

The repetition of the nomos of cultural memory in Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom* and Mamphela Ramphele's *A Life**

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This article points to the repetition of figures of memory in autobiography as a condition of entry into a distinct temporality of 'worldliness'. The said entry, as the two autobiographies by Nelson Mandela and Mamphela Ramphele show, is distinctly enabled through the signifying time attending the nomadic routes of exile and banishment. As a feature of South Africa's peculiar versions of personhood, nomadic routes are here symptomatic of strategic repetitions of memoric figures of both tradition and modernity: the eternal return of S.E.K. Mqhayi, the revolutionary poet through the Scarlet Pimpernel antic, among others, in the case of Mandela. Subterfuge during Ramphele's banishment is similarly managed through the repetition in-between past rhythms of rural sojourn and the Antigone figure.

Keywords: nomos; repetition; Nelson Mandela; Mamphela Ramphele; autobiography; cultural memory

Introduction

At the outset, it is important to note that this article's analysis indexes the 'worldliness' of autobiographical text and context as a double temporality that is symptomatic of *being-in-the-world* rather than merely creating a *text-in-itself* – a notion used by Edward Said in his *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (1983a). How autobiographical texts, as artistic works, use a different temporality to reinscribe both history and identity to be in the world, is a function of repetition of what is known in the realm of popular culture and politics framed as cultural memory (Masemola 2012). It has recently been proved that through repetition and dramatization, among others, 'Presidents and political leaders make use of popular cultural references and motifs to "connect" with their audiences' (Dodds 2010, 115). Through a consideration of the autobiographical gleaning of cultural references from cultural memory in leaders such as Mamphela Ramphele and Nelson Mandela, such repetition is also recognized as a declaration of sharing with others what they 'already know and recognize', as this allows a public signature under conditions of imposed anonymity (Brennan 2008). In his underground movement as a banned political leader, Nelson Mandela's deliberate repetition of the references to the elusive Scarlet Pimpernel and the traditional figure of S.E.K. Mqhayi the warrior-poet is another form of connection: a simultaneous belonging to, and becoming within, the world from he is officially debarred, and the imperative of being in the world (Masemola 2004). Being-in-the-world is crucial to an understanding of the mechanics of individual and political movement, internal and external exile. On the strength of the

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sophisticated cultural and political dimensions of repetition outlined in Deleuze's *Difference and Repetition* (1994), this critical intervention approaches the autobiographical record of restriction and liberation through repetition as an integral part of a Deleuzian immanent logic of nomadism in order to further explain the paradox of being banned and being-in-the-world or, simply, stagnation and mobility by repetition.

The cultural logic of the nomos versus the logos of banning orders

Untrammelled by restrictions to a confined area, Nelson Mandela and Mamphela Ramphele represent a movement reliant upon stepping outside the logos of their false/forced self through the repetition of traditional and modern figures of memory. Consolidating the notion of 'repetition as the logos of the solitary and the singular' (Deleuze 1994, 7), elsewhere Deleuze has ascribed primacy to nomadic movement as 'the nature of the real movement which is not mediation but "repetition" and which stands opposed to the abstract, logical, false movement' (1994, 306). Seen through the lens of nomadism, whereby the definition of movement is coterminous with *distribution* of the self such that it is possible to 'leap over the barriers or enclosures' (Deleuze 1994, 37), we come to see why the strictures of racial, gender and class discrimination are attenuated in the autobiographical representation of the self under the banning orders described in Mandela's *Long Walk To Freedom* (1995) and Ramphele's *A Life* (1995).

This reading of nomadism allows us to understand the defiance of the logos of apartheid. Deleuze points out that in this form of nomadism, the imperative of ontologically affirmative distribution overtakes the distribution of space (1994, 36), that is, there are no limits to the self despite being banned and officially confined to a designated area. In the autobiographies by Mandela and Ramphele, the representation of internal exile (also read as banishment) and nomadism is framed through the figures and tropes through which the authors construct themselves as subjects. Such figures – and I choose here the 'Scarlet Pimpernel' and Antigone, among others – are a function of nomadic distribution and so do not lend themselves directly or easily to binaries that are amenable to a gender comparative approach. For instance, perched on the back of a pick-up van dressed like a young lad among the village women of Lenyenye, Ramphele distributes herself across gender. Access to spaces of distribution requires leaping over gender boundaries through a repetition of that which she is not. The same holds true for Mandela's 'Black Pimpernel' military campaign in the African diaspora. Mandela's traditional accoutrements in the courts during the Rivonia Trial and stylized modern sartorial code, where in various forms of disguise he pursues freedom through harnessing cultural memory within the precipice of what Timothy Brennan aptly frames as 'an act of camouflage' akin to 'an act of civilizational impudence' (Brennan 2008, 54).

Similarly, in Ramphele's *A Life* we find camouflaged travails that underscore a similar destabilization of the settled notion of home and belonging as result of banishment and internal exile. In embracing a traditional ethos, such as that received hypoleptically from Mandela's S.E.K.Mqhayi and Ramphele's grandmother as figures of memory that feature in the entry into the mobile dynamics of modern politics, both texts express memoric repetition in the signifying time of the nomos of what Mbembe calls a wandering subject: 'What is important is where one ends up, the road travelled to get there, the series of experiences in which one is actor and witness, and above all, the role played by the unexpected and unforeseen' (2003, 17). The wandering subject, such as exemplified by Ramphele and Mandela, respectively, confirms the politico-cultural logic of movement that explicitly repudiates the logos of stagnation imposed by the state.

Indeed, as explicitly pointed out in an earlier study (Masemola 2010), when Mandela ends up saying: 'I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended' (1995, 617), it is with the benefit of experience of the nomos of the road travelled between the traditional *kaross* (a cloak made of animal hide) that Mandela would wear during the Rivonia Trial as he walked into court after

the fashion of Samuel E.K. Mqhayi (1995, 311). As a wandering subject, Mandela distributes himself across the space of what Mbembe has described as 'the unexpected and unforeseen' from one who is both actor and witness (2003, 17), thus allowing him to move from the traditional kaross to the khaki fatigues he wore during his military training in Addis Ababa (1995, 295). Within South African borders, he seamlessly moves around spaces as he dons a chauffeur's white dust-coat on his secret travels (1995, 300) at the Liliesleaf farm hideout, 'the simple blue overalls that were the uniform of the black male servant' (1995, 268) as the Black Pimpernel.

Similarly, from the subterfuge of her village women's dressing during Ramphele's travel in defiance of banning orders to her community work in her doctor's white coat in Zanempilo clinic in the Eastern Cape (1995, 97), textual representation of the 'selfing' process in the political wilderness under conditions of banishment decidedly confirms not only the instability of the narrative of becoming (in place of belonging) but also the paradoxical witnessing of the 'worldliness' of their 'selfing' texts. Edward Said has described such involved witnessing as peculiar to texts that are 'events and by that very fact what goes on in texts is affiliated to the circumstances that represent the text's interest' (1983b, 4). The circumstances representing the autobiography's interest are about being in the world – a worldliness denied by restriction and affirmed by repetition. It is therefore apt to slightly modify Said's notion of worldliness when explaining the choice between action and inaction (Masemola 2012, 57) to emphasize not only nomadic witnessing and action as described by Mbembe (2003, 17) in favour of Deleuze and Guattari's postulation in *A Thousand Plateaus* that 'contrary to a deeply rooted belief, a book is not an image of the world. It forms a rhizome with the world' (2000, 7). Rhizomatic connections are thus established through the autobiographical record of nomadic movement under imposed immobility.

Taking stock of Mbembe's notion of the contingencies of the wandering subject that the 'worldliness' of these texts also lies in a mobility based on the deterritorialization or nomadic distribution of the self, it is clear Nelson Mandela's eponymous walk to freedom bespeaks a nomadic becoming. As opposed to territorialization that, by oppressive state design maps the body to a locale, deterritorialization is about the proliferation of spaces and – for the purpose of this discussion – forbidden territories, through the distribution of both the self and the nomos. The latter confirms the translocal space-double temporality of the representation of movement between tradition and modernity, too.

In the same way, Ramphele's autobiography records a representation of nomadic becoming. Movement from rural Kranspoort near Polokwane brought with it a new political awakening in the urban area of Durban during her years at the Howard Campus of the then University of Natal as a medical student. It is here that Ramphele confirmed her espousal of the philosophy of Black Consciousness, lived a life of dedicated interventionist activism alongside Steve Biko and still managed to obtain her medical degree within the set minimum study period. It is significant that, by her own admission, Ramphele remembers momentarily questioning and jettisoning the racial exclusivity of Black Consciousness the moment she willingly, but cautiously, encounters a methodology for conscientization programme of Paolo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as taught by a white liberal woman, Anne Hope, in a resource centre in Durban (1995, 65). It was a difficult choice based on movement of the nomos, to the extent that it was a choice based on an undecidability. Here we find an 'in-between' logic as expressed by the simultaneous reterritorialization and deterritorialization of the self, family and nation in a manner best captured by what Attwell describes as 'the modernization of tradition and the traditionalization of modernity' (2002, 97–119). In that movement from rural to urban settings, and from political exclusivity to synthesis, we find a transcendence beyond the confining co-ordinates of what has been identified as a 'conflictual modernity' (Brennan 2008, 56).

The representation of tradition and modernity vis-à-vis the undecidability occasioned by divided subjectivity also gives dis/content to the ossified and stable truth of the logos of the scripts of official memory and history that play out in both autobiographies. This happens particularly because autobiography becomes an enunciatory site of an experiential account of what is aptly termed 'a politics of the secret, of the forgotten event that can be turned, if only by strange flashbacks, into something monumental' (Foucault 1980, 124).

What is also common between the two autobiographies, besides sketching the trajectory of internal exile, is that they both employ cultural memory to reveal political and private visions. Based on a black-and-white/home-and-host/present-and-future dialogic, they represent double consciousness and double temporality, while making manifest intersubjectivity through transference relationships between the individual and a multiplicitous whole in the course of projecting probable solutions to the problem of apartheid repression. In particular, the double consciousness of home-and-host in Durban bespeaks a nomadic becoming that confirms the double temporality of the representation of movement between tradition and modernity. Such representation becomes manifest at the point of considering alternatives to official history when Mandela teaches his son Makgatho about great heroes and how Mandela endorses praxis predicated in the political philosophy of figures like Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi as much as he embraced Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin (1995, 192), as well as Che Guevara, Mao Tse-tong and Fidel Castro (1995, 263). Mandela's nomadic walk does not only transcend the dichotomy between the Occident and the Orient: he resolves the double consciousness attending this movement by imploding its binary logic through a complex repetition of figures of memory from – and between – both tradition and modernity.

This memoric archive from which he draws is a point of selective repetition which, as Isabel Hofmeyr (2007, 4) affirms in her disavowal of Black Atlantic exclusivity, not only indexes an oft-neglected impact of Indian Ocean-based historiographic traditions that challenge the Black Atlantic paradigm. It also reveals a performative belonging that attests to a form of becoming that pursues its goals of freedom with a nuanced understanding of an 'archive in which versions of modernity are negotiated in an ever-shifting set of idioms around tradition' (Hofmeyr 2007, 14–15). Hofmeyr's elucidation of the fluidity of idioms around tradition amplifies Opland's illuminating observation of the fact that Mandela recalls how once during his final year at his Healdtown school he was 'caught between his parochial ethnic identity as a Thembu and his emergent nationalistic identification with all Africans' (2002, 1) as he witnessed the dramatic performance of the Xhosa praise singer-cum-oral historian-cum-poet Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi. The latter was dressed in a 'leopard-skin *kaross* and matching hat, [and] carrying a spear in either hand' (1995, 39). It is significant that more than two decades later, on the morning of Monday 15 October 1962, Mandela entered the court 'wearing a traditional leopard-skin *kaross* instead of a suit and tie' (1995, 311), in a repetition of the Mqhayi figure of memory such that he simultaneously modernized its traditional context and traditionalized the modern content of his protest (Masemola 2010, 156). What once exclusively stood for Thembu identity crucially epitomized African nationalism in a spectacular in-betweenness of cultural memory in that simultaneity. As Masemola (2010, 157) noted,

The repetition of the *kaross* dress code gives occasion to once again recall what Frantz Fanon once asserted, that is, the 'peasant's cloak' of the militant nationalist. That the police feared Mandela's dress code would lead to incitement is less obvious than the electrifying effect on all the spectators in the gallery. In the years that preceded this courtroom spectacle and beyond, his third repetition of Mqhayi allowed him to internationally make bold justification for acts of mass defiance and sabotage against the South African regime. Such a remembering of Mqhayi as an image is brought to bear on contemporary challenges without repudiating the past nor glamorizing it: the third repetition radicalizes figures of memory.

That the *kaross* as a cultural reference is repeated beyond tradition and negotiated in what Hofmeyr (2007, 14–15) frames as ‘an ever-shifting set of idioms around tradition’ bespeaks a deliberate movement, a symptom of the *nomos* that demands the peasant’s cloak, and a simultaneous belonging to an assemblage of figures of memory – from Baroness Orczy’s fictional character of the Scarlet Pimpernel who evaded arrest during the French Revolution to S.E.K. Mqhayi and David Motsamayi. What is noteworthy here is the choice as a decided form of becoming by selective repetition ‘in between’ rather than mere identification with figures of memory steeped in cultural references to which autobiographical memory returns. As Deleuze (1994, 299) has explained in a related context, ‘The selection occurs between two repetitions: those who repeat negatively and those who repeat identically will be eliminated. They repeat only once. The eternal return is only for the third time’.

Antigone-becoming and the repetitive articulation of the nomos

Likewise, a statement of becoming, inextricably intertwined with that of belonging, is also made in the enunciation of an assemblage of Ramphele the community doctor, the committed activist, Steve Biko’s partner in the Black Consciousness Movement, mother of his children, the survivor of his death, and subsequently an important modern repetition of Antigone-becoming.¹ I need to clarify here that Antigone-becoming is distinct from being Antigone, or radically imitating her, or repeating her once for identification with her – however much parallels can be drawn between Biko and the rebellious Polynices, and with her defiance of a South African apartheid state that was as ruthless as the Theban city-state under king Creon. Rather, it is becoming between Ramphele and the Antigone figure of memory in fluxes that define, in their defiance of the State, a co-functioning in an assemblage that represents collective agency. Antigone-becoming then is a mode of articulating collective and ‘connected’ cultural references and utterances that render Ramphele-as-Antigone a spectacle of the function of collective enunciation of the logic of the banned wandering subject. As Deleuze (1994, 71) says,

In enunciation, in the production of utterances, there is no subject, but always collective agents: and in what the utterance speaks of there are no objects, but machinic states. These are like the variables of the function, which constantly interlace their values or their segments.

Understood to be within an Antigone-becoming assemblage that constantly interlaces values, Ramphele is involved in the transmission of Black Consciousness affects between herself and the late Biko, and between herself and the community she serves when she ‘co-functions’ with each community group when her medical practice interlaces values of tradition and modernity. She notably bore the brunt of several banning orders and restrictions as a government target, and was not only an outstanding community leader and close partner of Black Consciousness icon Steve Biko until his death: she was an aggregation of fluxes, lines of flight in constant flux, in re-evaluations of political positions and personal commitments during Biko’s life and after his death. She thereafter enacted the encounter with Paulo Freire’s methodology of ‘Pedagogy’, by repetition, in the establishment of community health centres and clinics such as Zanempilo Community Health Centre (1995, 97) in deprived areas, over and above the political work of conscientizing the masses as she discharged her duties as a physician operating on the margins, outside the mainstream of state health provision.

In 1977, Biko died a brutal death in detention. From that tragic point on, the epitome of which was being ironically denied the dignity of properly paying her last respects at Biko’s funeral, her defiance of the oppressive regime would not be much unlike Antigone’s or Winnie Mandela’s when Mandela was imprisoned, and she, banished. Antigone-becoming is a deterritorialization,

a defiance of the immobility of banishment, a *being-in-the-world* despite confinement: a worldliness. Mandela himself has expressed the importance of Antigone, a figure he has in mind when he invites Mamphela to Pollsmoor in 1988. Significantly, the stirrings of Mandela's *nomos* were galvanized at a place of banishment – Robben Island – from where we gain an insight into the mode of actuality² in which the cultural memory informing Mandela's recall of *Antigone*, performed in Robben Island inheres: 'It was Antigone who symbolized our struggle; she was, in her own way, a freedom fighter, for she defied the law on the ground that it was unjust' (1995, 442). In her own Antigone-becoming, Mamphela Ramphela continued to defy the law, especially after Steve Biko – a Polynices figure who fearlessly led a Black Consciousness Movement rebellion against the apartheid state – died in detention in 1977. In the spirit of defiance of which Mandela sees Antigone symbolizing the struggle for non-racial democracy, Ramphela also went beyond her campus engagements to stage public protests demanding the unconditional release of all political prisoners held on Robben Island (1995, 67). That becoming is better understood as a culmination of repetition of figures of memory through which both Mandela and Ramphela entered the arena of the politics of modernity and tradition. There are lines of continuity: in as much as Mandela is seen to repeat the edicts of African traditional justice and freedom from the performative standpoint of the traditional figures of memory such as Dingane, Shaka and poet Samuel Krune Mqhayi, he also melds them with a transvaluative repetition of the fictional French Revolution figure of the Scarlet Pimpernel in an entry to modernity. In this performative transvaluation inheres an articulation of the Pimpernel in an in-between position not much unlike that of Antigone playing out in Ramphela's life. It is not difficult to see why a repetition of the *nomos* is an entry into an assemblage of resistance shaped on the anvil of simultaneous modernization and traditionalization of figures of memory and cultural motifs.

Musila has recently posited the centrality of corporeality in framing interactions between discursive practices (such as repetitions of figures of memory of Antigone and, as per disguise imperatives, the rural woman) and the embodied experience of these discourses for women and men living on the extreme margins of society (2007, 49). Such corporeality gives content to what are floating discourses that permeate struggles by repeating dress code and such like. However, Gates finds it inefficacious to imitate 'all that can be imitated, everything exterior, appearance, gesture, intonation and dress' (1989, 56). A specific kind of repetition and adornment of the peasant's cloak also resonates throughout the cultural memory that frames the autobiography of Dr Mamphela Ramphela, the World Bank leader, former physician, and former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town who, during her banishment to the rural village of Lenyenye, would travel around wearing a cap and jeans as a means of disguise, sitting at the back of a pick-up van with ordinary countryside women in order to escape the notice of police tasked with enforcing her house arrest (1995, 144). Travels on the back of a pick-up van recall (and radically repeat) her traditional childhood trips to her maternal grandmother's homestead on the carriage of a mule wagon (1995, 9). In escaping detection, enacting the repetitions of tradition via Antigone-becoming and so evading arrest, she traverses a space where she is not appropriated – discursively and somatically – by the despotic territorial machine; is inappropriate for the inscribing *socius* that inflicts the subject formation of femininity and blackness; appropriates the exergue of the borderline scripts of tradition fully to enter modernity; is becoming through the blind spots of in-between repetitions; is writing herself aporetically in terms of what she, like Mandela with respect to Mqhayi, has received hypoleptically³: 'As a woman, an African woman, one had to be outrageous to be heard' (1995, 71).

Likewise, it must be stressed that the repetitions in the eternal return continued far from the rural setting in which Ramphela's character was first traditionally moulded, and nomadic becoming brought a new political awakening elsewhere. At university, she would be 'talking politics, listening to Malcolm X's speeches on tape, as well as those of Martin Luther King' (1995, 58)

every weekend, as others in the movement typically wallowed in what initially seemed like a Bacchanalian weekend lifestyle. Malcolm X's speeches, consistent with the insistence on racial exclusivity on the part of the Black Consciousness movement at the level of emancipatory agency, feature more prominently as figures of memory than Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, which are regarded and added as an afterthought. Even so, Malcolm X's and Martin Luther King's speeches attest to an important aspect of her becoming: added to the traditional archive of texts, rites and monuments of the cultural formation of her memory, the speeches confirm and connect a generally transnational and specifically Black Diaspora translation of the record of her selfing discourses. It is in the Durban hub of activism that includes Barney Pityana that the reception of speeches, though listened to and gleaned amid weekend entertainment among activists, readily entwines Black Consciousness with the rhizomatic assemblage of the Afro-American world, strategically grounded by local traditions and Paulo Freire's philosophy. According to Paul Gilroy, such transnational black culture qualifies itself as a modern counterculture on the basis of a philosophical discourse that unites 'ethics and aesthetics, culture and politics' (1993, 38–39). According to Masemola (2010, 153–155), the same philosophical discourse finds poignant expression of unity in Mandela's memoric repetition of Mqhayi the praise poet: 'The assegai [...] is a symbol of the African as warrior and the African as artist' (1995, 39). For ethics and aesthetics – indeed culture and politics – to unite in a political resistance, Mandela sees fit to go beyond Mqhayi and recast a powerful Zulu figure of memory when he M.B. Yengwa's rescripting of Shaka's revolutionary archive. Changes attending the nomadic movement of the spear represent entries and exits into tradition and modernity, the immanent logic of which is best accounted for as the spear's repetition in cultural memory. How Mqhayi's spear transmogrifies into the emblematic MK spear of 1961 is a story best told from its unifying effect at the Old Fort, Johannesburg Prison:

Accomplished ballroom dancers, sluggards who knew neither traditional nor Western dancing, all joined the *indlamu*, the traditional Zulu war dance ... [we] all danced with enthusiasm and emotion. Suddenly there were no Xhosas or Zulus, no Indians or Africans, no rightists or leftists, no religious or political leaders; we were all nationalists and patriots bound together by our love for our common history, our culture, our country and our people ... In that moment we felt the hand of the great past that made us what we were and the power of the great cause that linked us all together. (1995, 188)

The notable pioneers of the civil rights movement, from the 1950s right through to the 1960s, were Malcolm X and Dr Martin Luther King. Their speeches were to become monumental scripts that were re-used in the re-drafting of Ramphele's life as a struggle within the transnational Black multiplicity to which they belong when she was in Durban much later in the 1970s. It is in this sense that the achievements and changing tactics of Ramphele and Mandela have to be understood to share a transnational Black focus of unification, too, a becoming conditional on simultaneous belonging, as far as their attitudes to racial exclusivity and inclusion in the struggle were unfolding. In a much broader sense, becoming meant being on course an entry into modernity in such a way that traditional ethics of freedom, justice and equality are enhanced, enriched and enacted in the third repetition of both tradition and modernity.

It is also noteworthy that the Freedom Charter materialized in Kliptown, reflecting the selective conditions of the third repetition, melding as it did so the successfully transculturated idea of the Atlantic Charter and the African claims charter. Its significance was felt throughout the country. Mamphela Ramphele remembers the spirit of defiance it brought to Kranspoort, a rural village in the former Northern Province. What is remarkable is how the repetition, on its eternal return, sees the Charter's transnational mobility from the USA to the Cape Conference, then to the Congress of the People, spilling itself over, almost immediately in the same year of 1955, to rural areas such as the one in which Ramphele grew up. Ramphele reflects:

Most of the men in the village were migrant workers, a significant proportion of whom were working as labourers on the Witwatersrand. The Defiance Campaign of the 1950s, the Kliptown Congress of the People of 1955, and the anti-pass campaign triggered by the extension of pass laws to women, kindled a rebellious spirit in many of these migrants, who in turn influenced their relatives in Kranspoort. It required only a small spark to set the mission village alight. This spark was provided by the Dominee when he refused to allow an old woman, who was mother of a resident of a village, to be buried in the mission graveyard, because she was 'a heathen' (someone who had not converted to Christianity). (1995, 31)

The full entry into modernity, on the political lever shifted by the dynamics of the Charter, culminated in forced removals of villagers, leading even the young Ramphele to relocate to her paternal grandmother in Uitkyk. She would learn much traditional wisdom there. Like Mandela who as a young man traces and aspires to perpetuate his father's role as a genealogically connected counsellor to the Thembu royal house through his clan name Madiba (1995, 3-7), so does Ramphele initially map out her sharp intellect to her teacher maternal grandmother and namesake (1995, 2). Such comparisons inevitably arise, particularly considering that Mandela's father 'was an acknowledged historian of Xhosa history [...] an excellent orator who captivated audiences by entertaining them as well as teaching them' (1995, 5), and also that Mamphela's grandmother is described as follows: 'Her extraordinary memory was an asset to the largely illiterate people among whom she lived, for in those days births and deaths were not registered by any authority. She was a mobile archive to the region' (1995, 2). Genealogies of greatness born of social commitment are built on the memories of family history encoded in the traditional praise names 'Madiba' and 'Mamphela', respectively, in such a manner as to illustrate the cultural logic of their entry into a modernity underscored by (trans-)national politics.

So, then, if this paper began by attaching importance to political detentions, banning orders, and the resulting survival of these by those involved through familial *becoming* – the deterritorialization of the triangulative drive of the apartheid despotic territorial machine – during the period spanning the 1976 student revolt through to the 1980s, the current thrust is directed at further foregrounding the 'in-between' logic of the cultural memory informing the account, in the 1990s, of Nelson Mandela, who went on to survive 27 years in prison to bring to a culmination a victorious people's struggle for a free, non-racial democratic order.

That the process of becoming, in which the repetition of figures of tradition and modernity such as Mqhayi and W.E.B. Du Bois, leads Mandela to a non-racial rather than racially exclusive African nationalism, provides sufficient ground for a necessary comparative discussion of Ramphele's 1990s retrospective autobiographical account of the initial racial exclusivity of the Black Consciousness Movement. This is all the more important considering the working relationships she was to form with white academics such as Dr David Turner, at the height of Black Consciousness in the 1970s, and Father Duane and Professor Francis Wilson in the decades that followed. It might well be that the archival scripts that were informing the repetition of traditional family values and achievements found pride of place where progress narratives of Malcolm X and Dr Martin Luther King, Jr. were repeated – as an ineluctable condition of entry into modernity – on the basis of a self-reflexive cultural memory. To interpret the struggle in terms of Blackness, other black struggles across the world and black pride slogans, establishes a statement of belonging to the Black Diaspora rather than the nuclear family.

Mandela admitted to himself at the very outset: 'This would be a hazardous life, and that [he] would be apart from his family, but when a man is denied the right to live the life he believes in, he has no choice but to become an outlaw' (1995, 245). Similarly, the final breakdown of Ramphele's marriage to Dick Mmabane had nothing to do with her love for Steve Biko but everything to do with the fact that Mmabane 'made it clear that he regarded [their] relationship as dead in view of the priority [she] seemed to have given political activism'. She concluded that

'[t]raditional systems stand powerless in the face of breakdowns which arise out of the kind of tensions that undermined [their] marriage' (1995, 80). For herself and Mandela, involvement in the political struggle marks a line of flight, a break from traditional structures of triangulation, a deterritorialization of the family into a nation space, a nation-becoming fashioned on the role of political figures of memory such as Antigone.

Having gone through a divorce in 1955 – the year of the adoption of the Freedom Charter – from his first wife Evelyn over her fervent devotion to the Jehovah's Witness variant of the Christian religion and the commitments of a traditional family, plus her ultimatum that Mandela choose 'between her and the ANC' (1995, 193), he embarks on a line of flight that rediscovers Oedipal structures of family life when he marries Winnie Madikizela, only to reconstitute those structures by a shared commitment to deterritorializing the apartheid socius and reterritorializing the traditional family into the assemblage of a redoubtable political machine. Being simultaneously within and without the locus of the family, Mandela's thus becomes a line of flight articulating a multiplicity, one of what Deleuze calls 'stories of becomings, of nuptials against nature' (Deleuze and Parnet 1987, 17). Mandela becomes Tat'uMandela, father to the entire nation as opposed to his own exclusive family.

It is in those later years that Mandela describes as 'years of [his] political awakening and growth' (1995, 150) that such a repetition in the eternal return also corresponds with the ceaseless movement from a parochial identity to an emergent nationalism founded on transnationalism. At work here is an approach that, according to Richards:

sees national consciousness as a transitional step, a site that provides a certain kind of awakening, and not as the end of a process. Nationalism, or national consciousness, in the Fanonian sense, is a phase leading to transnationalism. The movement from nationalism to internationalism, however, does not forsake the concern of local populations, but rather recognizes the systemic relationship of national causes to global capitalism. (2005, 20)

As Mandela appropriates figures of memory from an archive that is not restricted to Africa, his repetition relates to the selective extent to which Mqhayi's performance is reusable and thus repeated in order to point to African unity and South African – even Thembu – particularity. Surely such repetition in reusing the images of Dingane, Shaka and Mqhayi alongside Mao Tse-tung can lend themselves to acting in-between, rather than merely demonstrating an awareness of, African unity and Thembu particularity: South African nationalism stands aporetically in-between his campaign for African unity and his Thembu particularity. His immersion into other parts of Africa, then, can be more accurately described as one of becoming within Africa rather than merely belonging to it, of a reconfiguration of Africanness rather than identification with it, and of a simultaneous deterritorialization and reterritorialization of the South African home country rather than mere territorialization of the African host continent. In this regard, Mandela and Ramphela remain expressive of the nomos of a 'wandering subject' 'whose series of experiences allow him incredible purchase as actor and witness' (Mbembe 2003, 17).

Mamphela Ramphela's fervour as actor and witness in Lenyenye and King Williamstown saw her similarly respecting traditional structures of medical knowledge among communities in which she served as a doctor while she brought them, by gentle persuasion, into the fold of safer medicinal practices and proved the practical merits of self-reliance which the Black Consciousness Movement advocated. In her community-based practice in centres she spearheaded like Zanempilo in the Eastern Cape, she made bold to note with unreserved praise the manner in which the fontanelle in infants was treated by women who only had access to indigenous knowledge systems. She would add safer clinical options to their existing stock of knowledge and practice. It is all too striking that so far the discussion of becoming has increasingly taken on the decidedly

political tenor of double consciousness continuously splitting into a combination of fluxes, demanding that the fracturing involved in the self-fashioning within the countercultures of modernity be theorized within the rhizomatic framework of networks born of activism, as opposed to the less-revolutionary aborescent unity of community.

In a combination of fluxes that make up survival, all of the ambivalent modes of becoming constitute the heterogeneous terms of an assemblage, of a multiplicity that is democratic in the qualitative population (or being multiple) of ever-dividing subjectivity. In the light of the foregoing relationship between becoming and cultural memory, we need to clarify the ways in which memory and democracy have a relationship of reconstitution in the 'free'⁴ autobiographies of Mandela and Ramphela, especially since both appeared not only in the free South Africa of the 1990s but with a wider berth for what Assman calls memory spaces of 'retrospective contemplativeness' [*retrospektive Bessonneheit*] (1995, 129). This is all the more necessary because in a democratizing South Africa of the 1990s the danger is not of the same scale attending all other autobiographies that patently evince 'the enunciation of cultural difference that problematizes the division of past and present, tradition and modernity, at the level of cultural representation and its authoritative address' (Bhabha 1989, 128), given that the process of becoming and giving voice to that selfing regime in the case of Mandela and Ramphela depends on the reconfigurative reflex of cultural memory.

Conclusion

Both autobiographies dress up authoritative address beyond traditional figures of memory: the rhizomatic alliance between Mamphela Ramphela and Nelson Mandela can be gleaned from the Antigone-functions, signalled by Mandela's invitation to Ramphela while he was in Pollsmoor Prison on 31 July 1988 (1995, 200). That inflection tames and inflames the warrior figure of S.E.K. Mqhayi. Mandela's translational entry into the modernity of nationalist struggle becomes transnational in its appropriation of the monumental memoric scripts of Marcus Garvey, W.E.B Du Bois and Haile Selassie (1995, 90), as he mounts an effective camouflage assemblage of Nelson Mandela (prime mover behind MK sabotage activities), David Motsamayi ('hired' driver behind his white master's wheel) and the Black Pimpernel (disguised harbinger of the transnational non-racial drive towards African nationalism). This clearly reveals how Mandela positively problematizes cultural memory by approximating simultaneous modernization and traditionalization, reterritorialization and deterritorialization by articulating both individual self-fashioning and communal liberation as two faces of the same assemblage.

In like manner, Mamphela Ramphela's divided self-fashioning involves an anti-apartheid Antigone-becoming that demands and entails as much the nomos between town and country as between self-reliant racial exclusivity and negotiated inclusivity. Through the lens of her autobiographical memory, we witness her reflexive cultural memory as it approximates figures of memory drawn from a genealogical, if not traditional, mapping of achievers in a rural village outside Bochum in the former Northern Transvaal. Throughout her narrative, she translates cultural figures and idioms into the ethos of the Black Consciousness Movement in urban townships by melding them with the texts of transnational figures of memory such as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr. and – in the South-South political textual circulations – Paolo Freire. In an eternal return to the rural milieu, she started community clinics that conscientized patients as much as it medically assisted them. This had the practical consequences of tactfully modernizing traditional practices, in much the same way that she traditionalized her modern role as activist. Here, as in the case of Mandela, emerges a simultaneous deterritorialization and reterritorialization, as well as modernization of tradition and traditionalization of modernity, in between an assemblage that has multiple faces and moves in the many directions of the nomos.

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Notes

1. My approach, in avoiding a totalizing binary discourse of counter-representation, and in preferring a third repetition *a la* Deleuzian becoming, is different from strategies described by Raji (2005).
2. In his seminal article 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity' that appears in *New German Critique*, Assmann (1995, 30) identifies cultural memory's self-reflexive mode of actuality, which arises whenever 'each contemporary context puts the objective meaning into its perspective'. Antigone in Mandela's case is drawn from the archive to cast a new light of defiant heroism and hope on Robben Island.
3. It is noteworthy that Assmann further stresses 'the self-reflexive nature of cultural memory', which is evidenced by its tendency to 'draw on itself to explain, distinguish, reinterpret, criticize, censure, control, surpass, and receive hypoleptically' (1995, 130).
4. Also see Nuttall (1998).

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