



JASPAL K. SINGH &  
RAJENDRA CHETTY,  
EDITORS

Trauma, Resistance,  
Reconstruction  
in Post-1994 South  
African Writing

POSTCOLONIAL STUDIES 7

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Maria C. Zamora  
*General Editor*

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# 9

## Transmogrifying the Traumatic into the Democratic Ideal in Autobiographical Cultural Memory: Nelson Mandela's *The Long Walk to Freedom*

MIKE KGOMOTSO MASEMOLA

WHEREAS MANDELA'S traumatic continuum is more crystallized in the deices of the period beginning the formation of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (literally the Assegai of the Nation) in the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1961 and his renunciation of violence, together with the dismantling of the said military wing of the African National Congress in 1991, his becoming is better understood as a culmination of Mandela's repetition of what was an embrace, one Orlando night in 1943, of lawyer and ANC activist Anton Lembede's philosophy of Africanism. Significantly, Lembede's Africanism was proudly predicated upon the self-reliance and great achievements of "such African heroes as Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois and Haile Selassie" (*Long Walk*, 90). The transnational compass of the struggle was thus signposted by a redoubtable combination of diasporic political elements of cultural memory.

According to Paul Gilroy, transnational black culture qualifies itself as a counterculture of modernity on the basis of a philosophical discourse that unites "ethics and aesthetics, culture and politics". 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" (*Long Walk*, 39). Almost two decades after the encounter with Lembede's Africanism, its profound impact found greater expression in, and gave content to, campaigning for a "militant African nationalism" (*Long Walk*, 91) throughout the newly independent African states in the 1960s by marshalling both tradition and modernity, as well as ethics and aesthetics. In the intervening years Mandela would repeat the edicts of traditional justice and freedom from the performative standpoint of the traditional poet Samuel Krune Mqhayi and then meld them with a transvaluative repetition of the fictional French Revolution figure of the 'Scarlet Pimpernel' in an entry to modernity, thus articulating an 'in-between' "third repetition"<sup>1</sup> of a mercurial, if not highly nomadic, 'Black Pimpernel'.<sup>2</sup>

The aforesaid repetition, already described by Gilles Deleuze as the "third repetition" in his appropriation of Nietzsche's notion of "the eternal return"<sup>3</sup> because it goes beyond mere identification with or negation of objects, was so much in a continuous flux that when Mandela went underground to drum up support of a military campaign he chooses to enable the repetition of S.E.K. Mqhayi and the Scarlet Pimpernel through yet another undercover identity of David Motsamayi, an alias he took to evade arrest in the self-styled fashion of the Black Pimpernel (*Long Walk*, 268). In the agential space that opened up as he split between Mandela—the ANC leader set on the path of modernity—and S.E.K. Mqhayi—the harbinger of traditional justice—there was an historical imperative to repeat both positions 'the third time' for his campaigns to be successful.

Mandela's line of flight and fight against apartheid underline becomings: "[b]ecomings—they are the thing which is most imperceptible, they are acts that can only be contained in a life and contained in a style...modes of life".<sup>4</sup> Imperceptible in the multiple Black Pimpernel modes of life, of at once becoming S.E.K. Mqhayi and David Motsamayi and the Black Pimpernel, he is not identifiable as either Mandela the outlaw or agitator only. For seventeen months he occupied that space evading arrest, in a blind spot between Mqhayi and Mandela, an *aporia* between David Motsamayi and the Black Pimpernel. At once evincing a multiplicity, Mandela's enunciation of

an underground assemblage was achievable because he was not a knowable subject, on account of the fact and tact that he selectively repeated each figure the third time, without merely imitating it.

In a similar discussion of repetition, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. finds it inefficacious to imitate "all that can be imitated, everything exterior, appearance, gesture, intonation and dress".<sup>5</sup> Between the traditional *kaross* that Mandela would wear during the Rivonia Trial after the fashion of Mqhayi (*Long Walk*, 311) and the khaki fatigues he wore during his military training in Addis Ababa (*Long Walk*, 295), within South African borders Mandela as the Black Pimpernel alternatively wore a chauffeur's white dust-coat on his secret travels (*Long Walk*, 300) and, at the Liliesfarm hideout, "the simple blue overalls that were the uniform of the black male servant" (*Long Walk*, 268). The success of the disguise and campaign resulting from this in-between repetition can only confirm Frantz Fanon's potent words: "The peasant's cloak will wrap the militant nationalist around with a gentleness and firmness that he never suspected".<sup>6</sup>

In beating traumatic odds, enacting the repetitions of tradition and so evading arrest, Mandela traverses a space where he is not appropriated—discursively and somatically—by the despotic territorial machine;<sup>7</sup> where he appropriates the exergue of the borderline scripts of tradition fully to enter modernity; where he is becoming through the blind spots of in-between repetitions; where he is writing himself aporetically in terms of what he, with respect to Mqhayi, has received hypoleptically.<sup>8</sup> For ethics and aesthetics—indeed culture and politics—to unite in a philosophical discourse, the programmatic coherence of the ANC counterculture of modernity came with the return to South Africa of ANC leader Professor Z.K. Matthews, following a year as a visiting professor in the United States, "armed with an idea that would reshape the liberation struggle": the Freedom Charter (*Long Walk*, 158). Although Mandela does not draw any direct links to the Freedom Charter proposal by Professor Z.K. Matthews, what is apparent here is the US provenance of at least two things, the one radically repeating the other in a new direction. The first is what Mandela earlier on saw as symptomatic of change a decade before the idea of the Freedom Charter was first mooted:

The Atlantic Charter of 1941, signed by Roosevelt and Churchill, reaffirmed faith in the dignity of each human and propagated a host of democratic principles. Some in the West saw the charter as empty promises, but not those of us in Africa. Inspired by the Atlantic Charter and the fight of the Allies against tyranny and oppression, the ANC created its own charter called African Claims, which called for full citizenship of all Africans, the right to buy land, and the repeal of all discriminatory legislation. We hoped that the government and ordinary South Africans would see that the principles they were fighting for in Europe were the same ones we were advocating at home. (*Long Walk*, 90)

The second was the idea, motioned at an ANC annual conference in the Cape, of convening a non-racial Congress of the People "representing all the people of this country irrespective of race or colour...to create a set of principles for the foundation of a new South Africa [thereby reflecting] a document born of the people" (*Long Walk*, 158). Being in a cumulative sense a repetition of the Atlantic Charter, and of the subsequent African Claims charter, what Professor Z.K. Matthews was pushing for, which Mandela readily accepted in a rhizomatic growth out of a racially exclusive African nationalism, not only constituted the "third repetition" of the Atlantic Charter but also reflected the mood and direction of the civil rights movement in the United States milieu of his visiting professorship.

The Freedom Charter eventually 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 in traumatic ripples of becoming: detentions, banning orders, and the resulting deterritorialization of the triangulative drive of the apartheid despotic territorial machine. 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 discussion of the ineluctable condition of entry into modernity—on the basis of a self-reflexive cultural memory. Cultural memory, according to Assman "is practice-reflexive in that it interprets common practice in terms of proverbs, maxims, 'ethnotheories, and so on'"<sup>9</sup>.

To interpret the struggle in terms of Blackness, other black struggles across the Atlantic, and black pride slogans is to establish a statement of belonging to the Black Atlantic. Mandela, in his long walk to becoming the celebrated first President of the first non-racial South African democracy and figure of modernity, 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" (*Long Walk*, 245). In the case of 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. Yet, in relation to the line of flight associated with the type of familial becoming that involves politics and tradition, Deleuze raises a series of questions:

What is it which tells us that, on a line of flight, we will not rediscover everything we were fleeing? In fleeing the eternal mother-father, will we not rediscover all the Oedipal structures on the line of flight? In fleeing fascism, we rediscover fascist coagulations on the line of flight. In fleeing everything, how can we avoid reconstituting both our country of origin and our formations of power, our intoxicants, our psychoanalyses and our mummies and daddies?<sup>10</sup>

Having gone through a divorce in 1955 with his first wife Evelyn over her fervent devotion to the Jehovah's Witness variant of Christian religion and the commitments of a traditional family, plus her ultimatum that Mandela choose "between her and the ANC" (*Long Walk*, 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".<sup>11</sup>

With Winnie, Nelson Mandela did not have to choose between the Oedipal structures of the traditional family and his devotion to the

ANC: he repeats the figure of Samuel Krune Mqhayi when he names his daughter with Winnie after the poet-cum-oral historian's daughter Zindziwe (*Long Walk*, 243), a fact that confirms a focus of unification with Mqhayi as well as a reconfiguration of the family tradition on the platform of liberation struggle politics. Both poet (Mqhayi) and liberation fighter (Mandela) spent inordinate amounts of time away from their families, only to find their children born while each father was absent. While it is important that the circumstances of the poet's naming of the daughter and his own are similar, what choice does that focus of unification give Mandela as regards his commitment to the deterritorialization of the apartheid socius vis-à-vis the inevitably reconfigured familial locus?

The disavowal of a clear-cut answer, even a choice based on a binary logic, as to the possibility of rediscovery and reconstitution, in the cultural memory of both autobiographies attests to a simulacral repetition based on an undecidability. The latter is in effect the 'in-between' logic as expressed by the simultaneous reterritorialization and deterritorialization of the 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."<sup>12</sup> This amplifies Jeff 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"<sup>13</sup> as he witnessed the dramatic performance of the Xhosa praise singer-cum-oral historian-cum-poet Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi, who was dressed in a leopard-skin kaross and matching hat, [and] carrying a spear in either hand" (*Long Walk*, 39).

It is significant that more than two decades later, on the morning of Monday 15 October 1962, Nelson Mandela entered the court "wearing a traditional leopard-skin *kaross* instead of a suit and tie" (*Long Walk*, 311), in a third repetition of the Mqhayi figure of memory such that that he simultaneously modernized its traditional context and traditionalized the modern content of his protest. What once exclusively stood for Xhosa identity crucially epitomized African nationalism in a spectacular in-betweenness of cultural memory:

I had chosen traditional dress to emphasize the symbolism that I was a black African walking into a white man's court. I was literally carrying on my back the history, culture and heritage of my people. That day I felt myself to be the embodiment of African nationalism, the inheritor of Africa's difficult but noble past and her uncertain future. The *kaross* was also a sign of contempt for the niceties of white justice. (*Long Walk*, 312)

The repetition of the *kaross* dress code gives occasion to once again recall what Frantz Fanon once asserted, that is, "[t]he peasant's cloak" of the militant nationalist.<sup>14</sup> 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 court room 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:

in the flow of everyday communication such festivals, rites, epics, poems, images, etc., form "islands of time," islands of a completely different temporality suspended from time. In cultural memory, such islands of time expand into memory spaces of "retrospective contemplativeness" [*retrospective Bessonneheit*].<sup>15</sup>

Mandela's opening defense statement during the Rivonia Trial on 20 April 1964 carried an admission that he took part in the establishment of Umkhonto we Sizwe (literally the Assegai of the Nation), the military wing of the ANC, recasting, in the fashion of "retrospective contemplativeness", its inception in the image first emboldened by Mqhayi who once said: "The assegai stands for what is glorious and true in African history; it is a symbol of the African as warrior and the African as artist" (*Long Walk*, 39). Amid the State's insistence of Umkhonto we Sizwe's communist provenance, we find that Mandela propounds a nationalism that embraces figures of resistance, indeed African warriors whose militant actions supersede the fact that they were not exclusively Xhosa heroes, though much celebrated by Xhosa elders:

In my youth in the Transkei, I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Amongst those tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defense of the fatherland. The names of Dingane and Bambatha, Hintsa and Makanna, Squnguthi and Dalasile, Moshoeshoe and Sekhukhuni were praised as the pride and glory of the African nation. I hope then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle. (Long Walk, 349)

Symbolically and materially, the Mandela who entered court dressed in a leopard skin kaross wields an organizational assegai that champions African nationalism on the one hand and, Mandela being one of many accused ANC leaders in the Rivonia Trial, the multiplicity of a truly national heroism that marshals Pedi, Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho resistance heroes of old in a redoubtable discursive migrancy across the boundaries of ethnicity in a transculturative drive towards democracy. In this singular moment, Mandela's African nationalism at once modernizes tradition and traditionalizes modernity. Therefore the significance of the in-betweenness arising out of witnessing Mqhayi's performance during Mandela's final year at Healdtown school in 1938 must be appreciated in terms of the repetition 'in the eternal return' of Mqhayi as a figure of memory throughout the later years of Mandela as a politically mature leader of the non-racial, nationalistic assemblage of the African National Congress (ANC) movement.

It is in those later years that Mandela describes as "years of [his] political awakening and growth" (*Long Walk*, 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 Constance S. 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.<sup>16</sup>

Inasmuch as Mandela historically collocates his birth in 1918 with "the visit of a delegation of the African National Congress to the Versailles peace conference to voice the grievances of the African people of South Africa" (*Long Walk*, 3) in the same year, he was to transmogrify the French Revolution's "Scarlet Pimpernel" and assume the figure of the "Black Pimpernel" as he sought military training and assistance in the black world and the African diaspora. Acts of sabotage targeting installations that supported the apartheid infrastructure had to be as surreptitious and meticulous as they depended on guile and disguise. To do so in effect was also to re-use Mqhayi's African warrior image, draped as it was with the cloak of a national revolution. History precipitated his becoming well beyond narrow Xhosa nationalism which saw him discursively migrating first into Lembede's African nationalism and then into Professor Matthews's revolutionary non-racial transnationalism.

Mandela's underground movement took him abroad, literally all over Africa where he spoke face to face with Julius Nyerere (*Long Walk*, 279), had private discussions with Kenneth Kaunda (*Long Walk*, 284), met Tunisian President Habib Bourgiba who enthusiastically offered training for MK as well as offered £5 000 for weapons (*Long Walk*, 286) as did President Tubman in Liberia, who offered \$5000 for weapons and training, right after Mandela had received "generous material assistance" from prime minister Sir Milton Margai of Sierra Leone (*Long Walk*, 288) and before he would receive audience and a suitcase full of bank notes from Guinean Sekou Toure (*Long Walk*, 289) and then have his diplomatic passport and plane fares to England arranged and paid for by President Leopold Senghor subsequent to a personal meeting in his hotel in Senegal (*Long Walk*, 290). When Mandela ultimately returned to South Africa via Botswana with a view to putting in place, organizing and escalating the military campaign of the African National Congress' liberation army, Umkhonto we Sizwe he had learned from other freedom fighters on the continent that guerrilla warfare, coupled with sustained political campaigns, rather than conventional military efforts, would win the

day. That was the most important benefit of a transnationalism that sees him return to South Africa still, rather than stay in exile.

Within that transnationalism is exhibited a repetition in the eternal return; for while Mandela cogently explains how he stated the case for guerrilla warfare and the MK in Addis Ababa before the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, and other delegates of the conference held by the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA) in February 1962 (*Long Walk*, 284), he focuses the importance of its public announcement on December 16—the date on which Afrikaners celebrate the victory over the Zulu warrior Dingaan in 1838. Clearly the MK's explosions on that day announced at once a traumatic counter-memory and anticipated victory, at least over the Afrikaner system of apartheid. Dingaan's Day was thus repeated in a new direction, which goes beyond imitating the fight against the Boer like Dingaan but connects to it in order to advance anew:

a way of beginning again [...]to take up the interrupted line, to join a segment to the broken line, to make it pass between two rocks in a narrow gorge, or over the top of a void, where it had stopped. It is never the beginning or the end which are interesting; the beginning and end are points. What is interesting is the middle.<sup>17</sup>

In as far as the planned guerilla insurgence is concerned, the repetition in the eternal return—indeed the third repetition—is in the middle. This becomes all the more clear when Mandela, shortly after the Treason trial where he had been acquitted on the basis of his commitment to non-violence, turns around to state the case for a violent campaign within the Working Committee of the National Executive of the African National Congress in June of 1961. After being accused in that meeting by Moses Kotane of using revolutionary language out of desperation, later in a day-long private meeting in a township house Mandela's breakthrough only comes when he marshals the simultaneous reterritorialization and deterritorialization of the terrain of struggle through a proposal that stands in the middle of tradition and modernity. In order to convince Kotane, the seemingly recalcitrant member of the ANC National Executive and secretary of the Communist Party, he had to enlist the

third repetition of tradition and modernity—the traditionalization of modernity and the modernization of tradition:

I used an old African expression: '*Sebatana ha se bokwe ka diatla*' (The attacks of the wild beast cannot be averted with bare hands'). Moses was a long-time communist, and I told him that his opposition was like the Communist Party in Cuba under Batista. The party had insisted that the appropriate conditions had not yet arrived, and waited because they were simply following the textbook definitions of Lenin and Stalin. Castro did not wait, he acted—and he triumphed. If you wait for textbook conditions they will never occur. I told Moses point blank that his mind was stuck in the old mould of the ANC's being a legal organization. (Long Walk, 259)

To break the old mould ironically requires the repetition of an old African expression in such a way that it meets the demands of the contemporary problem of dealing with the manifestly brutal system that was unrepentant about the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, or indeed what Mandela calls the wild beast of apartheid. The repetition is clearly a call to arms. It is also a restricted, if not selective, entry into modernity. For an African nationalist such as Kotane whose identity is hyphenated or doubly inscribed as African-communist, a full entry into modernity and emancipation meant that tradition had to be modernized. Out of Cuba, an area hardly touched by Black Atlantic theorizations, comes a figure of memory to modernize tradition as expressed in the African traditional expression.

Appealing to the sensibilities of Kotane-the-communist by the same token, Mandela's repetition of Castro's revolutionary triumph at once signals moving away from averting attacks to mounting them. Rather than being restricted by the reterritorialization of the apartheid territorial machine, the repetition of the Cuban revolution here stands between textbook conditions and African expression. This is especially true considering that after this instance of the traditionalization of modernity and the modernization of tradition, in his preparation for the illegal organization of the revolution Mandela not only reads the report by Blas Roca, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba goes on to "read works by and about Che Guevara, Mao-Tse tung, Fidel Castro. In Edgar Snow's brilliant *Red*

*Star Over China* [he] saw that it was Mao's determination and non-traditional thinking that had led him to victory" (*Long Walk*, 262-3).

In another sense this repetition is best described in terms of how Henry Louis Gates, Jr., following Edward Said, disapproves of unproblematic repetitions of images, insisting instead that "facts should not be merely vindicated but given by the amendment of their direction".<sup>18</sup> In yet another sense, this repetition relates to the extent to which figures of memory such as Mqhayi's performance are reusable and thus repeated in order to point to African unity and South African—even Thembu—particularity. Surely such repetition in reusing the image of Mqhayi can lend itself to acting in-between, rather than merely demonstrating an awareness of, African unity and Thembu particularity: South African nationalism stands aporetically in-between African unity and Thembu particularity. It is a product of the project of repetition in the eternal return, within and without the South African borders, within and without the archival horizon of Mqhayi's performance text, but in-between.

On course the nomadic walk to becoming the most famous and enduring figure of political freedom and justice, Mandela earned his transnational reputation not only through the "Free Mandela" campaigns from Washington D.C. in the United States of America to the vigils at St Paul's Cathedral in the United Kingdom in the early 1960s, but mostly on the African continent as "The Black Pimpernel" in the 1960s, shortly after he declared his frustration with the inefficacy of non-violent tactics and went underground to organize a guerrilla army. His immersion into Africa, which involved meeting heads of state and receiving military training as a Commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), was as deep as his commitment to a revolutionary ideal of freeing South Africa, turning it into a non-racial democracy. However, the idea of fleeing South Africa for good was furthest from his mind. Resolutely he declared: "I will not leave South Africa, nor will I surrender. Only through hardship, sacrifice and military action can freedom be won." (*Long Walk*, 264). His immersion into other parts of Africa, then, can be more accurately described as one of traumatic 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.

The African canvas Mandela traverses charts a newness in the eponymous long walk to freedom that is so fully expressive of the *nomos* of what Achille 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".<sup>19</sup> Ending up in South Africa where he is the prime mover of events leading to acts of sabotage against the apartheid state, Mandela the Black Pimpernel was ultimately arrested, having been adamant that he would return to lead a militant struggle in South Africa.

In a combination of fluxes, 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 light of the foregoing relationship between becoming and cultural memory we need to query the ways in which memory and democracy have a relationship of reconstitution in the "free"<sup>20</sup> autobiography of Mandela, especially since it 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" [*retrospective Bessonneheit*].<sup>21</sup> 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".<sup>22</sup> This is especially true, given that the process of becoming and giving voice to that selfing regime in the case of Mandela depends on the reconfigurative reflex of cultural memory. A major aspect of being "free" stories includes the ability to deliberately, if not strategically, problematize the division of tradition and modernity in order to assert in-betweenness in the aporetic space of authoritative address. Mandela made an eternal return to S.E.K. Mqhayi's warrior figure of memory when he repeated him as the Commander-in-Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe in turn repeated as the Black Pimpernel, and further repeated as David Motsamayi, and then repeated as the Rivonia Trialist in a *kaross*, and so on, until he emerges

victorious in the aftermath of the first non-racial democratic elections of 1994.

In sum, the rhizomatic alliance between Nelson Mandela and transnational foci of unification can be gleaned from the nomadic becoming through the selective third repetitions of figures of memory drawn from tradition and modernity, and from trauma and reconstruction. Repeated as such, a warrior figure of S.E.K. Mqhayi's is transmogrified beyond the locus of Thembu "tribe" and South African nation when 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 (*Long Walk*, 90), of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin (*Long Walk*, 192), and of Che Guevara, Mao Tse-tong and Fidel Castro (*Long Walk*, 263), amongst others, as he in turn became 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, as well as reterritorialization and deterritorialization by articulating both individual self-fashioning and communal liberation as two faces of the same assemblage.

Here 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 eternal return. On the occasion of ANC election victory celebrations in May 1994 Mandela reiterated, in the presence of Mrs. Coretta Scott King, the Black Atlantic script of Martin Luther King's 1963 speech, declaring as he did so "Free at last! Free at last!" to South Africans and dignitaries from all corners of the globe as he exhorted them to express their unity by "marching together into the future" (*Long Walk*, 612). Even after national liberation, he continues on the nomadic routes of the eternal return, seeking transnational freedom and justice for all citizens of the world when he closes his autobiographical account with a prospect of an open-ended road: "I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended" (*Long Walk*, 617).

## NOTES

- 1 According to Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton (London: Athlone Press, 1994): "The highest test is to understand the eternal return as a selective thought, and repetition in the eternal return as selective being. Time must be understood and lived as out of joint, and seen as a straight line which mercilessly eliminates those who embark upon it, who come upon the scene but repeat only once and for all. 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 ... The eternal return is only for the third repetition, only in the third repetition", p. 299
- 2 Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, Randburg: Macdonald Purnell (1994), regarded this nickname as somewhat derogatory, for he explains that "The Black Pimpernel" is an adaptation of "Baroness Orczy's fictional character the Scarlet Pimpernel, who daringly evaded capture during the French Revolution"; in the same breath, however, he is quite candid in his explanation that he would "even feed the mythology of the Black Pimpernel by taking a pocketful of 'tickeys' (threepenny bits) and phoning individual newspaper reporters from telephone boxes and relaying stories of what we were planning or the ineptitude of the police. I would pop up here and there to the annoyance of the police and the delight of the people". p.253
- 3 According to Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, "Repetition in the eternal return appears ...as the peculiar power of difference, and the displacement and disguise of that which repeats only reproduce the divergence and the decentering of the different in a single movement of *diaphora* or transport." p. 300
- 4 Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, p. 3
- 5 Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Figures in Black: Words, Signs, and the "Racial" Self* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 56
- 6 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* Trans. Constance Farrington ( New York: Grove Press, 1963), p.126
- 7 Throughout this discussion my use of 'machine' follows that delineated by Deleuze, where the machine—rather than being a mechanical system of "closer and closer connections between dependent terms"—is "a 'proximity' grouping between independent and heterogenous terms", Gilles Deleuze with Claire Parnet *Dialogues*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p. 104. Simply put, in the current context, the despotic machine of apartheid imposes and enforces racial conditions of homogeneity to the heterogenous terms of proximity at the level of social, cultural, economic and political structures. On the obverse side, the nomadic war machine of the anti-apartheid struggle evidences

moves across each of these heterogenous terms in combinations of fluxes that continuously mark a radical nationalisation of local ethnic identities, the reconfiguration of the family, the transnationalization of national struggles between continuums of becoming.

- 8 According to Jan Assman, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (Spring / Summer 1995), "the self-reflexive nature of cultural memory is evidenced by its tendency to "draw on itself to explain, distinguish, reinterpret, criticize, censure, control, surpass, and receive hypoleptically", p.130
- 9 Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (Spring/Summer, 1995), p.130
- 10 Gilles Deleuze with Claire Parnet *Dialogues*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p.38
- 11 In *Dialogues* Deleuze describes a relationship of a different type of partnered collaboration where, as was the case with him and the activist Felix Guattari, they "do not work together [but] work between the two", p.17
- 12 David Attwell, "Moderrizing tradition/Traditionalizing Modernity: Reflections on the Dhlomo Vilakazi Dispute", in *Research In African Literatures*, (2003) Vol. 3(1), pp-97-119
- 13 Jeff Opland, "The Early Career of D.L.P. Yali-Manisi, Thembu Imbongi" in *Research in African Literatures* Vol. 33(1), p. 1
- 14 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* Trans. Constance Farrington ( New York: Grove Press, 1963)
- 15 Jan Assman, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," p. 129
- 16 Constance S. Richards, "Nationalism and the Development of Identity: Zoe Wicomb and Michelle Cliff" in *Research in African Literatures* (2005), Vol 36 (1), p.20
- 17 Gilles Deleuze with Claire Parnet *Dialogues* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p.39
- 18 Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Figures in Black: Words, Signs, and the "Racial" Self* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 56
- 19 Achille Mbembe "Life, Sovereignty, and Terror in the Fiction of Amos Tutuola" in *Research in African Literatures*, (2003) Vol 34 (4), p. 17



- 20 Nuttall, Sarah "Telling 'Free' Stories? Memory and Democracy in South African Autobiography since 1994." In *Negotiating the Past: The making of Memory in South Africa*. (Ed.) Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998)
- 21 Jan Assman, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," p. 129
- 22 Homi Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory." *Questions of Third Cinema*. Ed. Jim Pines and Paul Willemen. (London: British Film Institute, 1989), p.128