

Apartheid Remains

BUY

Apartheid Remains

ERRANTRIES

A series edited by Simone Browne, Deborah Cowen, and Katherine McKittrick



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CONTENTS

ix List of Illustrations

xiii Abbreviations

xvii Prelude: What Remains?

xxvii Maps

1 INTRODUCTION
Detritus in Durban, 2002–2008

Part I: Racial Palimpsest

- 33 CHAPTER 1
 Remains of a Camp: Biopolitical Fantasies of a "White Man's Country," 1902–1904
- 61 CHAPTER 2
 Settlements of Memory: Forgeries of Life in Common, 1900–1930s
- 97 CHAPTER 3
 Ruinous Foundations of Progressive
 Segregation, 1920s-1950s
- 133 CHAPTER 4
 The Birth of Biopolitical Struggle, 1940s
- The Science Fiction of Apartheid's
 Spatial Fix, 1948–1970s

Part II: Remains of Revolution

197	CHAPTER 6
	The Theologico-Political Moment, 1970s
227	CHAPTER 7
	The Insurrectionist Moment: Armed Struggle,
	1960s-1980s
257	CHAPTER 8
	The Moment of Urban Revolution, 1980s
303	CHAPTER 9
	The Moment of the Disqualified, 1980s–2000s
339	CONCLUSION
	Accumulating Remains: Rhythms of Expectation
345	CODA
	Black Atlantic to Indian Ocean:
	Afrofuture as the Common
347	Acknowledgments
353	Notes
403	Bibliography
445	Index



viii CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

xvii P.1

Playing soccer, Highbury Ground, Wentworth, 1995.

xviii P.2

Sitting, Wentworth, 1995.

xix P.3

Alabama. Wentworth, 2003.

XX P.4

Hafiza Reebee. Merebank, 2003.

xxi P.5

Waiting, Wentworth, 1995.

xxii P.6

Tattoos, Wentworth, circa 2004.

xxiii P.7

Young people in conversation, Wentworth, 1983.

xxiv P.8

Looking out, Wentworth, circa 2004.

XXV P.9

Wentworth Blues, circa 2004.

DUKE

37	1.1 AND 1.2 Merebank Concentration Camp Memorial Garden, 2010.
38	1.3 Jacobs Concentration Camp Cenotaph, 2010.
39	1.4 First Boers Leaving Camp for Homes, Wentworth, 1902.
57	1.5 Merewent Cheshire Home, 2007.
65	2.1 Banana Plants Imposed on a View of the Point from the Bluff, 1880–1900.
83	2.2 Merebank market, Nataraj Shopping Centre, 2007.
98	3.1 Congella Reclamation, circa 1920s—1930s.
125	3.2 Officials examine a Johannesburg "Native Townships" plan, circa mid-1950s.
132	3.3 Intersecting Umlaas Canal, 1984.
134	4.1 Barbed-wire entanglements on Durban's South Beach, circa 1943.
159	5.1 Badsha Pir birthday celebrations, Grey Street, Durban, 1980.
225	6.1 Site of the Alan Taylor Residence for Black medical students, Wentworth, 2010.
258	8.1 Mass Rally, October 5, 1980.
259	8.2



Newly elected ANC leaders, Durban, 1991.

8.3 270 "The President's Council Proposals," Durban, 1983.

8.4 271 "Apartheid has a new face," Durban, 1983.

8.5 AND 8.6 272-273 Wentworth Advice Centre pamphlet, early 1980s.

8.7 AND 8.8 294-295 March for Housing for All in a People's City, Durban, December 2, 1989.

9.1 323 Peter McKenzie (center, seated) at the Culture and Resistance Festival, Botswana, 1982.

326-330 9.2 - 9.8Cycle of Violence exhibition, Local History Museum, Durban, 2002.

331 9.9 Remains of the lanes of SANF, Wentworth, 2008.

344 C.1 George Ruiters, Wentworth, 2003.

Maps

xxvii MAP 1 South Durban: An industrial-residential space.

xxviii MAP 2 Durban (now eThekwini) Municipality with former racial residential zones and political boundary changes, pre-1994, 1994-2001, and 2001.

xxix MAP 3 Merebank and Wentworth: Key sites, 2012.

XXX MAP 4 Topography of Durban, 1952.

xxxi

MAP 5 Durban Borough Boundaries Commission Plan, 1929. xxxii map 6

Racial Zoning, 1944.

XXXIII MAP 7

Proposed Race Zones, 1951.

xxxiv Map 8

Race Zoning Plan, 1952.

XXXV MAP 9

Street gang turf, Wentworth, 1970s–1980s.



xii ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC African National Congress

ASH Association for Self-Help

BC Black Consciousness

BCP Black Community Programmes

BPC Black People's Convention

CEIWU Chemical, Engineering and Industrial Workers Union

COSAS Congress of South African Students

CPSA Communist Party of South Africa

CRU Community Research Unit

DAR National Archives of South Africa,

Durban Archives Repository

DHAC Durban Housing Action Committee

FOSATU Federation of South African Trade Unions

FRELIMO Frente de Libertação de Moçambique

IFCH Institute of Family and Community Health

IIE Institute for Industrial Education

IPRC Internal Political Reconstruction Committee,

or "the Internal"

IRA Irish Republican Army

JMC Joint Management Centre of the National Security

Management System

JORAC Joint Rent Action Committee

LAC Local Affairs Committee (Indian or Coloured)



LHM Local History Museum Archive, Durban

MEC minerals-energy complex

мно Military Headquarters of мк

MIRA Merebank Indian Ratepayers Association

мјк Mandla Judson Kuzwayo Unit

MK uMkhonto we Sizwe, armed wing of the ANC

MRA Merebank Ratepayers Association

NAB National Archives of South Africa, Pietermaritzburg

Archives Repository

NCI Natal Chamber of Industries

NEC National Executive Committee of the ANC

NIC Natal Indian Congress

NMA Natal Manufacturers Association

NOW Natal Organisation of Women

NUSAS National Union of South African Students

PMC Politico-Military Council

RC Revolutionary Council

RPMC Regional Politico-Military Council

SACP South African Communist Party

SACTU South African Congress of Trade Unions

SADE South African Defence Force

SAHA South African History Archive

SAHO South African History Online

SANF South African Naval Force (neighborhood in Wentworth)

SAPREF South African Petroleum Refineries

SASO South African Students' Organisation

SASOL Suid-Afrikaanse Steenkool-, Olie- en Gas Maatskappy

(South African Coal, Oil, and Gas Corporation)

SDCEA South Durban Community Environmental Alliance

SPRO-CAS 2 Special Project on Christian Action in Society

TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission

TUCSA Trade Union Council of South Africa

XiV ABBREVIATIONS

UCC United Committee of Concern
UCM University Christian Movement

UDF United Democratic Front

UND University of Natal, Durban (later UKZN)
UDW University of Durban-Westville (later UKZN

Westville campus)

UKZN University of KwaZulu-Natal

WDF Wentworth Development Forum



PRELUDE: What Remains?

OCCUPATION



FIGURE P.1 Playing soccer, Highbury Ground, Wentworth, 1995. © Cedric Nunn.

It sits in the middle of Wentworth like an occupying power. Cedric Nunn's photograph at apartheid's end captures perfectly the contrast between corporate power and community vitality. Blink, and the soccer players will have run off the frame while the smokestacks are frozen in time. Fermented rot of ages,



the devil's excrement that we cannot get enough of, oil conjures petrodollars and oil wars, ruined environments and hopes of untold wealth. Oil encapsulates corporate imperialism digging its heels into every reserve on land and sea, under glacial ice and desert sand, foreclosing democratic energies that may have led elsewhere. Places proximal to the promise of oil wealth have a particular pathos, in oceanic rigs, oil-saturated water tables, children playing around lagoons of crude, and neighborhoods stuck next to oil refineries. In this seventh century of imperial crossings, the empire of oil lurks in the background. Detritus of our living planet, charred remains of our collective dreams.

SITTING



FIGURE P.2 Sitting, Wentworth, 1995. © Cedric Nunn.

And yet it sits in the middle of the neighborhood surrounded by the bustle of life. They call it the ship that never sails, its fumes billowing from silhouetted smokestacks. On certain nights the smell is so obvious that it goes without comment, and yet bodies remember, curtains remember. Refineries and other polluting industry surrounding the neighborhoods of Wentworth and Merebank saturate daily life to such an extent that they seem inviolable. Photographers like Nunn have been exemplary critics of what remains pain-



fully unsaid as people sit, smoke, walk, talk about work, go to church, scope out sexual possibilities, make an angle, crack a joke, wait for a *kombi* (shared taxi), or shout at the kids. Wentworth is an exceedingly vibrant place; its edgy, transgressive poetry borne by daily contrasts of power and inequality has produced jazz singers, dance troupes, soccer players, and everyday dreamers. In the shadows of smokestacks, this young man sits, lost in a daydream.

THE DISTRICT



FIGURE P.3 Alabama. Wentworth, 2003. © Jenny Gordon.

There is something expansive about *the District*, the relatively small, walkable square mile of Wentworth, with its low homes, little hills, and microneighborhoods, next door to the equally walkable neighborhood of Merebank with its lanes, temples, mosques, and backyard churches. Wide skies do not advertise pollution but rather hide it, shifting its pain into the interiors of homes, into uncounted forms of chronic suffering. Jenny Gordon's wideangle "environmental portraiture" awes and inspires while subtly suggesting slow and pervasive suffering. This image was taken from the Alabama Road flats, from the home of a man who also repairs cars and fridges on the road outside. The photographer looks out to the former green "buffer zone" between the former Coloured Group Area of Wentworth and the former white area on the horizon beyond. From this vantage, the hustle-bustle of life entwines with refinery smokestacks. This is the District, where the sky remains wide and beautiful. At night, all is quiet. The quiet release of pollutants, the smell of dreams.

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PRELUDE XIX



FIGURE P.4 Hafiza Reebee. Merebank, 2003. © Jenny Gordon.

Embodied remains of corporate waste. Gordon photographs Hafiza Reebee with her inhaler in her home in Merebank in a series that documents how people live with toxic suffering. Reebee passed away after many years of asthma attacks, the consequence of nocturnal emissions from the refinery. Another gentle man who ran a spaza shop (informal convenience store) in Assegai is now gone. And another person, another brother, another sister. There are no statistics of a long history of ill health. The apartheid regime did not keep records linked to Black people's addresses, so journalists like Tony Carnie battled to document slow death in South Africa's cancer alley. Capital makes people workers and consumers, and also repositories for industrial waste. Yet embodied life slips the grasp of power. Her eyes. Her expression. One arm outstretched, holding on.



FIGURE P.5 Waiting, Wentworth, 1995. © Cedric Nunn.

The refinery is also a sign of prized labor. Wentworth men have been compelled to aspire to be industrial artisans waiting for periodic employment as boilermakers, pipe fitters, or fitters and turners, particularly when the refinery shuts down for maintenance. However, living in a neighborhood surrounded by industry has never guaranteed them work. City hall plays the "race card" when workers from surrounding neighborhoods protest; it is expedient to portray them as Coloureds and Indians fighting against African jobs. In the eclipse of Black Consciousness politics, the city manager is complicit with a deepening mire of political corruption in Durban and in the African National Congress (ANC). Here, Nunn photographs young people in Wentworth standing, leaning, sitting, smoking. A year after the democratic elections, we might ask what they are waiting for. We might ask when this time of waiting will end.





FIGURE P.6 Tattoos, Wentworth, circa 2004. © Peter McKenzie.

When I tell an interlocutor from Wentworth that I finally have a book title, Apartheid Remains, he nods. "How true." Pausing, he wonders if affirmative action is a kind of apartheid. I deflect, shifting to the ambiguities of various things that remain. He humors me. As elsewhere in South Africa, race is unrelenting. Peter McKenzie carefully photographs marks on the body, etched in the psyche. Frantz Fanon famously described the horror with which a white child saw him, but he realized as a psychiatrist treating victims and perpetrators of colonial violence that this was the tip of the iceberg. Of the Algerian Revolution, he warned that any successor regime would also inherit the protracted psychic, embodied, and spatial effects of colonial violence. Any attempt to think against the relentlessness of race stumbles on the rigidities of categories, archives, subjectivities, stories, songs, feelings, hopes, skins, and dreams. As we write with hope about a shared future, the Hydra of race returns, shifting its face and form, sneaking into the hand held out in solidarity. In McKenzie's image, the living mind-body remains, tattoos of survival pointing to the beauty of life beyond race.

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xxii PRELUDE



FIGURE P.7 Young people in conversation, Wentworth, 1983. © Cedric Nunn.

These young people photographed by Nunn in 1983 did not yet, perhaps, know that they were going to sign up for the revolution. Robert McBride, in the middle, remains vilified for his role in blowing up two beachfront bars. His father, the late Derrick McBride, incarcerated on Robben Island, recalled suggesting to Chris Hani, popular leader of uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC, that he could blow up all the oil tanks along the airport in South Durban, to which, apparently, Hani gently replied, "We want to inherit this country, not blow it up." The aging militant recalled this with a specific irony, as it is his restraint that is important in this biblical warning of "the fire next time." This gesture calls forth wider echoes and kindred spirits across centuries of revolutionary politics. Derrick McBride, an aging community activist when we met, thought resolutely against forms of knowledge in his neighborhood, as well as in the country and the world at large. The implicit care and caution in his warning provides a moment of emotional solidarity with the arcane, priestly work of academic writing and pushes for a space of learning beyond it.

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PRELUDE XXIII

CONSCIOUSNESS



FIGURE P.8 Looking out, Wentworth, circa 2004. © Peter McKenzie.

Social science was not always so venerated. To most people it continues to be weird and inaccessible. Who can argue with so many dates and citations, big words and claims to really know how the world works? Scholarly labor involves its own preoccupations, but there are some consolations, including that many things can make it into the written record. Look around at the many moments of arrested science that hold open the possibility of learning from less privileged people facing the conditions of their social domination. Each man in McKenzie's photograph offers a different view. The central figure dares to look directly into our uncertain future; the others are more guarded. This is not just a book about what specific populations think, nor is it a township study about life after apartheid, nor is it about degradation in a toxic sink in a time of jobless growth. While these are unavoidable aspects of the problem of life in the shadows of oil refineries, what remains on these pages are living energies that continue to strive, under conditions not of their choice, for a future in which nothing of racial capitalism, nothing of apartheid, remains.

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xxiv prelude

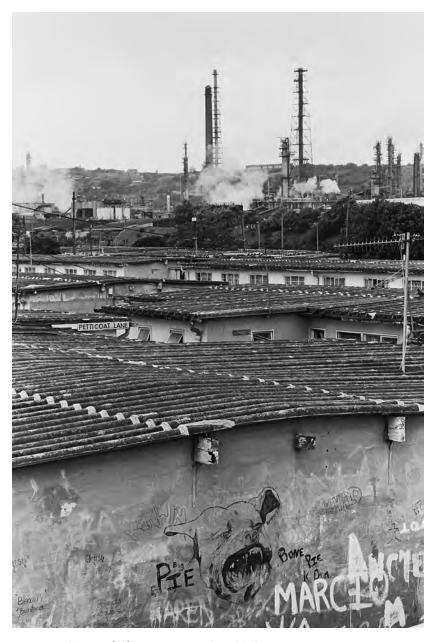
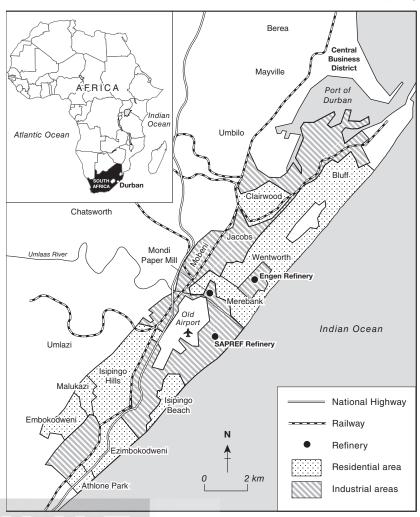
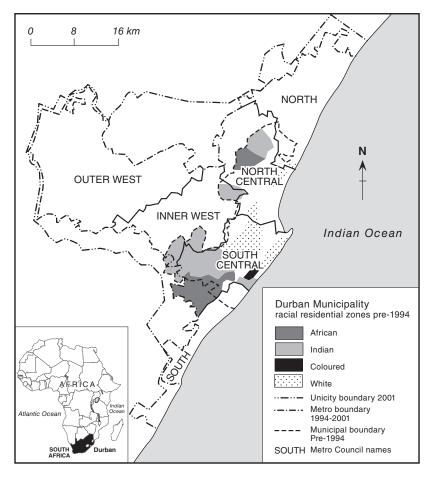


FIGURE P.9 Wentworth Blues, circa 2004. © Peter McKenzie.

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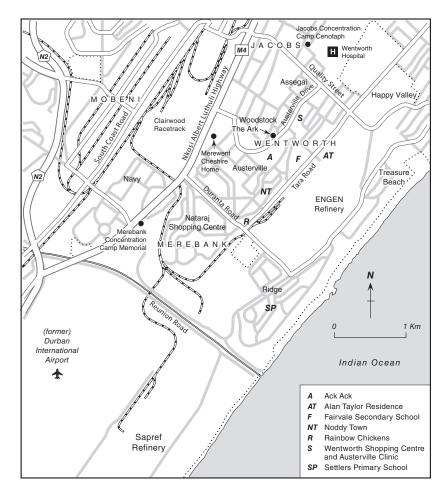


MAP 1 South Durban: An industrial-residential space. Credit: Mina Moshkeri, LSE Design Unit, 2012.



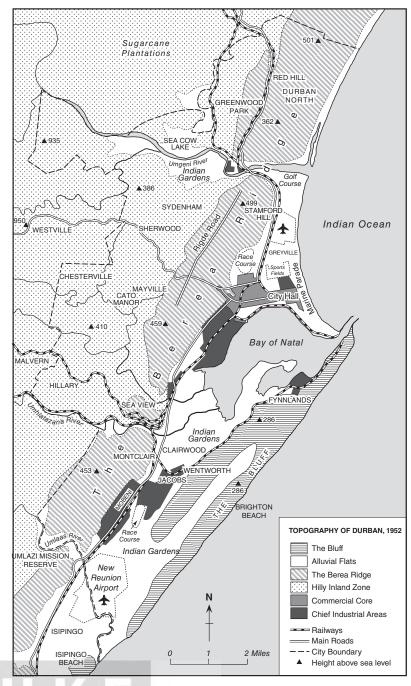
MAP 2 Durban (now eThekwini) Municipality with former racial residential zones and political boundary changes, pre-1994, 1994–2001, and 2001. Credit: Mina Moshkeri, LSE Design Unit, 2012.





MAP 3 Merebank and Wentworth: key sites, 2012. Credit: Mina Moshkeri, LSE Design Unit, 2012.





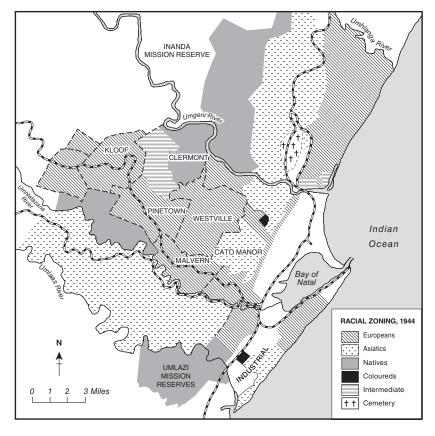
MAP 4 Topography of Durban, 1952. Credit: Mina Moshkeri, LSE Design Unit, 2012, redrawn from Durban Housing Survey, 1952.





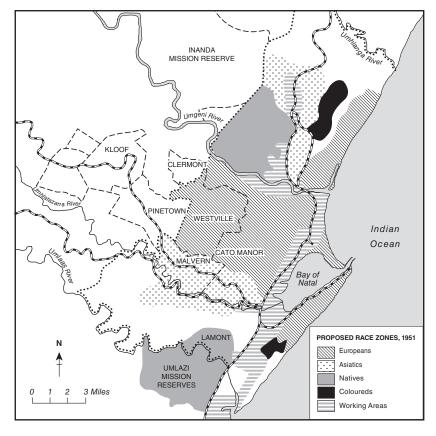
MAP 5 *Durban Borough Boundaries Commission Plan*. Credit: Durban Borough Boundaries Commission, 1929.





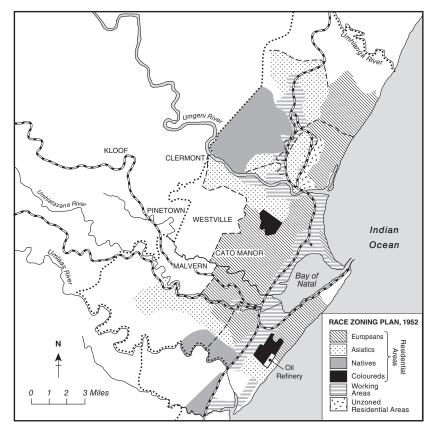
MAP 6 Racial Zoning, 1944. Credit: Mina Moshkeri, LSE Design Unit, 2012, redrawn from Durban Housing Survey, 1952.





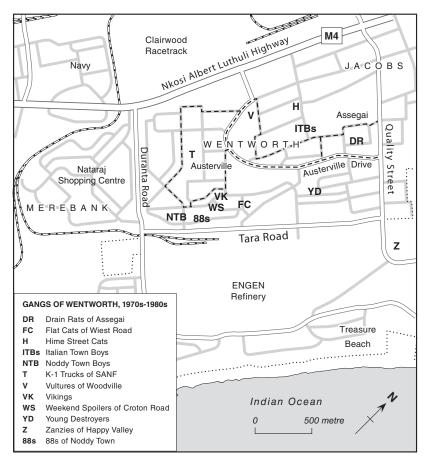
MAP 7 Proposed Race Zones, 1951. Credit: Mina Moshkeri, LSE Design Unit, 2012, redrawn from *Durban Housing Survey*, 1952.





MAP 8 Race Zoning Plan, 1952. Credit: Mina Moshkeri, LSE Design Unit, 2012, redrawn from Durban Housing Survey, 1952.





MAP 9 Street gang turf, Wentworth, 1970s–1980s. Credit: Mina Moshkeri, LSE Design Unit, 2012.



INTRODUCTION

Detritus in Durban, 2002–2008

I'm not worried about the environment. All I want is my piece of oxygen! —"JANE," Wentworth, 2003

Abandoned places are also planned concentrations—or sinks—of hazardous materials and destructive practices that are in turn sources of group-differentiated vulnerabilities to premature death (which, whether state-sanctioned or extralegal, is how racism works).... People in forgotten places who lack social or economic mobility, or who simply don't want to move away, act within and against the constraints of capital's changing participation in the land-scape and the government's multiscalar and sometimes contradictory struggle to relegitimize state power.... Constraints does not mean "insurmountable barriers." However, it does suggest that people use what is available to make a place in the world.

—RUTH WILSON GILMORE, "Forgotten Places and the Seeds of Grassroots Planning"

I remain absorbed by Jane's demand.¹ We sat at her new doorstep in the section of the Woodville Road Flats that she called "the ghetto within the ghetto." I had come to meet Jane to find out about how a group of women had occupied flats left vacant too long, in defiance of community leaders dragging their



feet with the Provincial Housing Department while securing deals for local contractors. We sat facing a field, beyond which lay the engineering workshops of the Jacobs industrial area.

We could not see the oil refinery from this vantage. What we could see was a more prosaic view of life in the formerly, and still primarily, Coloured neighborhood of Wentworth, next to the formerly, and still primarily, Indian neighborhood of Merebank. Map 1 shows Wentworth and Merebank hemmed in by industry, including two oil refineries (Engen, formerly owned by Mobil and now by Malaysian Petronas, and Sapref [South African Petroleum Refineries, a joint venture of Shell-SA and British Petroleum-SA]), a pulp and paper mill (Mondi Merebank, unbundled from the Anglo American conglomerate), a waste-treatment plant, the industrial areas of Jacobs and Mobeni, and the Durban International Airport, closed in 2010 and the site of the planned Durban Dug-Out Port expansion of the Port of Durban, delayed to the 2030s in response to prolonged political-economic crisis and local resistance.

I had been coming to Durban for four to six months of each year between 2002 and 2012. More than four years in Durban, aggregated, gave me the luxury of scholarly community alongside periodic field revisits to Wentworth and Merebank, particularly between 2002 and 2008. I spent considerable time at the Durban Depot of the National Archives and other repositories and interviewed a large number of figures connected to events in this book, many of whom had lived in Wentworth and Merebank and had since moved on, some to the heights of corporate and state power.

When I arrived, the 2001 census allowed broad comparison of Wentworth and Merebank, with populations of twenty-seven thousand and twenty-one thousand respectively, and individual monthly incomes in the range of R1,600–R3,200 (approximately \$8–\$16 per day.)³ Wentworth had a substantially higher unemployment rate of 34 percent, while Merebank had markedly higher household monthly incomes. Male occupations in Wentworth concentrated in industrial work, and there were significantly more single-headed households in Wentworth, headed by men or women. Comparison with African townships including nearby Lamontville and Umlazi, and with former white areas like Musgrave and Kloof, showed Wentworth and Merebank roughly in the middle of Durban's income spectrum.⁴

Map 1 shows Wentworth and Merebank roughly at the center, near the coast, and the corresponding areas on map 2 show that Merebank was a small part of a dispersed geography racialized Indian, while Wentworth is a concentrated site racialized Coloured. This resonates with the way in which





Merebank is generally perceived as part of Indian Durban, while Wentworth is seen as a distinct working-class Coloured township. Map 2 shows the location of apartheid-era racial areas within municipal boundaries, and the expanding boundaries of eThekwini Municipality, which incorporated periurban white and African areas in the hope of forging a democratic "unicity." 5

Sharply contrasting with this hope, postapartheid Durban has been a study in contrasts. Verdant bungalows, many now dilapidated, look out from the Berea Ridge with a hesitant Englishness. For more than a century, the central business district, port, and beachfront have witnessed a complex jostling of municipal employees, dockworkers, itinerant traders, subsistence fishers, shopkeepers, city officials, professionals, long-distance migrants, and working-class commuters transiting through the heart of Durban's Warwick Triangle to segregated townships or to the fragmented geographies that comprised the KwaZulu "homeland."

Twenty-first-century Durban continues to be transformed by racial capital flight to the coastal north, African township sprawl into the hinterland, and shack settlement in precarious interstices. South Durban has been a singular space in which people have been consigned to living in a patchwork industrial-residential valley in which the benefits of proximity to industrial work and the city center have remained largely unrealized. Instead, the South Durban Industrial Basin has long trapped pollution and foisted the burden of ill health on its denizens, who cannot or will not move elsewhere. To paraphrase Ruth Wilson Gilmore, they have found ways to confront geographic constraints as instruments of place-making as well as, periodically, of opposition.

South Durban has witnessed sustained struggle over housing, services, limited-duration industrial labor, health care, and social services, and it has seen the rise of one of Southern Africa's most vibrant community-based environmental justice movements, led by the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance (SDCEA) and its affiliates, including the Wentworth Development Forum (WDF), the Merebank Ratepayers Association (MRA), and groundWork. In Gilmore's terms, residents have refused to abandon themselves to premature death in a toxic valley.⁷

As we spoke in the winter of 2003, Jane framed her act of seizing a home of her own within a multifaceted account of communal suffering. In the early 2000s, I encountered similar narratives of township life freighted by precarious work, violence against women and children, homelessness (in Jane's rendition, a group of children living collectively in an abandoned warehouse), sex work, drug trade, substance abuse, "gangsters" in and out of prison, and rampant theft and resale of stolen objects that made suspects of friends and lovers.

Against stock tales of criminalization and degeneration, Jane praised God for her survival as she looked out wistfully at her neighborhood. When I asked why the environmental movement had not galvanized a community of resistance, she chuckled at my naivete and exclaimed, "I'm not worried about the environment. All I want is my piece of oxygen!"

Jane described the evening before, when a group of women of Woodville Road defied the authority of the WDF as representative of the community. They held hands late in the night and prayed to the Holy Spirit for the strength to act. By the next morning, they had occupied the flats and could not be dislodged. Furious, the WDF called a public meeting at the Austerville Community Centre to censure this group of women for defying their leaders. Prominent Durban struggle veteran Fatima Meer rebuked them for breaking rank. Jane's impromptu public statement on her decision to act is a tour de force: "I woke up one morning, and I said to myself, 'What is it that depresses me so much about living here?' And when I looked around, I looked at the flat, and I said, 'My God! It looks like the walls are closing in on me!' So, if we failed somewhere along the way, we are so sorry. You know, when we needed some men around, there were no men available, so we took it upon ourselves to get in there and take on the task."8 Playing on familiar tropes of impossible intimacies in overcrowded flats, Jane performed the betrayal of a proper sexuality. But there is more to her narrative of gendered claustrophobia than meets the eye. God, Malthus, and family values allowed her to focus her polemic on the political inactivity of the men around her. Pentecostalism, pervasive in Wentworth's backyard churches, added an emotional intensity to her call for the fruit of this world. While referencing neither the oil refineries nor local government, her demand points to a regeneration of politics itself.

As I replay her public speech, I imagine Jane as Walter Benjamin's Angel of History, heaping the debris of capitalism in the middle of the Austerville Community Centre. In Jane's hands, environmental injustice is an inadequate explanation of degraded life in Wentworth. There is a dialectical openness to her enigmatic words "All I want is my piece of oxygen," a far-flung response to Frantz Fanon's rejection of "a world without spaciousness," as well as Eric Garner's "I can't breathe" from US racial capitalism. In Jane's enigmatic demand for oxygen points to all that blunts life in this productive landscape, including all the elements portrayed so vividly by the photographers in the prelude: from short-term respiratory ill health to the slow violence of cancer, from racialization that sticks to the skin to the slow afterlife of apartheid's infrastructures.

In award-winning reporting in the *Mercury* in 2000, environmental journalist Tony Carnie wrote of a "cancer cluster" in Merebank with child leukemia





rates 24 percent over the national average; he likened South Durban to what environmental justice activists called Louisiana's "cancer alley." ¹² Carnie's findings were from an informal neighborhood survey, interpreted with public health scholars. The evidence was dismissed as circumstantial. There were no peer-reviewed studies. The Department of Health had not been collecting statistics to demonstrate long-term exposure through the apartheid period. The Cancer Association of South Africa responded that vehicular traffic was just as likely as industry to be the primary cause. The refineries picked up this convenient script. As in other parts of South Africa, routine ailments remain trapped in official denialism and dissimulation.

The Settlers School Study by researchers from the University of Natal Medical School and the University of Michigan School of Public Health between 2000 and 2002 found 53.3 percent of students at the Settlers Primary School in Merebank between the Engen and SAPREF refineries suffering from asthma and other respiratory problems, and 26 percent suffering from persistent asthma.¹³ The dynamic model took into consideration air flows from the range of industries, and it found that 85 percent of sulfur dioxide emissions were from Engen, SAPREF, and Mondi. In other words, it named culprits. In the face of this seemingly incontrovertible evidence, both the municipality and the corporations denied the facts of exposure. After the Settlers School Study, residents like Jane suffered a kind of environmentalism fatigue.

In the wake of official dissimulation, South Durban residents turned to other ways of signifying degraded life. During this period I witnessed a routine circulation of horror stories of sex, drugs, and crime. President Thabo Mbeki was regaled with similar tales of moral and social decay in Wentworth on the election circuit in 2005. Contagion talk infiltrated local debates about whether to accept corporate social responsibility funding or whether tainted money made people complicit with hegemony. While Apartheid Remains seems a melancholy title for a book that interrogates this moment, what drew me to these neighborhoods in 2002 was political hope.

A Rising Tide of Livelihood Struggles: South Durban, 2001-2006

In 2001 something exceptional took place in South Durban, an activation of solidarity across environmental justice, labor, and community activism. Over the prior decade, the Merebank Ratepayers Association had steadfastly lobbied the municipality to attend to air pollution in South Durban. In 1995



activists in Wentworth formed the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance to reorient civic organizations across South Durban's racial divides to fight the polluters. He Bobby Peek from Wentworth formed the environmental justice organization ground Work in 1999 to widen the focus to pollution from chemical industries, health care waste and incineration, and hazardous waste.

Together, this alliance of organizations connects activism from "fence-line communities" living cheek by jowl with polluting industry to pressure city, provincial, and national governments and to work with transnational advocacy networks. The many heads of the alliance enable a diversity of tactics including research, advocacy, campaigning, legal activism, political pressure, and direct action. ¹⁵ A persisting challenge remains mass organizing, including popular collection of evidence of pollution-related ill health. Since relocation has never been desirable for residents or the refinery, residents were consigned to life and struggle in this toxic valley. Environmental justice activists tried to turn this into an opportunity to link the violence of the present with the endurance of apartheid's corporate occupation.

Paralleling environmental activism, Wentworth witnessed the emergence of militant labor unionism led by limited-duration industrial artisans. Wentworth men had long been recognized as skilled boilermakers, pipe fitters, and fitters and turners who built and retrofitted refineries across the country and the continent. Artisans from Wentworth were employed at the coal-tooil SASOL (South African Coal, Oil, and Gas Corporation) refineries in Sasolburg and the SASOL 2 and SASOL 3 refineries in Secunda, which promised the apartheid regime energy self-sufficiency. Wentworth men had participated in wildcat strikes in all of these refineries since the 1970s. Sterling, a Wentworth artisan who worked at several refineries, recalls the army called in at a strike in 1982. He also recalls the refineries, beginning with SASOL 2, shifting to internal contracting during annual maintenance shutdowns. The shutdown system enabled some artisans to become labor brokers; one of them said, "In 1982-1983 everybody wanted to be a labor broker; everybody who wanted to make a buck." The older white-led craft union, the South African Boilermakers Society, did not oppose the shutdown system or labor brokering, so a group of artisans connected in complex ways to labor brokering organized into what became the Chemical, Engineering and Industrial Workers Union (CEIWU).

For about a decade until the late 1990s, CEIWU operated as an independent labor union for limited-duration contract workers striking during Engen's annual shutdown for parity between them and permanent employees, and in



response to the turn to outsourcing to circumvent the postapartheid Labour Relations Act of 1995. In 2001 about a thousand limited-duration contract workers led by CEIWU struck at the beginning of the annual shutdown. They were supported by local environmental activists organizing against an oil pipeline that would pass through the neighborhood. Community activists came to their mutual support. When the refinery tried to continue its shutdown work without CEIWU labor, the strike turned militant. The result was an extended refinery shutdown whose effects were felt in fuel shortages across the country during the winter of 2001.

Ashwin Desai's primer on postapartheid struggles uses this and other events to argue for a brewing movement across South Africa. 16 Desai's analysis, and his introductions to community activists, brought me to Wentworth in 2002 to research how, between peaks of protest, members of the community reflected on their praxis, their theory-in-action. ¹⁷ My initial observation was that between the high points of activism, when the male activists were gone, what came into view was a women-led space of theory and action that was not seen as political at all. My hypothesis was that this domain of "community work" is precisely a site of nurturing political hope.

This hope would prove necessary. In response to the 2001 strike, Engen shifted to partial and unscheduled shutdowns, and it began to outsource fabrication to Gauteng. Jambo, one of CEIWU's founders, argued that the refineries had been illegally blacklisting activist workers, and he was sure that he was one of them: "I've lost my car, I've lost my wife, I've lost my house, I find myself in the situation where my lights are being cut, and I'm being evicted because I stand for justice for workers."

In a key legal struggle in 2004, CEIWU fought against the unfair dismissal of 176 limited-duration contract workers. The court ruled that these industrial workers could not be considered "limited duration" as their contracts referred to benefits, leave, overtime, and other conditions of service; it also ruled that striking workers could not be terminated either for insubordination or for operational requirements without following due procedure, a reversal of the landmark 2002 judgment in Fry Metals (Pvt. Ltd.) v. NUMSA (National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa). The 2004 ruling altered the terms of labor struggle for artisans in the petrochemical sector, and the case became a resource for contract labor across South Africa. On the tails of this victory, CEIWU sought to consolidate its base in the South Durban Industrial Basin; it broadened its remit to scaffolders and cleaners and began representing unprotected workers on very short-term contracts; and, finally, it sought to federate with a large labor union federation.



During the 2001 strike, CEIWU garnered strong community support. Yet its members were painfully aware that with about a third of Wentworth's population unemployed, households were reliant on social grants and on various kinds of criminalized or stigmatized informal activity that further devalues lives. They also knew the value of unwaged community work, primarily that of women who care for the young, infirm, and injured and who redistribute minimal material remuneration, including grants, donations, cups of tea, and surplus food from a prominent grocery store. Most important, community work offered poor women a domain of dignity and resolve. In the immediate context of blacklisting, and with declining possibilities of a racialized artisanal labor regime, CEIWU had to confront its relationship to community work.

This opportunity came in 2002 when a group of unemployed artisans from CEIWU launched an experiment in worker cooperatives. Jambo explained that rather than continue to bear the intimate burdens of migrant labor, he had decided to stay and fight for an alternative future. To this end, he and others formed a metalworkers' cooperative, mostly male, with support from a German labor union federation. In parallel, a group of women retrenched from the clothing industry started an all-female sewing cooperative. Together, they pitched the Wentworth Poverty Alleviation Programme (WEPAP) to the German funder and to eThekwini Municipality. Their initiative predates the 2003 Presidential Growth and Development Summit, which posed cooperatives as a mechanism of job creation, as well as the 2005 Cooperatives Act. Kate Philip, former organizer of cooperatives for the National Union of Mineworkers, argues that South African producer cooperatives have tended toward contestation at the expense of productivity.¹⁹ Mirroring this diagnosis, Wentworth's co-ops were quickly in conflict. The sewing co-op was led by a mother and daughter with connections in the clothing industry who appeared to run it as a contract production unit. Jambo exclaimed, "They are offering big businesses cheap labor. That's exploitation." A heated public debate clarified that members of the two co-ops were deeply divided in their understanding of producer cooperatives, amplified by gender and class and by divergent histories of politicization.

At another meeting community members invited the municipality's Poverty Alleviation Programme to hear the Wentworth Poverty Alleviation Programme's comprehensive response to the many issues facing Wentworth. Taken aback by his outspoken interlocutors, the soft-spoken city official praised Wentworth for bucking the "level of demobilization in civil society" after apartheid. He introduced the municipality's new indigent registers to





identify households below the poverty line that might qualify for special programs. Well before the formation of the National Integrated Social Information System in 2006, would-be beneficiaries were offered a glimpse into the imagination of municipal reform. As he spoke, the city official drew a pyramid with small entrepreneurs in the middle, to be targeted by the Economic Development Department, and the poor at the bottom, to be targeted by Poverty Alleviation. Jambo responded in his slow and booming voice, "We have come up with these ideas ourselves. We have done research, and we have workshopped most of these ideas, and we have done a pyramid like yours and found we are on the bottom." Another member said, "People are already starving here, and there are competent organisations here, like Women of Wentworth, so how can the city help?" Others followed with more questions. The city official made brief remarks before beating a hasty retreat.

To people in attendance, this was confirmation that Wentworth had been left out of the city's priorities as a constituency of little value to the ruling alliance and to municipal coffers. What was striking was that some residents presented themselves as professionalized civil society experts, ready to research, workshop, and "liaise telephonically." Over time, I found that most people involved in community work hedge their bets by walking a fine line between those who dispense betterment and those, often in quite similar material circumstances, in need of it. At the edges of poverty, these figures earn the right to some remuneration through the theater of community work. As we will see, they act under conditions not of their making (chapter 1).

This gendered domain of community work appeared ever more important as postapartheid social movements flowed and then ebbed by the mid-2000s, with the important exception of the shack-dweller movement Abahlali baseMjondolo, with deep roots in the Durban region, as well as the Treatment Action Campaign, and municipal "service delivery" protests mediated by the politics of infrastructure, as Antina von Schnitzler argues. Gillian Hart calls this the time of "movement beyond movements," which seemed to revive forms of everyday assertion that Anne-Maria Makhulu calls "a politics of presence." However, the brewing storm envisioned by Desai failed to challenge the hegemony of the ruling alliance. The rot had sunk in deeper than expected.

In South Durban, community work remained effaced from these portrayals of rising and falling movements, even though, I would argue, this largely unseen domain has been key to the endurance of political hope. As I delved deeper into the historiography of racial capitalism and struggle to understand the conjuncture of the mid-2000s, I realized that I was thinking in the

wake of Shireen Hassim's powerful argument that women activists of the 1950s had forged novel ways of stitching together overtly political and seemingly apolitical forms of praxis, as well as Kumari Jayawardena's expansive account of women's agency in anti-imperialist struggles of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²² Was this a conservative formulation? Absolutely, and in a positive sense. Debates about postapartheid activism evaded precisely how people, most often Black women, women of color, and gendernonconforming people, refused in varied ways the remains of apartheid through critical sensitivities that are uncertain and, in Grant Farred's prescient formulation, "not (yet) counterpartisan."²³ While the confluence of labor, environment, and community struggles in South Durban faced major limits, residents remained undefeated.²⁴ This book explains the conditions of possibility of this situation.

The Argument, in Apartheid's Remains

Apartheid Remains argues that across the twentieth century, attempts at fixing the crisis tendencies of South African racial capitalism through the production of racial space, also by biopolitical means, only sowed new contradictions and forms of struggle, the limits and possibilities of which are powerfully discernible through Black Marxist feminist critique. I detail each element of this argument in this section. However, it would be a mistake to think of this as an abstract argument for which all that remains is empirical support in the chapters that follow. Concrete elaboration is everything. The usefulness of theory is only borne in the labor of working through material of various kinds, drawing liberally from the tools of the ethnographer, historian, cultural critic, and geographer. The palimpsestic form allows the reader to see how elements of the argument emerge within specific conjunctures of power and protest, leaving their remains behind as conjunctures shift.

Here I lay out the three broad lines of thought that converge across this book. The first concerns capitalism's search for a spatial and racial fix to its immanent contradictions, and the ways in which any such fix remains elusive. The second concerns the ways in which the racial state and capital seek to harness biopolitical discourse, intervention, and subjectivation to this futile quest, which produces periodic rounds of what I call "biopolitical struggle," raced and gendered class struggle over the conditions of life. These inconclusive struggles take us to Black Marxist feminist politics, including cultural politics, that reach beyond biopolitical struggles and their racial/spatial domestication, for the possibility of an actual world in common.





On the Racial-Spatial Fix

Capitalism is necessarily growth oriented, technologically dynamic, and crisis prone. One of the ways it can temporarily and in part surmount crises of overaccumulation of capital... is through geographical expansion. This is what I call the "spatial fix" to capitalism's contradictions.

—DAVID HARVEY, Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference

Prisons are partially geographical solutions to political economic crises, organized by the state, which is itself in crisis.

-RUTH WILSON GILMORE, Golden Gulag

I begin with the argument that Gilmore's conception of the "prison fix" can be read as a Black Marxist revision of David Harvey's notion of capital's futile quest for a "spatial fix."²⁵ To appreciate this, it is important to note that both thinkers build on key aspects of Karl Marx's critical method. Marx understood that what seems like an eternal law or logic immanent to capital is prone to crisis and breakdown, revealing its "logic" to be grotesquely illogical and violent. Marx also thought that people at the coalface of crisis have recognized this in mystified but collective ways. From his early writings to his very last letters, Marx was concerned with forms of difference and mutuality that might be repurposed toward the abolition of capitalism and the construction of a different organization of collective life. ²⁶

Harvey's historical-geographical materialism works this imperative through Henri Lefebvre's triadic dialectics of space and time, which Harvey usefully explicates as encompassing "space and time" in the absolute sense as separable and known through cadastre and clock, "space-time" in the relative sense as linked through routinized circuits of capital or spatial practice, and "spacetime" in the relational sense as indivisible and freighted with affect. Lefebvre also attends to geographical difference in two senses: as "induced" through the capitalist co-optation of some forms of mutuality, for instance, in place branding, but also as "produced" through the ongoing bodily production of "differential space" that prefigures a future after capitalism. While Lefebvre had nothing to say about racism as intrinsic to capitalism, we can read his insights on difference and capitalism precisely for this purpose. We have no recourse but to force Lefebvre into the clarity of Black Marxist method.

In his Lefebvrian reworking of Marx's crisis theory, Harvey theorizes capital's attempt at a spatial fix to crisis either through the export of surplus capital to make new geographies or through the techno-organizational



transformation of spatial relations. Either route produces "new territorial divisions of labor and concentrations of people and labor power, new resource extraction activities and markets," and consequently an elaboration of geographical differentiation in which "'difference' and 'otherness' are produced in space through . . . uneven capital investment, a proliferating geographical division of labor, an increasing segmentation of reproductive activities and the rise of spatially ordered (often segregated) social divisions."³⁰ Indeed, Harvey realizes all too well that the spatial fix utilizes Lefebvrian induced difference to segment and segregate capitalist geographies.

Harvey also insists that the spatial fix is speculative, crisis-prone, and inevitably impossible; it is really a theory of unfixing. Speculation turns capital against itself, feeding competition between places over induced difference, between different fractions of capital, and ultimately the contradiction "between place-bound fixity and spatial mobility of capital erupts into generalized crisis."31 At this point, tellingly, Harvey shifts from the positive to the normative, from what is actually happening to what must happen: "The geographical configuration of places must then be reshaped around new transport and communications systems and physical infrastructures, new centers and styles of production and consumption, new agglomerations of labor power, and modified social infrastructure....Old places...have to be devalued, destroyed, and redeveloped while new places are created. The cathedral city becomes a heritage center, the mining community becomes a ghost town, the old industrial center is deindustrialized, speculative boom towns or gentrified neighborhoods arise on the frontiers of capitalist development or out of the ashes of deindustrialized communities."32

Harvey's narrative form mirrors capital's immanent tendencies; it conveys that any attempt at resolving capital's contradictions through the production of space will be a mirage. But there is always a break between the old and the new, an indeterminacy that implies that the "fix" as solution also gets "in a fix," as in a quandary, a laced turn of phrase to match Marx's "free labor." And since the fix as quandary must be legible to its denizens, the problematic of the spatial fix cries out for a materialism attentive to struggles over representation as necessary to its immanent dialectic.

This is the point at which Harvey's explanation of geographical differentiation diverges from Gilmore's, which also draws from Antonio Gramsci, Stuart Hall, and Cedric Robinson an attentiveness to forms of consciousness and to renovations of the past.³³ Hence, Gilmore reads Robinson's term *racial capitalism* as a reminder that capitalism always draws on and revises prior



power relations in the attempt at enshrining the differentiation that capital produces.³⁴

There is a third sense of the fix to consider if we think with Robinson's insight that racial regimes "wear thin over time." Racial capitalist geographies, it follows, are always in a state of protracted degradation. This prompts a third sense of the "fix" as a drug-induced free fall into a virtual reality of induced difference, a mass hallucination with its own possibilities of creativity and critique within the world remade by racial capitalism. Robinson's focus is on the "masquerades" of motion pictures and their racist misapprehensions of Black life. We might turn to Walter Benjamin's hashish-induced tracing of Ariadne's thread through the urban sensorium as particularly appropriate to the collective intoxication of racism. Consider, in this light, Stuart Hall and colleagues' *Policing the Crisis* as a critique of a degrading form of crisis management premised on the fear and loathing of young Black British men who in turn refuse their racist interpellation by conserving the energies of a waning tradition of Black Power. Nothing is quite what it seems in this racial free fall.

Gilmore is distinctive for attending to the way in which people actively engage both induced and produced difference to forge new solidarities while opposing the racial-spatial fix, under conditions not of their making.³⁸ Through her work with Mothers Reclaiming our Children (Mothers ROC) in Los Angeles, which had formed to respond to the incarceration of male kin in the wake of deindustrialization, criminalization, aggressive policing, gang violence, and deepening social crisis, Gilmore shows that there is always a possibility of articulating collective will in opposition to what she characterizes as the state's attempts at using capital to save capital from capital. Cutting through the hallucination that prison building in California had produced a radical spatial fix that can continue to articulate surplus labor, land, finance, and state capacity, Ruthie and Craig Gilmore joined broader political organizing on various fronts across rural and urban California in solidarity with unemployed or precariously employed, dehoused, and encaged people who refuse to become surplus people. Ananya Roy's work with the After Echo Park Lake research collective in (Dis)Placement is a parallel initiative that refuses another racial-spatial fix after state-led displacement of unhoused communities in Los Angeles.

Across this book, we will see strikingly similar forms of collective praxis in the wake of attempts at engineering a racial-spatial fix before, during, and after apartheid. This takes us to the specific forms of biopolitical regulation

13

of imperial-capitalist crises in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the struggles in their wake.

On Biopolitics, Capital, and Biopolitical Struggle

English doctors are unanimous in declaring that where the work is continuous, 500 cubic feet is the very least space that should be allowed for each person. . . . The sanitary officers, the industrial inquiry commissioners, the factory inspectors, all harp, over and over again, upon the necessity for these 500 cubic feet, and upon the impossibility of wringing them out of capital. They thus, in fact, declare that consumption and other lung diseases among the workpeople are necessary conditions to the existence of capital. —KARL MARX, Capital

Biopower was without question an indispensable element in the development of capitalism; the latter would not have been possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes. —MICHEL FOUCAULT, *The History of Sexuality*

In 1977 Maynard Swanson published a foundational essay on the origins of urban segregation in South Africa, scarcely two years after Michel Foucault's lectures on biopolitics as central to state racism across Western liberal capitalisms, fascisms, and state socialisms. Swanson argued that infectious disease provided the pretext for the exclusion of Africans from Cape Town from 1900 to 1904 and that this "sanitation syndrome" set a precedent for urban segregation to come. Swanson was prescient in addressing a blind spot in the prevailing Marxist historiography of segregation, the role of scientific expertise in national and urban spatial politics. 40

As is evident in his Collège de France lectures, Foucault had for some years been working on a conception of biopolitical governmentality alongside transformations in capital, law, sovereignty, sexuality, medicine, punishment, and so on in the making of bourgeois society. Foucault's insights remain bold, provocative, and incomplete. He did not pose biopolitical governmentality in state-centric terms. Rather, he conceived of biopower and discipline emerging as counterforces to sovereignty, subsequently drawn into specific articulations with it, with dire consequences. Biopolitical government harnessed by sovereign power in Western capitalist and Soviet socialist states, he argued incisively, resulted in "state racisms" that cut the social body into populations subject differentially to biopolitical intervention or exposure to death. We can only wonder how he might have revised his formulation, as he often did in interrupting his accounts of regimes of truth, by forms of *parrhesia*, or fearless speech.



Foucault's method afforded him the capacity to make long-term historical claims about, for instance, the remaking of forms of exclusion from medieval plague regulation to medical campaigns against epidemics and endemics since the eighteenth century, recasting historical process through his particular genealogical method. 42 Given his attention to the world beyond France, and his enthusiasm about the Iranian Revolution of 1978, it is surprising that he did not attend to the imperial career of biopower, particularly in late-Victorian settler colonies and in movements that rose in opposition to them.⁴³ Scholarly works on biopower are legion, but much work remains to be done on the tenuous articulation of biopolitics, sovereignty, and capital that Foucault discerned but did not fully elaborate. 44 Furthermore, the divide in treatments of biopower between an abstract approach that poses biopower ontologically and a historical approach that is only concerned with empirical operations misses the opportunity to think about concrete and abstract in relation. 45 Not fortuitously, Foucault developed his biopolitics concept alongside advocacy for the rights of French prisoners; the radical political milieu of his concept work has much to offer a reconsideration of biopolitics for our time.⁴⁶

A historical approach, considered dialectically and genealogically, helps us attend to the colonial and postcolonial career of biopolitics. Keith Breckenridge insightfully reads Foucault's concept through histories of North Atlantic Progressivism between the 1870s and 1920s, and across the imperial world, to note a resonance between biopolitics and Progressivism, as well as a distinctive class politics. 47 Read with histories of North Atlantic Progressivism, biopolitics appears as a class project peopled by middle-class experts in what they called "social politics," who responded to spiraling social crisis through knowledge and intervention in public health, urban planning, workingmen's insurance, immigration controls, cooperative farming, and rural reconstruction. 48 Progressives varied according to context, but they shared a focus on the state, on statistical social scientific methods, on policy-relevant expertise, and on social engineering; both eugenics and segregation were very much a part of their toolbox.⁴⁹ Critical of the plutocrats, Progressives forced them into philanthropy, creating some of the key foundations of the North Atlantic world, and they kept a distance from the militancy of anarchists and communists who argued for deeper structural change.

In much of colonial Africa, the metropolitan presumptions of Progressivism—middle-class experts, acceptance of social scientific expertise and its calculative tools, and political expediency for state intervention in broad-based welfare—remained presumptions.⁵⁰ Most African colonies



15

subject to what Sara Berry calls "hegemony on a shoestring" could hardly afford to regulate the various aspects of life, sex, work, or movement that biopolitics implies. ⁵¹ Scholars of the colonial world show us that the hope of biopolitical government was typically fraught. ⁵² Where biopolitical intervention did become important was precisely in settler colonies in which the consent of white working classes became a pressing issue for imperial control. ⁵³ Hence, British settler colonies witnessed fierce debate over immigration controls, fingerprinting systems, labor regulations, agrarian transformation, and urban cleanup, as they tensely balanced ideals of responsible self-government with instruments to delimit populations deemed incapable of exercising democratic rights. ⁵⁴

Metropolitan theory presumes too much about the smooth workings of biopower.⁵⁵ Rather than presume that biopolitical government works as a cohesive whole, I build on Breckenridge's cue to disaggregate biopolitics into tools of biopolitical knowledge, intervention, and subjectivation, which do not work in unison and are prone to periodic breakdown.⁵⁶ Disaggregating biopolitical tools is important. Too often, "the biopolitical" is depicted as a unitary monster, like the reading of Hannah Arendt's notion of "the social" in Hanna Pitkin's The Attack of the Blob. There are substantive differences between biopolitical expertise in public health, urban planning, and population control, let alone in how this expertise is deployed or how people might become subjects of biopower. While state and capital might attempt to instrumentalize specific tools of biopolitical government, and while this attempt might confirm Foucault's hypothesis that biopolitical sovereignty tends to racism, we ought to approach these attempts as attempts. Indeed, the point of Foucault's genealogies is that governmental efforts routinely fail to do what they purport to do and that people subject to their blunt edge often refuse to be subjects of power/knowledge.

We should likewise expect that capital's attempt at a biopolitical fix, like any other racial-spatial fix, produces new geographies of struggle. Twentieth-century capitalist and state-socialist societies across the Global North and South witnessed powerful popular struggles to disarticulate the tools of biopolitics from the imperatives of state racism. Refusing the inevitability of necropolitics, these struggles over the content of biopolitical expertise and its concrete deployment in public health, public education, public housing, urban planning, social insurance, or regional development turned expert knowledge into a terrain of popular struggle, or what I call "biopolitical struggle." The ties that bind biopower, capital, and racial sovereignty run deep, and transforming their articulation is no easy matter, but that has not deterred the





hope of popular and ecological determination of biopower in the service of planetary flourishing. We must imagine this possibility, not after the end of the world, but after the end of capitalism.

After apartheid, South Africa has been a crucial site of biopolitical struggle in the the movement for access to HIV/AIDS medication and in widespread protests over housing, services, land, health care, livelihoods, and public higher education, amplified in our time of multiple crises.⁵⁸ South African realities push us to ask how biopolitical instruments have been deployed in struggles over unequal means of life to produce what Didier Fassin calls "bio-inequalities" but also to call them into question.⁵⁹ We might think in parallel with scholarship on struggles over biopolitical expertise in contexts ranging from the compromised "biological citizenship" of Chernobyl survivors, to the suppression of health risks associated with asbestos mining, to breast cancer activism and radical AIDS activism in the United States, as well as present and future research on the unraveling of biopolitical sovereignty.⁶⁰ The question is how variously dehumanized subjects imagine a popular biopolitics in the ruins of biopolitical sovereignty.

Throughout this book we see the racial state's repeated attempts at fixing the racial-spatial borderlands of South Durban, by any biopolitical means necessary, only to turn biopolitics into a field of struggle. While this terrain is grappled with in a range of ways, I turn next to why the confluence of Black, Marxist, and feminist critique pushes biopolitical struggle beyond limits set by racial capitalism and sovereignty.

On Black Marxist Feminism and the Risk of Conjuncturalism

Black. Marxist. Feminist. These three categories do not always line up. Often they are posed as antithetical for reasons that have more to do with broken promises of solidarity. Hopes of material benefit through whiteness or masculinism were often central to these failures of solidarity, but so were unfinished promises of Black liberation. When the three categories have lined up, the combination has been explosive. Radical anti-capitalist, antipatriarchal, and anti-racist critique pushes beyond the ruse of a biopolitical resolution to racial capitalist crises. This was the promise of the Combahee River Collective and of a host of radical Third World feminist and worker collectives forged across the world in the 1970s and 1980s, also in South Africa, often as an explicit critique of masculinist and militarist forms of putatively radical politics that had not interrogated their reliance on sovereignty.⁶¹



In our time of often bewildering uncertainty, radical traditions of materialist feminist, postsocialist, postcolonial, oceanic, and ecological critique across the planet converge in profound unease with respect to political hope for a substantially altered world of collective flourishing. Forty years and more of neoliberal crisis management in the capitalist world portends continued political-economic volatility, deepened by states' inability to respond to challenges of grotesque inequality, pandemics, and climate change. There are no consolations in nostalgia for a mid-twentieth-century golden age of welfare capitalism or state socialism, which were committed to varieties of racism, sexism, and imperialism. We can discern political hope precisely where the ruses of counterpower offered by racial capitalism and sovereignty have been laid bare. This has been key to the postcolonial predicament from a materialist perspective, as well as to its specific iteration in South Africa after the ascent to political power of the dominant alliance of the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Black, Marxist, and feminist traditions remain central to this ongoing challenge.

South African radical scholarship anticipates this moment in decades of research through Marxist social history and political economy, on regionally differentiated processes of social change before, during, and after apartheid. Much of this work attends to geographic differentiation. In an important study, Hein Marais diagnoses South Africa's "limits to change" since apartheid, provoking questions about how these limits have taken root differently. More recently, Black scholars have argued for attention to "the Black register," as Tendayi Sithole puts it; or to "the Black intellectual's work," as Farred puts it; or to the insights of South African Black feminism, as Pumla Dineo Gqola and Gabeba Baderoon argue. This work questions whether radical scholarship of the past was attentive enough to the archives of Blackness and Africanity in a society still trapped by vestiges of colonialism and apartheid. These critiques mirror those of earlier generations of Black thinkers committed to liberation, who might have anticipated disenchantment in a postapartheid racial capitalism to come.

The thinkers who are particularly instructive in this regard have not shied away from productive tensions across Black, anti-colonial, Marxist, and feminist radical traditions. Among them, Stuart Hall is indispensable for his practice of reading across traditions in the face of political revanchism, attentive to Black expressive forms that might shift the public conversation. I offer a brief excursus through Hall's method to show how his "conjuncturalism" informs how this book approaches people and places racialized Indian



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and Coloured through Black Marxist feminist critique, with a special place for critique from documentary photographers (see the prelude).

In the late 1970s, Hall fundamentally revised his understanding of racism and capitalism through the collective work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham, at a moment that Arun Kundnani aptly characterizes as Britain on the verge of neoliberalism but still actively shaped by anti-colonial Black community and labor struggles. 66 Through interaction with South African exiles, and with debates on the relationship between capitalism and apartheid, Hall arrived at a focus on "the concrete historical 'work' which racism accomplishes under specific historical conditions—as a set of economic, political and ideological practices, of a distinctive kind, concretely articulated with other practices in a social formation."67 A methodological internationalist, Hall refined his argument about South Africa alongside a critique of the British state's crisis management through the criminalization of young Black men.⁶⁸ In Britain, Hall could do what he could not do in South Africa, which was to directly understand what young people made of their own racial condition. This deepened his famous formulation that "race is . . . the modality in which class is 'lived,' the medium through which class relations are experienced, the form in which it is appropriated and 'fought through."69

In subsequent decades, Hall deepened his engagement with the final phrase, on appropriation and "fighting through," drawing from Gramsci, Benjamin, Fanon, and C. L. R. James. These would prove perfect interlocutors for neoliberal times, each thinker doggedly invested in critique in the face of political defeat. Hall's thought transformed through feminism, the Black Arts Movement, Black popular culture, the culture wars of the Thatcher years, and a new generation of Black British scholars redefining cultural studies in internationalist, feminist, and anti-essentialist ways. Hall argued that the 1990s marked "the end of the innocent notion of the essential black subject" that sought to unify multiple histories of oppression and expression on the ground of a particular Black masculine subject; Roderick Ferguson offers the corollary that Black feminist and queer art and critique made this "end of innocence" possible. ⁷²

Committed to the multiplicity of Black representation, Hall notes the importance of a political rather than anthropological conception of Blackness, one attentive to the multiplicity of forms of Black life and to the broader work they might do. This is an important shift, germane to this book. Political Blackness in Britain as in South Africa was not without its own risks, its own forms of "innocence." Perhaps the only way to hold on to the possibilities

of solidarity enabled by political Blackness is to engage the questions it prompts. In South Durban the primary questions are, What is to be made of Indian and Coloured townships composed of some people who signed up for radical Black politics but many who did not? What does this landscape propose for Black politics, including cultural politics, in a city at the confluence of the Black Atlantic and the Indian Ocean? These are questions that recur in the background of this book.

Paralleling questions concerning a political Blackness that spoke to some people who signed up for Black politics to liberate everyone, and many who did not, is the significance of feminist critique of processes of place-making and opposition, which were exceedingly masculinist. As we saw in the livelihood struggles in South Durban in the early 2000s in the previous section, male leadership routinely ignored the centrality of women's political work. As we turn to the past, we find a long history of effacement of Black women's praxis. However, historical effacement need not alter political and theoretical commitment to the centrality of gender and of Black women's praxis. What I attempt in this book is to diagnose the entry of feminist insight when it punctures specific conjunctures, as well as when it is disciplined into the margins of the dominant political imagination.

By the 2000s Hall had transformed his notion of "articulation" into a "conjuncturalism" that linked the acuities of Marxist political economy with Black expressive arts, with anti-racist, feminist, and queer critique folded in. Consider this powerful methodological statement from a piece on Black diaspora artists:

Thinking conjuncturally involves "clustering" or assembling elements into a formation. However, there is no simple unity, no single "movement" here, evolving teleologically. . . . I try to assemble . . . "moments" in their fused but contradictory dispersion. . . . By "moment" then, I mean the coming together or convergence of certain elements to constitute, for a time, a distinct discursive formation, a "conjuncture," in a Gramscian sense. This is always "a fusion of contradictory forces"; or as Althusser once put it, a "condensation of dissimilar currents, their ruptural fusion of an accumulation of contradictions" whose "unity" is necessarily over-determined.⁷³

The intellectual is now in the frame rather than observing dispassionately from on high; they think conjuncturally at the scene of representation, assembling moments that are contradictory, dispersed, and ruptural. The



"moment" here is not purely temporal, as in the primary definitions in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, as short duration, definite period, stage, turning point, or opportune point in time.⁷⁴ Rather, moments are spatiotemporal. The intellectual assembles dissimilar and contradictory moments to clear space for critique. This act is always a wager; it comes with no guarantees that representing the conjuncture in this way will be consequential, and yet it might be. This is the political hope with which the chapters that follow assemble dissimilar and contradictory elements as they come together, conserving remains for future formations of critique.

The dominant ideological means that the ANC, and the multiracial political coalition it led called the Congress Alliance, has claimed to conserve political hope has been through "nonracialism." David Everatt notes that this category has been called the movement's "unbreakable thread" even while it has remained fragile and ill defined; Raymond Suttner defends nonracialism as an anti-essentialist concept that can attend to race as social and historical, yet Suttner cannot imagine Blackness doing similar work. Victoria Collis-Buthelezi thoughtfully suggests that "non-racialism, at its best, is more indicative of a future time at which we have yet to arrive, a time in which it is possible to shed race as a category of experience or study," and that, like Christina Sharpe's "wake work," attention to the devaluation and destruction of Black lives is a necessary part of the journey to such a future.

Read through Collis-Buthelezi and Sharpe, Hall's conjuncturalism is precisely a form of "wake work" that prompts a reading of South African radical scholarship of the past while attending to the challenges posed by Black intellectual and political work today. Hall's approach questions "innocent" claims to nonracialism by Marxist social history unreflective of its whiteness, and also "innocent" claims to Africanity and coalitional Blackness that claim general admission while erecting barriers to entry. The emphasis on Blackness as a political rather than anthropological category makes it available not just to specifically racialized people but to the planet as a whole. If, as Achille Mbembe prophesies, "Blackness and race . . . [are] two sides of a single coin, two sides of a codified madness" increasingly generalized to a planetary condition, a "becoming Black of the world," what remains is the hard work of tracing the multiple itineraries through which a world for all might still take form. 78 Apartheid Remains carries this hope of Blackness, in relation to anti-colonial, Marxist, feminist, and other radical traditions, as a beacon of planetary futurity.⁷⁹

On Racial Risks and Spatial Histories

With this political aim in mind, it is possible to state axiomatically that the use of racial categories is never innocent. I do not use quotation marks around *race* as a distancing mechanism. The Blackness in Black politics referred to here is a proper noun for a political coalition paid for with intimate sacrifices. This does not exhaust all senses of Blackness, and there is nothing sacrosanct in this choice; scholars whom I respect have made other choices. While a coalitional conception of Black politics circulated in South Durban in the 1970s, I use the term anachronistically as well to refer to people who did or do not affirm it. I do so willfully for its promise of universality that we cannot do without in another century of racial imperialism. The question remains as to whether and how a nonanthropological conception of Blackness might help undo the capitalist basis of racial embodiment and territoriality through the production of induced/produced spatial difference.

There is more to be said about the specific risks that follow the racial categories in this book. Coloured in South Africa is often premised by an apology, written and spoken "so-called Coloured," but there are no apologies for "so-called Indians" also descended from oceanic migrants creolized in Africa. There are also linguistic "false friends" to be wary of, as the Indian in South Africa is not the Indian of South Asia, Fiji, or Mauritius, although people readily assume their kinship. I leave *white* uncapitalized, as the unmarked background category across a set of settler capitalisms, although it is also a transnational abstraction with its own protracted half-life. The task, as I see it, is to diagnose racial abstractions as they surface in their specificity, proclaiming their transhistoricity even as they fade, or so we might continue to hope. 81

The racial state might have hoped for neat racial separations and gradations of privilege, as in its attempts to make Indian and Coloured "buffer zones" between white and African space. Ground realities, as we will see, remained messy. Racial terms twisted and changed over time and space. "Coloured" transformed considerably across the twentieth century from marking anxieties about "mixed bloods" and "race mixture" to distinguishing Africans who were divisible into tribes from "non-whites" who were not, with implications for residence, work, and franchise; it named a "race group" under the Population Registration Act of 1950, subdivided in 1959 into Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Indian, Chinese, Other Asiatic, and Other Coloured populations, all subject to race determination tests in everyday racial statecraft; Indian and Coloured are closely intertwined categories, although this is rarely noted in scholarship or popular consciousness. ⁸³





Circulation of the Coloured category accelerated in Durban in the 1940s, after "mixed-race" tenants were expropriated and located in residentially segregated areas like Wentworth, but its ambiguities index a persisting quandary. Grant Farred argues that South African Colouredness rests on a denial of a prelapsarian moment that might enable a "retreat into a mythic precolonial innocence" and that "Coloured difference is . . . insufficiently different" for people "to conceive of themselves as anything but South African."84 This formulation speaks directly to events in Wentworth in which residents voiced an inability to affirm the breakdown of racial authentication. Living with "insufficient difference," these residents often repeat well-worn accounts of parents unable to help their child complete assignments on "Coloured culture," or they offer variations on "We weren't white enough then; we're not black enough now."85 While race trouble in Wentworth appears to confirm Farred's argument, Indians in Merebank, as elsewhere in South Africa, appear ever ready to authenticate race as "culture." Whether in overt practices of communal affiliation or in engagement with the differentiated commodity cultures of the Indian diaspora, Indianness is inexorably transnational but also, as we will see, perennially exposed to xenophobia.⁸⁶

This contrast, well after the 1991 repeal of apartheid's Group Areas Acts that marked Wentworth and Merebank as separable Coloured and Indian townships, would seem to require that this book take the form of a comparative township study, an established tradition in South Africa.87 The challenge in this form is that it risks reifying racial and spatial difference rather than explaining these differences as products of complex geographical histories. A comparative township study would typically not apprehend that Merebank's residents have access to a wider archipelago of Indian Durban, while Wentworth's residents find themselves stuck in this working-class Coloureds township. Ashwin Desai negotiates this carefully in his study of soccer as a means of attending to proximity across people racialized Indian and Coloured in Durban.88 Township studies have an uncomfortable proximity to segregated histories, despite conscious efforts to push against apartheid's archives and forms of consciousness. A productive approach shifts the frame from locality to circulation, as Mark Hunter does in an exemplary study of race and schooling across Durban.89

Apartheid Remains foregrounds the spatial histories that frame Merebank and Wentworth in counterpoint, through processes of dispossession, settlement, livelihood, planning, and struggle that link these neighborhoods to broader social forces in different and linked ways. 90 In brief, Merebank was an old village of ex-indentured Indian peasant-workers on the urban fringe,

taken apart and remade into an apartheid township. Despite a rich and multilayered history of opposition to apartheid, former activists have been able to move up and out after apartheid, some to the highest levels of political-economic power. On the other side of Duranta Road, Wentworth was created as a Coloured township to house a large number of mixed-race tenants thrown out of informal backyard tenancies in Indian homes through preapartheid waves of dispossession in the 1940s. While Wentworth men have been South Africa's preeminent industrial artisans, they have returned between jobs to a neighborhood saturated by a sense of isolation from the city around it. In the mirror of Merebank, Wentworth's introversion comes into sharp relief.

Narrating this as a tale of two townships would replicate the persisting problem shared by people racialized Indian and Coloured: that they are not generally regarded as African, even when they have lived for generations in South Africa and are committed to Black politics. Part of the reason is that the relative privilege of these intermediate race-class groups in South African society often serves to fortify their ongoing racialization and antipathy to a future shared with the Black majority.

Might the inclusion of a Black African township and its residents in this study have resolved this issue? I suggest it would not have. Instead, it may have staged an alibi that hides the difficult problem that anti-racist solidarity is never guaranteed. There is another reason that bringing a Black African township into the mix would have been inadequate. The specificity of Wentworth and Merebank is that these racial and spatial borderlands constituted a zone of experimentation in biopolitical statecraft and struggle, including in the global circulation of "social medicine" and "environmental justice." African townships, including neighboring Lamontville, were subject to brutally invasive repression rather than the kind of biopolitical concern and intervention meted out to intermediate racial groups. This is why, as we will see, a particularly opportune moment arose when a Black medical student residence for African, Indian, and Coloured students was set up in the middle of Wentworth, to became a crucible for a new, coalitional form of political Blackness (chapter 6). The political hope at the center of this book emerges from this fleeting moment of solidarity.

Bringing the Argument Together: Theory, Politics, Form

Apartheid Remains elaborates the argument that the racial-spatial fix is always an intoxicating ruse and fantasy, that in deploying biopolitical tools it creates new geographies of biopolitical struggle, and that a Black Marxist



feminist lens helps us interpret forms of praxis, both action and reflection, that survive the violence of biopolitical sovereignty.

I elaborate this argument in the palimpsestic form of this book. The palimpsest resists linear historical narrative for the accumulation of detail that weighs on the living. I reiterate that it would be a mistake to see this detail as simply empirical corroboration of a conceptual argument laid out fully here. This is not meant to be a "theory section" in the genre of positivist social science. Critical "elaboration" is the labor of diagnosing the spatial-historical conjuncture, to contribute to the collective political will necessary to abolish, and to build the new.91 If readers are drawn to theoretical arguments that bubble up at various moments in the text, for instance, on the submergence of Indian Ocean pasts (chapter 2) or on the elective affinity between racial segregation and the developmental state (chapter 3), I mean these arguments to emerge where they do, in relation to the material that prompts a particular line of thought. Relatedly, the approach to the Marxist critique of political economy I take is genealogical.⁹² Chapters bring together constellations of spacetimes to convey the recursive and ongoing violence of racial statecraft and its fantasy of a racial-spatial fix to crises. Each conjuncture transforms the urban fabric as it coheres for a period, then comes apart, leaving a trail of remains behind, well into the present.

In a strict sense, the ethnographic present in which the book begins and ends is 2008, but the remains explored here have by no means disintegrated. In addition, the conjunctures sometimes clarify Black women's praxis but often occlude it; they sometimes reveal Indian and Coloured solidarity with the Black majority and often occlude it as well; and they sometimes disclose moments in which Black feminist proletarian solidarity emerges, even when the possibility seems foreclosed. As conjunctures shift, some people return to certain remains, leaving others for future acts of critical assembly, until there is no more "wake work" to be done. 93

As we have seen in the livelihood struggles of the early 2000s, residents living in conditions of multifaceted injustice struggled to find efficacious means to represent their plight through the domains of environmental justice, contract labor, or community work. The point of departure of *Apartheid Remains* is that in the face of political intransigence, they confronted a set of limits to struggle inherited from multiple pasts.

Part 1, "Racial Palimpsest," diagnoses layered conjunctures in South Africa's twentieth century as seen through transformations in South Durban, where various people occupied and transformed a marshy commons just beyond municipal control. As denizens of an expanding city were drawn

into a segregated urban capitalism, the Durban City Council innovated forms of racial control, imagining fulfilling its fantasy image of building a white city on the Southern African Indian Ocean, and yet it pursued this vision at various moments with very thin knowledge of ground realities, instead fomenting waves of struggle over race and space.

Chapter 1, "Remains of a Camp: Biopolitical Fantasies of a 'White Man's Country,' 1902–1904," rethinks community work in Wentworth in light of late-Victorian biopolitical fantasies of gendered whiteness and racial government that arrived in the marshlands south of Durban through Anglo-Boer War concentration camps. While the camps of South Durban are forgotten in Merebank and Wentworth, the circulation of biopolitical expertise around them returns at various moments in conjunctures to come.

Chapter 2, "Settlements of Memory: Forgeries of Life in Common, 1900–1930s," turns to spatial histories of dispossession and settlement in Durban's interstices and peripheries, where Indian peasant-workers collectively refashioned selves and landscapes to forge a tradition and geography of Indian progressivism (not capitalized since its architects did not call themselves Progressives) that Indians could rely upon at various times and in various ways. In contrast, the search for Coloured pasts leads to a radically nomadic and impermanent sense of attachment, without the forms of racial-communal progressivist "uplift" that have become second nature to Durban Indians. Considered dialectically, memory conventions from Indian Merebank and Coloured Wentworth clarify the spatial basis for enduring racial differences in collective life and politics. Yet residents have come to share a repression of Indian Ocean histories of forced movement not as easily affirmed as the legacies of the Black Atlantic, with implications for their relationship to Black politics to come.

Chapter 3, "Ruinous Foundations of Progressive Segregation, 1920s—1950s," returns to city hall's intensified racial biopolitical fantasy of a white city through the forging of a contradictory space of industrialization and residential segregation. Seen through a series of commissions culminating in racial planning during World War II, the city council continued its coercive form of biopolitical government with little knowledge on the ground, a process perfectly suited to what is euphemistically called "capitalist development" through a local "developmental state" that produced the toxic landscape of South Durban, a microcosm of our poison-soaked industrial planet. When the local state began to use visual means, including the race zoning map that prefigured apartheid's spatial planning, it did so as an index, not of the power of its hegemonic vision, but rather of its protracted decay.





Chapter 4, "The Birth of Biopolitical Struggle, 1940s," revisits the violent failures of biopolitical territorialization through the insights of Black radical feminist critique also emergent in this conjuncture. The articulation of racial biopolitics and capital only sowed more suffering and strife, but this provoked new and inventive forms of what I call *biopolitical struggle* in landscapes primed for industrial transformation, like South Durban. Black working-class women were central figures in this groundswell of struggle, as they continue to be after apartheid, and this sheds powerful light on the genealogy of biopolitical struggle.

Chapter 5, "The Science Fiction of Apartheid's Spatial Fix, 1948–1970s," shows how the apartheid state's attempt to engineer a science fiction reality of forced estrangement, even in its "golden years," intensified a police form of biopolitical government, but this could not overwhelm forms of conviviality central to life in Durban's peripheries and interstices. As the racial state "fixed" townships by the same measure that it "unfixed" Black people, waves of dispossession produced new spaces of perversion and conviviality, particularly in places like Wentworth and Merebank that were shaped by submerged Indian Ocean pasts. Rather than fixed Group Areas, Wentworth and Merebank were becoming dialectical townships whose denizens experienced the forgeries of racial planning powerfully, and in markedly different ways.

Part 2, "Remains of Revolution," turns to how people opposed the accumulation of contradictory remains through four distinct, overlapping moments in South Africa's revolutionary 1970s and 1980s. This was a revolution that was and was not, which is why a geographically differentiated perspective is key to its diagnosis. Residents from Wentworth and Merebank participated in trying to shatter the racial palimpsest that was the apartheid city, while still shaped by distinct spatial histories that brought them into "the Struggle" differently. Reading oppositional politics in these neighborhoods in counterpoint offers a window into a genealogy of the anti-apartheid revolution in four conjunctural moments—all of which are spatiotemporal and overlapping—the theologico-political, the insurrectionist, the urban revolutionary, and the disqualified. Different facets of the same complex period, considered as spatiotemporal and not in temporal sequence, none of these conjunctural moments is ever overcome. All of them leave remains of revolution in our contradictory time.

Chapter 6, "The Theologico-Political Moment, 1970s," turns to what is popularly called the Durban Moment, a confluence of industrial labor, student, Black Consciousness (BC), and Natal Indian Congress (NIC) activism, in a period of intense political reinvention that worked differently through Merebank and Wentworth, including through a gendered strike in the church. I

interpret what I call, after Benjamin, the *theologico-political moment* as an interconnected set of leaps of faith into the political unknown that produced a "flashing up" of the abolition of apartheid's racialization of personhood and territoriality, as well as of a Black politics disinterested in accumulation or sovereignty and committed instead to a biopolitics of life in common. Brutally suppressed, this fleeting conjuncture leaves specific remains behind.

Chapter 7, "The Insurrectionist Moment: Armed Struggle, 1960s–1980s," turns to imagined military struggle, through a group of primarily young men from Merebank drawn into NIC and underground activity, then into exile to join the External Mission of the ANC, where they had to confront what they already knew, which is that the External Mission had not been the impetus for the revolts of the 1970s, including the Durban Moment, BC, and the Soweto Uprising. The irony is that just as apartheid statecraft proceeded with very limited knowledge about ground realities, the External Mission operated with a conception of revolution by remote control with very limited understanding of struggles in South Africa. Merebank activists could work with these limitations in unique ways, as they had forged a web of underground and aboveground activity linking the township to networks in exile. As the movement was increasingly infiltrated by the apartheid security apparatus, the moment of insurrection felt the strains of a particular vision of armed struggle, but the Merebank activists imagined a new moment of interconnection of political and military action to come.

Chapter 8, "The Moment of Urban Revolution, 1980s," focuses on attempts by a small vanguard primarily of Indian men who sought to bring together the communitarianism of the first moment and the militancy of the second in a concerted strategy of urban revolution. Internal critics of this moment, particularly from feminist and workerist perspectives, saw the limits of this vanguardism, and yet it continued to engage the intricate web of political activism that took hold in Merebank. As this moment drew on the remains of BC communitarianism, it drew biopolitical tools into urban struggle through the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliates, also in Wentworth and Merebank. This civic biopolitics held the possibility of popular determination of urban government, a project left by the wayside as other imperatives took center stage, as some movement leadership began negotiating with fractions of capital and the state, and as others staged the External Mission's most daring possibility of insurrectionism in what was called Operation Vula. Merebank was drawn into these dynamics in key ways.

In contrast, chapter 9, "The Moment of the Disqualified, 1980s–2000s," turns to a unique underground cell from Wentworth excluded from the



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expertise of revolution and drawn into other kinds of militancy, most significantly through spectacular acts of sabotage, including a car bombing, after which these activists could never completely transition from "terrorist" to "struggle hero." I read this cell alongside others from their milieu, including Black documentary photographers who tried to shoot back in other ways at apartheid's end. I argue that both forms of praxis reflect "the moment of the disqualified" for their direct engagement with the relation among Blackness, negation, and revolution. Both the saboteurs and the photographers engaged psychic wounds of racial capitalism in a way that neither the Congress nor BC activists quite did. Relatedly, both engage enduring questions about the racial ontologization of territory and personhood. In this sense, their praxis is key to reckoning with the actual negation of apartheid's remains. I conclude with the first decade of the twenty-first century in Wentworth and Merebank, and the emergence of environmental struggle as another attempt to bring into the domain of political consciousness something "disqualified" by both the state and its revolutionary opposition, now sublated (both canceled and preserved) in the state of the 2000s. As Jane's demand at the beginning of this introduction demonstrates, actual environmental justice remains a form of disqualified knowledge as well.

Apartheid Remains begins and ends with the palimpsestic thinkers central to this book, documentary photographers whose critical view through the lens and darkroom allows us to think beyond the damaged political discourse of the recent past. Palimpsestic artisans in their own right, these photographers have been central interlocutors for their skill with representing layered pasts. Their practice is precisely about conserving political hope when the limits of struggle come into view and while new horizons of possibility seem distant. We will see this in the work of Cedric Nunn, Peter McKenzie, Jenny Gordon, and Omar Badsha. Marijke du Toit's collaboration with Gordon in their photobook Breathing Spaces and a series of exhibitions and photography workshops with youth from Wentworth, Merebank, and Lamontville are an important inspiration that this book is in conversation with as well. As with Hall's engagement with Black arts, thinking with these photographers allows us to consider what it means to assemble critique at the scene of the crime, in the wake of biopolitical struggle, to imagine the forms that new struggles might yet take. By this book's end, I elaborate on why it is important to read this photographic work as part of a blues tradition that links the traditions of the Black Atlantic to the submerged legacies of the Indian Ocean. On Durban's shores, this audiovisual blues tradition points to other pasts still palpably present, other futures waiting to emerge.



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INTRODUCTION. DETRITUS IN DURBAN, 2002-2008

Epigraph: Gilmore, "Forgotten Places," 35-36.

- I use pseudonyms if I can discern any potential negative consequences from information I present. I do not cite interlocutors, dates, or locations to protect subjects or because some conversations were across multiple dates during ethnographic fieldwork. Any quotation in this book that does not have a citation in the notes is from my interview recordings, currently in my possession. I sometimes use actual first names so that people might see themselves in the text, without making their full names searchable through the index. I usually use first names for people I interviewed or know personally and last names for people I did not interview or when, for reasons of respect, I would not call them by their first name. These are imperfect decisions. A full list of the people I was fortunate to interview is in the bibliography. Some of these are partial names, because that is the name I was given. Most interviews were conducted between 2002 and 2008 across South African cities.
- 2 Coloured and Indian are South African racial categories, which means their use is never innocent. See the section in this introduction "On Racial Risks and Spatial Histories" for more on these terms and also on the anti-racist political term Black.
- 3 In the context of depreciation of the South African rand compounded by a currency crisis in early 2001, I use 2007 exchange rates, similar to those in 1998–2000, when the census data were being collected.
- 4 Wentworth's annual household incomes were between \$3,000 and \$14,000; Merebank's were in the next range, up to \$23,000. Statistics South Africa, Census, 2001.
- 5 Statistics South Africa, Census, 2001. I accessed digital data on CD-ROMS, not published print or online digital versions.
- 6 On Durban, see Pattman and Khan, *Undressing Durban*. KwaZulu, literally "place of the Zulus," was given quasi-independence by the apartheid state from 1972 until 1994.



- 7 Gilmore's crisp formulation in "Fatal Couplings": "Racism, specifically, is the state-sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death" (16).
- 8 Undated recording from early 2003 meeting at Austerville Community Centre, Wentworth.
- 9 W. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 249.
- 10 Fanon, Wretched of the Earth, 39. Garner's phrase was picked up by many Black people subject to US police violence and became a slogan of Black Lives Matter movements.
- 11 Chari, "Post-Apartheid Livelihood Struggles"; Chari, "Detritus in Durban."
- 12 Tony Carnie, "The Poison in Our Air"; Wright, "Living and Dying."
- 13 T. G. Robins et al., "Respiratory Health."
- 14 Wiley, Root, and Peek, "Contesting."
- 15 Peek, "Doublespeak in Durban."
- 16 Desai, We Are the Poors.
- 17 Pithouse, "Solidarity, Co-optation and Assimilation"; Comaroff, "Beyond Bare Life"; Chance, *Living Politics*; Figlan et al., *Living Learning*.
- 18 Care work beyond the household is a well-studied topic; in geography, see K. Mitchell, Marston, and Katz, *Life's Work*; on dignity, Richard Pithouse, "Hit the Tire," and Vincent Lloyed, *Black Dignity*.
- 19 Philip clarifies that South African cooperatives have been largely producer cooperatives, as in Wentworth, but that about 40 percent were unviable for reasons of low skill levels (particularly in financial management), an oversupply of labor, limited markets, and "an expectation of a high level of direct democracy and worker control" without consensus about collective practice or the mandate of elected management, leading to ongoing conflict. Philip, *Co-operatives in South Africa*, 19–23.
- 20 Pithouse, "Politics of the Poor"; Pithouse, "Our Struggle"; Pithouse, "Struggle Is a School"; Chance, Living Politics; Von Schnitzler, Democracy's Infrastructure.
- 21 Hart, "The Provocations of Neoliberalism," 680; Makhulu, Making Freedom, xv.
- 22 S. Hassim, Women's Organizations; Jayawardena, Feminism and Nationalism.
- 23 Farred, "Not-Yet Counterpartisan," 589-94.
- 24 Samera Esmeir, "The Palestinians and the Struggle."
- 25 This is not to say that this is how Gilmore arrived at her formulation. Gilmore, *Abolition Geography*, 252–54. Epigraphs to this section: Harvey, *Justice*, 295; Gilmore, *Golden Gulag*, 26–27.
- 26 In his 1881 letters to Vera Zasulich, Marx recasts his method as explicitly multitemporal and open to the possibility that the Russian rural commune, the *obschina*, might be shorn of its inegalitarian (in particular, patriarchal) elements to help shape a communism of the future. See Marx, "Drafts"; see also K. Anderson, *Marx at the Margins*; Tomba, *Marx's Temporalities*.
- 27 Harvey, "Dialectics of Spacetime."
- 28 Lefebvre, Production of Space, 372-74, 395-97.
- 29 For a generous reading of Lefebvre, see Kipfer et al., "Globalizing Lefebvre?"



- 30 Harvey, Justice, 295.
- 31 Harvey, Justice, 295-96.
- 32 Harvey, Justice, 296.
- 33 An important exception is Harvey, Paris, Capital of Modernity.
- 34 Gilmore, Geographies of Racial Capitalism.
- 35 C. Robinson, Forgeries of Memory, xiii-xvi.
- 36 C. Robinson, Forgeries of Memory.
- 37 W. Benjamin, "Hashish in Marseilles," 673-79.
- 38 Gilmore, Golden Gulag.
- 39 Swanson, "Sanitation Syndrome"; Foucault, "Society Must Be Defended." Epigraphs to this section: Marx, Capital, 325, with thanks to Arvind Narrain for pointing me to this passage; Foucault, History of Sexuality, 140–41.
- 40 There are now several important books doing this work, including Dubow, *Commonwealth of Knowledge*; Beinart, *Rise of Conservation*; and McCulloch, *Asbestos Blues*.
- 41 Foucault, *Birth of Biopolitics*, 317; Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*; Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 138–45; Foucault, "Society Must Be Defended"; Stoler, *Race*.
- 42 Foucault, Security, Territory, Population, 10.
- 43 Lake and Reynolds, Drawing the Global Colour Line; Stoler, "Racial Histories."
- 44 Sunder Rajan, Biocapital.
- 45 Chari, "Blues."
- 46 Wolin, Wind, 289-90, 317-49; Chari, "State Racism"; Chari, "Blues."
- 47 Breckenridge, "Biometric Obsession"; Breckenridge, "Progressivism Unleashed"; Breckenridge, *Biometric State*, 206–7.
- 48 Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*; McGerr, *Fierce Discontent*; Breckenridge, "Progressivism Unleashed," 9–10.
- 49 Breckenridge, "Progressivism Unleashed," 10.
- 50 Breckenridge, "Progressivism Unleashed."
- 51 Berry, No Condition Is Permanent, 22-42.
- 52 Stoler, *Race*; W. Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*; Breckenridge, *Biometric State*; MacDonald, "Durban-Bound."
- 53 Stoler, Race; Stoler, Carnal Knowledge.
- 54 Lake and Reynolds, Drawing the Global Colour Line.
- 55 Matthew Hannah, in *Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory*, proposes that biopolitical governmentality entails the mastery of territory and the ability to generate and use comprehensive statistical information about people and resources with popular consent; and that the latter, in turn, presumes techniques of observation and means of communication, the ability to differentiate populations and resources, and the centralization of regulation and enforcement of governmental knowledge. In much of the postcolonial world, if not everywhere, this is a tall order.
- 56 See Rabinow and Rose, "Biopower Today," on differentiating expert knowledge, intervention, and subjectivation; Breckenridge, *Biometric State*, on



- disaggregating the tools of biopolitics; and Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, for demonstrating why these differences matter in the different domains of "social politics," urban planning, public health, or rural reconstruction.
- 57 Mbembe, "Necropolitics"; Mbembe, Necropolitics.
- 58 Comaroff, "Beyond Bare Life"; S. Robins, "From 'Rights' to 'Ritual'"; Fassin, When Bodies Remember; Pithouse, "Solidarity, Co-optation and Assimilation"; Pithouse, Writing the Decline; Hart, "Provocations of Neoliberalism"; Hart, Rethinking the South African Crisis; Gibson, "What Happened."
- 59 Foucault, "Society Must Be Defended"; Fassin, When Bodies Remember, 49.
- 60 Petryna, *Life Exposed*; McCulloch, *Asbestos Blues*; Klawiter, *Biopolitics of Breast Cancer*; Gould, *Moving Politics*.
- 61 Taylor, How We Get Free.
- 62 Key works on the geography of segregation include Swanson, "Sanitation Syndrome"; J. Robinson, *Power of Apartheid*; Parnell, "Creating Racial Privilege"; and Western, *Outcast Cape Town*. On instabilities of labor control, see Breckenridge, "Verwoerd's Bureau of Proof," and MacDonald, "Durban-Bound."
- 63 Key works on the political economy of transition that inform this book include Fine and Rustomjee, *Political Economy*; Padayachee and van Niekerk, *Shadow* of Liberation; Marais, South Africa; Bond, Elite Transition; Hart, Disabling Globalization; Padayachee, Development Decade?; and Von Holdt, Transition from Below. On activism, some key texts that inform this one include Barchiesi, "Classes, Multitudes" and Precarious Liberation; Desai, We Are the Poors; Gibson, Challenging Hegemony and Fanonian Practices; Pithouse, "Solidarity, Co-optation and Assimilation"; and Ballard, Habib, and Valodia, Voices of Protest. On urbanism, some key texts that inform the analysis here include Freund and Padayachee, (D)urban Vortex; S. Nuttall and Mbembe, Johannesburg; Simone, For the City Yet to Come; J. Robinson, "(Im)mobilizing Space"; Pieterse and Simone, Rogue Urbanism; Parnell and Mabin, "Rethinking Urban South Africa"; Mabin, "Comprehensive Segregation" and "Labour, Capital, Class Struggle"; Maharaj, "Apartheid, Urban Segregation" and "The Local State and Residential Segregation"; and Pieterse and Parnell, Africa's Urban Revolution. Key texts on agrarian change that inform this study include Bundy, Rise and Fall; Beinart, Delius, and Trapido, Putting Plough to the Ground; Van Onselen, Seed Is Mine; Walker, Women and Resistance; Ntsebeza and Hall, Land Question; Ntsebeza, Democracy Compromised; A. Du Toit and Neves, "Rural Livelihoods"; and a large body of work from the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies at the University of the Western Cape.
- 64 Marais, South Africa. Texts that have taken on this charge include Hunter, Love; Hunter, Race for Education; Mosoetsa, Eating from One Pot; Skinner, "Struggle for the Streets"; Skinner and Dobson, Working in Warwick; Gibbs, Mandela's Kinsmen; Samson, "Not Just Recycling," "Trashing Solidarity," and "Whose Frontier"; Veriava, "South African Diagram"; Veriava and Naidoo, "Predicaments"; Sparks, "Apartheid Modern"; Sheik, "Customs in Common"

- and "Entangled Patriarchies"; Badassy, "'Is Lying a Coolie's Religion?"; and Reynolds, Fine, and van Niekerk, *Race, Class.* On memory, heritage, and the cultural politics of the aftermath, see S. Nuttall, *Entanglement*, "Upsurge," and "Afterword: The Shock of the New Old"; S. Nuttall and Coetzee, *Negotiating the Past*; and Hamilton et al., *Reconfiguring the Archive*.
- 65 T. Sithole, Black Register; Farred, "Where Does the Rainbow Nation End?"; Farred, "Black Intellectual's Work"; Farred, Martin Heidegger; Gqola, What Is Slavery to Me?; Gqola, Renegade Called Simphiwe; Baderoon, Regarding Muslims. Other works in this vein, with important differences among them, include Mangcu, Biko, "Liberating Race from Apartheid," and Colour of Our Future; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Coloniality of Power and Empire; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Ndlovu, Decolonization; Collis-Buthelezi, "Case for Black Studies" and "Requiem"; Modisane, Collis-Buthelezi, and Ouma, "Introduction: Black Studies, South Africa, and the Mythology of Mandela"; Veriava and Naidoo, "Remembering Biko"; L.-A. Naidoo, "Role of Radical Pedagogy"; Pillay, "Problem of Colonialism"; and Mellet, Lie of 1652.
- 66 S. Hall, Selected Writings on Race; S. Hall, Selected Writings on Marxism; Kundnani, "What Is Racial Capitalism?"; Kundnani, What Is Antiracism?
- 67 S. Hall, "Race, Articulation," 234-36.
- 68 S. Hall et al., Policing the Crisis.
- 69 S. Hall, "Race, Articulation," 239. There are strong echoes in this fight on the terrain of consciousness with the work of E. P. Thompson; see E. Thompson, "Eighteenth-Century English Society."
- 70 James, *History of Pan-African Revolt*, 24–25, 77; James, *Black Jacobins*; James, "Haitian Revolution"; Chari, "Mysterious Moves of Revolution."
- 71 Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Empire Strikes Back.
- 72 S. Hall, "New Ethnicities," 165; Ferguson, "Lateral Moves."
- 73 S. Hall, "Black Diaspora Artists," 3.
- 74 Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "moment," accessed July 31, 2012, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/120997.
- 75 Everatt, *Origins of Non-racialism*; Frederikse, *Unbreakable Thread*; Suttner, "Understanding Non-racialism."
- 76 Collis-Buthelezi, "Case for Black Studies," 8; Sharpe, "Black Studies."
- 77 Mangcu, "Liberating Race from Apartheid"; Collis-Buthelezi, "Case for Black Studies."
- 78 Mbembe, *Critique of Black Reason*, 2–6, 182–83; see also Mbembe, *Out of the Dark Night*, 41.
- 79 Glissant, Poetics of Relation; Gilroy, Black Atlantic; McKittrick, Demonic Grounds; Trouillot, Silencing the Past; and in Southern African space, in addition to all the thinkers in note 65 of this introduction, Simone, For the City Yet to Come; Mbembe, Critique of Black Reason; Mbembe, Out of the Dark Night; Vergès, Monsters and Revolutionaries; Lalu, Deaths of Hintsa; Baderoon, Regarding Muslims.
- 80 Erasmus, Race Otherwise; Levenson, Delivery as Dispossession.



- 81 C. Robinson, Forgeries of Memory.
- 82 Posel, "What's in a Name?"; Lee, Unreasonable Histories, 24.
- 83 Erasmus, "Introduction: Re-imagining Coloured Identities in Post-apartheid South Africa"; Erasmus, *Coloured by History*; Reddy, "Politics of Naming"; Adhikari, *Burdened by Race*; Adhikari, *Not White Enough*.
- 84 Farred, "Where Does the Rainbow Nation End?," 186.
- 85 For a critical treatment of this trope, which is not a quotation, see Adhikari, *Not White Enough*.
- 86 Ebrahim-Vally, Kala Pani; Vahed, "Making of Indian Identity"; Vahed, Desai, and Waetjen, Many Lives.
- 87 Bonner and Nieftagodien, *Alexandra*; Bozzoli, *Theatres of Struggle*; Desai and Vahed, *Chatsworth*; Desai, *Wentworth*; and a large body of popular writing including, from Wentworth, Lottering, *Winnifred and Agnes*.
- 88 Desai, Wentworth, 27.
- 89 Hunter, Race for Education.
- 90 For her insights on "relational comparison," see Hart, Disabling Globalization.
- 91 Chari, Gramsci at Sea, chap. 1; Gilmore, Abolition Geography, 260.
- 92 Chari, Gramsci at Sea; Chari, "Interlocking Transactions."
- 93 Steedman, *Landscape*, 144; Coronil, "Beyond Occidentalism," 81; Eley, *Forging Democracy*, ix, quoting Morris, *Dream of John Ball*, 722: "I... pondered how [people] fight and lose the battle, and the thing that they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and when it comes turns out not to be what they meant, and other [people] fight for what they meant under another name."

CHAPTER 1. REMAINS OF A CAMP

Epigraph: Hobhouse, *Brunt of the War*, 317–18.

- 1 Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 130; Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 63; Hunter, *Love*.
- 2 I am grateful to Keith Breckenridge for this insight over many years of productive debate about what he calls "power without knowledge."
- 3 On urban informality as improvisational, see Simone, For the City Yet to Come, which echoes the historical argument in Berry, No Condition Is Permanent; see also the precise arguments about African urban informality in Frederick Cooper, "Urban Space, Industrial Time," and Luise White, "A Colonial State."
- 4 On the difficulties of narrating pain, see Scarry, *Body in Pain*; and Daniel, *Charred Lullabies*.
- 5 Thanks for the company and keen insight of Richard Ballard on August 9, 2010.
- 6 B. Roberts, Those Bloody Women, 68.
- 7 B. Roberts, Those Bloody Women, 68.
- 8 I use the term *Anglo-Boer War* when I discuss texts that use this term and *South African War* when thinking from the present, with some skepticism about what it means to make the name of a war inclusive.



