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president and even ANC member. Today Malema is 'commander in chief' of the Economic Freedom Fighters party. By its constitution the EFF is a radical, left-wing, anti-capitalist, and anti-imperialist movement. Malema claims that if he comes to power he will nationalize South African wealth without compensation. In the book Forde describes his populist propaganda methods about which an academic political analyst argued that Hitler's *Mein Kampf* must have been an inspiration for. Achille Mbembe, well-known Cameroonian scholar who lives and works in South Africa characterized Malema as "an enunciation of the entanglement of black and white in South African life" (p. 232) because Malema, a 'lumpen radical' uses constantly the colour rhetoric while blaming the misery of blacks on white supremacy and the collusion of the white with the black elite. Malema is squarely against the tacit agreement between the National Party and the ANC that ensured power transformation without social transformation. Forde draws Malema's portrait of an angry, intelligent but also reckless critic of the bankrupt collaboration policies of the ANC. The book is a compulsive read. True, it is not a strictly academic product but it is full of facts which were not known before. It is a very timely analysis of the personality and ambitions of the man who compares himself to Nelson Mandela but evidently differs from him by his no-nonsense crass personal style of politics. South Africa seems to be on a crossroads between 'managed democracy' and a more authoritarian system in which the masses will be led by highly problematic wilful 'prophets' à la Malema.

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This collective work seems to be following on all-Africa scene the volume published by Macmillan in 2004 under the title *AIDS and South Africa. The Social Expression of a Pandemic*. It is a very fair evaluation of what happened and did not happen in tackling the pandemic which has been rocking Africa for some time. The subtitle indirectly pinpoints the striking time gap between the rhetoric of promises of African statesmen and stateswomen and their eventual action in order to stop or reduce the uncontrolled spreading of the virus. „Speech“ in the subtitle also means non-action or even counter-action vis-a-vis the virus. Of course, the most blatant example of the „speech“ in the latter meaning was the former South African President Thabo Mbeki's denial

of the medical substance of HIV/AIDS. Obviously HIV/AIDS is not limited to medicine and one can hardly deny that other important aspects such as wealth, awareness and standard of living influence the speed of spreading and the efficiency of medication. Having this duality in mind the editors and authors of the chapters do not make categorical statements about the origin and causes of the infection. They do not jump on any bandwagons whether it would be race, culture or ethnicity as determinants of HIV/AIDS. Rather they consider various responses to the scientific facts and what especially disturbs them is the facile harnessing of HIV/AIDS into the discourse of North-South civilizational competition.

The editors approach directly the failure of state leaderships in tackling HIV/AIDS phenomenon. Referring to Jacques Derrida who views those state policies as detrimental to the well-being of people and as hostile towards citizens. As far as policies vis-à-vis HIV/AIDS are concerned the whole of the African Union is targeted: „AU reflects all that is wrong with the executive leadership in Africa since the early 1980s“ (p. 33) as this continental political organization kept issuing declarations for 19 years but postponed or avoided action until it was too late. Therefore the management of HIV/AIDS was delayed by almost two decades. According to the editors this all equals to the denial of citizenship to Africans and in effect to the denial of the right to life enshrined in the constitutions of African states. Societal prejudices about the people infected with HIV/AIDS such as considering homosexuality as the cause or the infected as sinners is flowing out of the state's denial of citizenship.

It is evident that the question of leadership is crucial. The chapter by Judith Flick discusses what type of leadership is required to combat HIV/AIDS type of global challenge while Fatima Harrak in her chapter on Morocco replies that the leadership must be assertive: “strong and a collective political will is necessary for confronting HIV/AIDS“ (p. 81) ensured that for Morocco confronting the pandemic became a national priority. Senegal but also Uganda and Botswana had reacted adequately even though not always systematically. This was not so in South Africa where, as Shauna Mottiar documented in her chapter on antiretroviral service delivery in the country which was afflicted most by the pandemic. John-Eudes Lengwe Kunda and Keyan Tomaselli argue in their chapter about the confusing public health with militant nationalism that South Africa is an example of “disastrous national responses” to the pandemic. Besides President Mbeki the authors target the acts and non-acts of the Minister of Health, Dr Tshabalala-Msimang, who applied Mbeki's African Renaissance philosophy to ‚African solution to HIV/AIDS‘ which opposed herbal remedies to antiretroviral treatment. She used the rhetoric of Africa standing against the West, the latter being accused of trying to poison Africans. The authors argue that Mbeki's denialism is at the root of „a close tie between

political leadership and the fuelling of conspiracy theories“ (p. 117). Another case of obscurantism in dealing with HIS/AIDS is the healing method allegedly developed by President Yahya Jammeh of Gambia skillfully described and debunked by Stella Nyanzi. The President's insistence on medical expertise was shown by the author as charlatanism (she uses words such as “travesty” and “counterfeit”). The alleged healing powers of the Gambian president were actually a self-serving political device in the time when he had to re-dress his military dictatorial style of governance into a parliamentary democracy. What surprises the author and the reader alike is the lack of interest in the Gambian case shown by WHO and other international organizations dealing with the fight against AIDS and other epidemics.

One of the best chapters in the book is in my mind that on culture, behaviour and AIDS in Africa by the well-known anthropologists Paul Nchoji Nkwi and H. Russell Bernard. They begin with the fact that two-thirds of people with HIV live in Africa and ask why is it so? They mention that the causes of the epidemic are explained by myths that the West fomented AIDS and that African sexual practices facilitate the spread of HIV. The authors insist that „African sexual practices are not the major problem“ (p. 153) and that „particular sexual practices of Africans are not the major obstacle to stopping the incidence of HIV“ (p. 154). The most effective intervention has been indigenous, coming from Uganda and dubbed as ABC (Abstain, Be Faithful, Condomise) while A and B reduce the number of partners. Nkwi carried out a major research on sexual practices in Cameroon, Kenya, Malawi, Togo and Côte d'Ivoire where he spoke to 636 local experts and interviewed 4802 other respondents. The chapter discusses the practices of the use of unsterilised instruments in surgical procedures, the practice of levirate and sexual cleansing, polygyny, ritualised non-marital sex and multiple concurrent sexual partners (the latter confronted with poverty when adolescent girls are married to older men who may be infected). The authors conclude that culturally sensitive programmes should create „norms that prevent people from engaging in behaviours that carry a high risk of infection“ (p.170).

The volume does not shy away from another taboo subject, namely male homosexuality in Africa. Getnet Tadele examines the very volatile position of men who have sex with men in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. The author maintains that homosexuality occurs in about fifty African societies. However modern Africa stigmatizes homosexuality and is at least prejudiced against it, and in some cases homosexuality is criminalized with strong sanctions resulting in any deviation from the law. The author collected interviews and life histories of young men between the age of 24 and 33 years from various ethnic groups and religious denominations. Most reported worry, distress, self-stigma and also ambivalence between their homosexuality and the expectations of family and society that they are heterosexual. The result was the

desire of Ethiopian homosexuals to move overseas where their sexual preference could be practiced without obstacles.

Ademola J. Ajuwon deals with a very challenging topic of race and HIV/AIDS in Africa. He critically looks at the widespread idea that AIDS is a 'black problem'. He directly asserts that "there are no known biological reasons to explain why racial or ethnic factors alone should alter the risk for STIs or HIV" (p. 209). However race and ethnicity are deeply 'ingrained in the public discourse on HIV/AIDS' so that it is in fact a racist discourse. "Africans have yet to come to terms with the reality of HIV/AIDS on the continent" but also "continue to confront the confusion caused by the ways in which race and ethnicity are linked to HIV/AIDS" (p. 220).

Warren Parker in his chapter discusses the politics of AIDS in South Africa. He underlines that the politics of AIDS in the most influential African country is about how the epidemiological development is related to inequalities of political power. He mentions that Nelson Mandela during his presidential mandate „deferred leadership on the issue [i.e. AIDS - P.S.] to the then health minister and vice-president, namely Dr Nkosazana Zuma and Thabo Mbeki. The National AIDS Committee of South Africa (NACOSA) failed because of misdirected measures which were more politically charged than aimed at the matter. Intransigence of the powerful led to the infection and death of thousands of babies, "330 000 lives were lost as a consequence of government policy between 2000 and 2005" (p. 229). Therefore Parker concludes that "South Africa's disproportionate contribution to the global total of people living with HIV is the result in part of a distinct lack of political leadership and the ineffective mobilisation of the population" (p. 240).

The Conclusion by the editors asks where is the politically explosive relationship between AIDS and the African State going to go. The state leadership claims to care for the welfare of citizens but in reality many African leaders do not. The African Union has failed to demonstrate its capability of resolving the concerns of Africans about HIV/AIDS. The editors rightfully ask: "How long must they [Africa's inhabitants] endure this ambivalence amongst their leaders?" (p. 254) when the pandemic lasts for thirty years and the rest of the world is able to contain it.

The volume under review is a major achievement of the scholars based in Africa and a bold statement about the fiasco of South African post-apartheid authorities in handling the pandemic. If we are looking for African critical writing about Africa's most recent predicament the reviewer feels entitled to rejoice: Here it is!

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