

**CHALLENGING HEGEMONY:
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE QUEST FOR
A NEW HUMANISM IN
POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA**

**EDITED BY
NIGEL C. GIBSON**

Africa World Press, Inc.

**P.O. Box 1892
Trenton, NJ 08607**



**P.O. Box 48
Asmara, ERITREA**

CONTENTS

Introduction

Calling Everything into Question: Broken Promises, Social Movements and Emergent Intellectual Currents in Post-Apartheid South Africa	1
– <i>Nigel C. Gibson</i>	
I. Broken Promises	1
<i>New Movements Springing Up Daily</i>	8
<i>“They Think This Place is Too Good For Us”</i>	9
<i>The Three Nelson Mandelas</i>	11
<i>The Dialectics of the Dump</i>	12
II. Social Movements	15
<i>A Note on New and Old Social Movements in Modern South Africa</i>	18
<i>From the Struggle Against Apartheid to Post-Apartheid Struggles</i>	20
III. Emergent Intellectual Currents: “Autonomia” and New Social Movement Theory	28
<i>Hardt and Negri’s Empire and Autonomism in South Africa</i>	32
<i>Fanon and the Pitfalls of Autonomism</i>	34
<i>The Postcolonial State and “Democracy”</i>	37
IV. Calling Everything into Question	40
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	43
<i>Notes</i>	43

Chapter One

Rethinking Politics in Southern Africa Today: Elements of a Critique of Political Liberalism	55
– <i>Michael Neocosmos</i>	
I. State and Civil Society	60
II. Liberalism and Human Rights Discourse	65
III. Domains and Forms of Politics	73
IV. Neo-liberalism and State Nationalism: the Legitimation Problem	80
<i>Conclusions: Towards an Alternative Understanding of Politics in Africa Today</i>	88
<i>Notes</i>	94

Chapter Two	
Johannesburg's Resurgent Social Movements	103
– <i>Patrick Bond</i>	
<i>Introduction</i>	104
I. Johannesburg's Neo-Liberal Municipal Restructuring	105
II. South African Civics, Then and Now	111
III. Civics, the ANC and the Corporatist Threat	114
IV. Civil Society Struggles for a "Decommodified" City, Early 2000s	116
V. The Politics of Decommodification, Deglobalization of Capital and Globalization of People	120
<i>Notes</i>	125
Chapter Three	
TAC in the History of Patient-Driven AIDS Activism: The Case for Historicizing South Africa's New Social Movements	129
– <i>Mandisa Mbali</i>	
<i>Introduction: What is New about "New Social Movements"</i>	129
I. New Social Movements in Historical Context	131
II. Representation and Identity in the History of AIDS Activism	133
III. TAC in the History of First-Person, Patient AIDS Activism	140
IV. What is Specifically Post-Apartheid about TAC as a Movement	146
<i>Concluding remarks</i>	148
<i>Notes</i>	149
Chapter Four	
National Land Committee, 1994 – 2004: A Critical Insider's Perspective	157
– <i>Andile Mngxitama</i>	
Ten Years After Democracy	158
Farm Dwellers are Not Free!	158
Theoretical Frame	160
The Making of South Africa	161
Freedom without Land	164

The National Land Committee, Origins and Futures	165
Land Civil Society in the "End of Struggle Era"	167
Land Occupations	168
The State Debate	169
Key Elements Which Make Up the NLC Orientation	169
<i>Instrumentalism</i>	170
<i>Pluralism</i>	170
<i>Statism</i>	170
The Freedom and Consultation Era	171
The New Government or the Landless?	177
The New Realism Era	178
End of the Honeymoon, the Era of Land Occupations, What Position to Take?	182
From Activism to Professionals	183
Rupture!	185
The NLC in the Era of Globalization	185
Evils in Civil Society!	188
<i>Conclusion</i>	193
<i>Notes</i>	193

Chapter Five

Classes, Multitudes and the Politics of Community Movements in Post-apartheid South Africa	211
– <i>Franco Barchiesi</i>	
<i>Introduction</i>	211
I. Theoretical Framework. Classifying the Multitude	217
II. The Crisis of Working Class Politics in the South African Transition	220
III. The Collapse of the Wage-Social Citizenship Nexus	225
IV. New Social Movements and the "Politics of the Poor"	229
<i>Conclusion</i>	239
<i>Notes</i>	240

Chapter Six

Solidarity, Co-option and Assimilation: The Necessity, Promises and Pitfalls of Global Linkages for South African Movements	247
– <i>Richard Pithouse</i>	
<i>Introduction</i>	247

I. The Real (Question)	249
II. If "We are Everywhere" then Who are We?	252
III. We are Not "Global Civil Society"	253
IV. We are Also Not "The Multitude"	258
V. (Actually Existing) People Before (Fantasies about) Pure Militants	259
VI. Integration and Assimilation	264
VII. The Weight of Democracy and the Dance of Being	270
<i>Notes</i>	275
 <i>List of Contributors</i>	 287

Photographs run through pages 203 to 210