Think Tanks* (p231): "While there is a promising aspect to this shift—namely, that it will create a sizeable base of technological experts who could spearhead a much better and more systematic attack on civil problems—there is an aspect to the shift that encourages skepticism. The constant theme that the military-oriented think tanks hit upon in making their pitch for urban problem-solving work is that they have the techniques and brains needed for the job. One must logically wonder where all these thinkers were when the urban problems were first getting out of control and why they have waited till now, when further military cutbacks threaten, to assert themselves as the saviours of cities." In the case of the Brenthurst Foundation, the incentive for militarization of development thinking is not a shift in the South African funding environment (Brenthurs needs no help with that!), but rather in the South African democratic environment. The Foundation needs no help with that. The shift is in the democratic environment: with natives voting and making policies, their presumed failure opens the way for benign "re-capture" of the policy making space, ideally in South Africa but most immediately in what tends summarily to be called "the rest of Africa" where resistance to policy capture is presumed to be weaker.

82 *can even seem potentially military*: On an otherwise innocuous morning in May, 2006 one could open a Johannesburg Sunday newspaper and be confronted with the grinning visage of Greg Mills in an actual flak jacket next to a gentleman described as "British Lieutenant-General David Richards-the Commander of the Nato International Security Assistance Force-and Greg Mills, who is his special adviser". Greg Mills, "Nato Faces task of Rebuilding poverty-stricken Afghanistan", Sunday Independent, 21 May 2006. Mills's openly declared status as a special adviser to Nato did not, incidentally, disqualify him, in the newspaper's eyes, from being appointed to contribute "regular articles to the Independent Foreign Service during his time in Afghanistan." On 23 July, 2006 the Sunday Independent ran a piece by Mills headlined "Mujahideen-turned-governor pursues modernization". In the accompanying picture, a large piece of military hardware carries the apparently amusing caption: "a Swedish Army Patria personnel carrier-which took [Mills] to dinner with rebel-turned-Afghani governor, Mohammed Atta". The piece was almost parodically propagandistic and steeped in well-meaning colonial caricatures of Afghans Mills intends to praise: "Bet you've never been to dinner dressed like that," said the British army officer to me, kitted out in flak jacket and helmet, sitting inside the Swedish Army Patria-six-wheeled armoured personnel carrier. I definitely had not. But it was not a normal sort of dinner party-at least of the sort that one is used to in suburban Johannesburg. We were leaving the provincial reconstruction team base at Mazar-e-Sharif in Afghanistan's northern Balkh province for dinner with the local governor, the mujahadeen-turned politician Mohammed Atta. Despite sharing a name with the

leader of the 9/11 hijack party, Atta, 43, is no firebrand radical. “There is a little bit of mullah in me,” he admitted, however, when interrupting a pre-dinner tea conversation to say his evening prayers. He certainly did not strike one as an Islamic fundamentalist, even though he had joined the mujahadeen at 17 to fight against the invading Russians . . . Atta’s metamorphosis from gruff soldier to polished politician and diplomat suggests the long fight he played such a large part in was worth it; peace [!] has given expression to the obvious charm and old world courtesies of such Afghans even in a high-tech, fast-paced new world age. His outlook showed that, despite the influence of culture, gender, language and other values that many believe have overwhelmed our supposedly post-modern world, universal realpolitik is far from dead. Atta would be equally at home in a governor’s mansion anywhere. The sole reference in this charming essay to the gross instability of post-invasion Iraq was a passing mention of “the resurgence of the Taliban whom [Atta] fought bitterly from 1994 to 2001”, a resurgence blamed on Pakistani Madrassas which ought to be closed and replaced with “modern curricula.” The byline of the piece describes Mills in a rather discrete, not to say coy, acronym as “a special advisor to ISAF IX in Afghanistan.” The day after Mills file his report, Associated Press reported (24 July, 2006) under the headline “Hundreds of Taliban Assault Police Post” on an Afghan reality characterized by suicide attacks, roadside bombings, car bombs, shootings and rocket propelled grenade attacks: “Afghanistan is experiencing its worst spate of violence since late 2001, when the Taliban regime was overthrown in a U.S.-led invasion. The most intense fighting has been in the south, where NATO is bolstering its presence as it prepares to take over the security of the region from U.S.-led coalition by the end of July with troop numbers increased to 16,000 from 9,700. It’s one of the biggest and most dangerous missions in NATO’s history, and has been met with stiff resistance from Taliban-led fighters who increasingly appear to adopt methods used by militants in Iraq.” Then came a further article, bylined thus: “Dr Mills heads the Brenthurst Foundation in Johannesburg and, from May to September, has been seconded as a special adviser to Nato in Kabul. He writes in his personal capacity. This article was co-authored with an ISAF colleague who cannot be named.” *Business Day*, 22 August, 2006. In this piece Mills highlighted what he saw as the wiles of Iran in the war for soft power and urged the West to lift its game: “Another feature of western aid is the how little credit donors receive for what is genuinely massive assistance.” And he promoted a little Tehran gevaar: “Tehran is not weak, just very astutely playing the game to its own rules.” And then this, on 31 August, 2006: “Rear Admiral Steve Stead and Dr Mills are with the Johannesburg-based Brenthurst Foundation” as the byline to a piece headlined “Can SANDF meet threat of Peace?” Mills and his military co-author called for bigger military budgets for the SANDF.

- 82 “*Accepting that state security...*”: Gregg Mills, “World’s biggest military comes to town”, *Business Day*, 9 February, 2007.
- 83 “*development war cabinet*” Gregg Mills, “Mission Possible in Afghanistan”, *Business Day*, 29 January, 2007.
- 83 “*to prove his racial theories...*” *Weekend Argus*, 17 February, 2007, citing work by the late Dr Klaus Dierks. See, <http://www.klausdierks.com/FrontpageMain.html>.

- 83 *not entrepreneurship*: Oppenheimer's first coup" was "to buy up all the rights to the rich alluvial deposits in South West Africa, which the League of Nations had given to South Africa to administer." David Pallister, Sarah Stewart and Ian Lepper, *SA Inc.: The Oppenheimer Empire* (Johannesburg: Lowry Publishers, 1987), 30. Smuts invited Oppenheimer along with him to the Versailles peace conference, while a former Finance Minister H.C Hull ensured that Prime Minister Botha cooperated. It was this public sector largesse, the spoils of war and of recent genocide by no fewer than three colonial states (German, British, South African) that enabled Ernest Oppenheimer after a protracted struggle-to consolidate his hold upon the private sector diamond cartel, De Beers.
- 83 *legislation is a factor of production*: Chiweizu, *The West and the Rest of Us* (Lagos: NOK Publishers, 1978), 243.
- 83 *provisional and permanent governments*: Lewis Lapham entertainingly expounds such a distinction in the American context. See, "Lights, Camera, Democracy" in *Waiting for the Barbarians* (London: Verso, 1997), 105.
- 84 "[O]ne of the serious illusions...": Noam Chomsky, *Understanding Power* (London: Vintage, 2003), 117; Chomsky, "At the Shrine of the Soul of Power", 25 July, 2006 *Business Day*: In the article, Who Influences US Foreign Policy?, published last year in the American Political Science Review, the authors find, unsurprisingly, that the major influence is "internationally oriented business corporations", although there is also a secondary effect of "experts", who, they point out, "may themselves be influenced by business." Public opinion, in contrast, has 'little or no significant effect on government officials.' One will search in vain for evidence of the superior understanding and abilities of those who have the major influence on policy, apart from protecting their own interests'.
- 84 "must somehow find a voice..." Peter Bruce, *Business Day*, 5 February, 2007.
- 84 "African National Chaos": Peter Bruce, *Business Day*, 12 March, 2007.
- 84 "Chaos in a Coalbox": Thomas Carlyle, nineteenth century racist, quoted by Eric Williams, *British Historians and the West Indies* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1966), 129.
- 85 "the only people who understand": Brand quoted by William Minter, *King Solomon's Mines Revisited: Western Interests and the Burdened History of Southern Africa* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), 55.
- 85 *battled to preserve white mining jobs*: In 1932, Ernst Oppenheimer invited De Beers directors from London to argue with Adrian Fourie, the Minister of Mines, who wished to safeguard jobs as the depression bit hard. Fourie said in parliament: 'We have had the spectacle in South Africa that there is one man who is chairman of all the producing companies in South Africa, that same man is chairman of the Diamond Corporation. He alone is the centre of the whole diamond industry and, moreover, he advocates his own case in this House. The fact is that the Hon. Member for Kimberley can juggle, manipulate

and deal with all the diamonds as he pleases, and all the men whom he brings over from overseas amount to nothing because he turns them all round his thumb. It is necessary for the government to take this great industry under its protection and that the interests of the public in general should not be lost sight of.’

85 *DF Malan...did not escape his own moments of reckoning...”:* Malan said: ‘What we have against us is money power, principally under the leadership of Oppenheimer. He has become a power in the land. Oppenheimer—the one who sits in parliament—has control of millions of pounds, and he puts this at the service of our opponents in this struggle. Oppenheimer with his millions exercises a greater influence than, I think, any man in South Africa has ever had.’ DF Malan, quoted by Pallister, Stewart and Lepper, *South Africa Inc.* (Johannesburg: Lowry Publishers) 49.

85 *“certain business undertakings”:* Pallister et. al, *SA Inc*, 64.

85 *“despite the trappings...”:* Pallister et. al., *SA Inc.*, 119.

86 *allegedly impeded the United States war effort:* Edward Jay Epstein, *The Diamond Invention* (first published in 1982 by Simon and Schuster in New York, the entire text is searchable online at www.edwardjayepstein.com): “When apprized of this critical shortage in diamonds, President Roosevelt ordered the War Production Board, which had the responsibility for mobilizing the American economy for war, to buy the necessary 6.5 million carats from De Beers. De Beers, however, had other interests to consider. Its entire system for monopolizing diamonds depended on its controlling the available stockpile. Transferring a large portion of the stockpile from London to New York City, where it would be out of its control, ran counter to the De Beers logic . . . The Americans were dismayed by this intransigence. In an official Justice Department memorandum, the War Production Board expressed incredulity at the fact that “the leaders of the syndicate are intentionally risking the war production of the allies.” President Roosevelt, disturbed by this development, ordered the State Department to intervene directly with Winston Churchill’s war cabinet in London. The State Department found, however, that the British government was reluctant to press De Beers to part with the diamonds. An investigation by U.S. intelligence indicated that the division of the British government responsible for acting on the request was entirely staffed by former executives of the De Beers “syndicate.” In a secret memorandum, the War Production Board noted, “The diamond section of the government and the syndicate seem to be the same.” After the Roosevelt administration had made continuing efforts to persuade the British government that the diamonds were of critical importance to the United States war effort, it ordered the State Department to play its trump card and threaten that the United States would interrupt the supply of airplanes that was vitally needed by the British to defend themselves against the Luftwaffe bombing raids. According to a confidential report in this Justice Department archive, dated April 16, 1942, “It was said unofficially that we would not give planes to England if the syndicate would not sell us the diamonds with which to make them.” This dramatic threat had the desired effect. The British government pressed De Beers to accommodate President Roosevelt, and De Beers yielded.

- 87 *pointing fingers very vigorously...*”: Edward Jay Epstein, *The Diamond Invention*, cites a conclusion reached by the CIA’s forerunner, the OSS, that security arrangements to protect Congo diamonds from falling into German hands ‘were sabotaged, not by the British Government, but by the representatives of the Diamond Trading Corporation, Ltd., London, through their domination of the Diamond Committee of the Ministry of Economic Warfare.’ But the question of De Beers ‘dealing with the enemy’ dangled inconclusively. In a secret memorandum, dated November 21, 1944, Patrick A. Gibson wrote Assistant Attorney General Edward S. Stimson, ‘I suppose that we could not make any allegation that the defendants (De Beers) themselves have prevented effective control of leakage of industrial diamonds to Germany. . . Any theory of this nature would seem to depend upon supporting action by some units of the British Government. Clearly, the British government was not about to investigate such a sensitive matter. It was therefore concluded that it would be imprudent to “be involved in a controversy of this nature.” With the end of the war in 1945, the OSS was dissolved and the matter abandoned.
- 87 Stansfield Turner, *Washington Post*, 18 October, 1988; Philip Oppenheimer replied in the *Washington Post* letters page, 2 November, 1988.
- 87 “*He’s using the US government*”: State Department official, quoted by Janine Roberts, *Glitter and Greed* (New York: Disinformation Press, 2003), 225.
- 88 “*capitalists who don’t like markets...*”: Manuel, quoted by Alan Hirsch, *Season of Hope: Economic Reform Under Mandela and Mbeki* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2005), 157, citing *The Argus*, 6 March, 1995.
- 88 “*the administration of a great territory*”: Campbell-Bannerman quoted in Porter, *Critics of Empire* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p61.
- 89 In his book, *The Lexis and the Olive Tree*, Friedman wrote: “The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist. McDonald’s cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the designer of the U.S. Air Force F-15, and the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley’s technologies to flourish is called the U.S. Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps.” Noam Chomsky’s associate, Edward S. Herman, offers a useful summation of Friedman’s good works, “The NYT’s Thomas Freidman: The Geraldo Rivera of the NYT” at <http://zmagsite.zmag.org/Nov2003/herman1103.html>
- 89 “cherish wealth”: TM, *ANC Today*, 18 July, 2003.
- 89 *related unrest*: In a *New Republic* interview dated 27 July, 1987, Huntington explained that ‘When this study was made in the early 1960’s, there had been no major riots, strike or disturbances [in South Africa]. France, on the other hand, had just been through a constitutional crisis and an attempted coup d’etat.’ Lang points out the ‘appalling lack of historical knowledge’ in this as in Huntington’s suggestion that Belgium and France exhibited, when compared to apartheid South Africa, ‘high degrees of political instability.’ Serge Lang, *Challenges* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1998), p35, 43.

- 90 *real trade weighted value*: Christine Qunta, “Minority Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Rapid Depreciation of the Exchange Rate of the Rand and Related Matters”, 30 June, 2002.
- 90 “*flight to a safe haven*”: Myburgh Rand Report, 41.
- 90 *in accordance with his further advice*: Myburgh Rand Report, 75.
- 91 “*in the first weeks...*”: Qunta Dissenting Rand Report, paragraph 7.
- 91 *fed major successful prosecutions*: See, e.g., “Brooke A. Masters, *Spoiling for a Fight: The Rise of Eliot Spitzer* (New York: Times Books, 2006), *passim*.
- 91 *The President declined to do either*. Mbeki’s most visible reaction to the reports was to urge the public not to overlook Qunta’s minority report, a shrewd and measured signal to the market that the majority’s whitewash had not necessarily succeeded: “President Thabo Mbeki on Thursday warned that the findings of the majority report from two of the rand inquiry’s three commissioners could change in response to a dissenting minority report filed by the third commissioner, lawyer Christine Qunta.” “Rand Report—Mbeki sounds warning”, *Media24*, 25 July, 2002: http://www.fin24.co.za/articles/default/display_article.aspx?Nav=ns&ArticleID=1518-25_1219272.
Those genuinely concerned with “political risk” do not make it their main business to seek to impact upon government policies (not least because genuine political risk covers such matters as military coups, which by definition the government in question cannot control). Instead, the reliable market process is to insure against the risk. See, “Political Risk Insurance: Of Coups and Coverage”, *The Economist*, 7 April, 2007. Instead of a bona fide political risk concern, the debate in South Africa (and explicitly in the Myburgh majority report) seemed to some like an attempt to advance ideologically-driven policy goals. “In the final analysis, political risk is merely another component in the totality of risk an investor must assess while determining whether the perceived reward arising from making a particular investment is sufficient compensation. . . . What now makes Africa so much more attractive to investors is that today, prospective investors can begin to quantify—especially when it comes to political risk—what yesterday they could not.” Michael Power, *Business Day*, 23 May, 2007.
- 91 *impatient critique*: TM, *ANC Today*, 10 September, 2004. Mbeki cites the Trahar interview.
- 92 “*political and military elites..*”: Hennie Van Vuuren, “Collusion at the heart of darkness”, *Business Day*, 6 March, 2007. Van Vuuren added: “Addressing leaders of the continent’s anti-corruption community at the first Africa Forum on Fighting Corruption in Johannesburg last week, Public Service and Administration Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi stressed the point: it is the interaction between politics and business, which starts off as collaboration, that too easily leads to collusion, corruption and crony capitalism.”
- 93 “*forgotten origins*”: Dave Lewis, quoted by Ann Crotty, ‘BEE “may bring firms too close to state”’, *Business Report*, 3 May, 2006.

- 93 WEB Du Bois, quoted by Xolela Mangcu, *The Meaning of Mandela* (Pretoria: HSRC Press, 2006) xxii.
- 93 “no one entered...”: Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilisation* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd, 1946), 67.
- 94 “organized misery”: William Morris, quoted by Porter, *Critics of Empire*, 44, citing Morris, *News From Nowhere* (1890), in *Selected Writings and Designs* (ed. Asa Briggs), pp263-65.
- 94 *sheets of tin*: Agostinho Neto, quoted by Njabulo Ndebele, *Rediscovery of the Ordinary* (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006), 111.
- 94 *John Gorst and Winston Churchill*: quoted by Porter, *Critics of Empire*, 293.
- 95 *The details concerning blood mining*: “[I]t was the intense exploitation of cheap African labour throughout the history of the industry that made the greatest contribution to establishing its profitability” writes Charles Van Onselen. Rhodesian mine owners were aware then, as they were later, that “no single factor can contribute more to the reduction of mining costs’ than black labour. Whereas the era of speculative capitalism, and in particular the years between 1899 and 1903, had seen a marked rise in the real wages of African miners, the period of [post Boer War] reconstruction is most remarkable for the reductions it achieved in black wages. Above all else, it was this reduction in the black wage bill that ensured the long term survival of the industry, its expansion and development . . . black mine wages were lower in 1922 than they had been in 1904 . . . In 1934 the wages of black workers were still falling, causing considerable concern to some of the native commissioners.” But there was no concern in the industry, which realized, according to Van Onselen, that it could expand only because of these low wages. Van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933* (London: Pluto Press, 1976), 24-25, 33.
- 95 “Cost minimization...” Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 34.
- 95 “Acceptable profits... came into effect in 1902”: Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 35, 39, 46, 51, 57, 60, 73, 66, 78.
- 96 “native is a free agent...”: quoted by Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 113, 115.
- 97 *numerous euphemisms*: “The clinical and detached vocabulary of imperialism,” with terms such as “hinterland,” “sphere of interest,” “effective occupation” and “annexation” are “ready illustrations of a phraseology devised for purposes of concealment and encroachment” said JA Hobson. The Imperialist who sees modern history through these masks never grasps the ‘brute’ facts, but always sees them at several removes, refracted, interpreted, and glazed [sic] by convenient renderings. Some measure of responsibility for his ignorance he retains, for he must often be aware that the truth is not told him and that he is refusing to penetrate the disguises. This persistent evasion of naked truth endows him

sometimes with an almost preternatural power of self-deceit. Mr Lecky writes [in *The Map of Life*]: ‘Of all forms of prestige, moral prestige is the most valuable, and no statesman should forget that one of the chief elements of British power is the moral weight that is behind it.’ The vast majority of ‘educated’ Englishmen genuinely believe that England’s greatest gain from the Boer war is an enhancement of her ‘moral prestige’! (Hobson, *Imperialism*, 208). The late Edward Said habitually mentioned a Vietnam war veteran who attended one of his seminars and described his war activity as “target acquisition”: “It took me several more minutes to figure out that he was a bombardier whose job it was, well, to bomb.”

97 “*sunk in ignorance*”: John Bennie of the Glasgow Missionary Society, quoted by Noel Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa’s Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (London: Pimlico, 1993), 595.

97 *assault on black health*: Janine Roberts quotes the allegations of a security guard whom she allegedly interviewed at Kleinzee mine: “Many black miners are x-rayed daily as they leave the premises but they do not know it. My boss sets the rate for x-raying. . . . On the forms we only mark up three x-rays per person a week. If there are more x-rays a week for any miner, these are recorded on the form under ‘S’ for ‘Search’ or ‘O’ for ‘Other’. Management knows what is happening”. Janine Roberts, *Glitter and Greed*, 26.

97 “[S]he was convinced.../On his ships”: TM, *ANC Today*, 2 May, 2002.

98 *slavery minus the shipping costs*: “At a slave market in the West Indies . . . one Liverpool captain disguised his slaves’ dysentery by ordering the ship’s doctor to plug up their anuses with rope fiber.” The anti-slavery agitator, Thomas Clarkson, “was shocked to see on display [in a Liverpool shop] handcuffs, leg shackles, thumbscrews, and a surgical instrument with a screw device called a speculum oris, used by doctors in cases of lockjaw. He asked why it was there, and the shopkeeper explained: it was for prying open the mouths of any slaves on shipboard who tried to commit suicide by not eating. Clarkson bought samples of each, and described them in an angry letter to the London Times.” Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains* (London: Macmillan, 2005), 118, 132.

98 “*slavery by law . . . British flag*”: Charles Dilke and Lloyd George, quoted by Porter, *Critics of Empire*, 67.

98 “*My whole argument is that...*”: Gilbert Murray, quoted by Porter, *Critics of Empire*, 67.

98 *at a critical juncture*: David E. Torrance, *The Strange Death of Liberal Empire* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996), 42: “There is little question that Chinese labour rescued the gold industry from a serious crisis.”

98 “*the receptivity...*” JM Coetzee, *White Writing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 6.

- 99 “...no Hannah Arendt...”: JM Coetzee, *Stranger Shores* (London: Secker and Warburg, 2001), 329-30.
- 99 “the manner in which force..”: Van Onselen, *Chibaro* 226.
- 99 “sjambok lashes: Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 137.
- 99 *Mbeki pointed out*: TM, *Sechaba*, March, 1979. See also, Francis Wilson, *Labour in the South African Gold Mines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
- 99 *In his tribute to Suzman*: Tony Leon, Lecture in Honour of Helen Suzman, 6 April, 2005: www.da.org.za/da/Site/Eng/Speeches/Speech.asp?ID=946.
- 100 *Leon has faulted the natives...*: Mphuthumi Ntabeni sums up the ordinarily all-pervasive logic of Leon’s party: “The opposition parties’ impasse in breaking through black majority votes is largely seen as the baggage of history. It is argued, often *ad nauseam*, that the majority of black people have elephantine memories. That black people still carry over wounds from the apartheid era, hence they still regard only the ANC as their liberator and hope for the future.” Mphuthumi Ntabeni, G21 Africa, <http://g21.net/africa61.html>.
- 100 “too many conferences and elections”: Santayana *Letters*, Book 3 (1921-27), p137. Santayana saw the fascist principle of *gerarchia* in his own vision of social order, inequality, and aristocracy. Santayana, “Apologia Pro Mente Sua”, in Paul A. Schilpp ed., *The Philosophy of George Santayana* (Chicago, 1940, 497-605), 497-605. Apologists for Santayana if not Mussolini tend to point out that he later became disillusioned with il Duce, describing him as an adventurer, the false implication being that while supporting Mussolini in principle, Santayana recoiled once the grisly practice became clear. The quotation in the text excludes any such apologetics because Santayana’s own substantive views are entirely clear and involve no speculation.
- 100 “peace of the brave”: TM, *ANC Today*, 3 November 2006.
- 101 “Mbeki was in fact merely repeating...”: “Mandela credits Botha with taking the essential steps that led to his eventual release from prison; with opening channels of communication shut for decades; in short, with laying the groundwork for the new South Africa,” writes Patti Waldmeir in *Anatomy of a Miracle* (New York: Norton, 1997), 39.
- 101 “the same intensity of love”: Mondli Makhanya, “No Sense in Embracing old racists while alienating ‘normal’ whites”, *Sunday Times*, 19 November, 2006. Makhanya returned to this impassioned theme in a column entitled “Mbeki’s unsophisticated drivel undermined fight against racism” in *Sunday Times*, 25 March, 2007: “He and his lieutenants are also not going to move South Africa forward by absolving apartheid’s last great prophets—men like PW Botha and Adriaan Vlok—of their sins while accusing the rest of the white population of harbouring racist sentiments.”
- 101 “the upside down view”: TM, *ANC Today*, 12 December, 2003.

- 101 *people as “manpower”*: Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilisation* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1934), 172. At page 37 of her memoir, *In No Uncertain Terms* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1994) Helen Suzman summarized her opposition to the segregation of workplace roles as introduced by the Job Reservation Bill in 1954: “I emphasized the stupidity of introducing further restrictions on the economy, and how impossible it was to develop a country with South Africa’s resources with only the skills of the minority White population; and that we had to use all our manpower to best advantage.” (emphasis added). At page 80 of the same memoir Suzman records her objection to forced removals in the following terms: “We are not allowing these people to absorb the benefits of Western culture.”
- 101 “*Kant’s doctrine...*”: Jean Paul Sartre, *Colonialism and Neocolonialism* (New York: Routledge Classics, 2006), 59
- 101 “*neither good nor bad colonists*”: Sartre, *Colonialism and Neocolonialism*, 60.
- 102 “*opponents of apartheid in theory*”: Thabo Mbeki (aka JJ Jabulani), *African Communist* (1965 1st Quarter), 75-76.
- 102 “*Bonn-Pretoria Axis*”: cite TM (JJ Jabulani), *African Communist* (No 31, 4th Quarter, 1967), p55.
- 102 “*For years he has made . . .*”: TM (JJ Jabulani), “The Economics of Apartheid”, *African Communist*, (No. 20 (1st Quarter, 1965), p75.
- 103 “*One of the fascinating things...*”: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.
- 103 “*Well, of course, all three...*”: RW Johnson, *Focus*, Issue 1 (1996): http://www.hsf.org.za/%23articledatabase/article_view.asp?id=342
- 104 “*what we forget...*”: George Orwell, “Not Counting Niggers”, *Adelphi*, July 1939, in Sonia Orwell and I. Angus (eds.), *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell Volume 1: An Age Like This 1920-1940* (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1970), p 434-8.
- 104 *has repudiated Thatcher’s opposition...*: Ned Temko, *Guardian*, 27 August, 2006. “David Cameron dramatically denounced one of Margaret Thatcher’s flagship foreign policies last night, saying that she was wrong to have branded Nelson Mandela’s African National Congress as ‘terrorists’ and to have opposed sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa.”

CHAPTER 5: TRADITIONAL CONTENDERS: LORD ACTON, FRANTZ FANON & NICOLA MACHIAVELLI

- 106 “*What you write should also...*”: TM to RSR, 1 January 2006.
- 106 “*Big Idea*”: In *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad famously wrote: “conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion and slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look at it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretence but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea—something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to...” Joseph Conrad, quoted by Ronald Suresh Roberts, *No Cold Kitchen: A Biography of Nadine Gordimer* (Johannesburg: STE, 2005), pp290-291.
- 107 “*For many Britons...*”: Adam Hochschild, *Bury The Chains: The British Struggle to Abolish Slavery* (London: Macmillan, 2005), 351.
- 107 “*For the native...*”: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 61.
- 107 “*The prodigality of nature...*”: Lord Acton, *Lectures in Modern History* (Gloucester, MA: Meridian Books, 1961), 77.
- 107 “*It would be a good idea*”: The remark is very widely quoted. See, e.g., *New Statesman*, 15 November, 1999.
- 107 “*The violence with which...*”: Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 163.
- 108 “*a much heralded speech...*”: A few days before the 16th June speech, Leon specifically urged the Johannesburg Press Club (on 10 June, 2004) to be sure not to miss the June 16 performance. Throughout 2006 those two speeches (10 and 16 June, 2004) remained prominently on the party website, labeled as Leon’s “Defining Speeches” and said to set out his party’s “Vision.” Leon’s successor, Helen Zille, reiterated the centrality of this “Vision” in her own leadership. “Tony [Leon] gave us the real alternative vision: the Open, Opportunity Society.” Helen Zille, quoted in *Leadership* (June, 2007), p10.
- 109 “*is not actually its mother...*”: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.
- 109 “*Every schoolboy knows...*”: Hugh Tulloch, *Acton* (London, George Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1988), 1. “There were a few dissenting voices” says Hugh Tulloch in his biography, which sympathetically corrects much of the ideological distortion that made Acton a darling of the Cold War and the neoconservative right: “[b]ut far more influential were the voices of a powerful group of intellectual émigrés—Friedrich von Hayek, Karl Popper, Isaiah Berlin . . . The most recent biography of Acton, by Robert Schuettinger

[*Lord Acton La Salle* (Illinois): Open Court Publishing Company, 1976], is funded by the right-wing American Heritage Foundation and is dedicated to Hayek. Its author quotes with approval Acton's opposition to the increased state powers provided under the poor-law administration in 1862, but omits to quote any of the historian's maturer, perilously socialist, reflections". Tulloch, *Acton*, p9. For Acton, Tulloch points out, "[l]iberty was less a demand for rights than a call to duty and the fulfillment of obligations, "the consequence of the recognition that man must obey the will of God."". Acton, paraphrased and quoted by Tulloch, *Acton*, 24.

Hence a double-irony: Acton is claimed as a champion of constitutional liberty, which he never was. Or else he is claimed as a right wing ideologue of the minimalist state, which he also was not, or not consistently.

- 109 "RW Johnson, "Bevan's Boy," *London Review of Books*, 24 March, 1994. It makes a good footnote that Johnson invokes Acton not only inaccurately but also disapprovingly: he sees Acton as part of the early liberal heritage of Michael Foot, the electorally disastrous British Labour Party Leader: "Not surprisingly, people who feel like this [i.e., that all power corrupts] hardly know what to do with power when they get it; and there have been quite a few Labour Ministers who managed to remain psychologically in opposition through quite long periods in government." As I clarify elsewhere in the text, it is hardly true that Acton was chronically opposition-minded and knew not what he wanted to do with power. The problem with Acton was the opposite: he was an autocratic craver of absolute power.
- 109 Mondli Makhanya, "Minding the Heart", *Sunday Times*, 30 July, 2006
- 109 "Rot of absolute power...": *Business Day*, 9 January, 2006.
- 109 "Power does not sanctify...": Patrick Laurence, *Focus*, March 2004.
- 110 "Confirms Lord Acton's...": Rhoda Kadalie, "So Sue, but Zikalala's partiality is beyond doubt," *Business Day*, 26 May, 2005.
- 110 *Leon's successor...:* Helen Zille, *Carte Blanche* interview, 13 May, 2007. See, <http://www.cartablanca.co.za/Display/Display.asp?Id=3311> accessed 16 May, 2007 and 4 June, 2007. Zille said: "... inevitably everywhere in the world power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. My husband and I had a big disagreement about that, so he went off in 1994 and voted for the ANC and I went off and voted for the DP." She also endorsed the Leon-era "Vision" document in which Acton takes pride of place. Helen Zille, *Leadership*, June, 2007, p10.
- 110 "Not a jurisdiction...": Which dispatches Acton's less famous comment, resembling the hallowed dictum: "And remember, where you have a concentration of power in a few hands, all too frequently men with the mentality of gangsters get control. History has proven that. All power corrupts; absolute power corrupts absolutely." The objection here is to undemocratic concentration of power and the control of unaccountable gangsters--circumstances inapplicable to a constitutionally and democratically bounded jurisdiction where the electorate rules.

- 110 *reads rather ironically...*: The facts and quotations in the text running from page 110 to 111 may be verified in Hugh Tulloch, *Acton*, 66-67.
- 111 *“that the leash...”*: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.
- 111 *“the combination of different nations...”*: Acton, “Essay on Nationality”, *Home and Foreign Review*, July 1862.
- 111 *“subjection to a people of a higher capacity...”*: Acton, quoted by Eric Williams, *British Historians and the West Indies* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1966), 54. The further quotations from Acton on page 112 are likewise quoted by Williams. These instinct bore a family resemblance to his sense of the necessary dominion of the Catholic Church. Thus Acton wrote: “The presence of different nations under the same sovereignty is similar in its effect to the independence of the Church in the State...and the State which is reluctant to tolerate differences...must from the same cause interfere in the internal government of religion.” Acton, quoted by Tulloch, *Acton*, at p25.
- 112 *“not possible to enslave men...”*: Frantz Fanon, *Towards The African Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967), 40.
- 112 *“a mighty instrument”*: Acton, quoted by Eric Williams, *British Historians*, 79.
- 112 *edified the cultureless slave*: Hence the perverse logic in which the West Indian became, by dint of enforced removal from this African non-heritage, more civilized than those Africans who remained unmolested by the slavers. “The removal of Africans from the ‘dark continent’ and their forced relocation in plantation society were seen by advocates of slavery as providing the potential for civilization” writes Catherine Hall in *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 186. “A musical play, *The Benevolent Planters*, opened in 1789 at the Theatre Royal in Haymarket; two black lovers, separated from each other in Africa, end up living on adjoining plantations in the West Indies, reunited, Christianised, and saved from African darkness by their kindly owners.” Adam Hochschild, *Bury The Chains*, 159. For a blackface contemporary variant of the same view see Keith B. Richburg, *Out of America: A Black Man Confronts Africa* (New York: Basic Books, 1997).
- 112 *Third and most delicate of all...*: For the facts and quotations in this paragraph, see Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject* (London: James Currey, 1996), 44, 63.
- 112 *Harry Smith installed...*: For the facts and quotations in this paragraph, see Noel Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa’s Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (London: Pimlico, 1992), 767-768.

- 113 “*These men credited Lobengula...*”: John S. Galbraith, *Crown and Charter: The Early Years of the British South African Company* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 50, 73-74.
- 113 *The Key debate...*: For the facts and quotations in this paragraph and the next, continuing over the page, see Nicola Lacey, *A Life of HLA Hart: The Nightmare and the Noble Dream* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 250.
- 114 “*government so understood...*”: Acton, quoted by Eric Williams, *British Historians and the West Indies*, p47; Acton quoted by Tulloch, 24
- 114 “*polemics to be directed...*”: Acton, quoted by Tulloch, *Acton*, p.24. The devoutly Catholic Acton issued a personal manifesto in 1857 which Tulloch quotes as follows: ‘My principle is: peace among Catholics, for Protestants of goodwill a golden bridge, polemics to be directed chiefly against freethinkers.’
- 114 *A similar argument*: John X Merriman, cited by WK Hancock, *Smuts: The Sanguine Years 1870-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 221. Merriman favoured a high wealth requirement for black and white alike, which would enfranchise a few “rich blacks” and disenfranchise “many poor whites” while Smuts described this as “old world Toryism” and instead insisted that poor whites must have the vote to the exclusion of poor blacks.
- 114 “*decomposition of democracy*”: See, Tulloch, *Acton*, 70. “It is bad to be oppressed by a minority but it is worse to be oppressed by a majority.” Acton quoted by Tulloch, *Acton*, 70.
- 114 “*could not honestly support...*”: Alan Paton, quoted by Ronald Suresh Roberts, *No Cold Kitchen: A Biography of Nadine Gordimer* (Johannesburg: STE, 2005), p160, citing Randolph Vigne, *Liberals Against Apartheid*.
- 115 Acton, quoted by Tulloch, *Acton*, 27. Tulloch adds: ‘In taking up the confederate cause Acton was also obliged to support the right, as John Stuart Mill put it, of slave-owners to burn blacks alive, and in his apology for the “peculiar institution” he went far further than any other pro-Southern conservative dared. Quoting St Paul, he argued that to suffer and submit was sanctifying, that just as a Christian subject must obey his arbitrary sovereign so the slave must unquestioningly obey his master.’ Tulloch also adds: “Condemning nationalism for crushing racial minorities [in the European context] he ends by justifying the most extreme form of racial domination then in existence [as the argument traveled to the American context]. His essay on “Nationality” of 1862 has been interpreted as a prescient plea for mutual toleration [in Europe], but its thesis is in essence reactionary, anti-revolutionary and Catholic. He argues negatively against nationalism because of its direct threat to his Church.” (28).
- 115 *the communist rider*: The horse-rider trope was a constant in liberal discourse and Owen’s writings. For a relatively innocuous instance (following the SACP’s 1990 unbanning) see,

- “A Party where nobody knows the tune”, *Business Day*, 6 August 1990: Owen was struck by the lack of visible ideological monsters at the rally and offered the mildly paranoid speculation that “the younger, more energetic leaders remain underground”.
- 115 *In a key movement: Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), p 68-69
- 116 *He insisted that: Imtiaz Cajee, Timol: A Quest for Justice* (Johannesburg: STE, 2005), 17.
- 116 “*an ephemeral writer*”: Allan Bloom, ‘Western Civ’ in *Giants and Dwarves: Essays 1960-1990*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), p.31, cited by Macey, p21.
- 116 *it is the settler who creates the native*: See Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 28: “The settler and the native are old acquaintances. In fact, the settler is right when he speaks of knowing ‘them’ well. For it is the settler who has brought the native into existence and who perpetuates his existence. The settler owes the fact of his very existence, that is to say his property, to the colonial system.” It is in this spirit that Toni Morrison writes of “American Africanism”, which creates a fabricated Africa within a white-framed discourse of blackness and of African peoples, “as well as the entire range of views, assumptions, readings, and misreadings that accompany Eurocentric learning about these people. As a trope, little restraint has been attached to its uses. As a disabling virus within literary discourse, Africanism has become, in the Eurocentric tradition that American education favours, both a way of talking about and a way of policing matters of class, sexual licence, and repression, formations and exercises of power, , and meditations on ethics and accountability.” Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and The Literary Imagination* (London: Picador, 1993), 6-7.
- 116 “*the whole of the third world..*”: Jean Daniel, cited by Macey, *Fanon*, 466.
- 117 “*suicidal Prospero*”: Macey, *Fanon*, 466.
- 117 “*can only be explained...*”: Arendt, 122. Arendt herself, however, drew a distinction between Fanon and the admirers of Fanon. In a footnote that tends to be ignored by present-day detractors of Fanon eager to lean on Arendt for support, Arendt actually wrote: ‘I am using this work [*The Wretched of the Earth*] because of its great influence on the present student generation. Fanon himself, however, is much more doubtful about violence than his admirers. It seems that only the book’s first chapter, “Concerning Violence”, has been widely read. Fanon knows of the “unmixed and total brutality [which], if not immediately combated, invariably leads to the defeat of the movement within a few weeks.” Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1970), p14 note 19.
- 117 “*Mau-Mauing the Flak-Catchers*”: Wolfe’s essay portrayed black local activists whose goal was to terrify white geek bureaucrats and thus gain the status of the known go-to guys for the peaceful distribution of poverty programme benefits: “we’ve done it again. We’ve mau-maued the goddam white man, scared him until he’s singing a duet with his sphincter, and the people sure do have power”. Unlike a peaceful civil rights demonstration that was

massed based and pursued broad societal goal, mau-mauing was an individualistic effort targeting immediate material gratification: “the idea was to frighten white men personally, face to face. The idea was to separate the man from the power and props of his office.” The essay is reprinted in Tom Wolfe, *The Purple Decades* (London: Vintage, 2005), 212, 214.

117 “*The statements of R Rapp Brown...*”: Macey, *Fanon*, 24.

117 “*intricately nuanced anatomy:*” E. San Juan, Jr., “Fanon: An Intervention Into Cultural Studies”, in Alessandrini Ed., 126.

117 *Fanon wrung his hands:* “Fanon, like Mandela, hated violence”. Robert JC Young, *Postcolonialism: An Introduction*, 250. Fanon explicitly refers to “the violence of the colonial regime and the counterviolence of the native” which is precisely the form that ANC reasoning took in the 1980s. Fanon, *Wretched*, 69. It did not make Mandela a monster, nor Fanon. For Beauvoir’s unexpected realization of Fanon’s personal horror of violence, see Macey, *Fanon*, 461. In his own 1959 Preface to *A Dying Colonialism* Fanon wrote that adversaries of the Algerian freedom struggle “like to claim that the men who lead the Algerian Revolution are impelled by a thirst for blood. The democrats who were sympathetic to it repeat, for their part, that it has made mistakes”. Fanon pointed out that where there were mistakes, the Revolution had not “eluded its responsibilities” but had taken proper steps. The parallels with the discourse around the ANC in the truth and Reconciliation Commission are powerful.

117 “*could have been made*”: Macey, *Fanon*, 469.

118 *morality that drove the ANC...*: Macey, *Fanon*, 479. The Fanon scholar Anthony C. Alessandrini reminds us, citing his colleague Sekyi-Otu, that “‘Concerning Violence’, the opening chapter of *The Wretched of the Earth* and the text most frequently cited by those who consider Fanon to be primarily a theorist of violence, addressed a colonial situation where no civil or political sphere exists. In such a situation, violence is in fact the only response. Fanon is thus suggesting ‘with the most classical of political philosophers that where there is no public space, there is no political relationship, only violence, ‘violence in a state of nature.’ Alessandrini adds: “What needs to be stressed, against a tendency to read ‘Concerning Violence’ as the major argument of *The Wretched of the Earth* (or indeed of Fanon’s entire body of work), is that this chapter is meaningless except when read together with the later chapters “Spontaneity: It’s Strengths and Weaknesses” and “The Misadventures of National Consciousness”. Anthony C. Alessandrini, “Introduction”, Alessandrini Ed., *Frantz Fanon: Critical Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 1999).

118 *even more compelling:* “The conquest of Algeria began with violence: French Algeria was, to borrow the title of the Jeansons’ book *L’Algerie hors la loi*, always ‘outside the law.’ In 1830, the Turkish rulers and defenders of Algiers capitulated to the French, who promptly disregarded the terms of the surrender that had been negotiated and looted the city. In 1832, an estimated 12,000 were killed during a single French ‘expedition’ into the interior. The aftermath was as brutal as the massacre itself. When the looted booty was put on sale in the

market, it included women's bracelets still attached to severed wrists and earrings dangling from bits of flesh. When Constantine finally fell to the French in 1837, they took no prisoners . . ." Macey, *Fanon*, 476.

118 "Acting on suspicion..": Royal Commission, Quoted by Macey, *Fanon*, 477.

118 *rapacious settler*: See, Hugh Brogan: *Alexis de Tocqueville: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 399-400: "[H]e could never admit, even to himself, that the whole [French Algerian] adventure was a horrible mistake . . . Tocqueville, it must be said plainly, was a nineteenth-century French nationalist. . . He resented the ascendancy of the British Empire . . . [H]e was eager to assert French power and independence a every opportunity, and if a colonial empire was the way to restore French primacy, or at any rate to catch up with the British, he would enthusiastically support it. Besides, he accepted the ancient, ruinous argument of Pericles: "You now hold your empire down by force: it may have been wrong to take it; it is certainly dangerous to let it go." French prestige was at stake in Algeria, and if necessary hecatombs must be paid for it. . . . [T]he only alternative to Bugeaud's military government which he offered was the equally disastrous policy of colonization, of settling Algeria with Europeans."

118 *ambivalent agonies of necklacing*: on Nelson Mandela's position on necklacing, see Ronald Suresh Roberts, *No Cold Kitchen: A Biography of Nadine Gordimer* (Johannesburg: STE, 2005), 452-53. Anthony Sampson was compelled, in his authorized biography, to suppress the nuance and complexities of the Mandela's true revolutionary attitudes.

118 "If, as an African...": Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 239.

119 *contemporary Iraq*: Consider the following, from *The Economist* magazine of 2 April, 2005, offered up as if to illustrate the very point that Said had made in his book ten years earlier: "[America-backed] Iraqi government troops are fighting more aggressively, and the insurgents' mystique is fading, thanks in part to popular television programmes such as 'Terror in the Hands of Justice,' which shows broken rebel captives confessing to everything from contract killing to homosexual orgies. Iraqi police say this has led to a surge in the number of tips from citizens, who now take a more scornful and less fearful view of the guerrillas." These anonymous resisters, facing up to a lawless invasion, were entirely at the disposal of the invading media, at least in 2005.

119 *also defended from caricature*: Eleanor Marx, as quoted by Mbeki, hoped that Lissagaray's *History of the Paris Commune of 1871* (1886) might remedy the continuing ignorance of the English public for whom "the Commune still spells 'rapine, fear and lust,' and when they speak of its 'atrocities' they have some vague idea of hostages ruthlessly massacred by brutal revolutionists, of houses burnt down by furious petrolouses." What was the truth? Marx continued: "Is it not time that English people at last learnt the truth? Is it not time they were reminded that for the sixty-five hostages shot, not by the Commune, but by a few people made mad by the massacre of prisoners by the Versaillese, the troops of law and order shot down thirty thousand men, women, and children, for the most part long after all fighting had ceased? Mbeki concluded: "These observations about a heroic French struggle

for democracy, written 120 years ago, should also inform those who write the history of our own heroic struggle for democracy.”

119 *His work draws on...: Achille Mbembe, quoted and paraphrased by Weekender, 15 April 2006.*

119 “*The settler is not simply...*”: Frantz Fanon, *Wretched*, 116. See, also, Michael Azar, “Fanon and the Algerian Revolution” in Alessandrini Ed., *Frantz Fanon: Critical Perspectives*, 27. There Azar writes, explicating Fanon’s own texts: “The moment the gaze of the colonizer no longer paralyses the colonized, the first step is taken towards the destruction of the two zones: nobody can be a lord when the slaves are missing. However, some fundamental questions arise: on what-besides violence-shall the liberated nation be founded? What remains of the newly won unity the moment the most unifying element-the enemy-has been conquered? How shall the future Algeria be organized?” What Azar correctly treats as a central issue raised by Fanon himself and addressed coherently by Fanon himself, Mbembe mysteriously appears to treat as something beyond the ken of Fanon’s mere bash-the-settler thinking. Fanon even has his own rendition of the most romantic of nation-building tropes—sport—in the heart of *The Wretched of the Earth*: “The stadium ought not to be a show place erected in the towns, but a bit of open ground in the midst of the fields that the young people must reclaim, cultivate and give to the nation.” Fanon, *Wretched*, 158.

See, also, Edward Said: “Throughout *The Wretched of the Earth* (written in French), Fanon wants somehow to bind the European as well as the native together in a new non-adversarial community of awareness and anti-imperialism. . . it is a misreading of Fanon not to see in him something considerably beyond a celebration of violent conflict.” EWS, *Culture and Imperialism*, 331, 332; “Fanon’s call for the institution of an anticolonial and nonracial universalism is a significant gesture that reveals his links to the modern political traditions of the western world even in his greatest gestures of disavowal.” Gilroy, *Against Race*, 71. Rather at odds with the impression he gave to his media readers, Mbembe’s index to *On the Postcolony* contains no references whatsoever to Fanon. His bibliography does list *The Wretched of the Earth* and two footnotes (at page 208) do indeed cite that book, but inconsequentially. In other words, Mbembe’s book, advertised as one that “draws on an earlier African postcolonial intellectual, Frantz Fanon” really contains no sustained discussion whatsoever of Fanon. That is odd in itself.

But then to mischaracterize that same Fanon as a violent dead-ender, without doing even the most cursory homework on the point, is to earn oneself, in full measure, what might otherwise have seemed an over-heated indictment, handed down by the Malawian intellectual, Thandika Mkandawire, in his book, *African Intellectuals*. Mkandawire addresses Mbembe’s critique of the alleged “victimology” and unwarranted combativeness of African intellectuals—a very polite English position that Mbembe, perhaps predictably, holds in common with mining house liberalism.

Mkandawire comments: “Convinced that the African intellectual project is exclusively one of self-pity, [Mbembe] read any narrative of protest along these lines. His casual mode of allusion to the writings of others allows him the possibility of never describing in enough detail what individual scholars have actually said. Mbembe is not bothered by any

distinction between ‘genesis’ and ‘validity’, and so he relies heavily on ad hominem arguments, the clanking of theoretical armour and an obscurantism that is de rigueur. Indeed, the call was for the defenestration of anything that might be considered nationalistic or populist. Those who saw themselves as cosmopolitan accused African scholars of provincialism and nativism, insisting, as Benedict Anderson predicted they might, on ‘the near-pathological character of nationalism, its roots in fear and hatred of the Other, and its affinities with racism.’ Thandika Mkandawire, “African intellectuals and nationalism, in Mkandawire (ed.), *African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development* (London: Zed Books, 2005), 38.

Now Fanon is himself famously a critic of the drift of national political parties from the politics of liberation to a crooked politics of self-destruction. On the face of it, therefore, Mbembe ought to be happy to spare Fanon. The problem however is, as Mkandawire points out, that “far from representing an abstract repudiation of nationalism as such, Fanon’s criticism of bourgeois nationalist ideology is itself delivered from an alternative nationalist standpoint.” Fanon sought, as Mbeki does, a well-regulated, non-corrupt, non-nativist, inclusive and progressive nationalism. Mbembe rebels vituperatively in the face of any such project.

- 119 “*result of one barbarism...*” Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 32.
- 119 *in his liberal “vision”*: see page 108 of the main text.
- 120 *liberty was, for this aristocrat...*: For quotes in this paragraph, see Tulloch, *Acton*, 24, 25, 26, 86.
- 121 *was conceded to be absolute*. Tulloch, *Acton*, 56-57. Like Acton, Harry Oppenheimer, “recognized the ‘one party state’ system”, says Anthony Hocking, Oppenheimer’s sympathetic biographer, “and decided it was the best possible for countries new to democracy. To invite rural populations of such countries to involve themselves in the electoral struggles between government and opposition was to introduce the chance of civil war.” Oppenheimer, quoted by Hocking, *Oppenheimer and Son*, (Johannesburg: Mc-Graw Hill Book Company, 1973), 379-80.
- 121 “*The state, which by its strength...*”: Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, cited by Hussein M. Adam in “Fanon as a Democratic Theorist”, in Nigel C. Gibson ed., *Rethinking Fanon* (New York: Humanity Books, 1999), 123.
- 121 “*tend to work*”: Frantz Fanon, quoted by Hussein M. Adam, *Rethinking Fanon*, 129.
- 121 *the most prosperous polity...*”: Quentin Skinner, *Machiavelli: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), Preface and 50, 59.
- 121 Acton, *Lectures in Modern History*, full text available in searchable on-line form at Project Gutenberg: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/18685/18685.txt>. Acton actually wrote an introduction to L.A. Burd’s *Il Principe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), which book

Bernard Crick describes as a good example of the “obsessionally pedantic” genre of writing about Machiavelli, “especially for those who, being able to read with equal facility Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian and Spanish of various periods, can appreciate Lord Acton’s introduction.” Bernard Crick, “Suggestions for Further Reading,” in *Machiavelli: The Discourses*, 71. Acton was, if anything, a connoisseur of Machiavelli more than his principled rejecter.

122 “white man addressing a Negro...”: Frantz Fanon, *Black Skins, White Masks*, 31.

122 ‘...he is “Machiavellian”’ The most seemingly serious treatment of Mbeki and “Machiavelli,” by Lucky Mathebe, is far from adequate in its grasp of both Mbeki and Machiavelli. Lucky Mathebe in his *Bound By Tradition: The World of Thabo Mbeki* remains explicitly within the vulgar media constructions of Mbeki as a “Machiavellian Prince.” Like the media from which the stereotype is dredged, Mathebe fails to address the Gramsci’s Marxist Machiavelli or Conor Cruise O’Brien’s radical Gramscian reading of Machiavelli in his Eliot Lecture, “Imagination and Order: Machiavelli” (*Times Literary Supplement*, 13 November, 1969) or writing of Russian intellectual Lev Kamenev, for whom Machiavelli was “an unmasker” of elite power (Kamenev, *New Left Review*, May-June, 1962). Kamenev was put to death by Stalinist show trial a year after his essay originally appeared in 1934. Nor is there any attention to Ernst Cassirer’s *The Myth of the State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), with its extensive discussion of Machiavelli and bureaucracy.

Mathebe, although setting out to critique media discourse surrounding Mbeki, merely replicates that discourse by neglecting a more serious and necessary assessment of the true relevance of Machiavelli to Mbeki. He offers only this: “Machiavellianism refers to a set of ideas based on the underlying assumption that all forms of social and economic relations are power relations and that political action does not derive from ethical behaviour. Maneuvering, deception, callousness, manipulation, duplicity, ruthlessness, and cunning are some of the characteristic features of the political morality of Machiavellianism.”

122 “political missionary Machiavellianism”: Mostert, *Frontiers*, 823, 846.

122 *popular stereotypes that circulate in the media*: in the following classic snippet, Aubrey Matshiqi sets out the supposedly enigmatic workings of Mbeki’s Machiavellian mind on the question of whether or not to release the then Deputy President of the country, Jacob Zuma, who faced corruption charges: ‘So, what will Mbeki decide? If it is true that he thrives on doing the unexpected, then the expected is to fire Zuma and the unexpected is to retain him. If there is a general expectation that he will do the unexpected, the unexpected becomes the expected. To defy the general expectation that by not firing Zuma he will be doing the unexpected, he might fire the deputy president.’ Aubrey Matshiqi, *Business Day*, 13 June, 2005. Not only the commentator, but even the editorial entered into this silly spirit: *Business Day* now commented, in an editorial called “The Fallen” (7 December, 2005): “But the notion that Mbeki is also somewhat to blame is also partly a ploy. It is Zuma and his supporters who are doing their level best to foment a crisis.”

- 122 “*The most fascinating thing...*”: S’Thembiso Msomi, “Daggers Drawn as Battle Intensifies”, *City Press*, 10 September, 2006.
- 123 “*the accumulated wisdom...*”: WEB Du Bois, in his essay “The College Bred Community”, pointed out that the sudden freedom of the slave in the aftermath of the Civil War, while crucial in itself, also raised the next question: how were the slaves to build ‘the machinery for carrying on their social life [?]. . . [W]hat the Negro needed was experience, that is, a knowledge of how the world accomplishes its necessary work today. And when you say that the freed Negro was ignorant of this, you mean more than mere illiteracy—for illiteracy is the cause of evils rather than the evil in itself. You mean more than shiftlessness and unmoral customs. In fact, you mean all these things together and other things added, which in the total show that the Negro did not know the accumulated wisdom and methods of the world in which he was asked to take part. “ Du Bois, *The Education of Black People* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), 52-53.
- 123 “*Mbeki needed to locate...*”: Patti Waldmeir, *Anatomy of a Miracle*, 66.
- 124 *It makes perfect sense*: See Bernard Crick, *In Defence of Politics* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1992), p28, 33. While Hobbes studied government as a state of emergency it was equally necessary, Crick said, to study “as Machiavelli did, the problem of how to maintain a state through time (which is a problem of spreading power), as well as how to preserve it in crisis (which is a problem of concentrating power).” For Crick, Machiavelli is “a most worthy humanist, a great advocate of Republican government” and “a man who never preached ‘the politic art’ as an end in itself, but only as a the necessary means to preserve the civilized life of cities. If this still shocks some people, it is because there are so many Machiavellis around.” Bernard Crick, Preface, *Machiavelli: The Discourses* (London: Penguin, 1970). Crick cites Isaiah Berlin’s essay, “The Originality of Machiavelli” published in Myron P. Gilmore ed. *Studies on Machiavelli* (Florence: Sansoni, 1972), where Berlin points out that there are no fewer than twenty-five leading interpretations of *The Prince* alone.

Incapable of seeing politics as a virtuous and necessary stabilizing activity as does Crick through Machiavelli, Jan Smuts in his day—far more thoroughly than present-day Robert Mugabe, incidentally—preferred to build an entire polity upon the rule of the natives and even white labour by an inherently destabilizing use of force—as for instance in Smuts’s aerial attacks upon strikers in Benoni. “The army was laying in wait for the strikers from the start.” Machine gun detachments were on standby weeks in advance. Hundreds of mounted riflemen were mobilized as well as the Active Citizen Force. “It was around this time, too, that the authorities unveiled what became their most hated weapon: De Havilland aircraft fitted with machine guns and bombs”. These were deployed against white workers. Jeremy Krikler, *The Rand Revolt: The 1922 Insurrection and Racial Killing in South Africa* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2005), 256.

Smuts said: “I don’t believe in politics for them [the natives]. Perhaps at bottom I don’t believe in politics at all as means for the attainment of the highest ends, but certainly so far as the Natives are concerned politics will to my mind only have an unsettling influence. I would therefore not give them the franchise”. Smuts, quoted by Bernard Freidman, *Smuts: A Reappraisal* (Johannesburg: Hugh Kearland Publishers, 1975), 19.

In the best Machiavellian sense, Mbeki differs with Smuts and with the later Mugabe who has adopted a few distinctly Smutsian methods. One way of summing up the difference between Mbeki on the one hand and the Smuts-Mugabe line on the other, is through a proper Machiavellian understanding of the virtue and human preciousness of politics.

- 124 “*a Machiavellian plan...*”: Sékou Touré, quoted by Colin Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, (London: Pall Mall Press, 1962), 120.
- 124 “*Did the Italian Renaissance...*”: Cronin interviewed by Sheehan and quoted by William Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005), 203. In fact the most “obvious” candidate “in charge” of the Italian Renaissance would be neither Leonardo nor Machiavelli but the Medici family and the other princes without which much that we recognize of the Renaissance would not have occurred. It is therefore not really a nonsensical question to ask who was in charge. Leonardo himself counted Cesare Borgia, who was specifically praised by Machiavelli for ruthless statecraft, as one of his several princely patrons. So if Cronin’s underlying thought was that a Renaissance cannot be assisted or induced by a state, his very own example of the Italian Renaissance, which was in fact dominated by the princely state(s), proves him wrong.
- 124 “*the renaissance of the state.*”: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 197.
- 124 *to civic republican commentators...*: See, Quentin Skinner, *Machiavelli: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), and Skinner’s well-considered list of further readings, especially, JGA Popcock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (New Jersey: Princeton, 1975).
- 125 “*compare kings regulated by law...*”: Machiavelli, *The Prince by Niccolo Machiavelli with Selections from the Discourses* (New York: Bantam Books, 1981) 109-110. Bernard Crick’s full edition of the *Discourses*, with his excellent introduction was published in London by Penguin Books, 1970.
- 125 “*I say that the people...*”: Machiavelli, ...*Selections from the Discourses*, 111-112.
- 126 “[*I*]t’s a very delicate thing...”: TM, quoted by Patti Waldmeir, *Anatomy of a Miracle* (New York, WW Norton, 1997), 280.
- 126 “The ANC, as a ruling party...”: TM, *Business Day*, 4 July, 2005.
- 126 *It has not been through beggaring the apartheid wealthy:* The reality is that business people in our country have never had it so good. TM, *ANC Today*, 10 September, 2004.
- 126 “*All of us are aware...*”: TM, *ANC Today*, 10 September, 2004.
- 127 “*eventually he will come...*”: Machiavelli, quoted by Quentin Skinner, *Machiavelli*, 50.

- 127 “on the ground that...”: Alfred Cobban, *Aspects of the French Revolution* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1968), 167.
- 127 “Above all, the ‘child’...”: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.
- 128 *whether it was treachery or not*: See, Mostert, *Frontiers*, 812 to 813. Mostert argues against the treachery thesis, or at least argues that the trick was reasonable in the circumstances, which included the imprisonment and threats that the Retief party had inflicted on one of Dingane’s people, raising the prospect that they would attempt to trick and capture the Chief himself.
- 128 “We wear the mask...”: Paul Laurence Dunbar quoted in TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.
- 128 *a predictably colonial stripe*: In a piece called “Where I am coming from”, published on the www.opendemocracy.net website, John Matshikiza looked back (7 11 2002), upon the first South African democratic election. “That was all of eight years ago. The world has looked on with admiration at the country’s remarkably peaceful progress, first under the stewardship of the gentlemanly, statesmanlike Nelson Mandela, then under the more enigmatic and inscrutable Thabo Mbeki.”
- 129 “The aide said...”: 79 Bush administration aide, quoted by Ron Suskind, in turn quoted by Niall Ferguson, “Faith Secures Bush and Second Term,” *Cape Times*, 5 November, 2004. Ferguson is a romancer of the British Empire and a supporter of an American one. But he is a critic of the “avoidable errors” of the Bush II imperium, which he regards as self-defeating from the standpoint of sane imperialism. Hence he quotes Suskind’s Bush advisor with horror, as an example of the hubris that threatens the sane imperialism in which he believes.
- 129 “The settler makes history...”: Frantz Fanon, *Wretched*, 39-40.
- 129 “civilization is largely the excuse of imperialism...” Ramsay MacDonald, quoted by Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire* (London: Macmillan, 1968), 187.

CHAPTER 6: “IF MEN WERE ANGELS”: MBEKI’S CONSTITUTIONAL WISDOM

- 131 “*we need more men...*”: Yvonne Mokgoro and Robert Sobukwe, quoted by *Tribute*, March 2007, 44.
- 132 “*an attractive proposition*”: David Lancaster, Webber Wentzel Bowen, quoted in *Business Day*, 15 May, 2006.
- 132 “*He dreamt...*”: Luli Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeni Mountains* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2004), 572.
- 132 *ploughs a field*: Luli Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo*, 472.
- 132 “*how to reconcile...*”: Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 284. For a spirited and occasionally effective critique of Yeats’s politics, see W.J. McCormack, *Blood Kindred: WB Yeats—The Life, The Death, The Politics* (London: Pimlico, 2005), 4, 90. McCormack however understates the extent to which Yeats (like any writer) is properly subject to the vagaries of subsequent interpretation. Said’s point is less that Yeats “is” or “was” an anti-colonial or antifascist hero in his own biographical time than that the resources in his work give us a great vocabulary for these issues. McCormack places great emphasis on his own interpretation of a supposed true essence of Yeats, but his often methodology makes this sometimes insupportable: “My organizing conceit in these preliminary pages requires an identification of Yeats’s political unconscious, and the investigation of affinities largely denied in his life-and denied even more assiduously in the many Lives of the poet published to date.” McCormack, 5.
- 132 “*Despite the President’s avowed...*”: Mark Gevisser, “Separation Anxiety”, *Sunday Times*, 26 June, 2005.
- 133 “*the whole gender-parity issue*”: Wendy Jasson da Costa and Moshoeshoe Monare, *Star*, 5 April, 2007.
- 133 *mis-states the momentous nature*: Gevisser makes no attempt to reconcile the idea of the rule of law as “spin” with the seemingly competing notion that “Mbeki’s global project is to demonstrate to the world that the rule of law is not exotic to Africa; that an African leader can be cerebral and rational.”, *Sunday Times*, 26 June, 2005.
- 133 Alec Russell, *Financial Times*, 4 February, 2007.
- 133 “*an international media colossus*”: 10 Rob Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood* (London: Routledge, 1994), 179. Robert JC Young makes the well-argued case that Gandhi was in fact highly attentive to his image and that “the Indian liberation struggle took the form of the first media war the first media revolution.” *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (London: Blackwells, 2001), 330. There is likewise a more complex version to

be told of Mandela's media imagery in the post-1994 period, but Nixon's point as to 1990 is well made.

- 133 “*our workers immediately...*”: Frederick Engels, *Introduction to Marx's Class Struggles in France in On Historical Materialism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), pp.264, 269, quoted by TM, *Sechaba*, March, 1979. Mbeki added: “In the work from which we have just quoted Engels says: ‘The irony of world history turns everything upside down. The Parties (of the property owning class) ... are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves. They cry despairingly...legality is the death of us; whereas we, under this legality, get firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like life eternal... [There] is nothing left for them to do but themselves break through this fatal legality.’”
- 134 “*certain lapses of judgment*”: Sontag makes the point in discussing the para-Marxist literary critic, Georg Lukacs. See Susan Sontag, *Against Interpretation* (New York: Picador, 2001), 88.
- 134 “*media-minded white and Western opponents...*”: After one particularly eventful Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference, Mbeki commented ANC Today (12 December, 2003): During the Abuja CHOGM, those accustomed to the practice of disinformation, described as ‘spin,’ did everything to communicate false reports to the media. They campaigned and lobbied to ensure the continued suspension of Zimbabwe. We deliberately avoided engaging in any of these activities. We fed no stories to the media. We did not campaign. We lobbied nobody. Yet the story is put out that we lobbied, blocked agreements, and dismally failed to achieve our objectives.
- 134 “*After all...*”: TM-RSR, 1 January, 2006. Noam Chomsky was once asked how it was that extremely repressive societies (no constitution, no parliament, an absolute monarch) came to be called “moderate” in official United States discourse. He replied: “Yeah, ‘moderate’ is a word that means ‘follows US orders-as opposed to what’s called ‘radical’, which means ‘doesn’t follow US orders. ‘Radical’ has nothing to do with left or right; you can be an ultra-right winger, but you’re ‘radical’ if you don’t follow US orders . . . Saudi Arabia is even described as ‘moderate’ now. In fact even Iraq is sometimes described as ‘moving towards moderation’: Iraq is probably [circa 1989] the worst terror-state in the world-death camps, biological warfare, anything you like.” Noam Chomsky, *Understanding Power* (New York: Vintage, 2003), 43-44.
- 135 “*To put the matter crudely...*”: ANC Today, 20 May, 2006. The memorandum explained: “As with all forms of expression of natural and social life, it is fundamentally incorrect to transpose the regularities that inform one form of existence to another. For example, the regularities that govern economic behaviour cannot be transposed to apply to political behaviour.”
- 136 “*tend to garble as a demon...*”: Early in the revolution, the man who later helped to send so many to the guillotine was a vocal and isolated opponent of the death penalty. He spoke out for human rights, unlimited freedom of the press, and democratic accountability. Nor does he seem to have sought power for its own sake. He resigned as public prosecutor of Paris

after a few months and only reluctantly accepted election to the Committee of Public Safety in 1793-94. he was happiest in the Jacobin Club, whose aim was to influence policy from the outside.” William Doyle, “revolutionary Zeal” *Financial Times*, 29 April, 2006, reviewing Ruth Scurr, *Fatal Purity: Robespierre and the French Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2006). “What Scurr shows very ably”, Hilary Mantel suggests, “is how liberal instincts succumbed to circumstance.” Mantel, *London Review of Books*, 19 April, 2006. To describe Maximilien Robespierre as “totalitarian” betrays an ignorance of Robespierre’s philosophy and politics, both of which are conveniently summarized by Alfred Cobban in *Aspects of the French Revolution* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1968), Chapter 8 (the Fundamental Ideas of Robespierre) and Chapter 9 (the Political Ideas of Robespierre). In Robespierre, as Cobban points out, history has a great champion of universal adult (albeit male) suffrage—the very principle that South Africa’s “liberal” human rights giants liberals, including Helen Suzman, only discovered in 1978, fully one hundred and eighty-nine (189) years after the French revolutionary barbarian. “The consistency of his [Robespierre’s] democratic principles was demonstrated most clearly,” says Cobban, “in the debates on the proposal to extend political rights to the coloured population of the West Indies.” The majority of French revolutionary legislators (even the more radical members of the Assembly) had venal and personal interests that finally counted against Robespierre’s proposals for black voting rights in the West Indies. After failing to secure the vote for all blacks, Robespierre directed his efforts to the rights of freed men. And here he specifically opposed the property restriction by which the South African liberals, yet again, stood. A property qualification might be a nice fit in the corrupt and aristocratic constitution of England, Robespierre argued, but in a revolutionary context where the people are sovereign it would merely herald a new aristocracy of wealth and the rule of cliques. Robespierre thus stood, with historical grandeur, against both racial and financial barriers to voting rights. “He was the first to attempt to give practical effect to one of those ideas that shape the course of civilisation, and since his time, for good or evil, the sovereignty of the people has remained on the agenda of history” Cobban finishes.

- 137 “*The FLN has also announced...Algiers Charter of 1964.*” TM (as JJ Jabulani), “Africa: Notes and Comments”, *African Communist* (1968 3rd Quarter), 42.
- 137 “*disrespect for constitutions*”: TM (as Molefe Mini), “Class Struggle and African Unity—Ten Years of the OAU, *African Communist* (1973 3rd Quarter), 25.
- 138 “*If men were angels...*”: Alexander Hamilton, United States Founding Father, “The Federalist, No 51”, issued on February 6, 1788, quoted by TM, *ANC Today*, 25 July 2003.
- 140 “*friends meeting over supper...*”: In the end, there was the more formal discussion, led by Dugard, as reflected above, but still off the record.
- 141 “*upholds the values of our people*”: Sibusiso Ndebele, 2 April 2005, <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pubs/umrabulo/umrabulo23/building.html>
- 141 “*judges are supposed to be...*”: Kane Berman, South African Institute of Race Relations, News Release <http://www.sairr.org.za/wsc/pstory.htm?storyID=365>.

- 141 “*much-derided notion*”: Edwin Cameron, “University of South Africa — Official Opening of the Academic Year 2005: ‘Autonomy and Independence — The Role of the University in our new Democracy’”, 26 January 2005, paragraph 35, edited excerpt in *Mail & Guardian*, 11 February, 2005. This speech is also the source of Cameron’s allusion to Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Bickel, discussed later in my main text. Cameron argued in 2005 that “neither judges nor academics exercise power”. But in an article called “Judicial Accountability in South Africa”, *South African Journal of Human Rights*, v6 (1990), p251 Cameron saw that “judges wield enormous power” so that “If democracy entails that political power should be disposed of by ‘the people’ then its exercise by unelected judges constitutes a problem.” He saw that there was a need in a democracy to find “a political justification for judicial power which is compatible with democracy.” And the need to find such a justification was eased by the fact that in 1990 South Africa was not yet a democracy, but once South African completed its transition to democracy “the question will become acutely topical, as it has in Zimbabwe” Cameron said. In 1990 he framed the issue as a balance between “Autonomy and [democratic] Accountability” but in 2005 the same issue was framed as “Autonomy and independence”, with Cameron apparently abandoning the previously fundamental question of democratic accountability of the judges, a question that he had himself clearly recognized in his 1990 article. Instead of accountability, Cameron now heightened a third ingredient that had been a kind of afterthought in his 1990 article: the supposed role of the judge as an oracle: “as a result partly of their powerful and public position, judges in Western society are in a position to assume, and often do assume, the role of public oracles.” Cameron cites the dictionary definition of an oracle as “an infallible though mysterious guide, test or indicator; authoritative, profoundly wise, or mysterious adviser or advice, judge or judgment, prophet or prophecy.” In 1990 Cameron specifically rejected (citing Lord Devlin) in 1990 the “temptation to cast the judiciary as an elite which will bypass the traffic-laden ways of the democratic process”. Cameron, “Judicial Accountability,” 252-53. But in 2005 he retreats from the traffic-laden democracy to a judicial and academic ideal of the ivory tower, seeking to dilute the democratic accountability of the judiciary.
- 142 “*English judges are so slavishly...*”: RW Johnson, *London Review of Books*, 3 September, 1987.
- 142 *The Leon-Unterhalter DA position*: The statement that Unterhalter and Leon hoped to protect elite interests is clear from Unterhalter’s own statements. Under the headline “DP represents bourgeois interests” *Business Day* reported on 27 June 1990 that Unterhalter, Leon’s former campaign manager, had drawn up a document that Leon then circulated to DP Members of the apartheid parliament for discussion. Leon told *Business Day* that the DP “had to accept that it was essentially a bourgeois party and that in the new South Africa it would be mainly concerned with representing these interests.” The intention of the strategy, Leon explained, was to “‘press the interests of a liberal order’ upon the ANC.” Leon elaborated: “The thrust of the document is simply that the DP must not only protect and look after the interests of its voters, but that its voters will carry disproportionately large weight in the new South Africa.” The elitism is entirely explicit; the undemocratic expectation of “disproportionately large weight” is entirely explicit. Long after the 1994

election, Leon proceeded to implement this agenda, again explicitly announcing it.”“There is nothing wrong or unpatriotic about having a political party that does not represent blacks” Leon told a parliamentary briefing on 8 September, 1997. Leon quoted by Rafiq Rohan, “DP ‘Need not apologise,” *Sowetan*, 9 September, 1997. A year earlier, on 8 August, 1996, Leon told the Johannesburg Press Club that affirmative action was “inappropriate and immoral.” Mondli Makhanya, “Leon condemns ‘immoral’ affirmative action,” *Star*, 8 August, 1996. And in September, 2005 four black DA members of parliament defected, led by a Nigerian recruit, Enyinna Nkem-Abonta, who had been hailed merely eighteen months earlier as the party’s first “Africanist” liberal. Under the headline “DA Accused of Racism by Defectors”, *Business Day* (16 September, 2005) reported the following confirmation of the Unterhalter thesis from fifteen years earlier: “Nkem-Abonta said, however, that the DA was a white party with a white national leader and white leaders in all the provinces. “My conclusion is that this is a party that is essentially white and is there to preserve white interests. They should say clearly we are here to represent white interests.” Richard Ntuli, one of the defectors, explained that “the simple reason that I left was because the DA is failing to show any sign of inclusivity or of accepting the fundamental transformation agenda of the country. They exist for nothing but the protection of white privilege.” Ntuli quoted by Brendan Boyle and Jeanne Van Der Merwe, “DA seeks court help to stop exodus”, *Sunday Times*, 18 September, 2005.

- 145 “*in submission to the enlargement of truth*”: Edwin Cameron, *Mail & Guardian*, 11 February, 2005.
- 146 “*turbulent and changing...*”: Alexander Hamilton, quoted by Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men [sic] Who Made It* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), 4.
- 147 “*Slave Power*”: See, Gary Wills “*Negro President*”: *Jefferson and the Slave Power* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2003), *passim*.
- 145 “*In the past five decades...*”: Judge Carole Lewis, “Making the Case for Judicial Freedom in a Democracy”, *Business Day*, 23 January, 2006.
- 148 “*the way South Africans experienced the constitution...*” Njabulo Ndebele, ““Racism: We’re All in Trouble,” *Weekend Argus*, 26 March, 2005.
- 149 “*The last salutation...*”: Deputy Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke, “Transformative Adjudication in Post-apartheid South Africa”: web.wits.ac.za/NR/rdonlyres/FF0006AB-2AF6-4DFB-94F4-33D25296DCF3/3895/ChancellorsSpeech270307.doc
- 149 “*congealed politics*”: Albie Sachs in conversation with RSR, 1 August, 2004.
- 150 “*This formal reasoning...*”: Chief Justice Pius Langa, *Cape Times*, 11 October, 2006. By contrast Olive Schreiner’s brother, William Philip Schreiner, praised Jan Smuts for advocating racial discrimination and exposing “the mischievous fallacy” that abstract democratic principles were applicable to the complex racial situation of South Africa.

Schreiner, quoted by WK Hancock, *Smuts: The Sanguine Years 1870-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 58. In illiberal cliché's Schreiner often passes as impeccable hero of principled liberalism and native rights: "Schreiner was that rare thing in politics — incorruptible with unblemished integrity and a loyalty to country that rose above personal ambition" exults his *Wikipedia* entry as of April 20, 2007. The truth was more nuanced.

- 150 "vast majority of state systems...": American Bar Association, "An Independent Judiciary: Report of the ABA Commission on Separation of Powers and Judicial Independence-State Judicial Independence: A Review of Recent Issues and Arguments", <http://www.abanet.org/govaffairs/judiciary/r5.html>.
- 151 "People involved..." *Business Day*, 17 March, 2007.
- 151 *politically motivated obfuscation*: For example: 'It is indubitably unconstitutional to require the judiciary to be "responsive to the needs of all South Africans" or "accountable to the masses" . . . A judiciary "responsive to the needs and aspirations of all South Africans" is anathema to all three pillars of good governance.' Paul Hoffman SC, Director of the Centre for Constitutional Rights, *Sunday Independent*, 10 June, 2007. Beware people who say "indubitably" when "undoubtedly" would have worked (or "endeavour" when "try" would suffice) they are trying to mystify matters and to move the language of the law away from you and towards their own cloistered control. It is mystification. By his sweeping use of this "indubitably" Hoffman, Senior Counsel or not, begs the very questions in issue, as I hope this Chapter has demonstrated.

CHAPTER 7: ZIMBABWE AND SOUTH AFRICA: TWO NATIONS?

- 152 “*Democracy? It was better...*”: All Suzman quotations on this page through p154 are from her interview in the *Telegraph*, 16 May, 2004. “Instead of investing in projects to give people jobs, they spend millions buying weapons and private jets, and sending gifts to Haiti” Suzman elaborated in the same interview.
- 152 “*politically-motivated genocide*”: Statement by Tony Leon, 2 March, 2004.
- 153 *racial and ideological trick*: Tony Leon, *Business Day*, 5 January, 2004.
- 153 “*Thabob Mugabeki*”: Robert Kirby, *Mail & Guardian*, 9 April, 2006: “Behold, Thabob Mugabeki once again came to that place where he strapped his personal Boeing 737-800 to his bottom and was hurled into welcoming global skies. Soon after the Boeing reached low Earth orbit, Thabob Mugabeki strolled carefully back to his satin-lined boudoir, just aft of the right wing.” Kirby, *Mail & Guardian*, 8 July, 2005: “Thabob Mugabeki the Remote lived under an auspiciously mock-colonial bridge called the Union Buildings, from where he could dart out to frighten passing Europeans. . . . One of the minor hiccups in Thabob Mugabeki’s otherwise exemplary democratic administration was someone called King Robert the Psychopath, the gruesome killer-monarch of a neighbouring land. King Robert the Psychopath was an example to anyone who could bear to look his way without vomiting from fear. Every day King Robert would demonstrate the techniques of what he called Advanced Zim-bology. One of these was that, should any one of his subjects forget to clap, leap up and down and shout for joy as King Robert the Psychopath’s motorcade swept by, he would be fallen upon by a gang of drug-maddened policemen and clubbed to death. King Robert’s subjects didn’t find this at all unusual as they were quite used to being clubbed to death for not starving quickly enough.”
- 153 “*Mugabe-Mbeki speak*”: RW Johnson, *Business Day*, 31 January, 2007.
- 153 “*our own internal Zimbabwe*”: Rhoda Kadalie, *Business Day*, 5 April, 2007.
- 153 “*although the ANC...*”: William Gumede, *New Statesman*, 2 April, 2007.
- 153 “*we may be on our way...*”: Zwelinzima Vavi quoted by *Cape Times*, 26 May, 2006.
- 154 “*like his friend...*” Dan Roodt, *The Scourge of the ANC* (Dainfern: Praag, 2004), 25, 31, 68.
- 155 *the quest is*: *Business Day*: 11 May, 2000: “New National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said some minorities in SA feared contagion of the brutal treatment of minorities in Zimbabwe. Mbeki said he understood those fears, and they were real. However, he stressed that he could not compromise finding a solution to the Zimbabwean situation by reacting to real but misplaced fears. He said many of the calls for a more

strident opposition to Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe were based on fears of a similar situation developing in SA.”

- 154 “*new heights of popularity* *Business Day*, 8 June, 2006. “The survey, which was conducted in January and February, says nearly eight in 10 South Africans approved of the job Mbeki is doing, compared with the 57% who approved of the performance of MPs in Parliament, slightly down from 60% in 2004 . . . ‘This is the highest level of job approval for Mbeki yet recorded by the Afrobarometer. It is a 26 point increase since the 2000 survey, in which 51% of the respondents approved of him,’ the survey said. It said Mbeki’s rating was statistically indistinguishable from Mandela’s high of 79% in 1998. The Afrobarometer involved social scientists from 18 African countries. Face-to-face inter-views were conducted with about 2400 respondents in SA. Mbeki’s support ranged from 80% among Africans to 55% for whites. Free State led with 96% to 63% in KwaZulu-Natal. Mbeki was rated more than twice as highly as Nigerian President Olusegun Abasanjo at 32% and Zimbabwe’s Robert Mugabe at 27%, who were the least popular leaders in the countries surveyed.
- 154 “*Zimbabwe has become a pretext...*”: Ken Owen, ...” Ken Owen, *Business Day*, 13 August, 2001.
- 155 “*Harare wants...*”: 13 *Business Day*, 24 May 2001.
- 155 *Careful scholars...* Jocelyn Alexander, *The Unsettled Land: State-Making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe 1893-2003* (London: James Currey, 2006), 194: “before and after independence, the state struggled to control and contain the diverse institutional and ideological influences that mediated power over the land.”
- 155 “*no small surprise...*” Ken Owen, *Business Day*, 11 February, 2002.
- 155 “*more reckless passion...*”: Ken Owen, *Business Day*, 20 February, 2002. Suzman had countered, weakly, that Renwick was advocating mere targeted sanctions against Mugabe, to which Owen responded: well show me targeted sanctions that were advocated against PW Botha. At that point Suzman fell silent.
- 155 “*Israel’s seizure...*”: Ken Owen, *Business Day*, 30 January, 2001.
- 155 “*As a venue for Ronnie Kasrils...*”: Helen Suzman, *The Weekender*, 21-22 October, 2007. Kasrils had sinned, apparently, by drawing comparisons (previously drawn by Hannah Arendt, Albert Einstein and others) between Nazi practices as collective punishment and Israeli practices of a similar sort. Tumi Magketla, “Jewish Report Censors Kasrils”, *Mail & Guardian*, 17 November, 2006.
- 156 “*the effect of chilling...*”: Karthy Govender, “Israel: not ‘hate speech’ but free speech”, *Mail & Guardian*, 16 March, 2007.

- 156 *George Soros . . . agreed with the substance...*: “On Israel, America and AIPAC”, *New York Review of Books*, 12 April, 2007. Soros cites a pamphlet issued by the American Jewish Committee’s Alvin H Rosenfeld, who equates anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism and then suggests that: “To call Israel a Nazi state...or to accuse it of South African-style apartheid rule or engaging in ethnic cleansing or wholesale genocide goes well beyond legitimate criticism.” Rosenfeld also faulted talk of victims turning into aggressors. Through such arguments, Soros said, “the pro-Israel lobby has been remarkably successful in suppressing criticism.” This is precisely the conduct in which Suzman was found to have engaged.
- 156 “*within a day...*”: Christina Lamb, *New Statesman*, 7 August, 2006.
- 157 “*Racism is not...*” *Business Day*, 16 March, 2007.
- 157 “*in his weekly...*”: Gulfnews.com, 17 March, 2007. The *Sunday Times*, 18 March, 2007, pulled the same trope in an editorial, “Mbeki has lost the plot”, praising Iraq War architect Paul Wolfowitz while faulting Mbeki’s internet letter for “contrarian mutterings on race.”
- 157 “*to instruct Eskom*”: Suzman, *Business Day*, 16 March, 2007.
- 157 “*has lost the plot*”: *Sunday Times*, 18 March, 2007. Mbeki has indeed suggested that the British ought to honour their commitments and he has quite separately advocated engagement with Zimbabwe rather than regime change-but on well-argued grounds of effectiveness. Gumede links these separate themes as though, in Mbeki’s mind, one logically entails the other. It is a characteristically disingenuous move.
- 157 “*true to his contrarian and stubborn nature...*”: *New Statesman*, 2 April, 2007.
- 158 “*he said recent dialogue...*” Morgan Tsavangirai, *Business Day*, 7 June, 2001.
- 158 *parallel realities*: *Business Day*, 4 April 2007.
- 159 “*Mbeki was roundly criticized...*” David Blair, *Degrees in Violence* (London: Continuum, 2002), 141.
- 159 “*came to naught...*” Simon Barber, *Business Day*, 26 May, 2000.
- 159 ... *subsequently reneged*: David Blair, *Degrees in Violence*, 192.
- 159 “*Why does the South African government...*”: Zackie Achmat and Nathan Geffen, *Cape Times*, 15 March, 2007.
- 160 *forthcoming Index*: The cellphone magnate Mo Ibrahim explained the choice of Rotberg to lead the development of good governance criteria in the award of a multi-million dollar prize for African leadership, announced in mid-2006: “As a board, we decided that we need to develop an index for good governance and good leadership, and that index should be

based in scientific facts, not on liking or disliking. Today we argue, do you like Mugabe or do you not like Mugabe? Do like this guy, [or] don't you like this guy? There is too much passion in the discussion. Look, let us take the prejudice, the passion out of this. What is a leader supposed to do for his people? He's supposed to improve the standard of living, to help them get jobs, get kids to schools, [and have] enough medicine and hospitals. We can quantify what is needed and we can measure it. That's why we decided to look for an academic center to work with us in producing the index. We found that Rotberg and Kennedy School of Government really are doing a lot of work in the area of governance and measurements of governance. That's why we decided that Bob and Harvard would be a useful starting point." Mo Ibrahim, interviewed by AllAfrica.com, 26 October, 2006.

- 161 "Bheki Khumalo, ...": *Business Day*, 14 January, 2002.
- 161 "107 people have been killed...": 34 Ann Talbot, *World Socialist Website*, 9 March, 2002.
- 161 "The democratic system...": TM, Address to Africa Conference on Elections, Democracy and Governance, 7 April, 2003.
- 162 "Rotberg's is a familiar name...": Andrew Mlangeni, 23 May, 2003.
- 162 "Mugabe is and African Saddam Hussein": Robert Rotberg, *Harvard Crimson*, 23 September, 2003.
- 163 "invasion of Iraq by Iranian commerce": On the American realists and their tilt towards accommodation with Iran and Syria, see the debate preceding and surrounding the Iraq Study Group Report (6 December, 2006) headed by Bush family confidante James Baker who, having been at the heart of the failed diplomacy that prefaced Gulf War I under President Bush I, is certifiably not a dove. In particular, see Henry Kissinger's widely circulated December, 2005 op-ed article in which he wrote: "Political discussions between the U.S. ambassador in Baghdad and Iranian authorities regarding Iraq already have been authorized. These cannot be the sole contacts with Baghdad's neighbors. The functions of the contact group would be to advise on the political evolution of Iraq, to broaden the basis of legitimacy of the government, and to reflect a broad international interest in the stability and progress of the region." Kissinger, "Moving Towards a Responsible Exit Strategy", *San Diego Union Tribune*, 11 December, 2005. On the commerce, see, e.g., "Iran is playing a growing role in Iraq economy", *New York Times*, 17 March, 2007. "While the Bush administration works to stop Iran from meddling in Iraq, Iranian air-conditioners fill Iraqi appliance stores, Iranian tomatoes ripen on the windowsills of kitchens here and legions of white Iranian-made Peugeots sit in Iraqi driveways."
- 163 "[i]n the same way...": Ronnie Mamoepa, *Mail & Guardian*, 16 March, 2007.
- 163 "worth the paper...": Helen Suzman, *Business Day*, 16 March 2007

- 164 “*sickening hypocrisy*”: Malusi Gigaba, quoted by *Business Day*, 14 January, 2003. The Australian High Commission responded, with not-quiet-diplomacy, that Gigaba was “ignorant” because Pakistan had been suspended from the Commonwealth. *Business Day*, 15 January, 2006. This response trivialized Gigaba’s sound and larger point: Pakistan remains an ally in the “war on terror” and the supposed quest for “democracy” despite its status as a recent defector from democracy to military dictatorship. “Leaders of Pakistan’s opposition last night urged the US to push for the restoration of democracy, warning that Washington risked an intensification of anti-American sentiment if it continued to back the military rule of President Pervez Musharraf” reported the *Financial Times* on 13 June, 2007. The *Financial Times* quoted Iqbal Zafar Jhagra, secretary general of the Alliance for Restoration of Democracy, an umbrella organization of Pakistan’s mainstream opposition parties: “It’s not possible for the US to continue justifying a uniformed president heading a democracy. It’s a joke on democracy.”
- 164 “*We have obviously been discussing...*”: The press conference transcript is available on www.number10.gov.uk.
- 165 “*If it were down to me...*”: Blair to Clare Short, quoted by John Kampfner, *Blair’s Wars* (London: 2003, Free Press), p76.
- 165 “*Of course, we now face...*”: TM, Africa Conference on elections, democracy and governance, 7 April, 2003.
- 165 Iraq ...is far worse...”: See, Rupert Cornwall, “Feathers fly as chickenhawks flee coop”, *Sunday Independent*, 12 March, 2006. Andrew Sullivan, George Will, William F Buckley Jr., Francis Fukuyama, William Kristol and other prominent conservatives concede failure of Iraq adventure. See, “Doubtful dove retains some hawkishness, *Financial Times*, 1 April, 2006 (Review of Fukuyama, *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power and the American Legacy*(New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006)).
- 165 Iraq...is now a failed state: See Robert Rotberg, “the New Nature of Nation-State Failure”, *Washington Quarterly Summer 2002*, 85.
- 166 “*cornerstone of civilization*”: 45 “Legal System in Iraq Staggers Beneath the Weight of War”, *New York Times*, 17 December, 2006. The comment was, ironically, made days before the rushed Hussein hanging.
- 166 “*Mills should pay more attention...*”: Virginia Tilley, *Mail & Guardian*, 7 March, 2007.
- 166 “*It is clear...*”: *Business Day*, 11 October, 2005.
- 166 Adam Roberts, *The Wonga Coup*, quoted by RW Johnson, *London Review of Books*, 16 November, 2006.
- 166 “*The reason Zimbabwe is such a preoccupation...*”: TM, quoted by Alastair Sparks, www.the-globalist.com, Three years later, the noise over Darfur would indeed grow, but in

a way that strengthened rather than weakened Mbeki's point. Mahmood Mamdani argued that Darfur atrocities attracted disproportionate attention in New York because the proponents of "war on terror" needed to give a high profile to Muslim perpetrators of human rights abuse. Mahmood Mamdani, "The politics of naming: Genocide, Civil War, Insurgency", *London Review of Books*, 8 March, 2007.

- 167 "Last December, Nigerian authorities...": John Dlodlu, *Business Day* 18 Feb, 2002. When on 22 April 2007 the papers did pay some attention to Nigerian electoral issues, the Democratic Alliance blog, *Inside Politics* was not only indifferent but dismissive: "The four national Sunday papers are distinctly thin on local political stories this week, as evidenced by the amount of space given to the unfolding drama in Nigeria, in the run to its presidential election and the actual vote — yesterday — for a new president." The illiberals would never comment in that raised-eyebrow manner on saturation coverage concerning Zimbabwe.
- 167 "Estimates of the Matabeleland dead..": Allister Sparks, *Beyond The Miracle* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2003), 318. See, *Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe: A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands 1980-1988* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2007). Elinor Sisulu's introduction is exercised on the theme of "breaking the silence" over what is described as "a chunk of Zimbabwean history which is largely unknown except to those who experienced it first hand."
- 168 "Reagan and his advisers...": TM, *ANC Today*, 12 December, 2003: "Indeed, the land question has disappeared from the global discourse about Zimbabwe, except when it is mentioned to highlight the plight of the former white landowners, and to attribute food shortages in Zimbabwe to the land redistribution programme."
- 168 "The US State Department...": *Weekender*, 7 April, 2007.
- 168 "Another Side...": *Business Day*, 30 March, 2007.

- 168 “grave danger”: JA Hobson, *Imperialism* (1902), 239.
- 169 “[Rhodes] and his associates...”: Florence Dixie, quoted by John S. Galbraith, *Crown and Charter: The Early Years of the British South African Company* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 308. Galbraith points out that the name “Rhodesia” had been used unofficially earlier, but was adopted by the company in 1895 and by the imperial government in 1898.
- 169 “South Africa was penalized...”: *Myburgh Rand Report*, majority opinion, 73.
- 170 “Pol-Pot-like”: Robert Rotberg, *Christian Science Monitor*, 19 December, 2002. See also, “A Cry Against the Pol Pot of Africa, *Christian Science Monitor*, 3 May, 2002: “Africa has its very own Pol Pot. Everything that President Robert Mugabe has done to Zimbabwe since the stolen March elections qualifies him for that despicable allusion. Even Mr. Mugabe finally acknowledged last week that more than 7 million Zimbabweans, including 5 million children, were at risk of starvation. What he did not say was that he and his administration are directly responsible for the wave of acute hunger, and for the chaos that is continuing to destroy a once- rich nation. Like Cambodia’s vicious Pol Pot, the Khmer Rouge chief, Mugabe has not seemed to care that Zimbabwe is sliding rapidly from weakness to failure, that the tide of human misery is eroding the very foundations of the state (as in Cambodia), and that new outrages occur daily.” This succeeds only in demonstrating Rotberg’s shocking ignorance of the deliberate genocide that Pol Pot pursued. Moreover Pol Pot’s estimated 1.5 million victims were and are stone cold dead, not at “risk” of it. See, Philip Short, *Pol Pot: History of a Nightmare* (London: John Murray, 2005), 11: “No other country has ever lost so great a proportion of its nationals in a single, politically inspired hetacomb, brought on by its own leaders.”
- 171 “Kill if you must”: Peter Bruce, *Business Day*, 16 March, 2007.
- 172 “goofball dictators...”: Maureen Isaacson, *Sunday Independent*, 18 March, 2007.
- 172 Chris Bennett, *Cape Times*, 16 March, 2007. Bennett signed off from Rondebosh.
- 172 “final triumph of Baudrillard’s insight”: In *The Gulf War Did not Take Place* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), p51: Baudrillard’s condemns the manner in which a rapid and endless succession of media images, actually loosens moral, political and intellectual accountability in relation to the war. “By the force of the media, this war liberates an exponential mass of stupidity, not the particular stupidity of war, which is considerable, but the professional and functional stupidity of those who pontificate in perpetual commentary on the event . . . Fortunately, no one will hold this expert or general or that intellectual for hire to account for the idiocies or absurdities proffered the day before, since these will be erased by those of the following day. In this manner everyone is amnestied by the ultra-rapid succession of phony events and phony discourses. The laundering of stupidity by the escalation of stupidity which reconstitutes a sort of total innocence, namely the innocence of washed and bleached brains, stupefied not by violence but by the sinister insignificance of images.”

- 172 *will never bow to any electorate*: “[National Liberation Movements] are the righteous, they are the masses and as such they cannot really be wrong . . . This leaves no room for other black [political] parties.” RW Johnson, quoted by Stanley Uys and James Myburgh, “South Africa: Thabo Mbeki’s Presidency-A Profile” (2002).
- 173 *“will of the Zimbabwean electorate...”*: After bitter rivalries that were fomented by the old order intelligence networks and which turned violent in Mugabe’s Matabeleland expeditions of 1987, Nkomo consented to the merger of his party with Zanu in order, he said, to stop the violence.
- 173 *“to delay land reform”*: *Business Day*, 29 July, 2005 quoted Mbeki: “In 1990, when the Lancaster House agreement was expiring (allowing Zimbabwe to redistribute land to blacks), SA was beginning its negotiations process,” Mbeki said. “Emeka Anyaoku (former secretary-general of the Commonwealth) went to Zimbabwe and asked to delay land reform so as not to frighten the apartheid government.” Mugabe’s government agreed to delay land reform until SA had achieved its liberation, Mbeki said.
- 173 *“expired in 1990”*: Jocelyn Alexander, *The Unsettled Land: State-Making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe 1893-2003* (London: James Currey, 2006), p105.
- 174 *Evil...is fatiguing*: “No man does evil voluntarily.” Of course. What would he gain by it? Evil is gratuitous. It is a luxury activity that requires leisure and yields no profit. ... Evil is fatiguing, it requires an unmaintainable vigilance.’ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Saint Genet: Actor and Martyr* (New York: Pantheon, 1963), p28
- 175 *“special relationship”*: The first stop is usually Winston Churchill’s “Sinews of Peace” speech, delivered in the United States in 1946, mostly famous for the Iron curtain formulation. But Churchill plainly contemplated keeping the Empire in its place, within a special Anglo-American alliance (“kindred systems of society”) that would, indeed, dominate the United Nations. Churchill told his audience: ‘Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organization will be gained without what I have called the fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples ...a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States. Fraternal association requires not only the growing friendship and mutual understanding between our two vast but kindred systems of society, but the continuance of the intimate relationship between our military advisers, leading to common study of potential dangers, the similarity of weapons and manuals of instructions, and to the interchange of officers and cadets at technical colleges. It should carry with it the continuance of the present facilities for mutual security by the joint use of all Naval and Air Force bases in the possession of either country all over the world. There is however an important question we must ask ourselves. Would a special relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our over-riding loyalties to the World Organization? I reply that, on the contrary, it is probably the only means by which that organization will achieve its full stature and strength.’

- Rhodes with his scholarships wanted a reunion of the British mother country with American and its white dominions. This was the mental universe of Churchill and his history of the English Speaking Peoples, of Froude and Galton and (in a more minor and present-day register) of the colonial writer, RW Johnson. Writing in *London Review of Books* RW Johnson gushingly praised the imperial ambitions of Jan Smuts: “Smuts, rather than Nelson Mandela, was South Africa’s man of the century.” Why? Smuts was determined to establish a “settler state” stretching far northwards, explained Johnson, that “would undoubtedly have become a major player in world history.” Johnson, *London Review of Books*, 6 May, 2004.
- 175 “*God has not been preparing...*”: Senator Beveridge, quoted by Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), 282.
- 175 “*The history of the world...*”: Huggins, as quoted by Guy Arnold, *Africa: A Modern History* (London: Atlantic Books, 2005), 286.
- 176 “*The Labour party...*”: Harold Wilson to Dr E. Mutasa. The letter was written by Wilson’s then advisor, Elaine Windrich and signed by him on 2 October, 1964. It was then published in the *Rhodesian Herald*, 19 October, 1964. Windrich cites it in *Britain and the Politics of Rhodesian Independence* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), 31 from which the historical facts in the paragraph are also cited.
- 176 “*persons who have not served...*”: Elaine Windrich, *Britain and the Politics of Rhodesian Independence*, 35.
- 176 “*If there are those...*”: Elaine Windrich, *Britain and the Politics of Rhodesian Independence*, 67.
- 176 *cumulative British and South African investments*: William Minter, *King Solomon’s Mines Revisited: Western Interests and the Burdened History of Southern Africa* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), 212.
- 176 “*Not only was there...*”: William Minter, *King Solomon’s Mines Revisited*, 203.
- 177 *breakdown...averted*: Elaine Windrich, *Britain and the Politics of Rhodesian Independence*, 90.
- 177 “*extreme measures*”: William Minter, *King Solomon’s Mines Revisited*, 237.
- 177 “*Salisbury Sellout*.” Rhodesia’s independence would be recognized. The existing fifty white members would continue in parliament. Eight African representatives appointed by chiefs would continue to sit. A further eight would be elected by a highly restrictive franchise. This latter caucus would be increased by two further representatives whenever the number of African voters meeting income and education requirements passed another 6% of the white electorate. “On the most optimistic estimate, calculated constitutional lawyer Claire Pallet, the more than five million Africans might have the same number of

- seats as the 250,000 whites by the year 2035.” William Minter, *King Solomon’s Mines Revisited*, 237.
- 177 “*despicable settlement*”: President Kaunda, *The Times of Zambia*, 4 December, 1971, quoted by Elaine Windrich, *Britain and the Politics of Rhodesian Independence*, 182.
- 177 “*refuses to accept the notion...*”: 78 SAPA, as carried by Mail & Guardian online, 23 June, 2005.
- 178 “*entirely left out*”: Elaine Windrich, *Britain and the Politics of Rhodesian Independence*, 12.
- 178 “*gigantic confidence trick*”: 80 William Minter, *King Solomon’s Mines Revisited*, 300-301; Guy Arnold, *Africa: A Modern History* (London: Atlantic Books, 2005), 520.
- 178 “*The winner, Bishop Abel Muzorewa’s UANC...*”: Tony Leon and Donald Rallis, “Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, White Hoax or Black Uhuru”, *Wits Student*, 15 May 1979 p10. See further Ronald Suresh Roberts, “Is the Accuser Always Holy”, *Mail & Guardian*, 27 June 2003.
- 179 “*One of the distinguishing...*”: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.
- 179 “*Coons Holidaying...*”: See, Caryl Phillips, “Necessary Journeys”, *London Guardian*, 11 December, 2004, citing Carol Thatcher, *Below the Parapet: The Autobiography of Dennis Thatcher* (London: Harper Collins, 1996). Carol is Margaret’s daughter.

CHAPTER 8: A CLASH OF FUNDAMENTALISMS I : THE MEDICAL POLITICS OF AIDS

- 180 “Who really knows...”: Gallo’s *Washington Post* comment is quoted by the late Ralph Wiley, *Why Black People Tend to Shout: Cold Facts and Wry Views from a Black Man’s World* (New York: Penguin, 1992), 101. Wiley cites the Remnick interview at page 101 of his book.
- 180 *Gallo and disputed discovery of HIV*: See further John Crewdson, “In Gallo Case, Truth Termed A Casualty Report: Science Subverted in AIDS Dispute”, *Chicago Tribune*, 1 January, 1995: “In March 1987, President Ronald Reagan and French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac appeared in the East Room of the White House to announce that their governments had settled the question of whether scientists at the Pasteur Institute of Paris or the National Institutes of Health had invented the blood test for the virus known as HIV. The answer, it appeared, was both. The names of the Pasteur scientists were added to the American patent on the AIDS test, and the formal agreement that formed the core of the settlement declared that both countries’ scientists had independently “succeeded in isolating a human retrovirus which proved to be the causative agent of AIDS.” Just eight days later, at the Los Alamos National Laboratory in northern New Mexico, a scientist specializing in the genetic analysis of viruses sent senior officials at the National Institutes of Health a confidential memo warning that “a double fraud” had been perpetrated on the scientific community. The Los Alamos scientist, Gerald Myers, had compared the genetic codes of the French and American AIDS viruses and determined they were not independent discoveries but had undoubtedly come from the same patient. Moreover, Myers said, the American virus and its progeny could not have been isolated from a pool of blood samples from several AIDS patients, as the NIH publicly had maintained. “I suggest that we have paid for this deception in more than the usual ways,” Myers wrote. “Scientific fraudulence always costs humanity . . . but here we have been additionally misdirected with regard to the extent of variation of the virus, which we can ill afford . . . Myers’ memo, which would have undermined the historic settlement before the ink had dried, was promptly buried in the NIH’s files—where it remained until it was accidentally discovered late last year [1994] by investigators for Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.), who in a few days will relinquish the chairmanship of the House subcommittee that oversees the NIH. On 9 January, 1993 Carol Ezzell reported in *Science News* that “The US. Department of Health and Human Services released a report last week concluding that government AIDS researcher Robert C. Gallo committed scientific misconduct in connection with his codiscovery with French scientists in 1984 of the virus that causes AIDS. The report found that Gallo misrepresented his laboratory’s ability to grow the virus from a sample donated by the French, a move that had the potential to obscure the significance of the French contribution to the discovery of the cause of AIDS.” Gallo, cited in the same article, disputed these findings and described the adverse report as “incompetent.” *San Francisco Chronicle* journalist Randy Shilts wrote a hard-hitting book, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1987) dramatizing how politics and personal ambition overtook more humane concerns in the fight for AIDS research credit and in the making of relevant health-care policies. The Anglo-French dispute was settled in 1994, with an American concession that the French

were entitled to an enhanced share of the royalties flowing from the disputed research. Gallo decorously describes this as a “negotiated credit” for the discovery.

Policy premise backed by substantial spending...: The TAC website quotes an iClinic reference from Harvey Marjolein dated 20 September, 2000 and based on Mbeki’s replies to Parliamentary questions at that early date: “On the controversial debate whether HIV causes AIDS sparked by Mbeki’s courting so-called AIDS dissidents in his presidential AIDS panel, Mbeki replied that “The way we have handled the complex scientific questions around HIV/AIDS may have been confusing, but there is nothing confusing about what government HIV/AIDS programmes are based on and are trying to do”.

<http://www.aegis.com/news/woza/2000/IC000906.html> .

Another analyst comments: “If the state has played the dissident card in the national context [sic: it hadn’t], internationally its contribution and presence has been the prototype of mainstream international approaches to HIV. South African officials participated in drawing up the Abudja Declaration on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Other Related Infectious Diseases (Organisation of African Unity 2001). This Declaration calls for, amongst others, increased expenditure on health programmes (up to 15 per cent of national budgets) and the creation of a Global AIDS Fund for anti-retroviral programmes in Africa. After the United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) on AIDS in June 2000, the Minister of Health issued a statement in which she endorsed the call for national poverty eradication strategies and access to treatment with quality-controlled anti-retroviral therapy (Department of Health, 2001). . . . When the President questioned the link between HIV and AIDS [sic: he didn’t], government did not stop buying condoms or STD drugs. In reality, increasingly large sums of money are being allocated and expended on AIDS programmes by government based on the most conventional of public health assumptions about the link between HIV and AIDS, the need for behaviour change, and the role of STDs and condoms. “Helen Schneider, “On the Fault line: The politics of Aids policy in contemporary South Africa” *African Studies*, 61, 1 (2002).

181 *In the 2007 budget..:* Minister of Finance Trevor Manuel, Budget Speech, 21 February, 2007: “Our previous budget framework made provision for the treatment and care of about 250 000 people who are ill with Aids. We are likely to reach that figure in the next few months. Health receives a further R1,7 billion for this programme, presently being delivered through 272 sites, allowing for a doubling of the uptake over three years. Spending on dedicated HIV and Aids programmes by health, education and social development departments will exceed R5 billion by 2009/10.”

181 *Doing more harm than good:* Laurie Garret, “The Challenge of Global Health”, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2007. Helen Epstein, writing in the *New York Review of Books* underlined this theme in an essay entitled “The Lost Children of AIDS”. She raises concerns about the spending of the January 2003 Bush pledge of \$15 billion to fund international AIDS programs in developing countries under the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), which was part of a trend towards greater AIDS spending by Western governments in poorer countries: “. . . At least 60 percent of the US foreign aid funding never leaves the US, but is instead spent on office overhead, travel, procurement of

American-made cars, computers and other equipment, as well as salary and benefit packages so generous that just one of them would be enough to feed, clothe, and educate hundreds of African children for years . . . People used to joke that there were two kinds of AIDS in Uganda: ‘slim AIDS’ and ‘fat AIDS’. Those with ‘slim AIDS’ grow thinner and thinner and thinner until they finally disappear. ‘Fat AIDS’ afflicts development agency bureaucrats, foreign consultants and medical experts who attend lavish conferences and workshops in exotic places, earn large salaries, and get fatter and fatter.” Epstein *New York Review of Books*, 3 November, 2005.

181 *AIDS versus other health spending: 5* Celia Farber, *Serious Adverse Events: An Uncensored History of AIDS* (Hoboken: Melville House, 2006), 264.

181 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 35. Although obviously Fanon was generalizing with Montesquieu as a rhetorical example, it turns out that Mbeki indeed specifically quoted Montesquieu on Woman’s Day, 9 August, 2002 at the reburial (described as her “funeral”) of the remains of Saartjie Baartman. While the dehumanization of Baartman had been completed by the medical examination of the openly racist French paleontologist, Georges Cuvier, Mbeki reminded his audience that “the eminent French thinker Montesquieu” had written: “You will find in the climates of the north, peoples with few vices, many virtues, sincerity and truthfulness, Approach the south, you are leaving morality itself, the passions become more vivacious and multiply crimes...” Mbeki next invoked American theologian, Scott David Foutz, who noted that Europeans, once they had convinced themselves of the immorality of Africans in general, went further: “The bored, yet excitable European imagination soon enthusiastically entertained and proliferated stories of African women carried off by sexually/excited male apes as mates and the alleged promiscuity of the African women who, it was claimed, invited either man or ape.” TM, *ANC Today*, 9 August 2002.

181 “As your manuscript indicates...”: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006. Epstein approvingly expresses this anti-intellectual attitude as follows: “Many people were surprised when President Mbeki began expressing interest in their ideas. When Mbeki invited a group of them, including Berkeley professor Peter Duesberg, to South Africa to present their views to a presidential panel on AIDS in Africa in May, observers were even more surprised. One scientist told me, “It’s like the movie Friday the 13th. Just when you think you’ve finally killed the monster, it just keeps coming back to life.”” But why, upon mature reflection, would anybody be surprised that a responsible elected official wants to acquaint himself “with all sides” of a science that everybody says is central to a massive health crisis under his watch? It is an elementary intellectual procedure, unless of course the leader is implicitly denied the right to or faculty of intellect. He must just shut up. He must just obey. And the characterization of a scientific view as a “monster” is itself monstrous rather than scientific. To talk to a silly person is to see very quickly that he or she is silly-unless you believe that the talker is stupid too-can’t tell silly from not silly, and needs your help so as not to be tricked. That is the unspoken and offensive attitude on the point. Recall also, as discussed below, that Mbeki did not propose personally to resolve the scientific dispute that might appear on the agenda of the AIDS panel. Untrained as a scientist, he expected the panelists-all scientists-to do that.

- 182 “one big lesson”: 8 De Cock, quoted in “ARVs alone won’t overcome HIV and Aids”, reported by Kaisernetwork.org, April 19, 2007. “If you visit these countries, go to clinics and go to people’s houses, you see people going back to work,” De Cock said, adding, “It is pretty impressive. However, about six times as many people in 2006 contracted HIV than those who started antiretroviral treatment, meaning that prevention efforts are failing or nonexistent, according to De Cock.” According to Michel Sidibe, deputy director of UNAIDS, “40 000 people in Malawi began antiretroviral treatment last year [2006], but the number of new cases in the country during the same time period was double that number. He added that it is necessary to ‘turn off the tap’ of new HIV cases.”
- 183 “If we consider...”: William Easterly, *The White Man’s Burden: Why the West’s Efforts to AID the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* (London: Penguin, 2006), 255.
- 183 *Even more starkly*: “The \$4.5 billion that the WHO plans to spend on antiretroviral treatment for one more year of life for three million could grant between seven and sixty years of additional life for five times that many people—fifteen million [if applied against other lethal diseases]. For the HIV-positive patients themselves, you could reach many more of them to prolong their lives by treating the opportunistic infections, especially TB, that usually kills AIDS victims.” William Easterly, *The White Man’s Burden*, 252.
- 183 “... Haiti actually went backward...”: Laurie Garrett, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2007, p23.
- 183 “The big question...”: William Easterly, *The White Man’s Burden*, 253. Easterly points out that “[b]y a tragic irony, compassion is driving the fight against AIDS in Africa in a direction that may cost more lives than it saves. It is political suicide in rich countries to question AIDS treatment. Too bad—what should matter is what helps the poor the most, not what sells politically in rich countries. This political pressure led planners to fixate on the goal of treatment even when the costs were so prohibitive that it diverted money from cheaper actions that [saved] more lives. The Western aid community is now installing a gold-plated barn door after the horse has been stolen. Foreign aid programs are now starting to finance the ‘triple-drug cocktail’ known as highly active antiretroviral therapy (HAART), which has dramatically lowered AIDS mortality in the West [but is far less likely to do so in the impoverished parts of the world]”. William Easterly, *The White Man’s Burden*, 249-50.
- 183 “the advocates for treatment...”: William Easterly, *The White Man’s Burden*, 251.
- 184 *2007 National Strategic Plan*: The announcement of the plan was covered in the *Cape Times*, 28 February, 2007 and other media.
- 184 *Major Bush campaign donors*: On the funding, Anthony Brink undoubtedly makes a good point: Bush’s interest in seeing to the provision of AIDS drugs to Africans has nothing to do with solicitude. Because he’s a GlaxoSmithKline man. A Republican Party fund-raising dinner was held on 19 June 2002 at which Bush was the evening star. CBS reported the

following day, GOP Bash Rakes In \$30 Million — a record-breaker: ‘Among the top corporate donors at Wednesday’s fund-raiser were GlaxoSmithKline, a multinational drug giant, which gave at least \$250,000, according to the Washington Post.’ In his dinner speech Bush gave special thanks for the fundraising prowess of dinner committee chairman Robert Ingram — you guessed: president of pharmaceutical operations at GlaxoSmithKline. [italics added] Donald Rumsfeld stepped up to the post of Secretary of Defence on 20 January 2001, stepping down at the same time as Chairman of the Board of Gilead Sciences, Inc., a pharmaceutical company that develops “novel treatments for viral diseases” (including AIDS drugs), as Rumsfeld himself put it. Between 1977 and 1985, Rumsfeld was Chief Executive Officer, President, and then Chairman of drug giant GD Searle & Co, subsequently merged with Pfizer. Bush’s gigantic R15 billion President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (Pepfar) funding package was announced in January, 2003.

184 “*The relentlessly driven...*”: Farber, *Serious Adverse Events*, 231.

185 *AIDS-drug lobby lore*: For the “lost years” lore, see Helen Epstein, *New York Review of Books*, 20 July 2000 who momentarily falls victim to it: “The interest that Mbeki has taken in the AIDS dissidents is more than an intellectual diversion. It is contributing to a public health disaster by distracting the Health Ministry and other official institutions from addressing the epidemic, and by failing to prevent HIV infection in South African children.” The truth is different, as Laurie Garret saw. Botswana, which did not intend to pause, perforce did so anyway as institutional constraints battled to keep pace with the demands of drug rollouts: “By 2002, the once starry-eyed foreigners and their counterparts in Botswana’s government had realized that before they could start handing out ARVs, they would have to build laboratories and clinics, recruit doctors from abroad, and train other health-care personnel . . . After five years of preparation, in 2005 the rollout of HIV treatment commenced.” Laurie Garret, “The Challenge of Global Health”, *Foreign Affairs*, January, February, 2007.

185 “*You had the US government...*”: Thabo Mbeki, e-TV interview, Deborah Patta, *Third Degree*, 24April 2001.

186 *Orwellian nonsense*: The TAC website defines denialism as “ the promotion of one or more of the following pseudoscientific views: (1) HIV does not cause AIDS, (2) the risks of antiretrovirals outweigh their benefits and (3) there is not a large AIDS epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa.” Mbeki has expressed none of these views. His expressed views are, as appears from the main text, emphatically the opposite. Government policies have throughout been premised on HIV s the cause of AIDS; he has sought regulatory vigilance against those who belittled drug safety issues in the case of antiretrovirals—hardly the same as saying that their risks outweigh their benefits ; and the entire point of the Pretoria Panel was that, given the enormous AIDS problem, business as usual was not an option—precisely the opposite of denying the scale of the problem.

On the same website Mark Heywood has a different and mutating definition of “denialism” in an article called “the Price of Denial”: “Individual and psycho-social denial about HIV must be distinguished from the various manifestations of political denial that have

characterised responses to HIV.” These assorted and proliferating denialisms (“various manifestations of political denial”!) are themselves nowhere defined.

Edwin Cameron in his memoir, *Witness to AIDS* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2005), p65 offers yet another definition in which “denialism” is “the scientifically unfounded doctrine that attributes AIDS exclusively to social and behavioural factors, and not to the physiological (and medically treatable) effects of a virus.” At page 104 Cameron defined AIDS dissidents by saying that their “dogma takes many forms. Some claim that HIV does not exist as a virus at all. Others assert that such a virus, if it exists at all, has never been isolated. Some urge that HIV does not exist as an infectious condition. Yet others assert that tests for HIV or its antibodies are wildly misleading and unreliable. They unite in claiming that, if it does exist at all, HIV has not been shown to be the cause of AIDS.” Actually the most ferociously fought difference between local “denialist” Anthony Brink and the global patron saint of “denialism”, Peter Duesberg, is precisely over Duesberg’s acceptance (which Brink rejects) that HIV exists but is harmless. The dissidents therefore hardly “unite” on this point.

And Cameron added yet another definition of “denialism” in a lecture delivered at Harvard Law School on 8 April 2001, when he faulted Mbeki for describing AIDS as “a disease of poverty and underdevelopment.” In this emphasis on poverty and underdevelopment Mbeki was, Cameron alleged, “echoing one of the key dogmas of denialism.” Four years later Cameron loosened the grip of AIDS-drug fundamentalism on his mind and accepted the developmental imperative as a necessary part of AIDS management. Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 120: “A malnourished, untended patient, living in a shack and beset with other infections, cannot benefit from antiretroviral treatment alone. She is entitled to broader social opportunities and interventive [sic] remedies-including food and housing and clean water and medical care.” The retreat was obvious but Cameron lacked the intellectual modesty to concede in direct terms that Mbeki had been right and he wrong.

- 186 In my own personal experience: In 2005 the Democratic Alliance put out a “hit list” naming the supposed “Dirty Dozen” top AIDS dissidents or denialists (whatever): “The dissidents claim HIV does not cause AIDS. They campaign against AIDS drugs, which they claim are toxic.” *Business Day*, 20 October, 2005. This list named, inter alia, yours truly. Having rather gullibly carried the story as a straight news item written by AIDS-lobby sympathizer, Tamar Kahn, *Business Day* editor Peter Bruce rowed back the next day with an editorial commenting that, although seemingly motivated by public health policy, the DA list in reality appears mainly to be a ranking of people who irritate the DA. Minister in the Presidency Essop Pahad is on it. So are writer-lawyer Ronald Suresh Roberts and lawyer Christine Qunta, whose low estimation in the eyes of the DA would not surprise any regular reader of this newspaper . . . The DA has clearly used its “research” to settle some personal scores. It does itself no good at all. In particular, health spokeswoman Dianne Kohler-Barnard is developing a reputation as a thoroughly unreliable source of information on her specialist subject. . . . Roberts’s articles attacking Leon for his activities in military service and in which he has raised Leon’s father’s past as a hanging judge would no doubt also have marked him for inclusion on the “dissident” list. (*Business Day* editorial “Misguided Hitlist”, 21 October, 2005). The list includes Thabo Mbeki (of course), and Nicoli Natrass, who puts herself out as a serious academic quotes it at pages 116 and 180 of her book, *Mortal Combat: AIDS Denialism and the Struggle for Antiretrovirals in South*

Africa, a text that treats Mbeki as a denialist while never satisfactorily clarifying the basis for the suggestion. In her discussion of the June 2000 Pretoria AIDS Panel, which is ordinarily a substantial exhibit in the supposed showcase of Mbeki's "denialism" Natrass flounders irrelevantly: "The live debates (which Mbeki had videotaped from four different angles so that he did not miss anything, including Luc Montagnier's afternoon nap)...". She then concludes (at pages 49 and 61): "Mbeki may not, of course, have gone as far as 'converting' to the denialist view . . . Such commentary on what Mbeki actually thought remains speculative." She nevertheless then continues on her merry way, basing the "Mortal Combat" of her book's title on the supposed basis that Mbeki is an AIDS denialist, a premise that, upon a careful reading of her own text, she herself concedes she has failed to establish.

- 186 "People who otherwise...": TM to Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, Kofi Annan, 3 April, 2000.
- 186 *Mbeki turned up unannounced*: For details of Mbeki's impromptu appearance at the meeting Mandela delegated to De Klerk, see Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 125.
- 186 "no moment of relaxation": TM, *Africa: Define Yourself* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2002), 27.
- 186 "For too long...": Hadland and Rantao, *The Life and Times of Thabo Mbeki* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 1999), xvi, 147. Cameron's superficially "honest" memoir makes no reference whatsoever to this widely known speech by Mbeki because it contradicts the stereotypes of Mbeki as callous denialist, in which Cameron and the TAC need to trade.
- 187 *Cameron was himself in denial*: Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 51: "To a wise and patient private counselor, and to a Wits doctor doing brave early work in the field, Professor Ruben Sher, I spoke. But not to family or troops of friends. I feared their reaction with a ghastly, sickening, isolating loneliness. For more than three years I lived with it solitarily [sic], not quite alone in a treeless tundra [sic: tundra always treeless] of my own involuntary creation."
- 187 *Cameron conceded at page 117*: Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 117 (my emphasis). Instead of demonstrating in the ordinary way (through quotation and argument) that Mbeki was a "denialist" or a scientific "dissident" Cameron, Gumede and other Mbeki detractors wax disingenuous, as when Cameron at his page 65 speaks of Mbeki's "three-year apparent association with AIDS denialism". Instead, Cameron behaves evasively and insinuates, over-using weasel words such as "apparent" and "countenanced": Thus he asserts that "the president's apparent scepticism about the viral aetiology of AIDS, and the resulting public controversy, brought a profound chill to the attempt to bring reason and calm to the debate about AIDS policy in South Africa." (66). Cameron continued: "For South Africa, the significance of Aids denialism is momentous. It has to be, since our president, President Thabo Mbeki, has publicly countenanced and officially encouraged it." Elsewhere Cameron spoke of a supposed moment (yet again unspecified) "eleven months to the

day after Mbeki began his public endorsement of the Aids denialists.” But of course Cameron can’t cite the text of the supposed endorsement or “official encouragement”. The Judge is interminably coy.

- 187 *orthodox and defensible positions*: The *New Oxford Dictionary of English* says a “syndrome” is “a group of symptoms which consistently occur together or a condition characterized by a set of associated symptoms.” Because AIDS symptoms are opportunistic and various rather than fixed in manifestation, to suggest that the virus does not cause the syndrome is mere semantic common sense. It is equally obvious and orthodox truth that the progress and manifestation of AIDS is driven by an interplay of viral affliction and environmental factors. None of this is “dissident” territory. Joseph Amon at Human Rights Watch in New York commented on this footnote: “I think you are off track here. Your suggestion that AIDS symptoms are various rather than fixed over-emphasizes the “consistent” part of the definition. A medical dictionary gives a broader, and I think more commonly used, definition: a group of signs and symptoms that occur together and characterize a particular abnormality.
<http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/medlineplusdictionary.html>. Amon then highlighted the following comment from Mbeki: “Does HIV cause AIDS? Can a virus cause a syndrome? How? It can’t, because a syndrome is a group of diseases resulting from acquired immune deficiency.” He said that the question still unresolved by scientists is: what contribution does HIV make to the collapse of the immune system? “Indeed, HIV contributes, but other things contribute as well,” said Mbeki. Amon then objected: “To me this is an example where Mbeki could have said: “Does HIV cause AIDS. Yes it does. But we know there are multiple factors which affect progression to AIDS once someone is infected with HIV and it’s important to talk about those factors too.’ Instead there is a clear message that HIV “can’t” cause AIDS.” Joe Amon, email to Ronald Suresh Roberts, 19 April, 2007. But the difference between what Mbeki said and what Amon said he ought to have said is at best a matter of linguistic quibble: Mbeki didn’t say HIV “can’t” cause AIDS but that it indeed “contributes” while other things contribute as well. This may mean, at worst, that Mbeki did not communicate clearly. It certainly provides no basis for the broad vilification of Mbeki’s supposed denialism that many AIDS-drug activists have engaged in. “Were you wilfully misunderstood?” The *Financial Times* asked Mbeki in April, 2007: “I don’t know. I really don’t know. It might have been bad communication. We were raising questions in a situation when there is a particular understanding that had developed in society so that once you say something else it looks like you are challenging this established truth.” TM, quoted by *Financial Times*, 3 April, 2007.
- 187 “*a more traditional African response...*”: Donna Shalala, Former Secretary of Health and Human Services, “The Age of AIDS” *PBS Frontline*, 31 May 2006.
- 187 “*I have searched...*”: Njabulo Ndebele “The Dilemmas of Leadership” (2004). The most quoted example of supposed “evasiveness” is probably Mbeki’s statement to the *Washington Post*, 25 September, 2003: “Personally, I don’t know anybody who has died of AIDS. I really honestly don’t.” First of all, people do not in fact “die of AIDS” but of opportunistic infections, so the statement was perfectly orthodox. Second, it was a proper rejection of the selective flouting of medical ethics that sees AIDS-drug activists “outing”

the dead and speculating as to causes of death, sometimes even arguing with grieving families on the causation or related points. A Constitutional Court ruling in 2007 shored up the privacy rights of AIDS victims faced with unwanted disclosures by AIDS activist Charlene Smith and the politician Patricia De Lille. See, *NM and Others v. Patricia De Lille, Charlene Smith and New Africa Books, Case CCT 69/05*, 4 April, 2007.

Mbeki's spokesman Bheki Khumalo had issued a clarification dated 28 September 2003 that can be seen, in retrospect, as strikingly similar to the constitutional rights subsequently vindicated by the Constitutional Court. Khumalo also emphasized the substance of HIV/AIDS policy had been praised by the UN Secretary General. In that light, he suggested, the semantics were secondary. He explained: at the end of the interview the President agreed to being asked a personal question, which was whether he knew of anyone in his family or amongst his close associates who had died of AIDS or was infected by HIV. It was these questions specifically about people close to him that the President answered, and his negative replies do not support any broader interpretation that some media have given them. *It should also be remembered that the health status of individuals as well as causes of death are personal matters on which people do not have to declare to the President.* In the same interview President Mbeki confirmed that the National Task Team charged with preparing an operational plan on public sector anti-retroviral therapy is within days of completing its work. In presenting his report to the UN General Assembly Special Session, Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, singled out South Africa for tripling its resource allocation for HIV/AIDS programmes since the adoption of the UN Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS in 2001." (italics added).

- 188 "egg on its face.": Editorial, *Business Day*, 15 November, 2006: "It is incredible that the entire body politic in SA swallowed the myth that Squires had indeed uttered those words. The lesson to journalists is abundantly clear."
- 188 "stewing in the cesspool...": 30 Karima Brown, *Business Day*, 11 April, 2006.
- 188 "Mbeki is sincere...": 31 William Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005), 159.
- 188 "fatal policy of denial": William Gumede, *New Statesman*, 2 April, 2007.
- 188 "initial quasi-intellectual...": *Business Day*, "Mixed Messages" (editorial) 2 December, 2005.
- 188 "quite ruthlessly": Martin Meredith, *Robert Mugabe: Power, Plunder and Tyranny in Zimbabwe* (Cape Town, 2002), p68. Veteran ZANU-PF leader Nathan Shamuyarira recently said he had no regrets about the operation because it had been necessary to deal with the dissidents in Matabeleland." Elinor Sisulu, Introduction, *Gukurahundi In Zimbabwe* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2007), xvi.
- 188 "rocket scientist": Editorial, *Rapport*, 2 October, 2005.
- 189 "HIV is harmless": Jacob Zuma, quoted by *Newsday*, 23 April 2000.

- 189 “*We generated our own army of freaks...*”: Mondli Makhanya, *Sunday Times*, 1 April, 2007.
- 189 “*calculated*”: “I very carefully calculated my own voice” Cameron told Loren Anthony in “The Force of the True,” *Sunday Times Lifestyle*, 1 May 2005. For further detail and analysis on this point, see Ronald Suresh Roberts, *No Cold Kitchen: A Biography of Nadine Gordimer*, (Johannesburg: STE, 2005), pp.604-606 and footnotes to that text.
- 189 “*gay blood peril*”: *Sunday Times*, 24 February, 1985, quoted by Pieter Fourie, *The Political Management of HIV and AIDS in South Africa: One Burden Too Many?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 60-61.
- 189 “*association of black people with dirt*”: Louis Grundlingh, “HIV and AIDS in South Africa: A Case of Failed Responses Because of Stigmatisation, Discrimination and Morality”, 1983-1994, *New Contree* 46 (1999), 59, cited by Pieter Fourie, *The Political Management of HIV and AIDS*, 61. By 1988, Fourie points out, “the ‘gay plague’ had become the ‘black death’-an untimely addition to the greater [National Party] pathology of a ‘swart gevaar’”. Fourie, 98.
- 189 “*as Mbeki himself did*”: 41 After Peter Tatchell, the gay activist, clashed with ANC representative Ruth Mompati in London (“Tell me, are lesbians and gays normal? No, it is not normal”), Mbeki dashed off a telex to Tatchell, emphatically correcting the record: “The ANC is indeed firmly committed to removing all forms of discrimination and oppression in a liberated South Africa. You are correct to point this out. That commitment must surely extend to the protection of gay rights . . . We would like to apologise for any misunderstanding that might have arisen over these issues and hope the foregoing will clear the air.” Thabo Mbeki to Peter Tatchell, 24 November 1987, reprinted in Neville Hoad, Karen Martin and Graeme Reid eds., *Sex and Politics in South Africa* (Cape Town: Double Storey, 2005), p149. Contrast DA representative Tertius Delport who commented after a victory for gay marriage that: “The DA would not take a stand as it was a moral issue, but spokesman Tertius Delport was ‘surprised’ by the ruling: ‘We expect different views . . . and respect other views . . . But personally I think the idea of a male and female forming the basis of a family is ingrained in the whole order of nature and even more so in the structures of our society. I for one was therefore surprised at the finding . . . but this is something that we are not going to take up swords on.” *Cape Times*, 1 December, 2004: “Political Parties React to Gay Ruling”.
- 189 *strong ANC support*: Cameron himself concedes that this was the position of Maduna as well as Zola Skweyiya, Fink Haysom and Arthur Chaskalson and Albie Sachs. See, Neville Hoad, Karen Martin and Graeme Reid eds., *Sex and Politics in South Africa* (Cape Town: Double Storey, 2005), 185.
- 190 “*take careful strategic and tactical decisions*”: Edwin Cameron, quoted in *Sex and Politics in South Africa*, 185. “I believe that we must be much more tactically and strategically minded.”

- 190 “*validated gay family rights*: “South Africa’s Top Court Blesses Gay Marriage”, *Washington Post*, 2 December, 2005.
- 190 “*target an issue*”: Edwin Cameron, quoted in eville Hoad, Karen Martin and Graeme Reid eds., *Sex and Politics in South Africa* (Cape Town: Double Storey, 2005), 187.
- 190 “*apartheid regime had stigmatized*.” Cameron himself expressed the transferred stigma in his memoir, *Witness to AIDS*, 51: “I was tainted, soiled, polluted. My blood and body were fouled with the most conspicuously vile infection known to recent human history.” He explained the displacement of stigma, in his own mind, from homosexuality to AIDS itself, when asked whether the stigma had anything to do with “the gay factor”: “I used to think so. As a gay man of the 1980s who found myself infected with HIV I thought that the stigma I felt came from homosexuality. As the African epidemic deepened, I realized it was about sexuality, not homosexuality.” While Cameron appears to believe that he is describing an “objective” shift, this is patently a subjective process in which he transferred a sense of stigma from homosexuality to black sexuality (the “African epidemic” as he calls it). Cameron, *Sunday Times*, 17 April, 2005.
- 190 “*...one of the best under Nelson Mandela*”, Zackie Achmat, quoted by *AllAfrica.com*, 29 May, 2003.
- 191 Edwin Cameron, quoted in the BBC 1 documentary *Nelson Mandela: The Living Legend*, broadcast on on 5 and 12 March 2003.
- 191 “*He more than anyone else...*”: Nelson Mandela, interviewed by David Dimbleby, BBC Documentary, “Nelson Mandela: The Living Legend”, BBC One, 5 March and 12 March 2003.” In their otherwise reasonable assessment of the overlooked continuities between the Mandela and Mbeki Presidencies, Adam Habib and Roger Southall identify HIV/AIDS as a discontinuity, precisely mis-stating the discontinuity by suggesting that Mandela would have shown “far more energy and less obfuscation in the battle against HIV/Aids . . .”. Habib and Southall, *Financial Mail*, 7 May, 2004.
- 192 “*his stubbornness*”: Brendan Boyle, *Sunday Times*, 5 November, 2006.
- 192 “*armchair expert*.” Karima Brown, *Business Day*, 22 August, 2006. if anybody posed as an expert it was noseweek editor Martin Welz, who wrote in a Foreword to Brink’s self-published text, *Debating AZT: Mbeki and the AIDS Drug Controversy* (2000): “Reading this debate about AZT between Brink, a Pietermaritzburg advocate, and Dr Des Martin, president of the Southern African HIV-AIDS Clinicians Society, leads one to reflect on the question: ‘what is an expert?’ Dr Martin may have the credentials of expertise, but Brink has the intelligence, investigative zeal and adherence to principles of scientific enquiry that make for authority on this subject.” Welz never clarified the source of his own authority to proclaim Brink an authority-and Mbeki himself never made any such proclamation. He was satisfied that questions arose and he wished experts to canvass those questions thoroughly.

192 “*intellectual superiority complex*”: Mondli Makhanya, *Sunday Times*, 24 September, 2000.

192 “*the real issue*”: Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 120.

196 ...*this should be fixed*: As “ample evidence” that the TAC always advocated anti-poverty policies as part of HIV/AIDS management Mark Heywood, writing on the TAC website, provided nothing from the TAC. Instead he wrote: “as far back as 1998, the AIDS Law Project made a submission to the Poverty Hearings which pointed to the nexus between poverty, income disparity, gender inequality and risk of HIV.” The AIDS Law Project, for its part never litigated the poverty issue, only the drugs-provision issue. Similarly in a 1993 article entitled “Human Rights, Racism and AIDS”, Edwin Cameron wrote that “the human rights battle around AIDS and HIV over the next fifteen years in South Africa” would be “the struggle for people with AIDS and HIV to get a fair and rational share of our nation’s resources.” Edwin Cameron, *South African Journal on Human Rights* 9 (1993), 26.

196 *has never sought*: By contrast, when Armen Merjian, the leading HIV/AIDS public interest litigator in the United States, sent me the “Top Ten” cases undertaken by the Legal Department of his organization, Housing Works, socio-economic rights proved to have dominated the agenda as follows (email from Merjian to author, 8 May, 2007):

Hernandez v. Barrios Paoli: In 1997, Mayor Giuliani announced that all welfare recipients would be forced to undergo an “eligibility verification review” (“EVR”) prior to obtaining subsistence benefits. This onerous process required individuals living with AIDS to travel to Brooklyn for an interview and then to wait at home for an unscheduled inspection; failure to comply would result in a denial or termination of benefits. For clients unable to travel, and/or compelled to attend health care and other appointments, EVR was profoundly difficult or impossible to fulfill, part of the Mayor’s strategy to reduce the welfare rolls by making the application process as cumbersome and difficult as possible (as officials essentially admitted). HW filed suit, and in 1999, as reported on the front page of the *New York Times*, a unanimous Court of Appeals [New York’s highest state court] ruled that the EVR was illegal and must be eliminated.

Hanna v. Turner: In 1998, the City of New York began to deny shelter to homeless New Yorkers living with AIDS, telling such individuals to “make your own arrangements.” Homeless New Yorkers living with AIDS and other accompanying maladies were forced to fight for their survival on the streets of New York, even in the middle of winter. In court, the City argued for the right to turn folks away if they housed them the next day, i.e, if they survived the night on the streets. In November 1999, Supreme Court Judge Emily Jane Goodman issued a landmark ruling establishing the right of homeless New Yorkers living with AIDS to same-day placement in emergency housing, the first such ruling in the United States.

Hanna v. Turner (contempt): Beginning in late 2000, the City again began to routinely deny emergency housing to homeless New Yorkers living with AIDS, a result of the City’s failure, year after year, to construct or secure medically appropriate housing for homeless

PWLAs. A “Human Rights Watch” was established to chronicle these violations, and with the testimony of current New York City Council Speaker Christine Quinn, HW brought contempt proceedings against the City. In 2001, the Appellate Division unanimously upheld the lower court’s finding of contempt, in which the court ordered the City to pay fines to those denied housing and to immediately provide emergency housing to all such clients.

Winds v. Turner: The emergency housing that the City of New York was providing to homeless New Yorkers living with AIDS in the late 1990s and early 2000s was abjectly deplorable and life-threatening, as the City’s own studies concluded. In Winds v. Turner, HW successfully challenged the City’s failure to provide medically appropriate emergency housing to homeless New Yorkers living with AIDS. In a September 2002 decision, New York Supreme Court Judge Eileen Bransten ruled that the plaintiffs had established “that their housing is not suitable for healthy individuals, much less for ‘persons with severely compromised immune systems.’” Judge Bransten explained that “housing that is not habitable because of vermin, filth, lack of furnishings and inaccessibility, certainly cannot be considered ‘suitable.’” Judge Bransten found the facilities provided to petitioners by HASA “deficient in several respects,” and ordered the City immediately to remedy these defects.

Henrietta D. v. Bloomberg: This landmark class action lawsuit, which spanned nearly a decade, established that governments must provide reasonable accommodations in the manner in which they provide subsistence benefits to indigent clients living with AIDS, from low case manager-to-clients ratios to home and hospital visits. Following trial in 2000, as reported on the front page of the *New York Times*, *Newsday*, and various other newspapers and media, Judge Sterling Johnson issued a 97-page decision forcefully condemning the City and State for “chronically and systematically” failing to serve indigent New Yorkers living with AIDS, “with devastating consequences.” In 2003, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals upheld this decision, establishing for the first time that plaintiffs need not prove disparate treatment under the Americans with Disabilities Act in order to establish a failure to provide reasonable accommodations. In 2004, the United States Supreme Court dismissed the defendants’ appeal, rendering the decision final. Meanwhile, the City’s Division of AIDS Services and Income Support (“DASIS”) was placed under a federal monitor. For four years, HW reviewed monthly performance reports, operated a “Troubleshooter” office to expedite resolution of (thousands of) client complaints against DASIS, and conducted monthly on-site inspections of DASIS centers throughout the City to ensure compliance with applicable laws and regulations.

Rawles v. The Educational Alliance: In 2004, HW sued the Educational Alliance (“EA”), a major New York nonprofit, over its blanket refusal to provide housing to a homeless transgender woman. HW secured a wonderful settlement in which EA agreed to pay the plaintiff a fair sum and, in addition, to implement systemic changes to ensure the proper treatment of transgender applicants and clients, including providing staff with sensitivity training on properly serving and working with transgender applicants and clients; adopting policies and procedures for serving transgender clients; using its best efforts to admit and retain qualified transgender applicants in at least one room in EA’s housing facilities; and using its best efforts to hire and retain at least one transgender employee.

Melendez v. Wing: In 2003, HW filed suit challenging a new State policy that significantly reduces public assistance benefits for HASA family cases in which there is a child receiving federal disability payments. Previously, the City and State considered the disabled child as “invisible,” meaning that her disability benefits were not counted when calculating the family’s rental allowance. The State’s decision to include the disabled child’s payments in the family budget – in violation of New York law – led to a drastic reduction in public assistance payments for the HASA families in question, including the Melendez family, whose public assistance was reduced by a whopping \$480 per month. In 2005, the Appellate Division, First Department issued a landmark ruling finding that the state and city defendants violated the law in forcing Ms. Melendez to count her disabled child’s SSI payments as available family income. If upheld in New York’s highest court, this decision will benefit hundreds of other HASA families who were similarly affected by the defendants’ policy. The decision has already greatly assisted a subsequent lawsuit brought by thousands of non-HASA welfare recipients, Doe v. Doar, upholding “invisibility” for non-HASA family cases. Melendez is currently on appeal to the New York Court of Appeals.

Keith Cylar Act: In 2005, HW played a critical role in formulating and drafting the Keith Cylar Act (named after HW’s co-founder), an act that ensures accountability and protection for tens of thousands of indigent New York City residents living with AIDS. This historic act requires the City to provide the New York City Council with detailed quarterly performance reports regarding its success in providing intensive case management, timely delivery of benefits and services, and medically appropriate housing to more than 41,000 HASA clients living with AIDS and their families.

Denning v. Barbour: In December 2005, HW and national and local co-counsel filed suit in Mississippi federal court challenging Mississippi’s drastic new restrictions on prescription drug coverage for Medicaid recipients. In 2005, MS passed a new law capping the number of drugs that indigent individuals on Medicaid could obtain each month at no more than five overall, only two of which could be brand name drugs. The law is a threat to the health and lives of thousands of poor Mississippians who require more than five drugs, or more than two brand name drugs, in order to treat their illnesses and stay alive, including individuals living with HIV and AIDS. The case is pending.

Rivers v. Doar: In October 2006, HRA announced that, beginning November 1, 2006, HASA clients with income (e.g. federal disability checks or Veterans' benefits) and living in federally subsidized housing would have to contribute all of their income save \$330 toward rent, a drastic increase that would leave clients with only \$11 a day on which to live, in violation of the federal law capping rental contribution at 30% of income. Housing Works and co-counsel rushed to federal court and won a preliminary injunction against the drastic increases in late October 2006. Meanwhile, HW worked with State legislators on a new state law that would prohibit such increases for all New Yorkers living with AIDS and receiving any form of income. The case is pending.

196 *payday in Zimbabwe: Mail & Guardian*, 20 October, 2006.

196 “*take off your wig...*”: Zackie Achmat, 25 March, 2003 at a public health conference in Cape Town.

198 “*they are also confused.*” Moipone Malefane, “Public Backs Mbeki on Zuma”, *Sunday Times*, 2 October, 2005. This press report cited the polling figures referred to in the text.

198 “*consider themselves*”: TM, Inaugural ZK Matthews Memorial Lecture, University of Fort Hare, 12 October, 2001.

198 “*Attributions of irrationality...*”: Anthony Butler, “SA Draped in a Cloak of Denial,” *Business Day*, 29 March, 2005.

199 *demagoguery of Zackie Achmat and his Treatment Action Campaign*: Achmat wrote a Preface to the pseudo-scholarship of Nicoli Natrass, *Mortal Combat: AIDS Denialism and the Struggle for Antiretrovirals in South Africa* (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007), viii. Natrass points out that many AIDS dissidents lack relevant medical qualifications (page 27), soft-peddalling the fact that this characterization includes herself. More forthrightly, however, she concedes that she is not herself impartial. This is a fundamental shift in a discourse where, led by Edwin Cameron, the claim had consistently been that “TRUTH” was on the side of the AIDS-drug lobby. Stepping away from this longstanding and rather strained posture, Natrass concedes that the “style” of her book is “unusual” in that it ‘straddles the territories of journalism policy analysis advocacy and history. So let me put my cards on the table. This narrative is not “neutral” in the dry academic sense of the term, but has been shaped by my active involvement at various points in the fight for ARVs in South Africa. While this may disconcert some readers, I doubt that a rival account by someone less engaged would be any more accurate. Indeed, give the central importance of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) to changing South African policy, activist involvement is probably an advantage.” Natrass, *Mortal Combat*, p3. Thus collapse earlier pretensions of objectivity and science (a confession prefigured in the frenzied title of the book) in a fundamentalist defense of AIDS-drug fundamentalism.

199 “*found invoking Mbeki’s name...*”: Brink constantly attributed the full and varied range of his own views to the President, among others. After he claimed in a letter to a prospective

supporter that Mbeki had instigated the formation of his TIG as a counterweight to the TAC, the Presidency responded: “A statement from the president’s office said Mbeki has ‘declare[d] his views on Aids and anti-retroviral treatment, and the claims in Advocate Brink’s document of secretive counter-mobilisation, intimate friendships and his special influence on the thinking of government leaders do not, we believe, deserve a response.’” *Mail & Guardian*, 25 March, 2005.

Another example of the boosterism of the invitees to the AIDS panel: “Seven years ago this spring, The President of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, startled the world by very publicly announcing that he for one was unconvinced that sex, not poverty, was at the root of his nation’s woes, and convened a panel of expert advisers to help him sort through the various inconsistencies concerning the ‘epidemic of HIV/AIDS’ that was said to be ravaging his Beloved Country, just when it could finally be called his own, and that were so deeply troubling him.” Harvey Bialey, *Barnesworld.blogs.com*, 26 February, 2007. I can’t seem to locate the “very public announcement” in question.

A third example would be *noseweek* editor, Martin Welz, who announced himself to unsuspecting punters in the official programme of the Cape Town Book Fair as a “political insider” which he definitely isn’t.

200 “*The TAC’s presumption...*”: Anthony Brink, *Answering Affidavit: Sixth and Seventh Respondents TAC and Another v. Matthias Rath and Others* (Cape High Court Case 12156/05).

200 “*In his defence, it is true...*”: Heywood concedes that “Government and ANC spokespersons have been at pains to stress” that Mbeki has never denied that HIV causes AIDS. Heywood himself cites, “Building a Monument to Intolerance”, Release from Mr Parks Mankahlana, Head of Communications, President Mbeki’s Office, 23 March 2000; and “Response to Enquiries and Comments on HIV/AIDS, Statement Issued on Behalf of the Government 14 September 2000.”

201 “*lack of respect...*”: Christine Qunta, *Star*, 28 February, 2007. Qunta pointed out that black people, who have great cause for grievance against such figures as PW Botha, did not respond to his illness and eventual death, nor to the illness of FW De Klerk, with anything resembling the TAC *shadenfruede* with which the TAC and the media met Tshabalala-Msimang’s illness.

201 *Not all metaphors...*”: Susan Sontag, *AIDS and Its Metaphors* (London: Penguin, 1991), 179-80. Instead of heeding Sontag’s humane counsel, the AIDS-drug lobbyist, Nicoli Nattrass, titled the latest of her intermittent polemics, each one more half-heartedly researched and more brazenly partisan than the last, *Mortal Combat: AIDS Denialism and the Struggle for Antiretrovirals* in South Africa (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007). The front cover of the book carries an enormously distasteful cartoon from Zapiro, the otherwise brilliant cartoonist whose art is visibly damaged by adherence to a TAC party line on AIDS issues: the famous photograph of the slain Hector Petersen, his corpse carried by a schoolfriend whose face is twisted with elemental grief, is re-written so that Petersen wears a jumper emblazoned HIV/AIDS. But AIDS did not kill Petersen, apartheid did. So this is a desecration of the family’s grief. Moreover, while Petersen was killed by the violence of

a willfully evil and anti-black government, AIDS is not the the product of a willfully anti-black government. AIDS policy is made by a government elected by a nonracial (and predominantly black) majority in its adult best interest. The cartoon evinces contempt for this difference.

201 “*Patients wearing...*”: Kerry Cullinan, *Cape Times*, 31 October, 2005.

201 Karima Brown and Vukani Mde, “False Dawn for AIDS Activists”, *Business Day*, 27 September, 2005.

201 “*arsenal*”: Mondli Makhanya, *Sunday Times*, 1 April, 2007.

202 “*white supremacists*”: Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 133.

202 “*AIDS denialists were openly and repeatedly...*”: Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 149 (emphasis added).

202 *Brink felt free: Mail & Guardian*, 11 October, 2005: “Referring to an article by Cullinan in which Cullinan wrote: ‘The South African man’s reputation is in crisis’, Brink attributed her viewpoint to her ‘struggling with why her ex-husband had cuckolded her, because the entire piece grappled with why black men, in her view, should be so promiscuous’. Cullinan’s absurd generalization and Brink’s absurd speculation as to its origins were equally offensive.

202 “*fear of the Almighty...*”: Stephen Lewis, quoted by Angela Quintal, “UN Critic of Government AIDS Policy ‘not banned’” *Cape Times*, 2 November, 2005. See, also, Helen Epstein, “God and the Fight Against AIDS,” *New York Review of Books*, 28 April, 2005.

202 “*mystagogue*”: Sidney Blumenthal, the Clinton advisor saw precisely this mystagogy at work among opponents of the Hilary Clinton health care plan as well. Blumenthal, *The Clinton Wars* (New York: Viking, 2003), 124.

202 “*a lot to atone for*”: Stephen Lewis, UN AIDS Envoy, *BBC* 19 August, 2006.

202 “*Inscrutable*”: Maureen Isaacson, “On the line from Canada, Steven Lewis won’t be muzzled” *Sunday Independent*, 10 September, 2006. Another example: Helen Epstein’s title, “The Mystery of AIDS in South Africa”, *New York Review of Books*, 20 July, 2000, sets the stage for an unusually speculative article, crowned by this: The science and politics of AIDS can seem complicated, and even illusory, to those who aren’t familiar with them. Like some mystical Hebrew text, it may seem as though they can be interpreted in many different ways. As I watched Mbeki on television dodging every direct question, I felt that he wasn’t being straight with his American audience, or with his own people. He seemed to be hiding something. The anti-apartheid struggle never quite erupted into a real war, but there is nevertheless a vaguely postwar atmosphere in South Africa, in the self-imposed curfew, the corruption and crime, the drug shortages, the shifty-eyed officials, and in the sense that something terrible has happened there, in a nation

haunted by death and ruined lives, with a visionary ruler who has not adequately confronted the most deadly threat facing his country.

- 203 “*intellectual politician*”: *Business Day*, editorial, 17 May, 2006. A moment’s reflection suggests an oppressively long list of intellectuals whom, one must concede, were also politicians even on the extremely narrow definition of a “politician” as one who actually held a public political office in a state or a liberation movement. Robert JC Young, the Professor of English and Critical Theory at Oxford University committed no lapse when he spoke of “anti-colonial intellectual politicians.” Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, 6. The pages of that book are strewn with examples, *passim*. Not too long after the editorial, *Business Day* itself carried a profile of Adebayo Adedeji, the Nigerian scholar and statesman, in which Adedeji, a former Cabinet Minister, was correctly described as “possibly Africa’s most renowned scholar-practitioner” and as “one of [the continent’s] most accomplished intellectual public servants.” Adekeye Adebajo, “‘African Cassandra’ Adedeji comes full circle on NEPAD”, *Business Day*, 1 September, 2006.

The problem may be a derogatory definition of “politician” as one who is by definition opportunistic rather than principled, juxtaposed against a definition of “intellectual” as one who is perfectly principled rather than opportunistic. The mutual exclusion of the one by the other then becomes perfectly circular and therefore uninteresting.

- 203 “*we can, and must, combine the most intense passion...*”: Lenin, quoted by Mbeki (JJ Jabulani), *African Communist*, “The Case for the Persecution”, 1968 (2nd Quarter), 36.

- 203 “*such a clever young man...*”: William Mervin Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005), 174.

- 204 “*despite the sometimes peculiar...*”: Philip Stevens, *Business Day*, 21 February, 2007.

- 204 “*hijacked by the AIDS activist lobby...*”: Philip Stevens, “Answers to wrong Questions on AIDS”, *Business Day*, 30 November, 2 2005.

- 205 *The ANC response...*: See *ANC Today*, 26 May, 2006, “Not the sharp surgical instrument it seeks to be”. The ANC wrote: “The ANC-led government’s programme to address the challenges posed by HIV and AIDS is one of the most comprehensive and largest in the world. Government expenditure on HIV and AIDS has increased substantially since the ANC was elected into office. It grew from R30 million in 1994 to over R3 billion in 2005/06. This hundred-fold increase over just more than a decade would not have been possible without political leadership.

In the report to the previous UN General Assembly Special Session on AIDS (UNGASS), the UN Secretary General commended South Africa for tripling its resource allocation for HIV and AIDS programmes since the adoption of the UN Declaration in 2001. The World Health Organisation’s progress report on the expansion of AIDS treatment, released in June 2005, noted that: “South Africa has committed US\$1 billion over the next three years to

scaling up antiretroviral (ARV) treatment, by far the largest budget allocation of any low- or middle-income country.”

Increased expenditure, however, is not in itself sufficient to tackle a challenge as substantial and complex as HIV and AIDS. A lot depends on how it is used. It is for this reason that South Africa has a broad and comprehensive response to HIV and AIDS which remains the focus of ongoing monitoring, evaluation and review. . . . Behaviour change is reflected in that secondary abstinence among females rose from 13,9% in 2002 to 20% in 2005 and the use of condoms among those with multiple partners increased from 48,6% in 2002 to 79,1% in 2005. Government is scaling up its communication and social mobilisation campaign. The budget for the campaign over a two-year period has been increased from R160 million to R200 million.

The condom distribution programme cannot be compared with any in the world. Public health sector male condom distribution has increased from 270 million in 2003 to 346 million in 2004 while female condom distribution rose from 1.3 to 2.6 million during the same period. The Human Sciences Research Council’s HIV-Prevalence, Incidence, Behaviour and Communication Survey of 2005 shows that there is nearly universal access (97%) to condoms, with government hospitals and clinics being the main sources of availability.

There are now 231 accredited public health facilities providing HIV and AIDS-related services, including ARV treatment. These facilities are spread across the country’s 53 districts and cover at least two thirds of local municipalities. By the end of March 2006, over 130,000 people had been initiated on ARV treatment in these facilities. Combined with an estimated 80,000 people initiated for private-sector ARV treatment, South Africa has the largest ARV treatment programme in the world. . . . Health facilities providing voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) have doubled from 1,500 in 2002/03 to 3,700 in 2004/05. The number of people counselled for testing in the public sector rose from 413,000 in 2002/03 to 691,000 in 2003/04 and 1,3 million in 2004/05. The total number of people tested during 2003/04 was 511,843 compared with 247,287 in the previous year. The prevention programme includes prevention of mother-to-child transmission, with 2,500 facilities in operation. Almost all hospitals and trauma centres provide post-exposure prophylaxis for sexual assault survivors.

In April, the Minister of Health launched the Accelerated Prevention of HIV and AIDS Initiative as part of an extensive initiative regarding prevention by the member states of the Africa Region of the World Health Organisation (WHO). . . . More than 1,060 health professionals have been recruited to support the programme. Some 7,600 health professionals have been trained in the management, care and treatment of HIV and AIDS. Government is also improving working conditions so that it can recruit and retain more health professionals. This includes providing scarce skills allowances for certain categories of health professionals (doctors, pharmacists and specialist nurses) and a rural allowance for health professionals working in less developed parts of the country. This is in addition to the steadily improving salary packages.

Nutritional supplements are provided to those who need them, as part of the comprehensive

response to HIV and AIDS, as a complement to the appropriate forms of treatment. Some 90,000 people have accessed this service since April 2004. An amount of R7 million was made available for purchasing nutrition supplements in the 2003/04 financial year.

205 “*spluttering rhetorically*.” “We as the TAC cannot support the lies that government is telling the UN. The first lie is that we have the biggest [treatment] programme in the world,” said TAC chairperson Zackie Achmat. “The truth is that we have the biggest need in the world and we are not meeting that need.” SAPA, 30 May, 2006. The so-called “lie” rather founders upon the obvious point that it is possible for government to give the biggest treatment programme in the world and also to need to do more to meet the need. That is how government builds new upon old achievements. It is hardly a “lie.”

205 *reckless big bang privatisation plunge*: Jeffrey Sachs, who was arguably the key intellectual and policy sponsor of the “shock therapy” and big bank market reforms that damaged human welfare in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall, was also the architect of the “Big Bang” programme for anti-retroviral drug rollouts, a programme that has now by common consent been seen to have failed. The plan was for three million people in Africa to be put on ARVs by the end of 2005 “at a cost of \$1.1 billion per year for the first two to three years, then \$3.3 billion to \$5.5 billion per year by Year Five.” Laurie Garret, “The Challenge of Global Health”, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2007. This is not the place to argue over Sach’s role in the transitional economies of Russia, Poland or elsewhere, but the shrewd reader can see much of the case against Sachs in Sachs’s own recent self-serving book, *The End of Poverty: How We Can Make It Happen in Our Lifetime* (London: Penguin, 2005). At page 137, to take a random example, Sachs writes: ‘Many critics later accused me of peddling a ruthless form of free-market ideology in Russia. That was not the case. My main activity for two years was an unsuccessful attempt to mobilize international assistance to help cushion the inevitable hardship that would accompany Russia’s attempt to overcome the Soviet legacy.’ Thanks Jeffrey. Tell it to you grandchildren. Mamphela Ramphele, World Bank official, speaking on the inside-the-beltway US news programme, *60 Minutes* in July, 2000, accused Mbeki on AIDS policy of ‘irresponsibility bordering on criminality’. Ramphele, quoted by Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 113.

205 “*Both identity politics and nationalism...*”: Achmat quoted by Leon, “End of the Rainbow Nation”, *Sunday Times*, 5 June, 2005.

206 “*Thus far African nationalism...*”: RW Johnson, “Phones and Screens,” *New Statesman* 3 November, 89 (in his review of Anthony Sampson, *The Midas Touch: Money, People and Power From East to West*, Johnson called for “some sort of recolonisation” in Africa); RW Johnson, “Sooner or later Africa Must Face Some Form of Recolonisation,” *London Daily Telegraph*, 22 May, 2000 (title self-explanatory); RW Johnson, “Mbeki Should Get Rid of Torturer,” *Business Day* 13 August, 2003 (“as much of Africa reverts to pre-colonial chaos African countries are quietly shelving the old rhetoric of anticolonialism and are asking to have the old colonial order back”).

- 206 “suicidal stuff”: RW Johnson, “ANC’s Marriage of Convenience: Should partners in ruling alliance call it quits”, *Business Day*, 21 June, 2006.
- 206 “the grievances of many Afrikaners...”: Herman Giliomee, *Moneyweb*, 2 March, 2007.
- 206 “a perfect example of democracy...”: RW Johnson, *Business Day*, 31 January, 2001.
- 206 *personal vendetta*: Zackie Achmat, *AllAfrica.com*, 29 May, 2003.
- 206 *The TAC don’t represent...*”: Joe Manciya, “Just Give Us Nutrition”, *Financial Mail*, 8 September, 2006.
- 206 “Achmat was a prominent ...”: Max Ozinsky, *Mail & Guardian*, letters 15 July, 2005.
- 207 “corrected Achmat”: Max Ozinsky, ANC Provincial Deputy Secretary, *Cape Times*, 6 September, 2006. This time Achmat attempted a reply, (*Cape Times*, 11 September, 2006) which did not so much deny Ozinsky’s suggestion as confirm it. In the pivotal sentence of his reply, Achmat accused Ozinsky of making “factional points” and then offered the following non sequitur: “As an ANC supporter, I was attracted by the ideas of the Marxist Worker’s Tendency of the ANC, which I joined in 1985.” This is a logical as saying: “As a supporter of the African National congress, I was attracted by the ideas of the Democratic Alliance, which I joined in 1985.” Or: “As a British Labour Party supporter, I was attracted by the ideas of the British Tory Party, which I joined in 1985.” The only reason that Achmat thinks he can get away with it is the coincidence that the term “ANC” appears in the title of what he joined: the “Marxist Worker’s Tendency of the ANC”. This organization was not, as Achmat insinuates, an internal “faction” of the ANC, but an entirely different organization that was hostile to the ANC. “Zackie Achmat accuses Max Ozinsky of falsification, while confirming all the key points Ozinsky was making” observed Mcebisi Skwatsha, the ANC Provincial Secretary in the Western Cape. “Achmat has now changed his mind, and admits that he was not a member of the ANC before 1990, but only a supporter. Before 1990 there was a big difference between supporting the ANC and being a member of the ANC. The ANC was a banned organization and membership of the ANC was a criminal offence punishable by long prison sentences and even death. . . . The Marxist Workers Tendency (MWT), of which Achmat acknowledges he was a member, thrived on attacking the ANC leadership and policies. They were a small anti-ANC group which misused the name of the ANC, much as Achmat continues to do so today. Achmat claims to have been a member of the Cape Youth Congress (Cauco), but ignores the fact that members of the MWT were expelled from Cauco in 1987 precisely because of their factional and anti-ANC positions.” *Cape Times*, 18 September, 2006. In *Mortal Combat* (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007), Nicoli Natrass ignorantly writes that Achmat was a member “of the Marxist Workers’ Tendency of the ANC, a left-wing faction within the ANC whose objective was to campaign to try to ensure that the ANC pursued socialist and pro-poor policies.” At a lunch hosted by University of Cape Town academic Anthony Butler in early 2005, Natrass told me that she was a Democratic Alliance voter, which might explain her lack of ANC knowledge.

- 207 “*Progressive ANC Voter’s Network*”: *Cape Times*, 26 March, 2007; *Mail & Guardian*, 30 March, 2007. The report contains the quotations in the text.
- 207 “*a thousand indications...*”: Tony Leon, “The Democratic Party Wants Proper Change,” *Frontiers of Freedom*, 2nd Quarter, 1999.
- 207 “*desperately disabled...*”: *Mail & Guardian*, quoted by Uys & Myburgh, “Thabo Mbeki’s Presidency: A Profile” (2002), p10. William Sewell, the nineteenth century writer for the *New York Times*, commented in the idiom that RW Johnson, *Business Day* and its letter writers still employ, that “the untutored negro, of all people in the world, is most easily influenced by a bribe, and demagogues and office-hunters are plentiful in Jamaica . . . But imperfect and defective as it is, representative and responsible government in Jamaica is greatly preferable to the oligarchy of a planter’s reign.” Sewell, quoted by Eric Williams, *British Historians and the West Indies* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1966), p101. The backhanded and grudging nod towards democracy are age-old habits of the colonial mind.
- 208 “*huge and important differences...*”: Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 141.
- 208 “*shocked by the use of the word...*”: Micheal Roll, *Business Day*, 13 April, 2006
- 208 “*South Africa’s former apartheid rulers...*”: Karima Brown, *Business Day*, 11 April, 2006.
- 208 “*Not even Zackie Achmat...*”: Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 139-40. Cameron writes: “A holocaust, as opposed to ‘the Holocaust,’ means any mass destruction or mass death. Use of the word does not suggest that the deaths are deliberately inflicted.” The polite word for this is pedantry. And why does Cameron flout his own pedantry by opening his book with an epigraph from Primo Levi, alluding to the deliberately killed victims of the Nazi genocide? Surely by his own logic his epigraph should instead have come from some lamenter of some or other *non-deliberate* holocaust. Perhaps the December, 2004 tsunami? The polite word for Cameron’s behaviour is disingenuous. One might conceivably argue that Mbeki, well knowing that the orthodox view of AIDS is the plain truth, wilfully ignored that view and created what he knows to be spurious doubts about it; that he did this because he wanted to cause the deaths of blacks just as Hitler wanted to cause the deaths of Jews. Thus the *Mail & Guardian* headline on 7 December, 2001 “Has Mbeki heard of Nuremberg?” But Cameron is obviously unable to argue any such preposterous thing. Instead of argument he insinuates; instead of fact and analysis linking Mbeki to the Nazis or to later pro-Nazi historians or holocaust deniers, he relies upon an ill-founded odour. He deliberately places Mbeki’s name loosely in the general context of Nazi historiography and then hopes that some defamatory odour will linger by association in the public mind. It is injudicious behaviour. Having compared Mbeki’s alleged denial of AIDS with the denial of the Nazi holocaust by hatemongering figures such as David Irving, Cameron naturally found himself accused, in the ensuing public debate, of comparing the Mbeki government to the Nazis. At that point, he cravenly retreated.
- 208: *A nice fat footnote*: Zackie Achmat at a public health conference on 25 March, 2003: “Murderer! ... Criminal! ... Resign! ... Manto go to jail!” On June 8 2005, months after the

appearance of Cameron's book, the TAC continued in this vein: the London *Guardian* reported the contending views of the Health Minister, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang and TAC activist, Mark Heywood: "I think when our president started talking about nutrition and poverty [at the Durban AIDS conference in 2000], the whole world was laughing" said Tshabalala-Msimang, "but those people who said his hands were dripping in blood, I hope they can stand up one day and say they were wrong." The *Guardian* recorded "But Mr Heywood accused the Dr Tshabalala-Msimang of having blood on her own hands, saying she was condemning people to death by exaggerating the side-effects of ARVs and creating confusion about the best treatment options." "Given the number of deaths, the government's slow negligence in supplying the necessary medication seemed to some of its critics to amount to nothing less than genocide" writes Adam Levin in his memoir, "And I was inclined to agree with them." Adam Levin, *AIDSAFARI* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005), p46. In the April 2001 editorial in which the *Mail & Guardian* pronounced Mbeki unfit to rule because of his supposed mishandling of the AIDS policy debate, the newspaper explained that Mbeki's "disastrous reign" was "the stuff of the Soviet Union under Josef Stalin." Strangely, no indication was given as to the whereabouts of the gulags nor of the sixty million buried bodies, but leave that aside.

Five days before personally calling the Minister of Health a murderer, Achmat had personally led a TAC march to Caledon police station in the Western Cape in an effort to secure the arrests not only of the Health Minister but also of the Minister of Trade and Industry, alleging that the Minister's had committed culpable homicide. Achmat alleged that "people are being murdered in South Africa by the Health minister every day." Erwin's alleged crime was his failure to issue compulsory licences for generic AIDS drugs. The TAC charged both Ministers with 'failure to provide adequate treatment, including antiretroviral therapy for people living with HIV/Aids ... We further demand that the accused be arrested and charged with the offence of culpable homicide or negligently causing the death of ... many thousands of people who died from Aids or Aids-related illnesses and whose deaths could have been prevented had they been given access to treatment. ... We believe that many thousands of people can bear witness to these horrible crimes.' (Emphasis added).

Achmat's protesters waved "Wanted for Murder" posters with Tshabalala-Msimang and Erwin's heads on them. The British journal, *Lancet* reported: "S Africa's AIDS activists accuse government of murder." "Undertaker in chief" was the dread garland bestowed upon President Thabo Mbeki by the exuberant AIDS-drug activist, Charlene Smith ("Stop giving AZT to the damn mice and start giving it to people" she said on another occasion). Yet Cameron suggests that "Not even Zackie Achmat . . . has ever accused the government of deliberately killing people with AIDS." Cameron has this denial at page 139-40 while himself quoting Professor William Makgoba ("one of the continent's most prominent medical research scientists") making precisely this accusation at page 107, where Makgoba is cited as warning that Mbeki's conduct had "much broader implications for South Africa than some are prepared to admit" and that history might judge such South Africans "to have collaborated in one of the greatest crimes of our time." Makgoba's words were, Cameron said, "an outspoken plea for rationality and logic". Yet Cameron claims in the next breath that nobody accused Mbeki's government of deliberate killing. The Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center's John Moore said that "a charge of genocide [against Mbeki] would not be inappropriate."

The *Mail & Guardian* where Cameron's piece appeared had itself made this very accusation in an editorial of 21 July, 2000: "if our government any longer hesitates and prevaricates on the issue of providing antiretrovirals to HIV-positive pregnant women, it should not be surprised to hear charges of genocide directed at it. For to fail to act right now against the HIV/Aids pandemic on the basis of best-available science and with all the resources we can muster will have genocidal results. Whether that outcome is the result of malevolence, of incompetence, of panic-induced denial, or of pig-headed obduracy among senior members of the government will scarcely matter. For they will have been warned often enough. Yes, history will then judge them harshly, as former president Nelson Mandela said in a closing speech to the World Aids Conference in Durban last week. But, before history has its turn, the rest of us will have a go at them — and our judgment will not be generous. A failure to act now is genocide."

The former Eurythmics singer, Annie Lennox, at a "Friends of the TAC" gathering in London, said that "it is scandalous and absurd that a virtual genocide can go pretty much unchecked and unacknowledged by the world ... We can no longer afford to stick our heads in the sand." *Cape Times*, 7 October, 2005. On 29 October, 2006 the *Sunday Times* reported that Sir Richard Branson had called on Mbeki to "stop killing your countrymen". Branson spoke in the presence of Prime Minister Tony Blair's wife Cherie Booth, QC at the launch of a charity in Johannesburg. Branson reportedly urged "everyone to rise up and tell Mbeki to save his reputation and stop killing thousands of his own people". "The little that they are doing could be seen as genocide". Branson also said, according to the African Eye news service, 30 October, 2006.

In his memoir, Cameron emits rather half-heartedly: "My comparison was not between doers, but between deniers. I was not comparing perpetrators [of genocide], but people who refuse to accept facts." Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 140.

208 *It also includes Nicoli Natrass: Mbeki is "stupid" Natrass told me. Natrass is what is called a respected authority in the South African AIDS-knowledge sector, widely quoted in the academic literature. Natrass continued: "He is rabid". The word has to do with rabies, with dogs. But Natrass stood by the word. She had a whole theory; this was no passing eruption. As part of the middle class elite, Natrass explained, Mbeki was indifferent to the death of the poor. The black middle class as a whole, Mbeki included, wanted the black poor to die off, Natrass said. So Mbeki was a genocidaire? I asked "Yes" she replied. Was Natrass quite sure of that? I asked her twice. There were several witnesses. Evidence? "Oh that's why I haven't written it. I don't have any evidence." But is OK to say it to every passing stranger including myself—I had never previously met Natrass—and every local or foreign AIDS researcher who floats through the ivy-clad quadrangles of the University of Cape Town. Such, apparently, are the rigours and protocols of colonial scholarship. In *Mortal Combat: AIDS Denialism and the Struggle for Antiretrovirals in South Africa*, Natrass suppresses entirely the allegation of genocide that she uses so freely in conversation. She back down further by rejecting what she calls the economic explanation of the policy problem. "My inclination was to regard Mbeki's questioning of AIDS science as a political smokescreen to disguise a hidden economic calculus."*

- 209 “*a self-described ‘coconut intellectual’*”: Rhoda Kadalie, *Business Day*, 1 June, 2006. “The Natives are restless again, and this after 10 years of democracy. I keep wondering what will calm them down, but I have no way of knowing, since I, as the resident coconut intellectual, will never be admitted to this august body of thinkers.”
- 209 “*I cannot support...*”: “No vote of confidence for Mbeki’s “Party of Death”, *Business Day*, 14 December, 2006. In this very same column Kadalie boosted the illiberals thus: “Fuelled by denial and inaction, we sit today with a pandemic that has become the epicentre of the disease in sub-Saharan Africa. Yet when Democratic Alliance leader Tony Leon announced his resignation, we saw reams of venom directed at him. When thousands of black people are dying under Mbeki’s rule, our so-called analysts focused on Leon’s style of leadership. Some columns about him were fair, but others were quite vitriolic, the most virulent coming from the Institute for Democracy, an organisation that should be promoting democracy and respect for opposition, but has instead become an apologist for a ruling party that has lost vision and direction and has failed its citizens spectacularly.”
- Kadalie confessed to having sent a “right of reply” to the *Mail & Guardian* on Leon’s behalf after that newspaper had attacked him. Strictly speaking a “right of reply” accrues to the person attacked, so by her own confession Kadalie replied to an attack on Leon as if she had been herself attacked: “When Mondli Makhanya was *Mail & Guardian* editor, he wrote quite a scathing and unsubstantiated critique of Leon. When I wrote a right of reply indicating how factually incorrect his column was, he used the hallowed “editor’s prerogative” as an excuse not to publish my rebuttal.” Kadalie, “Where are journalists to speak truth to power”, *Business Day*, 1 September, 2005.
- 209 *the numbers had been wildly exaggerated*: Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 89.
- 209 “*A Billion orphans...*”: Bhavna Sookha, *Daily News*, 27 July, 2006.
- 209 “*If the spread of AIDs continues at this rate...*”: Theresa Crenshaw, Quoted by Celia Farber, *Serious Adverse Events*, 162.
- 209 “*ten million orphans...*”: Hanlie Retief in *Rapport* on 10 February 2002.
- 209 “*the projected economic meltdown...*”: Tamar Kahn, “AIDS ‘Will hit economy less hard than feared”, *Business Day*, 14 July, 2006. The Bureau of Economic Research at Stellenbosch University projected a growth downside of 0,38% to 0,46% as compared to a July 2003 World Bank report that had predicted “complete economic collapse.” See also, “AIDS ‘has no major effect on economy’”, *Business Report*, 13 April, 2006 , citing Hilary Southall, the director of the Joint Economic AIDS and Poverty Programme (JEAPP).
- 209 “*Yet are the conventional figures wrong...*”: Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 90
- 210 *a long history*: The liberal economist Hutt: “An essay on this subject should properly start with an up-to-date statistical description. Unfortunately, the exclusion of ‘non-Europeans’ from the 1931 census through mistaken economy has prevented us from obtaining important

data.” But Hutt went ahead regardless: “It is estimated that there is to-day a total population of ‘natives’ (which is the usual name for the Bantu peoples) in the Union of South Africa of something between five and five and a half millions.” WH Hutt, “The Economic Position of the Bantu in South Africa”, in I. Schapera ed., *Western Civilisation and the Natives of South Africa* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1934), 195. Colonialism’s willing imprecision as the precise numbers of natives in given policy scenarios reflected its broader willingness to be rough and ready with their welfare as well. In his willing statistical imprecision, Cameron allows himself to perpetuate an attitude with a long lineage.

210 “15,000 Brown People...”: *The Onion*, November 18, 1998 (accessed April, 2007).

210 “illustrating the classic script...”: Susan Sontag, *AIDS and its Metaphors* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 137-139 (first ellipsis Sontag’s; second ellipsis mine).

CHAPTER 9: CLASH OF FUNDAMENTALISMS II: THE RACIAL POLITICS OF AIDS

212 “Everywhere [in Africa] the epidemic...”: John Iliffe, *The African AIDS Epidemic: A History* (London: James Currey, 2006), 2, 43.

212 *Behind [the] recent Western attention...”: William Easterley, The White Man’s Burden: Why The West’s Efforts to AID the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* (London: Penguin, 2006), 239. “The World Bank doesn’t mention that it did a total of one project dedicated to AIDS before 1993 (an eight million-dollar loan to Mobutu in Zaire in 1988). The World Bank today endorses the WHO calculation that African needs one billion dollars a year in AIDS-prevention spending. Yet over the entire period 1988-99, the World Bank spent fifteen million dollars a year on all AIDS projects in Africa.” Easterly, 243.

213 *Of course, better political leadership...”: John Iliffe, The African AIDS Epidemic, 43. William Easterly points out that global institution such as the World Bank were aware that AIDS was an “emergency situation” in Africa in the 1980s, but did little or nothing, which was the pivotal failure: “As with any contagious disease, early action is far more effective than later action. A bucket of water is enough to put out a campfire; it takes more to put out a forest fire.” William Easterly, The White Man’s Burden, 242.*

213 Harriet A. Washington, *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americans From Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 9.

214 “Many African Americans...”: Harriet Washington, *Medical Apartheid* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 343.

215 *can easily be multiplied*: Washington’s book itself multiplies examples, *passim*.

216 “It was increasingly clear...”: John Iliffe, *The African AIDS Epidemic, 78.*

- 216 *We will not, ourselves...*: TM to Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, Kofi Annan, 3 April, 2000.
- 217 *Washington explained how...extinct by 2000*: Washington, *Medical Apartheid*, 152. This reference crosses over to p218.
- 217 *A Johannesburg doctor predicted*: John Iliffe, *The African AIDS Epidemic*, 124, critically quoting S. Dodwell “We cannot afford an AIDS epidemic” *BMJ* 301 (1990) p1283 and Robert Shell, “Halfway to the holocaust” in Shell et al eds, *HIV/AIDS*, p19.
- 217 “*narrow racial propaganda...*”: WEB Du Bois, *The Education of Black People* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001), 178-79. This reference accounts for all language from Du Bois quoted on this page.
- 217 “*Whites had no monopoly...*”: Harriet Washington, *Medical Apartheid*, 49. This reference accounts for content from Washington following onto the next page 218.
- 218 *an old tradition*: Michael Specter, “The Denialists”, *The New Yorker*, 12 March, 2007 adds yet another strand to the bewildering array of definitions of “denialism.” His piece focuses on traditional African medicine as the heartland and battleground of “denialism.” But the attempt to draw traditional healers into the HIV/AIDS support network is healthy and Specter wholly overlooks, for instance, the AIDS prevention potential of these networks. “AIDS-prevention efforts would do much better to work with traditional healers on fighting HIV transmission than to ignore beliefs in witchcraft because of political sensitivities.” William Easterly, *The White Man’s Burden*, 249. For the rest, Specter decorates his essay with the usual unsubstantiated characterizations of Mbeki’s position: “Mbeki has never disavowed the view that H.I.V. medicines [sic] are Western inventions aimed at maiming Africans. In 2000, news reports said that Mbeki had hinted at CIA involvement in propagating the belief that HIV causes AIDS.” Mbeki never expressed the view that the drugs were “aimed” at maiming Africans so that is far from clear why he ought to “renounce it.” He suggested that in the chase for profits many companies were reckless of the risks, particularly to disempowered African consumers, which is certainly true. He was never reported to have hinted at CIA promotion of any medical theory, although it is hardly implausible or unexpected that large Western economic interests such as drug companies would have a healthy relationship with major Western intelligence operations. Specter characterizes Mbeki as “supporting Duesberg” when in fact what Mbeki insisted upon was his right to hear what Duesberg had to say, which is very different from supporting his substantive views. Then comes Specter’s perhaps inevitable condescension: “For Mbeki and many other South Africans whose world views were defined by their struggle with apartheid, it is understandably hard to see white men in lab coats as people who want to help them.” This attempt to cast Mbeki within a stereotype of racial rage unfortunately overlooks the fact that Duesberg, David Rasnick and the leading “dissidents” with whom Mbeki was falsely lumped were equally “white men in lab coats.” “In his first years in office Mbeki was openly hostile to the idea of HIV” Specter says—a suggestion that is not merely wrong but both incoherent and incomprehensible. In a single paragraph Specter suggests that Mbeki “rarely addresses scientific solutions to the AIDS

- epidemic”, preferring to focus on “politics and the injustices done to Africans” but also mentions the AIDS Panel set up in June 2000, where the focus was indeed precisely science and not politics. These and many other key assertions in Specter’s piece are wild and unsubstantiated to an extent hardly seen in the *New Yorker*.
- 218 “*Africans with an AIDS crisis*”: “Nevirapine, Drugs and African Guinea Pigs”, *ANC Today* Vol 4. No 50, 17 December 2004; Andrew Jack and Victoria Griffith, “Doubts over drug trials muddy AIDS Message in South Africa”, London *Financial Times*, 8 January 2005 (quoting an AIDS-drug lobbyist).
- 219 “*when we can teach European science...*”: The Minute is widely cited. See, for instance, “Macaulay’s Minute”, *Hinduism Today*, September/October 2000: <http://www.hinduismtoday.com/archives/2000/9-10/2000-9-20.shtml> and for the full text: <http://www.tc.umn.edu/~raley/research/english/macaulay.html>
- 219 “*our own absolute Milan:*” TM, Tambo lecture, 11 August 2000: www.info.gov.za/speeches/2000/000811442p1001.htm -
- 219 *William Gumede was so unsettled...*: at page 248 of Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC, Gumede writes that Mbeki “refuses to speak to the opposition leader or even say his name out loud, referring instead to ‘that politician’”. Gumede characteristically misquotes the phrase in question: Mbeki has never referred to Leon as “that politician” but he did, as reflected in the main text, once use the phrase “the white politician”, in a specific context. Gumede’s ignorance of Hansard (and even of Google) is conspicuous: Mbeki has often referred to Leon, both by name and by position—as Leader of the Opposition.
- 220 “*beautiful mind*”: William Makgoba, Notes for Launch of Witness to AIDS, 7 April, 2005.
- 220 “*rationality and logic*”: Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 107. The moral of the story was clearly expressed by Essop Pahad in the period before Makgoba’s redemption through attacks on Mbeki: “Let’s be clear about this. These so-called liberals are going to resist. I’m not sure that they are even liberals, I would call them conservative-liberals in South Africa to be honest with you. Magkoba, he was hired by these very same people, Charles von Onselen, brought from London because in my view they thought here is a nice blackie that we could manipulate and when this blackie turned out to be a cheeky black boy they don’t like cheeky black boys, the liberals, they never did in this country. I’m talking about South African white liberals. So then they went for him because he didn’t turn out to be what they wanted him to be and Magkoba in his words and deeds was saying, ‘I want to transform this institution’. Now they had hand-picked him and then they turned on him.” Essop Pahad, interviewed by Pdraig O’Malley, 27 March 1996.
- 220 “*The native doctor’s behaviour*”...: Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 132.
- 220 “*Orthodox biomedical characterizations...*”: Anthony Butler, “South Africa’s HIV/AIDS policy 1994-2004: How Can it be Explained?” *African Affairs*, October, 2005. Butler in turn

- cites M. Swanson, "The sanitation syndrome: bubonic plague and urban native policy in the Cape Colony: 1900-1909, *Journal of African History*, 18, pp387-410 (1977); D Fassin and H Schneider, "The politics of AIDS in South Africa: beyond the controversies, *British Medical Journal*, 326, March 2003, 495-98.
- 220 "In the colonial situation...": Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, 139.
- 220 "Imba Nema": Charles Van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933* (London: Pluto Press, 1976), 59. This reference crosses the page and covers the material up to and including the block quotation from Van Onselen on the following page 221.
- 221 "The colonized person...": Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, 126-27.
- 222 "sometimes the patient...": Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, 131.
- 222 "There is a manifest ambivalence...": Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, 131-32.
- 222 "Mbeki was...emotional and irrational...": William Makgoba, quoted by Anthony Brink, *Just Say Yes, Mr President*. Makgoba's comment followed Mbeki's letter to world leaders on April 3, 2000 (see page 186 of the main text). In the journal *Science* (June 2000), Makgoba initiated the analogy with Nazi history that Cameron would later dignify: 'When politicians want to really interrupt science in a manner that distorts it, I can only think of the history of Nazism. Every time this has happened, it's prelude disaster, regimes have collapsed, and people have died.' In April 2000 Makgoba told the same magazine: "His credibility as an African leader may suffer from this.'
- 222 *All sorts of blushing and nervous coughing*: Edwin Cameron, interviewed by Gavin Evans, said: "you have to put this down to sexual practice, but there is a lack of will about confronting this fact and its implications." *Daily Dispatch*, "HIV+ judge wants Aids justice, 13 November, 2001.
- 222 "How Does It Feel to be a Problem?": TM, Tambo lecture, 11 August 2000: www.info.gov.za/speeches/2000/000811442p1001.htm -
- 223 "Colonialism therefore...": Frantz Fanon, quoted by Mbeki, letter to RSR, 1 January, 2006. The passage may be found in *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 169-70.
- 223 "long ago lost count...": Jonny Steinberg, *Business Day*, 26 March, 2007. Steinberg rather remarkably goes on to suggest, in abject psychobabble, that, while not brutal, Mbeki is depressed by the brutality of blacks. Steinberg says nothing of whites, who are implicitly presumed non-brutal.
- 224 "AIDS Babies Die in Pain": David Beresford, *Observer*, 20 August, 2000: "A Sussex University economics graduate, seen during the years of struggle against apartheid as the

ANC's arch-diplomat, Mbeki was widely regarded as sophisticated and cosmopolitan," Beresford wrote. "Time and experience now offer, however, another perspective--of a man whose sensitivity on race points to a previously undiscovered psychological trauma which, while deserving of sympathy, makes him among the politicians least qualified to heal past wounds."

- 224 *"Diseases and Physical Peculiarities...Diagnosis: Freedom"*: Harriet Washington, *Medical Apartheid*, 37. (Emphasis original). This reference carries over to page 225.
- 225 *"1500 eminent specialists..."*: This *Encyclopedia* entry was drawn to my attention by Lawrence Beimiller essay, "Information . . . slightly coloured by prejudice", *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 28 July, 2006.
- 225 *"What this means..."*: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2005.
- 225 *"natural intellectual gifts..."*: Edwin Cameron, quoted by Gavin Evans," *Daily Dispatch*, 13 November 2001.
- 225 *"I did not party..."*: Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 121. Cameron: continued: "Poverty, the environment and decadent behaviour cannot explain my illness."
- 225 *"Had Rudyard Kipling..."*: Judge Willem Van der Merwe, quoted in *Cape Times*, 9 May, 2006.
- 224 *"What do you say..."*: Reinhard Sanders and Bernth Lindfors Eds., *Ngugi wa Thiong'o Speaks* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006) 253. Wa Thiongo, in turns out, replied on Kipling as Said replies on Joseph Conrad and indeed on Kipling: "Well, I don't know much about Kipling, but I would say that some of his poetry and stories come alive only when, despite his sympathies for imperialism, they capture contradictions in imperialism." As with Joseph Conrad, for whom Edward Said, Eskia Mphahlele and others from the resistance tradition have a cautious and watchful regard, Kipling is a touchstone figure, whether Judge Van der Merwe realized it or not. Kipling, like Conrad, lends himself to progressive or deeply racist invocation, varying with context and occasion. In the context of the Zuma case and Van der Merwe's findings, the Judge's invocation of Kipling was plainly objectionable, as commentators noted at the time. The point was to suggest that the native would "be a man" when he could control his urges. The invocation of Kipling, the known bard of imperialism, transformed a personal point about Zuma into a representative or emblematic truth about natives in general.
- 225 *"[T]he bigger tragedy..."*: Karima Brown and Vukani Mde, *Business Day*, 10 May, 2006.
- 226: *"lingering Imperial anthropology..."*: Brian Rostron, *Cape Times*, 19 May, 2006.
- 226 *"Africans didn't really..."*: David Leonhardt, "The Future of Economics Isn't so dismal", *New York Times*, 10 January, 2007. This reference crosses to page 227 and covers the Ostler references there.

- 227 “*did any analysis...*”: William Easterly, *The White Man’s Burden*, 245. In particular this meant the neglect of early and vigorous prevention efforts in favour of eye-catching treatment programmes.
- 227 “*Whatever the circumstances...*”: TM, *ANC Today*, 22 October, 2004.
- 227 “*the official sexualisation...*”: The report, authored by US researchers David Gisselquist and Mariette Corea, was covered by the *Weekend Argus*, 28 October 2006 in a report lifted from AFP.
- 228 “*The history of civil society...*”: Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject* (London: James Currey, 1996), 19-20. Xolela Mangcu of course romanticizes civil society, *Business Day* 7 June 2007: “Mbeki has run this country like a chess master — outsmarting and checkmating opponents at every turn. I’m sure that’s fun while it lasts but it’s certainly no way to run a country with a vocal and strong civil society such as ours. The African National Congress (ANC) speaks a big game about building a developmental state. But how do you build such a state in the midst of such fraught relationships between government and civil society?” Mangcu cannot see that civil society itself is, to an extent, one of the plural powers (not singular power) that dominate at postcolonial society, and towards which the intellectual is obliged to adopt a stern telling of truth.
- 228 “*unbearable whiteness...*”: Shadi Rapiiso, “Spat Puts Focus on TAC Official”, *City Press*, 23 April, 2006. “Is she just a face? This is the question that has consistently been asked about the position of TAC general secretary Siphso Mthathathi.” The article said that questions had arisen because whereas Achmat was the centre of all TAC activities as Mthathathi’s predecessor, Mthathathi has declined an invitation to attend a UN on the government delegation, insisting that two more TAC members and an AIDS Law Project member should also be accredited. See also, Edwin Naidu, “TAC has let the side down in declining invite to indaba”, *Sunday Independent*, 23 April, 2006. “Simply, the TAC and ALP could not accept her presence at the indaba because they do not have confidence in her. She [Mthathathi] is the secretary-general. She was chosen democratically. Therefore her position should have been respected.” See also, “Wits Students in call to Boot Cameron off Varsity Council” *City Press*, 29 April, 2007: “They accuse [Cameron] of presiding over the exclusion of black students on financial grounds, steep fee increments and the ousting of a former vice-chancellor”, Norma Reid, whom the students described as “progressive.” Themba Masondo, Wits SASCO chairperson “said students felt that the council needed to be transformed and this should begin with the removal of Cameron from the body.”
- 228 “*white-dominated NGO sector...*”: “[I]t is curious that even the most ardent capitalist nations funnel few if any resources toward local industries and profit centres related to health. Ministries of Health on poor countries face increasing competition from NGOs and relief agencies, but almost none from their local private sectors.” Laurie Garrett, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2007, 30. John Illife notes that “The ANC regime [sic] in South Africa largely excluded NGOs—often white-controlled—from policy formulation in which

they had shared before 1994 . . .” The tensions are clear, even in Illife’s own prose (the “ANC regime” was and is democratic and was at that time a coalition of national unity, not purely ANC; even today it is a coalition including Azapo). John Illife, *The African AIDS Epidemic*, 102. The broader context was the democratic government’s determination to ensure the accountability of inward flows of AID money, to ensure rational macroeconomic and other planning.

229 Mike Ellis as paraphrased by the *Natal Witness*, cited by Anthony Brink, *Just Say Yes Mr President* (unpublished manuscript).

229 “After all...”: TM, during the famous exchange letters with DA leader Tony Leon, July, 2000. The block quotation from Mbeki lower down the page and the one on page 230 (“Let me assure...”) are also from Mbeki’s side of that correspondence.

229 “*Trust me...*”: London *Economist*, Survey of Pharmaceuticals, 18 June, 2005. The danger of poor drug safety through regulatory capture arises in the ordinary course and progress of the profit motive, whether within or outside of the AIDS context. It needs no spooky conspiracy. Thus the *Sunday Times* reported on contact lenses: “Ophthalmic Innovations Incorporated is accused of dumping a shipment of defective water-based lenses on unsuspecting South African ophthalmologists.” Simpiwe Piliso, “An Eye for an Eye”, *Sunday Times*, 7 August, 2005. Blinding people, for profit. For similar reasons, fake or expired drugs are imported into Nigeria in what is that country’s single most urgent healthcare crisis. *New York Times*, 14 August, 2005 insert in *Sunday Times Lifestyle*]. Drug companies, like all companies, are tempted to cheat consumers in order to maximize profits. Hence the elementary imperative of proper government regulation, a function that has been assailed by the tone and hysteria of the South African AIDS-drug agitation. Many large healthcare disasters-from the recent Vioxx painkiller scandals to the earlier DES, Thalidomide and other scandals-have needed no conspiracy, just the remorseless logic of profit-seeking at the expense of consumers. In August, 2005 an American court found that Merck & Co. were liable for wrongfully causing the death of a consumer with its painkiller, Vioxx. According to the *Wall Street Journal* in an article headlined “Vioxx Verdict Stokes a Backlash Against Drug Industry and FDA” (carried by Johannesburg’s *City Press*, 28 August, 2005): “the jurors who handed Merck its stunning defeat in the first Vioxx case said they were deeply troubled by internal documents suggesting the company had suspected but suppressed the risk Vioxx could lead to heart attacks, even as it pushed the medicine in high-profile advertising campaigns.” In the aftermath of the Vioxx verdict, wrote the *Journal*, “[b]oth the industry and its regulators, particularly the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, are adopting a more cautious approach, which will probably slow the arrival of new treatments to the market.” The *Journal* placed matters in perspective: This latest focus on medical risks has its precedents, stretching back to birth defects linked to thalidomide nearly 50 years ago. The current bout of public concern dates from last summer [2004] and accusations, which drug companies denied, that they had suppressed clinical trials showing a risk of suicidal behaviour in children taking antidepressants. Then serious risks emerged for Vioxx, which was so heavily advertised, it had become a household name . . . Reports on payments drug companies make to doctors, turning them into sales forces for their products, have heightened public distrust.

Now regulators, consumers and doctors are questioning some of the fundamental practices of the industry, including how it studies and makes known to the public safety issues with widely prescribed medicines . . . The issue has focused intense scrutiny on how drug companies disclose data on both the benefits and side effects of their products. Trust has eroded in the process by which new medicines are tested and approved for the market. (Italics added).

- 230 *Let me assure you: TM*, exchange of letters with Tony Leon, July, 2000. Mbeki's insistence on regulatory vigilance was hardly eccentric, nor anti-Western. It is an elementary part of progressive politics everywhere. The Farewell Address delivered by United States President Eisenhower on 17 January, 1961 is a landmark of the American left for Eisenhower's warning against the perils of allowing American democracy to fall into the grip of the "military-industrial congressional complex." In a less famous portion of that famous speech, Eisenhower added: "Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become captive of a scientific-technological elite." Eisenhower, quoted by Paul Dickson, *Think Tanks: An inside report on the remarkable idea factories...that have made the brain business America's newest, and perhaps most fateful, industry* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971), p47.
- 230 *The embarrassment of Virodene...lax regulatory...* ": "Dr. Rees told me that new legislation governing the ethics of clinical trials was now in draft form, and had been under negotiation for more than two years. It would be presented to Parliament soon, she said. I wondered whether the legislation had not come too late for the patients at Kalafong. Clearly it would be important to have such legislation in place before clinical trials of drugs that the government itself alleges can be toxic should be allowed to proceed. As it turns out, the ethical guidelines currently in force were drafted in the 1960s, a time when high ethical standards did not prevail in South Africa. This only deepened my suspicion that the Ministry of Health might have been distracted by the AIDS dissidents and was failing to expedite far more important issues." Helen Epstein, "The Mystery of AIDS in South Africa", *New York Review of Books*, 20 July, 2000. Epstein's jaundiced "suspicions" are ideological gloss; the fact is that she reports an initiative swiftly taken to remedy a regulatory defect that was highlighted by the Virodine debacle.
- 231 "[t]he bad news...": Harriet Washington, *Medical Apartheid*, 389. The reference extends to the further citation of Washington, following the block quote. "The annual cost of AIDS drug cocktails is more than \$10,000 per patient, and these days the only way a poor HIV-positive South African can obtain them is by participating in a clinical trial sponsored by one of the large Western pharmaceutical companies that make the drugs. These companies test their drugs in Africa because there are so many HIV-positive people there who have never taken anti-retroviral drugs before. Such patients are unlikely to have developed resistance to any of the individual drugs in the cocktails, and this gives the cocktails a better chance of success, which in turn allows the companies to obtain clearer results. At present hundreds of such trials are underway across the country, and HIV-positive South Africans seem eager to sign up for them. "People are desperate," Florence Ngobeni of the Township AIDS Project in Soweto told me. "There is so much confusion

and fear.” A doctor who runs clinical trials of AIDS drugs at the University of Pretoria told me that she has no trouble finding participants. “They come to me,” she said. Helen Epstein, “The Mystery of AIDS in South Africa,” *New York Review of Books*, 20 July, 2000. Epstein records that the trials she came across were being run by an American company. But when the American company denied aspects of the facts she had found, she accepted these denials at face value and then speculated, or rather wildly insinuated, that these might have been South African government run trials.

231 “we cannot afford...”: Dr M. Chaza, *City Press*, 25 February, 2007.

232 “Fully one hundred years later...”: See, Harriet Washington, *Medical Apartheid*, (Chapter 7: “What Happened at Tuskegee?”), pp157-185.

232 “People are hungry...”: Wonder Hlongwa, “Medical research trial guinea pigs contract HIV”, *City Press*, 4 February, 2007.

232 “[I]t was a myth...”: TAC, quoted by *News 24*, 7 February, 2007.

233 “was running about 400...”: Celia Farber, *Serious Adverse Events*, 288.

233 *ANC Today*, 17 December, 2004. Celia Farber, citing Fishbein, correctly suggests that “The HIV/NET affair is not ‘about’ nevirapine or even AIDS, but about the conduct of the federal government, which has been entrusted to do research on human beings and to uphold basic standards of clinical safety and accuracy.” Celia Farber, *Serious Adverse Events*, 305. Joe Amon of Human Rights Watch points me to US State Department information meant to counter what the State Department called “Exaggerated concerns about anti-AIDS drug nevirapine”, <http://usinfo.state.gov/media/Archive/2005/Jan/14-954432.html>. But this information does not deal with the documentary, procedural (and thus regulatory) failings of the Uganda study in any convincing detail. Amon warns against assuming “an equivalence between US regulatory requirements and safety and efficacy. Not the same thing.” This is correct: a drug approved by US regulators might well be unsafe (as Vioxx) while an unapproved one might in theory be safe and efficacious. It may well be that despite the flawed Uganda trial the drug has turned out, after all, to be safe and effective, as was the explicit premise of the South African Constitutional Court’s order for nevirapine provision in 2002. But this good fortune (if indeed it exists) hardly reduces the importance of the clinical safety and accuracy standards that seem to have failed in the Uganda testing case. After a convoluted bureaucratic process involving devastating audits of the Uganda procedures, the core findings of the Uganda study were upheld in controversial circumstances by the Institute of Medicine (IOM), a quasi-governmental body staffed by people who had conflicts of interest both collegial and financial with those whose work they were meant to oversee. Associated Press reported on 14 March, 2005 that six of the nine IOM panellists were funded by the National Institutes of Health (subject of the investigation) in amounts ranging between \$125,000 and \$2million. The regulatory failure concerning the nevirapine Uganda study therefore remains unconvincingly unresolved to this day.

By 2006, moreover, South African AIDS workers were worried about the ineffectiveness of the South African court-ordered nevirapine programme, particularly given the broader systemic problems of healthcare delivery—precisely the difficulties Mbeki sought to raise (see, Belinda Beresford, *Mail & Guardian*, 15 September, 2006).

Amon also overlooked the polemical and argumentative weight that the South African AIDS drug lobby itself places on the supposed safety and efficacy findings made by Western regulators. “Why is our government monkeying around when the Americans say it’s safe” is the run of this colonial logic. The logic additionally tends to exclude precisely the attention to context that might frustrate, in Africa, a treatment option that has had good effects in the different administrative and socio-economic context of the West.

The second source on the nevirapine debacle proffered by Amon was openly tendentious: “The African National Congress, the governing party of South Africa, which has long been opposed to greater availability of antiretrovirals [sic], seized on the press accounts [of the Uganda trial fiasco] to charge, in the 17 December issue of *ANC Today*, that with single dose nevirapine Africans are being “used as guinea pigs.”

<http://www.bmj.com/cgi/content/full/330/7482/61-a?etoc>. If the Uganda study was in fact under a cloud (as it still is), then patients were in effect in a treatment-cum-trial scenario, despite the impression they may have had that the Uganda testing duly underwrote the safety of their treatment regime. This might accurately be described as using them as guinea pigs. The ANC website was therefore correct. The BMJ website also pointed out that proceedings were underway to fire Fishbein. In fact these proceedings were not in the end sustained and he was transferred.

234 *prima facie implausible*: On 4 June 2005 Alan Ryan, Warden of New College Oxford, reviewed a book called *University, INC: The Corporate Corruption of Higher Education* by Jennifer Washburn. Ryan explained to readers of the *Financial Times* (under the headline “Inside Stories of the Ivy League”): “Performing the ‘truth function’ is not easy . . . [M]ight the public have grounds for thinking that, if private sponsors fund research, the quality of what is produced should be more carefully policed than at present? When more than 90 per cent of papers reporting sponsored research into the effectiveness of drugs report positive findings and only 60 per cent of nonsponsored research do so, anxiety about the corruption of the researcher’s judgment—even inadvertent—is not misplaced.” (emphasis added). While much is made of the need for drug companies to recoup their supposedly magnificent research and development budgets through secure intellectual property rights, they in fact spend far more on pushing drugs through advertising. “The past decade has seen a massive rise in pharmaceutical marketing, to the point where a firm such as Novartis is spending around 33% of sales on promotion, compared with about 19% on R&D” wrote the *Economist* in its “Survey of Pharmaceuticals” on 18 June, 2005.

Adopting precisely the reasoning that Cameron sought to dismiss as “conspiracy thinking” the same *Economist* survey quoted a report on the 1960 American congressional hearings into Big Pharma: “. . . It has been argued that the drug companies have spent an unreasonable portion of their budget in order to indoctrinate doctors so that they would prescribe high priced trade-marked products . . . Senator Edward Kennedy, a long-time critic of the industry, has a simple formula for categorizing drug firms: he reckons that a third of them have the public interest at heart, a third are motivated by greed, and a third are somewhere in between.

But to the AIDS-drug lobby, all pharma professionals are well-intentioned and “reputable.” In subsequent years the balance between healthcare priorities and profit-seeking only worsened, according to *The Economist*: “In the 1960s and 1970s, the first wave of blockbuster drugs for ulcers and high blood pressure came to market, drugs that treat or even prevent chronic conditions and are therefore taken for years. This was a fundamental change from an earlier generation of drugs that tackled acute ailments such as bacterial infections. The 1980s brought more new pharmaceuticals, for depression, cancer and nasty viruses, such as HIV . . . [W]hite coats started to give way to dark suits in the boardroom as a new generation of CEOs from the commercial side of the business took over from scientists and doctors . . . Much of the mess some of the big pharmaceutical companies have found themselves in over the past few years is a consequence of those heady days . . . Marketing practices are now under scrutiny, and drug companies stand accused of rushing drugs to market on the back of inadequate studies and withholding information about their drawbacks from patients and physicians” (emphasis added). While academics are rolling in drug company funds, Cameron writes: “Likewise with academics: the very concept of the ‘ivory tower’, often so derided, confers public standing, since it is precisely the distance from the processes and exercise of power that vests academic insights and pronouncements with credibility and hence with authority.” Edwin Cameron, University of South Africa — Official Opening of the Academic Year 2005, 26 January, 2005. Cameron’s picture of the ideal academic in ivoryed bliss bears a comic if any relation to the drug-funded reality of pharmaceutical research in academia.

- 234 “*That events happen not for the reasons...*”: Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 91-92. In the context of the well-documented regulatory abuse that has since emerged and that was ongoing while Mbeki took the positions he did, Cameron’s dismissal of such concerns as paranoid or conspiracy thinking—let alone analogous to holocaust denial, anti-Semitism and white supremacy—was outrageous. Chomsky: “That’s the opposite of conspiracy theory, it’s just normal institutional analysis, the kind of analysis you do automatically when you’re trying to understand how the world works. For people to call it ‘conspiracy theory’ is part of the effort to prevent an understanding of how the world works, in my view—‘conspiracy theory’ has become the intellectual equivalent of a four-letter word: it’s something people say when they don’t want you to think about what’s really going on.” Noam Chomsky *Understanding Power* (New York: Vintage, 2003), 26.
- 234 “*aid agencies skew...*”: William Easterly, *The White Man’s Burden*, 262.
- 234 “*a paranoid discourse*”: Pieter Fourie, *The Political Management of HIV and AIDS in South Africa*, 177. Then the American Food and Drug Administration was paranoid, on the Cameron-Fourie logic: On 22 March, 2007 the *Washington Post* reported: “The Food and Drug Administration said yesterday that it plans to make extensive changes in how it selects medical experts to serve on its advisory panels after years of complaints that many of them have financial ties to the companies whose products they evaluate. The proposal would eliminate many experts who serve on the panels despite having such financial conflicts, FDA officials said. Experts with limited conflicts of interest would be allowed to participate in the discussions but not to vote on the recommendations made to the agency.” Nicky Oppenheimer, who knows a bit about the pursuit of money, was presumably paranoid

as well when he outlined the very first of his ten rules for accelerating development in Africa: ‘First, beware those bearing gifts. The business of aid has become just that, a business. From the non-governmental (NGOs) professing to speak for Africans to consultants bearing high-altitude plans, their interests are as much in themselves as in their professed target, their constituents more often the donors than the African recipients . . . For many, their funding depends on the existence of African crises.’ Nicky Oppenheimer, *Business Day*, 4 June, 2007, excerpt from address to the Royal United Services Institute in London.

The point is put with trenchant incisiveness by Jean Baudrillard in *The Illusion of the End* (California: Stanford University Press 1994), p67 in an essay called “Catastrophe Management”: “The South is a natural producer of raw materials, the latest of which is catastrophe. The North, for its part, specializes in the reprocessing of raw materials and hence also in the reprocessing of catastrophe. Bloodsucking protection, humanitarian interference, *Médecins sans frontières*, international solidarity, etc. The last phase of colonialism: The New Sentimental Order is merely the latest form of the New World Order. Other people’s destitution becomes our adventure playground. Thus, the humanitarian offensive aimed at the Kurds—a show of repentance on the part of the Western powers after allowing Saddam Hussein to crush them—is in reality merely the second phase of the war, a phase in which charitable intervention finishes off the work of extermination.”

234 “*is not working*”: 55 Belinda Beresford, *Mail & Guardian*, 15 September, 2006.

235 “*what Mbeki coaxed...*”: Jonny Steinberg, *Business Day*, 6 November, 2006. This covers all Steinberg’s references to Mbeki on this page.

235 “*many black people...*”: Nadine Gordimer, quoted by Ronald Suresh Roberts, *No Cold Kitchen: A Biography of Nadine Gordimer* (Johannesburg: STE Publishers, 2005), 591. Gordimer added: “What’s gone wrong with the male psyche. You can’t tell me that there can be irresistible desire involved in raping an ugly old farm vrou of eighty. And the return of the repressed theory (which was mine for some time) is not the answer, is it, when a black man rapes his own 11-year-old daughter, or a 3-year-old who has been sent to the corner shop to buy sugar.” Gordimer, quoted by Roberts, *No Cold Kitchen*, 607. This is the sort of phantasm that JM Coetzee has long analysed. Coetzee indulges in no such nonsense. He mocks it and, worse, viscerally abhors it. This is how, in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the country magistrate in fact dismisses, rather than cowering before, rumours of native sexual atrocities: “Of this unrest I myself saw nothing. In private I observed that once in every generation, without fail, there is an episode of hysteria about the barbarians. There is no woman living along the frontier who has not dreamed of a dark barbarian hand coming from under her bed to grip her ankle, no man who has not frightened himself with visions of the barbarians carousing in his home, breaking the plates, setting fire to the curtains, raping his daughters. These dreams are the consequence of too much ease. Show me the barbarian army and I will believe.” (8)

235 “*I find myself faced...*”: NG to Said, 13 September 2000, quoted by Ronald Suresh Roberts, *No Cold Kitchen*, 591.

- 236 “a leader who has lost faith”: Jonny Steinberg, *Business Day*, 26 March, 2007.
- 236 *Let it be scorched...*: Lewis Lapham, *Waiting for the Barbarians* (New York: Verso, 1997), 138. Such an outrage was the world that Steinberg is genuinely (and comically) mystified to find clever orthodox commentators anything but *gatvol* with Mbeki. See, Steinberg, “Anthropology of Low Expectations”, *Business Day* 5 June, 2007: “As I read his book, I grew increasingly uncomfortable. I could not forget that Fassin himself was aligned with orthodoxy, and thus [sic: non sequitur] believed Mbeki to have made a terrible mistake about a great epidemic. What does it mean to write so generous and forgiving an anthropology of so large a mistake?” Steinberg neurotically overstates the alleged “mistake” when, without argument or evidence, he labels Mbeki a dissident. That much is clear from my main text. More interesting, for this footnote, is Steinberg’s objection to the generosity that he claims to see in Fassin. Steinberg specifically opposes any generosity towards Mbeki on the AIDS issue. Steinberg’s own temperament is the vindictive one. He is a signed up member of the anti-Mbeki vendetta wagon to which Zackie Achmat confessed (see p206 of the main text). Steinberg’s confession in this essay is more subtle, but equally clear.
- 236 *Mbeki’s own conduct...*: William Mervin Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra, 2005), p247.
- 236 *comments upon the death of PW Botha*: TM, *ANC Today*, 3 November 2006. Mbeki praised Botha for helping to initiate a “peace of the brave”, with Nelson Mandela in the Eighties.
- 237 “*I survived...*”: Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 154. Nicoli Natrass, After Deputy Health Minister Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge referred to “denialism at the highest level”, a comment interpreted by some as an attack on Mbeki, a mystified Nicoli Natrass commented in her book, *Mortal Combat*, that the Deputy Minister’s “comments have so far gone unpunished.”
- 237 *invents...constitutional practice*: Wikipedia, accessed 5 April, 2007. Nicoli Natrass writes of a “cabinet revolt” in *Mortal Combat*, p118. See also, Xolela Mangcu, *Business Day*, 5 April, 2007: “in our approach to HIV/AIDS we have demonstrated that we are bigger than any one individual.”
- 238 “*Judge Cameron blasts...*”: *Cape Times*, 16 November, 2006.
- 238 *Cameron claims...*: Cameron wrote that in the lead up to his public comments the debate was “not of theoretical import only. Its real consequence was life-affecting-and all too desperately immediate.” He realized that his criticism, including the analogy made between the Mbeki government and holocaust denial “may raise genuine and important issues relating to judicial participation in politically current debates. . . . My view is that judicial office requires those assuming it to accept some limitation on how openly and fully they can participate in public debate on contentious current political issues. . . .[U]nless there is compelling justification, the less judges say the better. . . . Given the just inhibitions that bind

those holding office in a democratic state, I accept that I should not have done so unless I had compelling justification.” Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 103, 146, 149, 150, 153, 155. Even assuming very that Cameron might have believed such “rare justification” as he calls it existed in 2001, he could not possibly have had such a view in November, 2007. If the former was disingenuous, the latter was plainly gratuitous.

CHAPTER 10: “MASSA DAY DONE”: MBEKI’S NEW BLACK CRITICS

- 242 “*Colonialism will also...*”: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 109.
- 242 “*The collaborator...*”: TM, Reviewing *Umkhonto we Sizwe: The Road to the Left*, by Rivonia Trial turncoat, Bruno Mtolo. Mbeki was thus not innovating when he returned to this old theme in his Inaugural ZK Matthews Memorial Lecture, University of Fort Hare, 12 October, 2001 and said: “There are those, among us, who have been ‘taught from books of the same (racist) bias, trained by Caucasians of the same prejudices or by Negroes of enslaved minds, one generation of Negro teachers after another that have served for no higher purpose than to do what they are told to do.’ To quote Carter Woodson, these have studied in schools of theology where the Bible is interpreted by those who have justified segregation; law schools where they are told that they belong to the most criminal element in the country; medical schools where they are likewise convinced of their inferiority by being reminded of their role as germ carriers; schools where they learn a history that pictures black people as human beings of the lower order, unable to subject passion to reason.”
- 242 “*even produces intellectuals...*”: TM, *ANC Today*, 12 December 2003.
- 242 “*the people...*” Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 115.
- 243 “*I assumed...*”: WEB Du Bois, quoted by Jabulani Sikhakhane, *Business Report*, 30 January, 2007.
- 243 “*eulogized by the imperialist power*”: Anton Lembede quoted at Gail Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 74.
- 243 “*nice independent relationship...*”: George W. Bush, *Economist*, 5 February, 2005: pro-Bush journalists had been in the pay of Bush allies and government money had been used to pre-package items that then went out on local television stations as “news.” The same stunt was also pulled in Iraq: “*The Los Angeles Times* has revealed details of an astonishing multi-million dollar covert plan to plant articles favourable to the US military in Iraqi newspapers. The articles were written by military staff in the Pentagon, then processed through a Washington public relations firm.” Alastair Sparks, *Star*, 15 December,

- 2005.
- 243 “are often dubbed...”: Sandile Memela, *Mail & Guardian*, 5 May, 2006.
- 243 “will be condemned...”: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.
- 244 “It also amused me...”: Peter Bruce, *Business Day*, 5 September, 2005.
- 244 *Sartre opened his preface*: Jean-Paul Sartre, opening words of Preface to Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*: “Not so very long ago, the earth numbered two thousand million inhabitants: five hundred million men, and one thousand five hundred million natives. The former had the Word; the others had the use of it. Between the two there were hired kinglets, overlords and bourgeoisie, sham from beginning to end, which served as go-betweens. In the colonies the truth stood naked, but the citizens of the mother country preferred it with clothes on: the native had to love them, something in the way mothers are loved. The European elite undertook to manufacture a native elite. They picked out promising adolescents; they branded them, as with a red hot iron, with the principles of western culture; they stuffed their mouths full with high-sounding phrases, grand glutinous words that stuck to the teeth. After a short stay in the mother country, they were sent home, white-washed. These walking lies has nothing left to say to their brothers; they only echoed. From Paris, from London, from Amsterdam we would utter the words ‘Parthenon! Brotherhood!’ and somewhere in Africa or Asia lips would open ‘ . . . thenon! . . . therhood!’ It was the golden age. It came to an end; the mouths opened by themselves; the yellow and black voices still spoke of our humanism but only to reproach us with our inhumanity . . .”
- 244 “naked traffic in anti-Indian racism”: In a *Sunday Times* letter published on 16 July 2006 Minister Pallo Jordan summarized: “On [last] Sunday, we were treated to an opinion piece, ‘Getting back our morality’ (July 9), from the pen of the editor of the *Sunday Times* himself, reporting a conversation among himself and what he calls the ‘Gucci revolutionaries’. ‘We all know,’ he tells us one of these nouveaux riches declared, to the assent of the others, ‘that everyone has their Indian.’” Jordan opened his letter by asking Makhanya: “As whose Indian was Babla Saloojee detained, tortured and finally murdered by the apartheid regime in 1964? As whose Indian was Billy Nair charged and sentenced to a 20-year term on Robben Island? As whose Indian was Ahmed Timol detained, tortured and murdered in 1973? As whose Indian did Mac Maharaj take charge of and lead Operation Vulindlela in 1988?” Jordan added that “at no point in his scribblings does the editor challenge these views, let alone censure them” . Jordan explained his concern: “The words of the editor’s Gucci-clad drinking buddies feed off and feed into a deeply racist image of Indian South Africans as parasitic, corrupt and/or corrupting; an image not markedly different from that which anti-Semites purvey about Jews. Not only is this deeply offensive and hurtful to its victims, but it could incite and reinforce racist images of our fellow citizens of a sort that have led to bloody pogroms as recently as the ‘80s. Even worse is the suggestion, barely concealed in the opinion piece, that the entire leadership of the democratic movement and the government, from Madiba down, is entwined in dubious relationships with Indian or white South Africans, who expect favours in return for their friendship. Again, these might

be the views of the editor's Gucci-clad interlocutors but unless the editor shares them, he is obliged to at least question their validity."

The entire anti-Indian line of logic expressed by Makhanya's friends was not a personal eccentricity. It was demonstrably part of a certain tradition. Makhanya's insults were precisely akin to that earlier expressed by the know neo-colonialist, RW Johnson. Johnson was rebuked in the pages of *Business Day* (12 September, 2003) in a joint letter by Helen Suzman and Lawrence Schlemmer, his successor at the Suzman Foundation. Under the headline "Johnson's Racial Slur Dismays Us" Suzman and Schlemmer wrote that they felt "obliged to take sharp issue" with Johnson's comment in his *Business Day* column, that Indians ("our enterprising Asian countrymen" was his exact phrase) had "captured" the post-1994 government. "Since he is described as a former director of the Helen Suzman Foundation, we as patron and current director of the foundation have to distance ourselves, and the foundation, from these comments as emphatically as we can" Suzman and Schlemmer wrote. But then why had they appointed him in the first place? Makhanya is hardly less offensive simply because he is black, particularly when anti-Indian racism is in issue; he is not himself Indian; and the mutual racism of black and Indian in KwaZulu-Natal has such deep and even violent roots.

244 "discourse of the Ku Klux Klan: Makhanya's *Sunday Times* repeatedly resorts for insult (as it happens, in my own case) to the term "Carpetbagger", which "is a foundation term in the vocabulary of American white supremacy, a language within which a pregnant black was a 'breeding one' while her children were called 'foals' . . . No less an organization than the Ku Klux Klan earned much of its fearsome reputation through its violent attacks upon 'carpetbaggers', as in the climax of *Birth of a Nation* (1915), an acknowledged classic of American film-and also of American racism." Ronald Suresh Roberts, "Notes from My Carpetbag", *Molotov Cocktail*, March, 2007 (reproduced in full as Appendix 3 to the main text).

244 "normal whites": See, Mondli Makhanya, "No Sense in Embracing old racists while alienating 'normal' whites", *Sunday Times*, 19 November 2006 where Makhanya characterized white illiberals as free of historical sin. A few months later, after Makhanya had returned to this theme, the ANC website characterized his views as a "determined ignorance" on issues of race. The website identified Makhanya's writing as a typical evasive gesture from within the imperialist tradition. The website's book reviewer, AFY Tau, reviewing Melissa Steyn's *Whiteness Just Isn't What it Used to Be: White Identity in a Changing South Africa* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), wrote: "The *Sunday Times* editorial of 18 March 2007 typifies this tendency [of "determined ignorance"] in its critique of President Thabo Mbeki's online letter in *ANC Today* of the same week[,] when the paper's editor, Mondli Makhanya, makes, among others, the extraordinary assertion that racism is now a phenomenon of "[a few] atypical whites who still call blacks 'kaffirs'" . . . In the introduction of the book, Steyn notes this tendency - "of considerable resistance to talking about race as a social category" - represented, in part, by questions such as "Aren't we beyond this?"

245 "to see black opportunism in action...": The tone and cordiality of the Malala-Khumalo *This Day* era, opportunistically at odds with their subsequent illiberal period, are sufficiently

- summed up by the front page photograph with which the newspaper was launched: Malala and the newspaper's Nigerian owners on a courtesy call to Mbeki as they opened shop.
- 245 “*according to one wit...*”: Tim Cohen, *Business Day*, 3 November, 2004.
- 245 *soon afterwards joined and served...*”: Malala's first noticeable foray after the collapse of *This Day* was a *Financial Mail* cover story that personally attacked Mbeki, said to be prisoner to “A SENSE OF SIEGE”, 4 February, 2005.
- 245 *The first thing...inside the forts*: Noel Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (London: Pimlico, 1992), 22, 1064, 1079. “The loyal Mfengu were left outside to confront the massed Xhosa, their women and children and cattle sheltering against the walls, the fighting men forward of them. Noel Mostert, *Frontiers*, 884. (The date in the text was altered to 1847 by an energetic proofreader. It ought to read 1487, during the explorations that preceded settlement).
- 245 “*It is as though Judas...*”: 18 TM (As JJ Jabulani), “The Case for the Persecution” *African Communist* (2nd Quarter, 1968), p32.
- 246 “*Massa is not a racial term...put down any other slave rebellions*”: Eric Williams rpt in Cudjoe Ed., *Eric Williams Speaks: Essays on Colonialism and Independence* (Wellesley: Calaloux Publications, 1993), 247.
- 246 “*will go down in the historical annals...*”: Colin A. Palmer, *Eric Williams and the Making of the Modern Caribbean* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Pres, 2006), 23.
- 246 *I'm convinced...*”: Jean Bertrand Aristide, interviewed by Peter Hallward, *Damming the Flood: Haiti and the Politics of Containment* (London: Verso, forthcoming, 2007).
- 247 *Miyeni's brilliant book*: Eric Miyeni, *O'Mandingo! The Only Black at a Dinner Party* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2006), 53: “This important black man had been the only black for so long that his importance was now partially defined by being the only black in white circles.” Ralph Ellison played a similar role, at a rather more grand level, in the context of the American Cold War, according to Phyllis Rose in an essay headlined “The Impulse to Exclude”. Relying upon a biography of Ellison by Arnold Rampersad, Rose wrote in *The American Scholar* (Spring, 2007): “America needed a black writer of stature who was actively opposed to Communism. It needed someone who spoke for racial equality vigorously but not threateningly, who could make speeches, write essays, talk on panels, participate actively in the intellectual life of the nation. America needed Ellison, but it didn't need him to be a novelist. It needed him to be a spokesman, a public intellectual, and that is what he became. In silence and cunning was how Joyce imagined forging the conscience of his race. Ellison's fate was to be a talking head, beautifully dressed, elegant and articulate, impeccably clubbable-the perfect gentleman he'd seen on screen and imagined in his childhood. He was also a gatekeeper. In every group he belonged to, he was, almost invariably, the only person of color, and Rampersad provides some evidence that he wanted it to stay that way. He put little effort into bringing other black members into

his favorite clubs, the Century and the American Academy of Arts and Letters. There's an old joke about admitting the first Jew to the country club. Smith and Jones agree they must admit Schwartz, because he owns the whole town, but how, asks Jones, will they keep out all those other Jews once they've admitted Schwartz? "Don't worry," says Smith. "Schwartz will do it."

- 247 *pick out capable young blacks*: Harry Oppenheimer, David Pallister, Sarah Stewart and Ian Lepper, *SA Inc.: The Oppenheimer Empire* (Johannesburg: Lowry Publishers, 1987), 52, quoting interview by Patrice Claude, "Harry Oppenheimer: Millionaire with a Clear Conscience," *Le Monde* in *Manchester Weekly Guardian*, 26 February, 1984.
- 247 *multiply black conservative voices...*: I analysed this strategy as applied to black American politics in Ronald Suresh Roberts, *Clarence Thomas and the Tough Love Crowd: Counterfeit Heroes and Unhappy Truths* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), *passim*.
- 247 *"Many of us..."*: 25 Alfred Xuma to J. Calata, 9 May, 1939, cited by Paul B. Rich, *White Power and the Liberal Conscience: Racial Segregation and South African Liberalism* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), p78. Rich also quotes *Llanga lase Natal* in 1943 which worried that African intellectuals gave the impression of being "intimidated", by which the paper meant that: "They speak as though afraid of the echo of their own words. Indeed, in many instances when our men of ability and intellect were exchanging views with Europeans of liberal minds, it was left to the European to express themselves with moving sincerity of some of the problems confronting our people. If utter condemnation of conditions that perpetuate the suffering of the non-European was called for the European did the talking while the intellectuals glossed over these things and kept on thinking of half loaves of bread all the time." Paul B. Rich, *White Power*, 85. One of the problems Xuma faced, Rich points out, "was the inadequacy of research sources and organizational funds to finance a campaign that could resist the permeating empiricist and neutralizing influences stemming from the Institute [of Race Relations]" (79).
- 248 *"Rather than attempt..."*: Nelson Mandela, as quoted in Pallister et al, *SA Inc.*, ix. Mandela specifically referred in his original comment to the Oppenheimers.
- 248 *"melancholy to reflect..."*: I am more interested in Pringle's criteria for assessment of Makana than in whether Pringle was correct to have viewed Makana in that way.
- 248 *"I have always differentiated..."*: Cecil, Rhodes, quoted by Robert Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball), 618.
- 248 *"Rather a pro-Boer..."*: Salisbury quoted by Harry H. Johnston, *The Story of My Life*, p221, cited by John S. Galbraith, *Crown and Charter: The Early Years of the British South African Company* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 56. With Rhodes's dubious triumph over Lobengula Salisbury grew to regard him as a proven imperialist. Galbraith, 113.

- 248 “bunkum.” Clem Sunter, *Pretoria Will Provide and other Myths* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1993), 90. This accounts for all references to Sunter on the page.
- 248 “the comfort level...”: Jabulani Sikhakhane, Business Report, 30 January, 2007, citing a book by American authors Richard Zweigenhaft and William Domhoff, *Diversity in the Power Elite: Have Women and Minorities Reached the Top?*”.
- 249 “It is sobering...”: Bheki Khumalo, “Editor’s Ideal Prozac President Would Keep Silent about the Poor,” *Sunday Times*, 12 December, 2004.
- 249 “the world of education...”: Clem Sunter, *Pretoria Will Provide*, 81.
- 249 “I was better...”: Fred Khumalo, *Touch My Blood: The Early Years* (Johannesburg: Umuzi, 2006), 138, 168-169.
- 249 *It therefore becomes possible...”: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006.*
- 250 “How we Killed Our Dreams..”: William Gumede, *New Statesman*, 2 April, 2007.
- 250 “They have chosen...”: Cornel West, in Mangcu Ed., *The Meaning of Mandela*, 22 (Pretoria: HSRC Press, 2006). Significantly, Mangcu repeatedly cites West’s popular essay, Race Matters (New York: Vintage, 1994) but not West’s subsequent *Democracy Matters: Winning the Fight Against Imperialism* (London: Penguin, 2004). In fact West’s major work is neither of these but rather *The American Evasion of Philosophy: A Genealogy of Pragmatism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), his attempt to restore the substantive historical vigour of an American tradition that had, in his view, become rudderless—just as Mbeki sees a rudderlessness in “pragmatic” South African illiberalism. Mangcu (*Business Day*, 17 May, 2007) cites as his ideal leader John F Kennedy, the failed assassin of Fidel Castro and the failed architect of the Bay of Pigs Invasion, while Mbeki praises the “A memorable visit to Vietnam”, *ANC Today*, 1 June, 2007, aligning himself with those who resisted the American war machine of the Kennedy and subsequent (as well previous) eras. Bheki Khumalo: “Is it not ironic that Cuban President Fidel Castro, having survived numerous United States attempts to assassinate and/or overthrow him, was later able to send troops half-way across the world to assist in the humiliation of the apartheid military machine at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola, a known turning point in the freedoms we enjoy today?” Bheki Khumalo, *Mail & Guardian*, 8 June 2007.
- 250 “a positive frame of mind...”: Mondli Makhanya, 5 December, 2004.
- 250 “A SENSE OF SIEGE”: Justice Malala, *Financial Mail*, 4 February, 2005. That is a wonderful headline, not merely unproven but inherently unproveable. Take the headline at its own logic: it states as FACT that the President’s inner subjective mental state “is embittered” and that the cause of this actually existing embitteredness is the “perceived” ingratitude of critics. Mbeki is not only embittered but he is embittered without basis, merely because of “perceptions” of ingratitude. Once again the interest here is not in the accuracy or otherwise of the supposed embittered-ness or the supposed ingratitude that has

supposedly caused it. What fascinates is that the subjective allegation of bitterness (a state of mind at the very most) is taken as fact while the supposed cause of that same bitterness, a cause at least theoretically capable of proof from the supposed events of the real world, is relegated to mere perception. Thus the Financial Mail pronounces authoritatively upon the inside of the native Presidential mind: “Mbeki’s anger stemmed from the fact that he felt betrayed and slapped in the face.” How on earth could anybody ever know that, apart from being told so by the person in question? Malala’s ambition was not the reporting of fact but the disparagement of Mbeki. That is what he was paid for.

- 250 *Sipho Seepe...: See, e.g., Sipho Seepe, “How Mbeki is hampering the Renaissance”, Mail & Guardian 9 June, 2000. more than any single or several example, the point is that Seepe’s writings were recurrently about Mbeki and relentlessly negative. It was apparently his appointed role. Regarding Seepe’s plagiarism, see: Pretoria News, 11 March, 2005: “A prominent academic, Professor Sipho Seepe, says he will apologise and take full responsibility for the inadvertent omission of some attributions in a publication he co-authored with Professor Malegapuru Makgoba, vice-chancellor of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. This follows an anonymous email sent out this week claiming that their joint chapter in the book Knowledge and Identity: An African Vision of Higher Education Transformation had used material from sources without proper attribution.”*
- 250 *“Older, white critics...”: The Economist, “Presidential Enigma”, 26 March, 2007. The editor of the Sunday Independent Books Page, Maureen Isaacson enthused that “Gumede’s is the first African voice to be raised in criticism in a book of this nature in post-apartheid South Africa.” Maureen Isaacson, Sunday Independent, 20 March, 2005.*
- 250 *Gumede had stolen: The irrefutable examples of Gumede’s plagiarism were published, ironically, by the Sunday Times, the very same newspaper that had prominently serialized his book. “Mbeki author in new plagiarism row”, Sunday Times, 7 May, 2006; “(Another) Author under Fire”, Mail & Guardian, 12 May, 2006; “Gumede book ‘lifted from article’”, Weekender, 29 April, 2006. For the serialization, see: Sunday Times 20 March, 2005 and 27 March, 2005. Frantz Fanon, citing examples from his own day when natives were similarly used and then discarded, points out that the colonizers, “not satisfied with simply ignoring the Negro of the colonies, repudiate the one whom they have shaped into their own image.” Frantz Fanon, Black Skin White Mask (London:Pluto, 1986) 64. Apart from a pervasive reliance upon anonymous sources, several of the few sources ostensibly cited by Gumede have accused him of fabrication. A lofty example among several is Finance Minister Trevor Manuel “Devoid of fact”, letter to Business Day, 7 November, 2006: “The so-called ‘callous remark’ [attributed] to me can be put on record as a complete fabrication. . . . William Mervin Gumede...made no attempt to speak to me. The quote was first published in Gumede’s book, Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC. The footnote in the book to this quote is unclear. ; it does not state from whom he got the quote and relies completely on hearsay. When I first learnt of the quote in Gumede’s book, I considered taking up the matter through legal means. I found the book, in its entirety, lacking in good referencing, a matter that has been elaborated in the public domain by several others...”. But work was “well researched” according to Sunday Independent Books editor, Maureen Isaacson, 20 March, 2005.*

- 251 “*It is true...strong and important argument*”: Anton Harber, <http://www.big.co.za/wordpress/category/1/>, 29 April, 2003; Anton Harber, <http://www.big.co.za/wordpress/category/1/>, 8 May, 2006.
- 251 *Vukani Mde/Bheki Khumalo: Business Day*, 9 and 22 February, 2006. This reference crosses over to 252.
- 252 “*Mondli Makhanya’s ideas...*”: Madibeng Kgwete, *Sunday Times* letters, 1 April, 2007.
- 252 “*unsophisticated drivel*”: Makhanya, *Sunday Times*, 25 March, 2007.
- 252 “*a consistent voice on racism...*” Hugo Canham, *Sunday Times* letters, 1 April, 2007.
- 252 “*black propagators of white hegemony*”: Thembelani Kwetane, *Business Day*, 30 March, 2005.
- 252 “*EXPLAIN, MBEKI*”: Justice Malala Sowetan, 12 September, 2005.
- 252 “*Jama kuhle ikhuwa li ku rithe...*”: Khathu Mamaila, “Cheer The Beloved Country”, *City Press*, 7 May, 2006. Mamaila adduced this anecdote in a different context, to illustrate what he took to be the submissiveness of blacks in the Fifties as compared to these more liberated days in which, he said, young people told these anecdotes, would accuse the teller of having dry humour.
- 253 “*informal networks of influence...*”: Tim Cohen, “Ostrich is Still Visible with Head in the Sand,” *Business Day*, 18 January, 2005.
- 253 “*hearty co-operation*”: Paul B Rich, *White Power and the Liberal Conscience* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1984), 61.
- 253 “*Apartheid is on its way out...*”: Fred Khumalo, *Touch My Blood*, 139.
- 253 “*As my father...*”: Fred Khumalo, *Touch My Blood*, 28.
- 253 “*Smack!...*” Khumalo, *Touch My Blood*, 153. Lesego Rampolokeng had a similar experience of waiting for the second shoe to drop in Khumalo’s book, and finding that it never did: “Some of his references to rural people border on offensiveness, reminiscent of colonial lit superiority. Patronizing lines about supersitition and witchcraft, backwardness and ignorance with nothing thrown in to counter-balance them. It’s disturbing. Especially considering the language of [Khumalo’s] books, which might as well be wearing ribbons, so Euro their intended readers must be.” *Sunday Times*, 27 May, 2007.
- 253 “*tried to make peace...*”: Khumalo, *Touch My Blood*, p196. in an intriguing and visibly distressed moment in an interview, you can actually see Khumalo shifting from foot to foot as he battles his demons: “When I first began dreaming of the book [*Touch My Blood*] I

thought I was going to fly in the face of ‘that’ power—the previous government—because I had been a victim under it. But looking at the whole thing, the power [sic] that is in power now is not immune to what the previous regime did in the past; if they are not checked they are going to f*** us up again.” What precisely does Khumalo mean? That the present democratic government has a deficient immune system against re-imposing racial discrimination against blacks. The levels of incoherence simply prohibit any assessment of Khumalo’s thoughts.

- 254 “*otherwise, when we enter...*”: TM, “The Historical Injustice”, *Sechaba* March, 1979.
- 255 “*they trained us to be educated natives...*”: TM, quoted by Jeremy Michaels, “Africa must take blame for Rwanda-Mbeki,” *Cape Times*, 23 February, 2005.
- 255 “*As one overseas educated native said...*”: Mears in I Schapera, *Western Civilisation and the Natives of South Africa* (1934), 100.
- 256 “*fascinating exchange of emails...*”: The emails, sent to me by McKaiser, are in my possession.
- 257 “*My life as a comrade...*”: Harber revealed Makhanya’s authorship of the piece in *Business Day*, 23 January, 2004.
- 258 “*most eloquent assertions...*”: Howard Barrell, *MK: The ANC’s Armed Struggle* (London: Penguin, 1990), 4.
- 258 “*humble pie*”: Mondli Makhanya, *Sunday Times*, 22 January, 2006.
- 258 “*exposed Mondli Makhanya...*”: Helmine Leroux, *Business Day*, 29 January, 2004.
- 259 *apartheid brutalized his own privileged white morals*: Aime Cesaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), 35: “First we must study how colonization works to decivilise the colonizer, to brutalize him in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and moral relativism . . .”. Fanon speak of the “affective ankylosis of the white man” at *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto Press, 1986), 122. Writing in 1957 Doris Lessing reported what her white anti-apartheid friends were telling her in the 1950s: apartheid “will collapse under the burden of is own corruption. How do you define corruption here? For one thing, crime—the figures for violent crime are staggering, higher than anywhere in the world. Everyone is afraid all the time. There are no standards in public life; everything is bribery and chicanery. The white youth are by definition corrupt, drinking, drugging, interested in nothing but pleasure.”: *Going Home* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 80. Fred Khumalo wrote in 2006 of his experiences in the early 1990s: “I had always thought that blacks were the only victims of apartheid. But at that house [where he lodged in Johannesburg] I saw many young white men collapsing under the yoke of apartheid. Angry with the laws of the country, but powerless to wage a sustainable war against the apartheid regime, many of those youngsters turned their anger on themselves. They drank too much,

- and never seemed to think about the future . . . A couple became serious drug addicts, an affliction that endures to this day.” Fred Khumalo, *Touch My Blood* (Johannesburg: Umuzi, 2006), 172.
- 259 “*Why the outcry...*”: Mondli Makhanya, *Sunday Times*, 28 January, 2007.
- 259 Edwin Cameron, *Witness to AIDS* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2005), 135.
- 260 “*Monostatos proves...*” Cameron, *Witness to AIDS*, 77.
- 261 *objected to a fictional climax*: See. James Baldwin, “Everybody’s Protest Novel” in James Baldwin, *Collected Essays* (New York: Library of America, 1998), 18, 26: in creating Bigger Thomas Wright was held hostage by the notion of whites as guarantors of black humanity, but this posture means that Bigger “admits the possibility of his being subhuman and feels constrained, therefore t battle for his humanity... But our humanity is our burden, our life; we need not battle for it; we need only do what is infinitely more difficult—that is, accept it.” See also, James Baldwin, “Many Thousands Gone”: the climate of the white-normed Protest Novel “has led us all to believe that in Negro life there exists no tradition, no field of manners, no possibility of ritual or intercourse, such as may, for example, sustain a Jew after he has left his father’s house.” Baldwin, *Notes of a Native Son* (London: Corgi Books, 1964), 28. See also, Ralph Ellison, arguing that Wright “began with the ideological proposition that what whites think of the Negro is more important than what Negroes know it to be.” Ralph Ellison, “That Same Pain”, *Collected Essays* (New York: Modern Library Classics, 1995), 74.
- 261 “*was worth the drive*”: Justice Malala, *Financial Mail*, 30 June 2006.
- 261 “*Often dresses as though...*”: David Bullard, *Business Times*, 25 April, 1999.
- 261 “*process of grafting...*”: *New Oxford Dictionary of English*.
- 262 “*well-known Prospero complex...*”: The “Prospero complex” is an affliction of settler and native alike: the setter (Prospero) regards the native (Caliban) as the perpetrator of an attempted or imaginary rape of his daughter, while the native (Caliban) pledges himself to assuage that fear through abject service that is also lucrative. See, Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto, 1986), 107-8.
- 262 *as if whipped*: Xolela Mangcu, 30 November, 2006, *Cape Times*, “Before we know it black intellectuals were being corralled into becoming ‘yes men’ for the national project. Those who dared to criticise government policies were, in the President’s words, foot lickers of the white man”; *Business Day*, 27 January, 2005: “In an interview with the *Sunday Times*, he argued that black intellectuals did not read nearly enough as they should. Drawing on a range of historical figures from Amilcar Cabral to Ngugi wa Thiongo, he described black intellectuals as “foot lickers” of the white system”; *Business Day*, 9 February, 2006: “The lowest point was when the president called black intellectuals foot lickers of the white system for daring to ask him to get back to the basics of our political morality.” *Business*

- Day, 9 November, 2006: “We were called all sorts of names - from foot-lickers of the white man to coconuts who were leading the people astray.” In no instance does Mangcu’s paraphrase of the President’s Tambo Lecture (which Mangcu never specifically cites) in fact represent an accurate account of what the President said in that lecture.
- 262 *himself included*: apart from Mbeki as quoted in the text, Barney Pityana, for instance, expressed the same thought in the same self-critical way: “The next thing that has happened is that intellectuals have become middle class. We have become the new middle class. Happy to enjoy the material benefits of liberation. These are the people in post-independence Africa about whom Franz Fanon is scathing in his criticism. He calls us, because I count myself among them, the ‘middlemen.’” Barney Pityana, *City Press*, 13 August, 2006.
- 263 *As the Institute of Race Relations deepened... to African higher education overseas*: Paul B. Rich, *White Power and the Liberal Conscience* 61, 67, 78-79. This sources all facts and quotations contained in the paragraph.
- 263 *subversive and not elitist*: Eric Williams (see Appendix 2), an Oxford trained historian of major twentieth century significance, famously addressed lectures in the form of public anti-colonial rallies at what came to be called “the University of Woodford Square”, where he gave lectures that were both intellectually rigorous and colloquially brilliant. These mobilized the population behind his newly formed party, the People’s National Movement (PNM): “the beauty of the tropical night has assumed a new meaning for the thousands who storm the gates of the University [of Woodford Square]. The record of the past year [June 1955-June 1956] proves that the PNM made no idle boast when, adopting the phraseology of unemployed seamen, it took as its motto: ‘The PNM stands for Knowledgeism.’” Eric Williams, PNM Weekly, June 1956, in Selwyn Cudjoe ed., *Eric E. Williams Speaks: Essays on Colonialism and Independence* (Wellesley: Callaloux Publications, 1993), epigraph.
- 263 “*Africans sustained...*”: Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 46, 111. Dr. Xuma himself, who had himself mildly remonstrated with his liberal friends at the Institute of Race Relations over their intellectual hegemony over black interests, had himself fallen behind the rising militancy of the Mandela-Sisulu-Govan Mbeki generation. This generation criticized the Xuma generation for remaining mentally ensnared in a “dying order of pseudo-liberalism and conservatism, of appeasement and compromises.” Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa*, 50.
- 263 *As the ANC was born...*”: TM, *ANC Today*, 13 August, 2004.
- 264 “these detribalized natives...”: Winifred Hoernle, quoted by Paul B. Rich, *White Power and the Liberal Conscience*, 68, citing letter by Hoernle dated 1 July, 1938.
- 264 Xolela Mangcu, “Lekota has what it takes to be a people’s president”, *Business Day*, 27 January, 2005.

264 “*The other mistake we make*”: Xolela Mangcu, *Business Day*, 21 July, 2005.

264 “*Intellectuals Will Step Forward...*”: *Business Day*, 21 July, 2005.

CHAPTER 11: NATIVES AND NON-RACIALISM

266 *Mr Shenfield*: Eric Williams, *Inward Hunger: The Making of a Prime Minister* (Andre Deutsch, 1969), 111. See also, Toni Morrison: “For three hundred years black Americans insisted that ‘race’ was no usefully distinguishing factor in human relationships. During those same three centuries every academic discipline, including theology, history, and natural science, insisted ‘race’ was the determining factor in human development. When blacks discovered they had shaped or become a culturally formed race, and that it had specific and revered difference, suddenly they were told there is no such thing as ‘race’, biological or cultural, that matters and that genuinely intellectual exchange cannot accommodate it.” Toni Morrison, “Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature”, in A. Mitchell (ed.) *Within The Circle* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 370.

266 *so-called “colourblind”*: What exactly is “colourblindness” anyway? Do even its proponents know? I have simply never seen the phenomenology of it—the way it works in the real world—convincingly defined or described. Nikil Pal Singh raises a quizzical eye in *Black is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (2004): Modern racial liberalism’s best intentions have been betrayed by its own metaphors, whether they are metaphors of forgetting, liquidation, or today’s preferred term, blindness. Why a visual impairment that interferes with the perception of normal variations in the colour spectrum has become the preferred image of racial neutrality, if not racial justice, defies common sense. (40) (italics supplied).

266 “*the existence of racism...*”: Anthony Appiah, *In My Father’s House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*, quoted by Ronald Suresh Roberts, *Clarence Thomas and the Tough Love Crowd: Counterfeit Heroes and Unhappy Truths* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 44.

267 *broke through the narrower...*: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 9. Robert JC Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, p281: “Although he spoke of himself as an African and of ‘the African revolution’, Fanon was less concerned with the Africanisation of socialism than with the abstraction of revolutionary principles to a general level of applicability. This characterizes even his books on the African and Algerian revolutions, which are more specific but demonstrate a constant tendency towards conceptual abstraction, be it psychological or sociological, from any empirical or historical material . . . It is this deliberately universalized level of analysis that has led *The Wretched of the Earth* to become, as Stuart Hall has remarked, ‘the Bible of decolonization.’ “Because Fanon was alienated from the French culture that he was brought up to revere, the Martiniquan culture that he was brought up to reject, and the

- Algerian culture he espoused but was never familiar with, Fanon adopted a universalist humanism, speaking for all colonized people and indeed all humanity in a Messianic tone.” Albert Memmi, “The Impossible Life of Franz Fanon,” *The Massachusetts Review* XIV (1) (Winter 1973), 9-39.
- 267 “scuttle out of Egypt...”: Cecil Rhodes, Letter to the Editor, *The Economist*, 12 October 1901.
- 267 “a deep-seated tradition...”: Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2003), 383. While the prominent voices of the imperialist tradition rushed off to misread the popularity of De la Rey as a sign of neo-apartheid resurgence within young Afrikanerdom, Antjie Krog located De la Rey in the resistance tradition. “The young people in the songs no longer drink brandy and Coke, but Bob Marleys at Cool Runnings. De la Rey, known for reconciliation efforts, is an honourable ancestor who mediates a space for Afrikaners between a preferred present and an dishonourable past. There is a forefather in the songs, a grandfather, male friends, Mandela and Habana, but no father. Why?” Antjie Krog, *Mail & Guardian*, 1 April, 2007.
- 267 “founded in 1871”: Robert JC Young, *Postcolonialism: An Introduction* (London: Blackwells, 2001), 20. As an example of the complex interplay of settler and native identities, as of a globalised anti-imperialism, consider this: in devising the Great Dandi March that he led as a great symbolic protest against the salt tax, Gandhi in India was consciously imitating the Boer example of the Great Trek in South Africa—a strategy that Gandhi himself had already previously tried out in South Africa itself, in the 1913 Great March into the Transvaal, “with its aura of Holy Pilgrimage, and of Moses’ journey of exodus to the promised land.” Robert JC Young, *Postcolonialism*, 332. Young also points out the complexity of Frantz Fanon’s native identity: “As an international activist, moving from Martinique to Paris to Algeria to Tunisia, from which he travelled frequently, his interest in local cultures was limited: while he manoeuvred his general Marxist perspective towards tricontinental priorities, unlike almost all Anglophone and Francophone Marxists, he did not attempt to graft it on to the specifics of African cultures, of which he had a relatively restricted experience. He always remained intellectually centred in Paris, and never resisted European thought as such, as much as he resisted European domination of the colonial world. A product of the western-educated colonial elite, Fanon used the resources of Western thought against itself. What he did was to translate its epistemological location.” Robert JC Young, *Postcolonialism*, 276. Indeed, in the final analysis Fanon, like Edward Said after him, rejected the dichotomy between the “West” and the “Rest”, while realizing that this rejection was not a matter only of glib assertion, but rather of hard cultural and political work to come. Mbeki is doing such work.
- 268 *conceptual artwork: GIMBERG / NERF / SACKS / YOUNG: Stellenbosch Modern and Contemporary Art Gallery (SMAC), March 2007.* The work of Nerf, Sacks and Young is discussed in the text. Gimberg, the youngest of the four, produced upward shining clouds that played nicely against the panic theme in Sacks, suggesting an upward-looking silver lining.

- 268 “*a freakish new tribe...*”: RW Johnson, *South Africa: The First Man, the Last Nation* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball), 217.
- 269 *Andrew Donaldson denies*: Andrew Donaldson, “It’s the ‘native’ that causes all the trouble”, *Sunday Times*, 4 February, 2007.
- 269 “Only the indigenous people...”: Letepe Maisela, *Business Day*, 22 June, 2006.
- 269 *Mahmood Mamdani understood*: See, Mahmood Mamdani, Paper delivered at the International Conference of Intellectuals From Africa and the Diaspora, October 6-9th 2004 in Dakar, Senegal.
- 269 “*I don’t feel...*”: Ruth First, quoted by Auroil Stevens, *Manchester Guardian*, 30 October, 1970. This reference is the first footnote in Kader Asmal, Louise Asmal and Ronald Suresh Roberts, *Reconciliation Through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid’s Criminal Governance* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997), 217. This is a book on the truth and reconciliation commission.
- 270 “*the Great Powers...*”: RW Johnson, *Business Day*, 4 April, 2007. Khehla Shubane responded in the same issue of the newspaper that South Africa “put forward viewpoints which are ordinarily not heard in the corridors of power in international forums because they are held by less powerful people in the world . . . wisdom is not the exclusive preserve of the powerful.” More fundamentally, Johnson is wrong, even on his own logic, about who obviously matters in the world. “Everyone knows that the weight of global power is moving inexorably towards the Asia-Pacific region. China and India are on the rise. Japan is recovering. The US is still a formidable military power but its international influence is in steep decline.” Victor Mallet, *Business Day*, 30 April, 2007.
- 270 “*Mbeki stuck to his guns...*”: *Business Day*, 3 April, 2007.
- 271 “*The people who built...*”: TM, *Financial Times*, 3 April, 2007.
- 271 “*Ghana became independent...*” The entire text of Mbeki’s essay, “Why I joined the Communist Party”, is Appendix 1 to the main text.
- 272 “*What we need...*”: Dr JEK Aggrey is quoted by Paul B. Rich, *White Power and the Liberal Conscience*, 20.
- 272 “native conceptual categories”: JM Coetzee, *White Writing: On the Culture of Letters in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press), p15
- 272: “*a characterization that included...*”: Peter Hallward, *Damming the Flood: Haiti and the Politics of Containment* (London: Verso, forthcoming 2007).

- 273 “*The lessons we learned...*” Professor Marcus Ramogale, “The Native Club needs to bat for Afrocentricity”, *City Press*, 23 July, 2006.
- 274 “*the people forming...*”: Steve Biko, “Black Souls in White Skins”, rpt. in *I Write What I Like* (Johannesburg: Heineman, 1987), 20, quoted by Christine Qunta, unpublished manuscript on file with the author. The assumptions of an essentialist multi-racialism as opposed to a genuine non-racialism can be seen in much early native thinking, such as RV Selope Thema: “The right to live of every race of mankind is indisputable. This being so, each race of mankind has the right to work out its own destiny and live its own life without let or hindrance.” This objection to segregation on this paradigm was not that race does not exist, but rather that the fates of the separate “races” was “so interwoven” as to forbid segregation. “I do not suggest for a moment that there should be INTERMIXTURE OF THE RACES in any shape or form. I should be the last to advocate inter-marriage between the races. I love my race and its colour, and am just as proud of it as the European is of his.” RV Selope Thema, quoted by Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), Volume 1, Document #41a, p213. The “Non-European” conferences of 1927, 1930, 1931 and 1934, while broadening the range of mobilization against white domination, remained plagued by intra-black claims of racial distinctiveness. “Representatives of Indian organizations sought to preserve their distinctive status . . .” Editors note, Karis and Carter, 151. The ANC rejected black-white segregation for reasons of principle not merely impracticality, appealing to universal human rights norms. Editors note, Karis and Carter, 153.
- 275 “*the abolition of both blackness and whiteness*: The English edition of *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto, Press, 1986) has an infamously misleading mistranslation (originally perpetrated in the 1967 Grove Press edition) in which Fanon’s original French chapter heading, “L’Expérience vécue de l’homme noir” (“The lived experience of the black man”) becomes “The Fact of Blackness”. Fanon’s biographer, David Macey in *Frantz Fanon: A Biography* (New York: Picador, 2000), 26: The mistranslation obliterates Fanon’s philosophical frame of reference, which is supplied by a phenomenological theory of experience, but it also perverts his whole argument; for Fanon, there is no ‘fact of blackness’. The world is, in his view, experienced in particular ways by ‘the black man’ (sic), but that experience is defined in situational terms and not by some trans-historical ‘fact’. David Macey, 26. Fanon’s emphasis on blackness as a lived experience rather than an objective fact is clear from the very first lines of the essay, despite the mistranslated title. These are worth quoting in full: “‘Dirty nigger!’ Or simply, ‘Look, a Negro!’ I came into the world imbued with the will to find a meaning in things, my spirit filled with a desire to attain to the source of the world, and then I found that I was an object in the midst of other objects Sealed into that crushing objecthood, I turned beseechingly to others . . . [ellipsis added] the attitudes, the glances of the other fixed me there, in the sense in which a chemical solution is fixed by a dye. I was indignant; I demanded an explanation. Nothing happened. I burst apart. Now the fragments have been put together again by another self.’ This is a trope of extraordinary subtlety and usefulness. Fanon’s entire essay in the lived experience of blackness is an attempt to dramatize a racialised Negro experience

from a notional post-Negro, deracialised and therefore non-racial human space (“another self”).

- 275 “*A vision of reconciliation*”: Cynthia Carr, *Our Town: A heartland lynching, a haunted town, and the hidden history of white America* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006), p299. Carr’s quiet title subversively alludes to Thornton Wilder’s play by the same name—perhaps the most performed American play in America, Wilder’s *Our Town* is a placid anthem of supposed small-town American bliss. Carr quotes Baldwin.
- 275 *This Steve Biko knew*: Steve Biko explained that he was against the false integration that was a mere “assimilation and acceptance of blacks into an already established set of norms and codes of behaviour . . . the superior-inferior white-black stratification”. However he favoured of an integration that meant “free participation by all members of a society, catering for the full expression of the self in a freely changing society as determined by the will of the people. Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like*, 24.
- 275 “*The first constitution*”: Christine Qunta, unpublished manuscript (forthcoming). See the 1943 Constitution, reproduced in Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1973), Volume 2, Document #29a, p204. The Objects, stated in the constitution, were to protect and advance the interests “of all Africans” on various fronts including “full participation . . . in the Government of South Africa.”
- 276 “*magnificent manuscripts*”: Deputy Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke, Address at his Installation as Chancellor of Wits University, 28 March, 2007.
- 276 *anthropological notions of ‘nonracialism’*: J. Tengo Jabavu expressed such ideas in his inaugural address at the South African Races Congress, 2 April, 1912: “Anthropologists classified people in an ascending scale-as Individuals, Families, Clans, Tribes, Nations, with Humanity at the top-according to the ties of Friendship, Sympathy and Love. Unfortunately Natives are still in the meshes of the Fourth Group, and are only able to act as Tribes, with the jealousies and feuds inseparable from that crude state of development”. J. Tengo Jabavu, quoted by Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), Volume 1, Document #22, p73.
- 276 “*conversion*” to non-racialism: Xolela Mangcu, *Business Day*, 16 November, 2006: “I have over the course of the year focused some of my writings on the spectre of racial nativism in our country. In the process I have become a convert to nonracialism. In that spirit I have asked Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert to deliver a public lecture at Wits on the topic: I Too Am An African. If Not, Why Not?” Mbeki had already pursued Slabbert’s theme in his famous 1996 speech, “I Am an African.” What is significant is Mangcu’s confession that, until his engagements with racial nativism in the course of 2006 and the resultant very recent conversion experience, he had himself previously been a racial nativist, which is certainly not a true black consciousness position as espoused by Biko. Mangcu’s racial nativism is clearest in his objection to the award of the Nobel Prize to JM Coetzee in 2003. In a column

- with a self-explanatory headline (“Nobel for JM Coetzee does black African writers no favours”) Mangcu elected, as he put it in his opening sentence, to “put the cat among the pigeons” by objecting to the colour of Coetzee’s skin. *Business Day*, 9 October, 2003.
- 276 “*Must not be sold out*”: Qunta wrote, *Business Day*, 26 September, 2003: “The complaints have to do with what is perceived to be an attempt to portray Steve in isolation from the movement within which he operated. There are also concerns that the western funders might begin to exert pressure that seek to change, posthumously, Steve’s political philosophy or in other ways sanitise him.”
- 276 “*so sharp...*”: Mukoni Ratshitanga, *Business Day*, 19 December, 2006. Mangcu had counseled Mbeki to “go to the United Democratic Front (UDF) model of building as broad a front as possible”. This moved Ratshitanga to reply: “While Mangcu was at Wits university in the mid-1980s, he was a member of the Azanian Students’ Movement (Azasm), an organization opposed to the Azanian Students’ Organisation (Azaso). And, it was Azaso, not Azasm, that was affiliated to UDF—the UDF Mangcu is now presuming to counsel the ANC upon. Indeed, the key point of difference between the two student organizations was Azaso’s commitment to a nonracial SA.” And then Mangcu hazarded the peculiar view (*Business Day*, 30 March, 2006) that the development of modern intellectual life in South Africa “begins in the Eastern Cape of the 19th century, and connects to the renaissance in Sotho literature at the turn of the century, and to the Zulu intellectual renaissance of the 1940s”. An acerbic letter from Vuyo Mkhize (*Business Day*, 4 April, 2006) pointed out that Mangcu committed what for Biko was the cardinal sin of “tribal dementia”.
- 277 *urged him to join the ANC*: Xolela Mangcu reports Mandela’s comment to him: “I never met Steve Biko. But, you know, I would have told him to join the ANC . . .” Xolela Mangcu, “Introduction”, *The Meaning of Mandela: A Literary and Intellectual Celebration* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006), xiv.
- 277 “*He has actively sought...*”: Christine Qunta to RSR, 6 April, 2007.
- 277 “the only conclusion I reached...”: Xolela Mangcu, *Business Day*, 5 April, 2007. The Awards ceremony for National Orders mere days later, on 24 April, 2007, in fact honoured John Issel, Eric Molobi and Mfanasekaya Pearce Linda Gqobose, all of whom emerged from and remained, in varying degrees, shaped by, black consciousness traditions.
- 277 “*Mangcu’s columns express...*”: Bheki Khumalo, *Business Day*, 15 February, 2005.
- 278 “*as a native South African...*” Melissa Steyn, *Whiteness Just Isn’t What it Used to Be: White Identity in a Changing South Africa* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), quoted by *ANC Today*, 13 April 2007.
- 278 “*an 8% white population...*”: Adekeye Adebajo, *Sunday Times*, 23 July, 2006.

- 278 “black people ignite”: Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (London: Picador, 1993), x.
- 279 *Over such a sustained period*: “If black consciousness pioneer Steve Biko were alive today he would surely be grinning from ear to ear. The establishment of the so-called “Native Club” of black intellectuals, which met for the first time amid much controversy the weekend before last, has provoked precisely the kind of intense debate that he sought to encourage, with rather more success than the apartheid authorities could tolerate, before his premature death at the hands of security police almost 30 years ago. The discussion that has been stimulated - the name itself is clearly intended to provoke - is undoubtedly a good thing, especially since it involves people from all walks of life, not just brainy blacks. Indeed, even politicians and journalists have been weighing in.” *Business Day*, editorial, 17 May, 2006.
- 279 “Why all the fuss..”: RA Lambert, letters, *Business Day*, 13 June, 2006.
- 279 “described by such whites: See, e.g., “Leon says DP has been non-racist Longer than the ANC”, 18 May, 1999 (advocating “colourblind fairness”); *Death of a Rainbow Nation* (1998).
- 279 “provided no taxpayers’: John Kane Berman, *Business Day*, 8 June, 2006. As ought to be clear in the main text, there was in fact no racial exclusivity in the design of the Native Club. Moreover the suggestion that “liberalism” implies tolerating racial exclusivity requires rather more argument than Kane Berman deigns to offer here. Illiberalism, which has often traffics as “liberalism” in South Africa, certainly does tolerate racial discrimination. But does any true liberalism do so? What on earth might Kane Berman possibly mean? But those are side issues to the present point.
- 279 “omniscient tranquil authority”: Edward W Said, Afterword, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1995), 343.
- 280 “Whites, who for centuries...”: JM Coetzee, “Taking Offense” in *Giving Offense: Essays on Censorship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p1.
- 280 “curious transmogrification”: James Myburg, “White Guilt-the Yahoo Problem,” *Frontiers* (2nd Quarter, 2000) (South African Institute of Race Relations Journal).
- 280 “Mbeki’s reputation abroad”: 43 James Myburgh and Stanley Uys, “South Africa, Thabo Mbeki’s Presidency: A Profile” (2002).
- 281 *safely relegated to a footnote*: Why, except in the most crass sub-chapters of cultural cringe, should Mbeki’s “reputation abroad” have “benefited greatly” from a perceived “Englishness”? Myburg’s un-examined assumption is that Englishness is in and of itself a kind of credential-which explains why Myburgh himself provoked mirth by signing a letter to the Johannesburg daily, *Business Day*, as from “James Myburg, England.” What? All of it?. On another occasion he styled himself as “James Myburg, Oxford.”

So much for the cultural cringe. Now for the triple-racialisation. First: Myburg is himself an Afrikaner and his definition of the supposed essence of Englishness (tweeds, Shakespeare, Blake) betrays ludicrous semi-comprehension of “English” culture. Second: with sexualized racialism, Myburg includes among his clumsy criteria of “Englishness” an alleged fondness for “Caucasian” ladies. This is not only unsubstantiated as a matter of biographical fact about Mbeki; the larger point is that, even had such a “fondness” existed, it is difficult to see how it could count as a cultural symptom of alleged “Englishness.” The question “Why might George Bush or Henry James or TS Eliot be said to be Anglophile or ‘English’” would not remotely be answered in this way. Even less would one ever call a true Englishman “English” because of an alleged fondness for “Caucasian women.” The very notion and trope itself can only at all ever arise with reference to a black person and only, furthermore, within instincts that are fundamentally hard-wired in the living discourse of an age-old race-consciousness. “Caucasian” is itself a non-existent scientific category—part really of the pseudo-science of nineteenth century racism. Johann Fredrich Blumenbach named the “Caucasian variety” of humans based on a skull he found on Mount Caucasus. His pseudo-scientific *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind* (1775) stood firmly discredited in already in 1986, when Thomas Henry Huxley, in his “Methods and Results of Ethnology”, called the “Caucasian mystery” the oddest of all odd myths in the scientific world. Huxley and Blumenbach on Caucasians are taken as the opening epigraphs to Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Colour* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 1. Jacobson’s Chapter is called “The Fabrication of Race.”

282 “*The nation is not only...*”: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 197.

282 “*the consciousness of the self...*”: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics), 199.

282 *the contributor on Afrocentrism*: The contribution in question was authored by Robert Fay.

283 *repeatedly used by the white British scholar*: At page 34 Porter speaks of “a more Afrocentric attitude” that displaced discussion of imperialism in the 1890s, “when all the [1890s] emphasis in the debate over imperialism was on its implications for the imperializing power. The more Afrocentric attitude was only to appear prominently in political discussion after the turn of the century.” (33-34). At page 300 and 327 Porter points out that the emergence of the “Congo Scandal”, meaning the agitation over gross human rights abuses in Belgian rubber harvesting there, “was to consolidate this Afrocentric approach”(300) and to “[make] parliamentary criticism more Afrocentric and interested . . .”. British Parliamentary speakers from diverse ideological camps (Conservative, Liberal Imperialist, Radical) now “consistently argued from the point of view of the native.” Because these debaters were not, however, elected by the natives, these debates, while Afrocentric, remained imperialist. But in practice the debates at Westminster, like later anti-apartheid agitation in world capitals, served as a brake upon the otherwise utter rapacity of the settler legislature over the natives. If the South African whites persisted in their illiberal practices, Westminster asserted, then Britain had the right to impose her

will on them-to “insist that British ideas as well as colonial ideas should be consulted in the settlement of the native question.” (300).

The related term Eurocentrism appears at pages 136, 148 and 324 of Porter’s text. The problem may be that Porter uses the term in an energetic and analytical way to describe the actual historical processes under way in a concrete imperial period, whereas “few of the Afro-American cultural nationalists who loudly proclaim their identification with Africa have seemed to evince a close or informed interest in the continent itself, or have played any major or constructive role in the political campaigns against apartheid, let alone against state repression in postcolonial Africa or on behalf of the victims of genocide in Rwanda and famine elsewhere.” Stephen Howe, *Afrocentrism: Mythical Past and Imagined Homes* (London: Verso, 1998), 13. Howe offers an invigorating and often persuasive critique of American Afrocentrism. While Appiah and Gates are critics of the essentialism and nativism of American Afrocentrism, their own dictionary of African American experience ironically reproduces the parochialism and essentialism of American Afrocentrism, attributing Afrocentrism as a whole to Asante, while it is at most correct to attribute American Afrocentrism to him (and even that would slight the long centuries-old origins of American Afrocentrism).

283 *race is fundamental to human thought.* The suggestion that the Mbeki and ANC are “race-obsessed” has been illiberalism’s single most distinctive theme since 1994. See, “Death of the Rainbow Nation - Unmasking the ANC’s Programme of Re-racialisation; Democratic Party Discussion Document” (February 1998). The document continued to be cited in the renewed “Vision of the Democratic Alliance, published in March, 2005. The premise is that apartheid ended in 1994 with the first democratic election, if not even earlier. Thus Leon’s former speechwriter asserts flatly and rather surprisingly that “apartheid was ended in 1990.” James Myburgh, ever-fasternews.com, 28 August, 2006. This shockingly implausible argument has understandably met with some decisive rebuffs. “Do you even read what you write?” the writer, Brian Rostron, asked of Leon in *Business Day*. “On June 24 [2004], Leon wrote that the ANC was ‘reracialising’ our society. When-- dates, please—was it ‘deracialised.’?” The illiberals replied (I’ve numbered the sentences for ease of discussion): [1] Rostron goes so far as to suggest that SA was not ‘deracialised.’ [2] For his information: SA was ‘deracialised’ as the laws of apartheid were dismantled; when the Mixed Marriages Act was abolished; then the Group Areas Act; then the Population Registration Act. [3] At this time there are no effective laws on the statute book dividing SA up along racial lines; reliant on racial classification; or requiring that one group be discriminated against at the expense of another. [4] Clearly the significance of this escapes Rostron, as does the subsequent reversal of this process by the African National Congress of President Thabo Mbeki, which implemented its black nationalist agenda.’ Motlatjo Thetjeng, Deputy Spokesperson, Democratic Alliance, 19 November, 2004].

In sentence [1] Rostron’s statement of the obvious (South Africa was never previously deracialised) is treated by Thetjeng as peculiar and matters go steadily downhill from there. Every single apartheid law mentioned in sentence [2] left its mark on society after the legislative scaffolding was taken down by an increasingly desperate PW Botha in the Eighties. It is shocking to realize that PW Botha Eighties reforms exhaust the Democratic Alliance’s vision of the true meaning and content of “deracialisation.” Those

who say that the Democratic Alliance lacks any interest in transformation now have hard evidence from the horse's mouth.

But it is in the contrast between sentences [3] and [4] that the fun really starts. In sentence [3] there "are" no racialising laws on the books. But in sentence [4] we jarringly hear of the "subsequent reversal of [the PW Botha reforms] by the African National Congress of President Thabo Mbeki, which implemented its black nationalist agenda." This implies that there are, after all, some racialising laws on the books-and these are not apartheid's old ones (removed by Botha, but rather Mbeki's new ones. This a black nationalist agenda has been "implemented." To sum up: South Africa was deracialised by PW Botha (!) and South Africa currently "is" deracialised (!), even while it has already been re-racialised by the dastardly "black nationalist", Thabo Mbeki. In this fog of self-contradiction, the imperative to deal with the persistent poverty and numerous legacies of apartheid cannot even begin to raise its head.

- 283 *managed to misread his original source:* Siphon Seepe: "Perhaps one of Mbeki's strong points is his ability to refurbish and repackage old ideas. . . . The Two Nations speech, adapted from Benjamin Disraeli's prototype in his 1845 novel, *Sybil: Or, the Two Nations*, is a thesis whose appeal to morality is betrayed by the call for expansion of the black capitalist class." This misunderstands both Disraeli (who stood for aristocracy) and Mbeki, who did not in fact rely on Disraeli. Siphon Seepe, "How Mbeki is Hampering the Renaissance, *Mail & Guardian*, 09 06 2000. In the same essay Seepe correctly has Mbeki as stating that the few black intellectual promoted by the media were "an acute embarrassment to the black majority." Seepe's reallocation of Mbeki from the tradition of the African revolutionary, Fanon, and into the supposed lineage of the Tory middle class champion of aristocracy, Disraeli, is one such embarrassments.
- 283 "*uphold the aristocratic settlement...*": Robert Blake, *Disraeli* (London: Prion Books, 1998), 278. When Disraeli seemed solicitous towards the poor, it was to head off a feared alliance between the English masses and the radical economics of the Manchester school (which later included JA Hobson, the critic of imperialism). That is the context in which Disraeli famously spoke of "two nations between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets. The rich and the poor". Blake comments: "His attitude decisively oriented the Conservative party for many years to come, and the tradition which he started was probably a bigger electoral asset in winning working class support during the last quarter of the century than anything else, though he himself did not live to see its fruits." But it was always with a view of harnessing this working class support in the service of the "aristocratic settlement", at best mildly renovated.
- 283 "*When you examine...*": Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 30-31
- 284 "*that his task as an intellectual...*": TM, Oliver Tambo Lecture, 11 August, 2000.
- 284 "*There is unity in consciousness...*": Joel Netshitenzhe, 26 June, 2006 in releasing the macro-social report, *A Nation in the Making*.

- 284 “*Is our salvation not a complete segregation...*”: NP Van Wyk Louw, quoted in *Sunday Times*, 27 March, 2005.
- 284 “*believed to be a community*”: Hermann Giliomee, quoted in Annexure 3 to the main text.
- 285 *only the native elite*: Amilcar Cabral, cited by Robert JC Young *Postcolonialism: An Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 2001), 290.
- 285 “*Our BCM...*”: TM to RSR, 1 January, 2006. This covers the further quotations from Mbeki in the first paragraph of 286.
- 286 “*sophisticate cadences...*”: for a food survey if these cadences (and listen to) Cary D. Wintz ed., *Harlem Speaks: A Living History of the Harlem Renaissance* (Naperville, Illinois: Sourcebooks, 2007), a 500 page text that is impressively cross-referenced to the CD that comes with the book.
- 286 “*The antics...*”: Christine Qunta to RSR, 6 April, 2007.
- 286 “*forgive my friend...*”: Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto Press, 1986), 116.
- 286 “*with the greatest delight....*”: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 169.
- 286 “*narcissism of minor differences*”: Sigmund Freud, *Civilisation and its Discontents*, in *Penguin Freud*, volume 12: *Civilisation, Society, Religion* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p.305.
- 286 *native arrives at the day of liberation*: “The thesis that men change at the same time that they change the world has never been so manifest as it is now in Algeria. This trial of strength not only remodels the consciousness that man has of himself, and of his former dominators or of the world, at last within his reach. This struggle, at different levels, renews the symbols, the myths, the beliefs, the emotional responsiveness of the people.” Frantz Fanon, Preface, *A Dying Colonialism* (New York: Grove Press, 1965) 30.
- 286 “*the experience or premonition...*”: JM Coetzee, “Taking Offense”, in *Giving Offense: Essays on Censorship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p3: “part of their outrage was at tasting an impotence of which being-named is the sign.” Coetzee, p2.
- 287 “*Our country is in that period...*”: TM, “The Full Meaning of Liberation”, reprinted in *Africa Define Yourself* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers Ltd, 2002), p28.

ANNEXURE 1: “WHY I JOINED THE COMMUNIST PARTY”

288 No footnotes.

ANNEXURE 2

292 *cited by Edward Said: Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 113-114. I call this a pivotal turn because Said mobilizes a block quotation from William emphasise his analysis that Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* cannot be treated as pristine art, somehow apart from "a sordid history" of slavery.

292 *Liberation cannot be developed...: Eric Williams, Foreword, British Historians and the West Indies* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1964), p13.

292 "we spent a day...": Millin's memoir, quoted by Martin Rubin, *Sarah Gertrude Millin: A South African Life* (Johannesburg: AD Donker, 1977), p219.

293 "I would never publish...": Williams tells the anecdote in *British Historians*, p211.

293 "The vision of Dr Dadoo...": TM, Foreword, *Timol: A Quest for Justice* (Johannesburg: STE, 2005), p7.

ANNEXURE 3

295 *carpetbaggers defamed: WEB Du Bois, Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880* (New York: Free Press, 1998), 347-48.