



**A NEOCOLONIAL READING OF J.M.  
COETZEE' S *WAITING FOR THE BARBARIANS*  
AND *DISGRACE***

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## THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that in my opinion the thesis submitted by Halil İbrahim ARPA titled “A NEOCOLONIALIST READING OF *WAITING FOR THE BARBARIANS AND DISGRACE*” is fully adequate in scope and in quality as a thesis for the degree of PhD.

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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and all information included has been obtained and expounded in accordance with the academic rules and ethical policy specified by the institute. Besides, I declare that all the statements, results, materials, not original to this thesis have been cited and referenced literally.

Without being bound by a particular time, I accept all moral and legal consequences of any detection contrary to the aforementioned statement.

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**Signature :**

## FOREWORD

There has been an enormous quantity of post-colonial studies in Turkey as a master thesis or a Ph.D. dissertation. This country is not colonized. It is obvious. Yet, its geography is located both in the East and the West, no matter how little the latter is in size. Its bridge-like shape symbolizes not only the transition of thoughts between the two directions but also their preservation and even mutual contestation. Although it is thought that the theory is now in abeyance and replaced by new theories like Ecocriticism or Anthropocene studies, the premise of this study is that it has still loud echoes in our present time that is neocolonial not as a temporal phenomenon but also as a harsh reality in space, like in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, Africa or in any place invaded by imperialism as well as in many post-colonial states ruled by the old colonial modernity and engulfed by neo-liberal globalism. I hereby thank Prof. Dr. Abdul Serdar Öztürk for prompting me to choose my study freely, for his correspondence at any time I needed, and for his precious comments. I also owe thanks to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Muayad Enwiya Jajo Al-Jamani and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Harith Ismail Turki for their contributions. A special thank is to Prof. Dr. Ali Güneş for his “Literary Theory and Criticism” lecture. Mustafa Canlı was very helpful for me in case of any problem during the program. He, Zafer Ayar, and I have always exchanged ideas with whom we are the first Ph.D. students of the department. For my family, my wife and my son...

## ABSTRACT

This Ph.D. dissertation tackles neocolonialism, its recent discourses harking back to Enlightenment philosophy, and its relation to J. M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* and *Disgrace* novels. As a man of physical and mental exile, it is difficult to label him South African, Afrikaner, or Australian. Written fourteen years before the end of apartheid, *Waiting for the Barbarians* presents Coetzee's views on imperial states' ontology and ideology based on extending the lifespan of the empire. For him, the invented and mythicized barbarians who are the means for political gains would never come. Although Coetzee opposes this barbaric tyranny with his literature, the same barbarians come to *Disgrace* written five years after the apartheid and invade South Africa. Based upon this paradox, the study examines whether Coetzee's narration of the country in *Disgrace* as a failed state has a connection to linear teleology or dialectical metaphysics. For the analysis, neocolonialism is redefined by drawing on post-structuralist and materialist stances in postcolonial theory. On the contrary to the mainstream presuppositions, neocolonialism is read as a global condition rather than a post-colonial problem. Neo-liberalism as its economic leg and democratic development as its epistemological leg causing dependency complex and self-orientalism again are examined to analyze its hegemony discursively. The dominator force is not excluded to understand the imperial aggression of modern democracies. Instead of global cultural exchange, the dissertation puts forward the poor dialogue between the West and the rest while analyzing the novels.

**Keywords:** Coetzee, Neocolonialism, Teleology, Dialectics, *Disgrace*, *Waiting for the Barbarians*.

## ÖZ

Bu doktora tezi neokolonyalizmi, kökeni Aydınlanma felsefesinde olan güncel söylemlerini ve J. M. Coetzee'nin *Utanç* ve *Barbarları Beklerken* romanlarıyla olan bağlantısını tartışır. Bir sürgün edebiyatçı olarak, onu Güney Afrikalı, Afrikaner ya da Avustralyalı diye adlandırmak zordur. Apartayt rejiminin bitmesinden on dört yıl önce yazılan *Barbarları Beklerken*, Coetzee'nin emperyal devletlerin ontolojisi ve daha uzun yaşamak adına kurgulanan ideolojisi üzerine düşüncelerini ortaya koyar. Ona göre, politik amaçlar için imal edilen ve mitleştirilen barbarlar hiçbir zaman gelmeyecektir. Coetzee bu zorbalığı asıl barbarlık olarak görse de, aynı barbarlar apartayt rejiminin bitişinden beş yıl sonra yazılan *Utanç* romanında geri gelecektir. Bu çelişki üzerine bina edilen tez, Coetzee'nin *Utanç* romanındaki başarısız devlet Güney Afrika anlatısının doğrusal erekselcilik ya da diyalektik metafizikle bağlantısının olup olmadığını inceler. Tezin analizinde, neokolonyalizm postkolonyal teorideki post-yapısalcı ve materyalistlerin görüşlerinden yararlanılarak yeniden tanımlanmıştır. Yaygın kanının aksine, neokolonyalizm bir post-kolonyal problem olarak değil küresel bir durum olarak ele alınmıştır. Hegemonyanın söylemsel analizi için, ekonomik ayak olarak neo-liberalizm; epistemolojik ayak olarak da kendine-şarkiyatçılığa ve bağımlılık kompleksine tekrar neden olan ilerlemeci demokrasi incelenmiştir. Bugünün modern demokrasilerinin emperyal agresyonunu anlamak için domine edici gücü ise hariç tutulmamıştır. Küresel kültürel etkileşim yerine, bu tez Batı ve ötekileri arasındaki zayıf diyalogu romanlar üzerinden ortaya koyar.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Coetzee, Neokolonyalizm, Erekselcilik, Diyalektik, *Utanç*, *Barbarları Beklerken*.



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## ARŞİV KAYIT BİLGİLERİ (in Turkish)

<b>Tezin Adı</b>	J. M. Coetzee' nin <i>Barbarları Beklerken</i> ve <i>Utanç</i> Romanlarının Neokolonyal Okuması
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## ABBREVIATIONS

**Abbreviation 1:** AWB: Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Resistance Movement)

**Abbreviation 2:** TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

**Abbreviation 3:** ANC: African National Congress Party

**Abbreviation 4:** NP: National Party

**Abbreviation 5:** EFF: Economic Freedom Fighters

**Abbreviation 6:** W: *Waiting for the Barbarians*

**Abbreviation 7:** D: *Disgrace*

## **INTRODUCTION: INTERNAL/EXTERNAL NEOCOLONIALISM**

“Long live difference! Down with essentialist binaries!” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 138).

As the epigraph foresees, postcolonialism experiences new matters to argue in the last decades of the twenty-first century. Historically colonization and decolonization come to an end. Because the actual enemy recedes from the battlefield, national liberation movements finish, except Israeli neocolonialism in Palestine. The interests in postcolonialism are rerouted. Now, the post-colonial nation-states are on target. Postcolonial criticism has always been hospitable to other disciplines (philosophy, sociology, history, psychology, linguistics, anthropology, and art) and their theories. From the early years, it has always challenged discourses of these fields while drawing on them. Now, postcolonialism confronts challenges like globalism, cosmopolitanism, postmodernism, and neocolonialism. The last-mentioned of these is the most controversial. The colonialism-post-colonialism-neo-colonialism trio symbolizes the story of failure after independence for linear and dialectical Western historiography. The post-colonial states either fail to construct a liberal bourgeois democracy or to found a socialist state. Neocolonialism is held as a new period, but it is a condition with its shadow and legacy over the present. The openness of postcolonial theory helps redefine neocolonialism along with the philosophy of history in this dissertation. Because history is one of the key determinants in the field, this study attempts to suggest how discussions over *past* and *post* in postcolonial theory affect the way neocolonialism is described. It is either compressed within the present internal binarism in post-colonial states by culturalist and post-structural readings or within the continuation of exploitation by materialist angle. Even if they unite in their criticism against the black elite, the latter fails to evade the Eurocentric idea of progress, while hybrid formulations of the former undermine the hegemony of the monologue dominated by discourses like multi-culturalism, globalism, and democracy. This culture of postmodern capitalism produces consents and brings about a self-orientalisation and a re-dependency complex. New lexicons are manufactured to dominate the human psyche in post-colonial countries. The discourse of failed states is an updated version of *second barbarism* used against the decolonization struggle.

The legacy of colonialism is the basis to define internal and external power relations. By and large, the criticism of the postcolonial theory is that the new power mimics the old; therefore, binarism cannot be destroyed in post-colonial states. However, the legacy does not only hover over them but also over modern liberal democracies that create new barbarians and raise new walls. For this reason, neocolonialism is not just the problem of post-colonial states, but it is also a global condition. In this respect, epistemic, material, and physical violence in and against these states are coterminous rather than sequential. To avoid Eurocentric devolutionist discourse, rise and fall do not construct a Manichean relation but a co-existence within the analytical framework of this dissertation as J. M. Coetzee's *Disgrace* and *Waiting for the Barbarians* are scrutinized. The hyphen in both neo-colonialism and post-colonialism is used to describe progressive historiography that commenced with the Age of Enlightenment. It is avoided when the two concepts are presented as a theory.

Studying neocolonialism may echo “pushing against an open door” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 138), but this dissertation does not try to battle against old foes or their shadows. Instead, by concentrating on neocolonialism –not just as a legacy but as resistance against “today’s real enemy” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 137) with its old and new modes of domination– it tries to widen the scope of the theories within postcolonialism. Neo-liberal globalization is the newest method to control the world instead of discipline by regressing domination but not by forgetting it. Instead of the idea of civilizational progress during colonization, epistemological domination is produced by developmentalism discourse now: structural reform is needed for developing and underdeveloped countries to prosper. While these reforms are said to be established for democracy and celebrated globally, the formula is for prompting foreign capital and saving its security with legal warranty. Simulacra of mighty meta-narratives conceal structural capitalism. Those who reject the new order, on the other hand, are bound to confront the old mode. They are disciplined by military invasions instead of control. The irony of neo-liberalism commences with its birth when the president of Chile Salvador Allende is ousted by a coup d’Etat backed by the United States.

In the post-colonial states, the colonialization of minds and exploitation of the economy continue. Imperialism, on the other hand, does not build colonies anymore; it rather constructs global networks for an indirect rule. If it does not succeed, domination is the last but not the least option it resorts to. Then, imperialism invades for the sake of 'free world' and of 'democracy' which are the leading arguments of cultural hegemony. The civilization discourse is replaced by democracy, which has become the equivalent of development since neo-liberalism induced post-colonial nation-states for open-gate diplomacy for four decades. Multi-national companies seek low-cost country sourcing. The governments grant lands sometimes for free, sometimes for low prices, and carry out infrastructural reforms by foreign debts and credits to transport products of the foreign companies as fast as possible. To make the internal market less competitive, the state privatizes its assets. For hot-flow foreign capital, high-interest rates are provided. To secure the capital and the products, structural democratic reforms are made which have a symbiotic relation to neo-liberalism of which the first and essential term is a constitutional guarantee. Development becomes the route within the linear history before post-colonial states, and it bounces back to the dependency complex. Democracy replaces civilization, but it is reduced to economical concerns. The gates are disclosed globally, but this does not create a cosmopolitan world, and the states are democratized, yet still not bringing about peace. While it is assumed that the strict rationality of modernity is replaced by multiculturalism, hybridity, and cosmopolitanism globally, neither hierarchy among the states nor international class division dies.

Instead of essentializing a depoliticized present or presenting a political future, this dissertation draws on the post-structuralist and materialist wings in postcolonial theory alike to redefine neocolonialism with the aid of the philosophy of history. It supports revealing how Enlightenment discourses survive under new masks. Because neocolonialism is not a condition confined to post-colonial states, modern democracies are not excused due to their imperial aggression legated by the colonialism of which the civilization mask is replaced by globalism after postmodern late capitalism. With the political economy of neo-liberalism and discursive continuity of the Enlightenment, the study presents a new reading against reductionist analyses. As well

as cultural and economic domination, epistemic violence is discussed. Academic hegemony is not excluded. Eurocentrism in defining unilateral neocolonialism by materialist and post-structuralist legs in postcolonial theory is criticized. The argument for second barbarism and failed dialectics may miss the imperial barbarism of modern democracies. In this respect, this study shuns any essentialist perspective and does not employ neocolonialism as a scapegoat terminology. It does not also present an Afropessimism by undermining the agency of people. Not to legitimize its own arguments, the dissertation is just after a detailed and fair analysis. Against the discourse of kleptocracy, it handles rise and fall not as a dichotomy but as a co-existence.

The paradigm shift in the new epistemology of the West overshadows the colonial project and its legitimization. During colonialism, it is believed that it is necessary for the colonized to be civilized because they are backward. Now, it is believed that neo-liberalism is indispensable because they are underdeveloped:

Since the restructuring of the world economic system with the Bretton Woods Agreement after the Second World War on broadly Keynesian principles, the western world has seen a succession of economic theories come and go, and these have usually been exported to other countries operating outside the former Soviet sphere of influence. The keystone has always been the concept of ‘development’, which is a way of describing the assumed necessity of incorporating the rest of the world into the realm of modernity, that is, the western economic system, in which capitalism produces progressive economic growth (Young, 2016, p. 49).

Neo-liberalism is not without its own signification to universalize its ideology. Multi-culturalism, open gate diplomacy, globalism, and development are all used to consolidate people to desire their own repression. Fanonian inferiority complex towards Western civilization is now replaced by dependency complex towards development. Once again, post-colonial states stand face to face with the idea of linear progress. This time, cultural anthropology is displaced by the hierarchy in economic development. In addition to the remnants of inferiority and superiority complexes arguing that ‘the West is developed and we are underdeveloped’ or ‘they are underdeveloped because they are backward’, modern democracy in the line of the history of humankind constitutes a re-dependency complex. It is not “turn white or disappear” (Fanon, 2008, p. 75) anymore but ‘turn democracy or stay in tyranny’. It is not a natural phenomenon but a discourse colonizing minds. Liberal discourses such as

freedom of speech, of belief, of sex, and of state's law or regulations are not independent of liberalism in the market. Without the global free market, democracy does not function for the new universalized belief. To make 'Third World' people wear these masks, new sign systems operate by signifying the underdeveloped country with signs backed by loud mainstream media. The signifiers represent the other undemocratic, illiberal, fundamentalist, and poor whose leaders are rich, lavish, and tyrannical. Due to "the desire to avoid scandal" (Foucault, 2001, p. 62) of unreason, the Western reason creates its 'mad' other. Its cosmetic signs hide reality under colorful and attractive makeup. The invisible signifier with its sixteen intelligence agencies and 'the Wall Street octopus' invents more and more realities:

We're an empire now, and when we act, we create our own reality. And while you're studying that reality—judiciously, as you will—we'll act again, creating other new realities, which you can study too, and that's how things will sort out. We're history's actors . . . and you, all of you, will be left to just study what we do. —Senior adviser to former President George W. Bush, as quoted in the *New York Times Magazine*, October 17, 2004 (Chomsky, 2012).

Information bombardments teach the audience how to see, think, and treat the other. Thus, support is gained not only from people inside but also from the signified people. This self-orientalisation puts people into a re-dependency complex. For this universalized reason, there is no development in the economy, the law, and the humanistic standards without Western institutions. Mimicry becomes the ideal philosophy before the post-colonial states again. Yet, this recycling is not a farce anymore as Baudrillard says because "a farce that repeats itself ends up making a history" (2010, p. 73). It turns into a simulacrum. It is no more a replica of the Western linearity but a "caricature" (Fanon, 2014, p. 119) of it. For all these reasons, neocolonialism becomes a more complex concept than postcolonialism. On the one hand, it is very hard to see this network without comprehending postcolonial theory; on the other hand, it complicates the conceptualization of neocolonialism because it is divided into two camps: materialists and post-structuralists. It is either signified as an external force going on the exploitation of post-colonial states or as an internal phenomenon by which the power replicates the binarist relations of the former colonial administration.

As well as its material reality, colonialism is a discursive problem. Along with commercial and military power, knowledge is the third premise of the 'civilizing



conception' of the West for Said. He states that "To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it" (2003, p. 32). The orient is orientalized to legitimize colonial invasion. After decolonization, such orientalism is transited to self-orientalisation. The national bourgeoisie in Muslim and Christian countries of Africa divides the continent into the north (white Africa) and the south (black Africa). Oriental discourses reemerge and racism permeates the continent. They fight for seizing the colonizer's bourgeois class (Fanon, 2004, p. 108). They fail to build the bourgeoisie phase in the linear Western history and become "an acquisitive, voracious, and ambitious petty caste, dominated by a small-time racketeer mentality, content with the dividends paid out by the former colonial power" (Fanon, 2004, p. 119). Fanon asserts that post-colonial states de-evolutionize towards colonialism. Decolonization becomes a failed dialectics.

The term neocolonialism was firstly uttered by Jean-Paul Sartre in a speech given for peace in Algeria in 1956. The usage was before the independence of Algeria and spoken to reveal how "neocolonialists think that there are some good colonists and some very wicked ones" (2001, p. 30). This new colonialism was economic and brought about an indirect rule but it did not end even after the 'new world order.' The West African francs of his former colonies, for example, continue to feed the French metropole. The first systematic analysis, nevertheless, was made by Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* published in 1961. He unveils "the mask of neocolonialism" (Fanon, 2004, p. 109). Against undermining of the race issue by orthodox Marxism, Fanon de-existentializes master-slave dialectics. The nationalism of the black elite and tribal consciousness of the chiefs after the independence constitute the neocolonial order. Neocolonialism is not free from neocolonizer who "governs indirectly both through the bourgeoisie it nurtures and the national army which is trained and supervised by its experts to transfix, immobilize and terrorize the people" (p. 119). Replication of the party organization and bourgeoisie attitudes hinders the post-colonial states to progress towards socialism because the countries are not industrialized. Then, Kwame Nkrumah uses a hyphen for his *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* published only five years after Ghana's independence from Britain. For him, neocolonialism is the next stage of imperialism:

The neo-colonialism of today represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage... The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic System and thus its political policy is directed from outside... A State in the grip of neo-colonialism is not master of its own destiny. It is this factor which makes neo-colonialism such a serious threat to world peace (1966, pp. ix-x).

Neocolonialism is, nonetheless, a two-fold phenomenon. One fold is internal and the other is external. The latter is associated with imperialism while the former is a kind of self-criticism. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon tells how Nkrumah himself is targeted by the chiefs (see p. 67). Traditional authorities play a critical role in his book because their tribal consciousness creates an alternative to the post-colonial central authority. Just like the national bourgeoisie, this reemerging feudalism centralizes power in the locality and continues the Manichean politics of colonialism. Sartre, Fanon, and Nkrumah unite in their criticism against neocolonialism. Indirect rule and economic hegemony are the common bases of their views. However, there have been more than what they all said in the 1960s and 1970s.

Edward Said concludes his *Culture and Imperialism* by revealing that “Imperialism did not end, did not suddenly become "past," once decolonization had set in motion the dismantling of the classical empires” (2004, p. 282). Since he published his book twenty-eight years ago, not much has changed. Progressive humanism is still ‘the law of the free world’ in other guises. To enforce the law, geo-strategical routes are controlled because they are not valueless to be entrusted to ‘tyrants’ and ‘dictators’. This dominator force is not without hegemony that is cultural. Its intellectuals, academy, media, and culture industry create cultural others. The cultural war is based on difference. The westerners are the savior of the free world and the Judeo-Christian civilization. This cultural authority creates the mainstream culture and those who are outside of it become the odd one out or simply the Other. Such cultural rationalism reinvents civilizational discourses of colonial empires under new masks. In this respect, we are not in the period of post-colonialism but in neocolonialism with its colonial and imperial traces. While the progressive notion of the Enlightenment leads Europe to the Reign of Terror and to National Socialism, the developmentalist discourse of liberal democracy re/presents this progression as salvation. Global exchange, however, brings the dominant Western culture and unjust development.

Instead of brutal but progressive capitalism in orthodox Marxism advocating “the country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future” (Marx, 2000, p. 453), classical Marxists like Hilferding, Bukharin and Lenin oppose the monopolization of capital and internalization of exploitation. Dependency theories, on the other hand, analyze the world after the Second World War. The dependence between center and periphery is theorized by Frank, Wallerstein, and Amin. Unequal exchange in trade causes uneven development. After Milton Freedman’s liberalism replaced Keynesian welfare society, First World-Third World relation is remodeled for a developed, developing, and underdeveloped discourse. While the exploitation of former colonies continues, a First World in Third and a Third World in the Third is created. After the labor is divided internationally, elitism is multiracialized after the free market of the Free World. Now, there are ‘black and yellow’ elites in the peripheries even if the condition of the poor has not changed since colonialism. “The continuation of modernity/coloniality under the leadership of the United States since 1945” (Mignolo, 2018, p. 107) constructs this neocolonialism that “is a direct offspring of the dominance of finance capital in the entire capitalist world, developed and underdeveloped” (Babu, 2002, p. 255). “To revamp itself to survive” (Nabudere, 2009, p. 6), capitalism is globalized by consent or by force.

The rationality, universality, and linearity of the Enlightenment reappear with a new lexicon. It is now replaced by development discourse of which the latest tenets are “good governance and empowering ordinary people” (2000, p. 143) for Rita Abrahamsen. Barbarians have to catch the West residing at the top of the ladder of history that is civilization. At the moment, Third World countries challenge very similar discourses of colonialism. In the lifespan of history, they are children and even sub-human who must evolve to catch postmodern capitalism. To develop in the economy, their states need to be modernized and democratized. At present, they are anachronistic. Neo-liberal politics is inevitable and the state must avoid regulating. The state is deindustrialized or at its best, the industries are only built for assembly or they are dependent industries using technologies of the developed countries to produce. The money, on the other hand, is dematerialized for finance capitalism. With banks and credits, the service sector strengthens while it does not produce but brings

about consumerism. Such economic discourses of neo-liberalism do not bring ‘peace or prosperity’ to the ‘Third World’ as colonialism does not provide ‘civilization’. Still, the power creates hegemonic discourses and truths in a way that the subjugated either wear the white mask consciously or get their consent manufactured. Such self-orientalisation is epistemic violence. Just as during the colonial period, knowledge is produced by the power, this time it is fabricated by its institutions:

These organisations [The United Nations Development Programme, the World Food Programme, the World Health Organisation, and the World Bank] constantly update and refine knowledge about how best to achieve development, and it is also through these myriad organisations that the decrees of development filter down from the various expert offices to the local settings in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Through these organisations knowledge about the third world becomes an active force, formulated in policy statements, implemented as rural and urban reforms, operationalised as growth strategies, and thus gradually reshaping the social world of underdevelopment (Abrahamsen, 2000, p. 21).

To make old colonized territories “client states” (Chomsky, 2007, p. 252), discourses are used to legitimize imperialistic international capitalism and to erase the colonial past. The history of the West is represented as if it has developed to its current position only due to its democratic organization. Slavery, exploitations, massacres, and tortures are excluded from this official narration.

It is believed that modern liberal democratic nation-states have a much longer life than empires. For this, the cycle of former empires needs to be breached. The irony of fate in which empires rise and fall in a repeating cycle is secularized by *raison d’Etat*. The long-term rivalry among the states in Europe is replaced by the balance of power and the ideal of the continent becomes “making Germany forget the Empire” (Foucault, 2009, p. 304). This new political project is not any more salvation of the governed. Preserving the state becomes the *noli-me-tangere*. Its preservation justifies all the actions done for the sake of it. Hence, sacrifice is inevitable. To live infinitely, the barbarian other outside Europe is colonized, exploited, killed, tortured, humiliated, and made sub-human, even an animal. Yet, it is the irony of destiny that the ‘sacrifices’ can make the civilization a barbarian as Benjamin says that “There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism” (1969, p. 256). The cyclical history reminds that. The linear history of progress is dammed by colonialism, the French Empire, the Reich, and the British Empire. Fraternity, equality, liberty, rationality, progress, and universality of the ‘civilization’

transit to the fascism of imperialism. Against the Iron Curtain, the West invents itself as a 'free world' with its free markets and liberal politics. After *raison d'Etat*, there is the Washington consensus now. But, the modern liberal democracies can immediately remember their imperial origin when a threat (migrants, fundamentalists, Iran, China, or North Korea) risks their survival. To survive 'the peace' of the order, sacrifice is unavoidable. While the walls are erected or the seas are embanked by coast guard boats to keep the migrants out of the border, the Roman Empire's 'barbarians at the gate politics' is also transformed into the empire at the gates. The castle of democracy sends troops. Strategic routes, islands, seas, and oceans are controlled by the global Empire and assisted by other modern liberal democracies to survive the 'peaceful' order emergently. The barbarism of the old empires does not die. It is concealed by creating the barbarian and by terrorizing the civilians. To democratize and liberalize themselves, the barbarian, fundamental, and terrorist other is mythicized. Then, the breach in the cycle of empires becomes ironic. The chamber of history is closed again. As the popular saying attributed to Mark Twain says "History does not repeat itself, but it does often rhymes". It is not the representation that makes a country a neocolonial, but imperial aggression makes a state neocolonial be it a post-colonial state or a modern democracy.

The West does not only invent a teleological story but also creates dialectical ethics and metaphysics based on supremacy, absoluteness, finality, synthesis, and transcendence for sovereignty. This process brings Europe from the rule under the divine body of kings or queens in the imperial and the medieval ages to the abstraction of nation and state for which freedom of subjects can be suspended for the sake of their eternal lifespan. There is no more body politics. Even if it is alleged that the almighty of kings and queens is shared among democratic institutions by check and balances, the holiness is attributed to the state and the nation. For this metaphysical understanding, this transcendence is a universal necessity for peace and order. This ideological basis legitimizes metanarratives like 'just war', 'state of exception', and 'right of intervention'. For the order of the 'free world' against dictators and tyrants, patrolling of "global police force" (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 17) becomes necessary. For Hardt and Negri, this dialectical reasoning manufactures the consent of not only

people but also the intellects of many philosophers. Accordingly, Marx asserts that “Indian society has no history at all, at least no known history. What we call its history, is but the history of the successive intruders who founded their empires on the passive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society” (Marx, 1853). Such a teleology divides the world into three of which the last two tries to catch the historical path the first has paved as if it is the destiny of the world and there is no way of escaping its end. Yet, the Third is in the First, and the First is in the Third within postmodern sovereignty:

The Third World does not really disappear in the process of unification of the world market but enters into the First, establishes itself at the heart as ghetto, shantytown, favela, always again produced and reproduced. In turn, the First World is transferred to the Third in the form of stock exchanges and banks, transnational corporations and icy skyscrapers of money and command. Economic geography and political geography both are destabilized in such a way that the boundaries among the various zones are themselves fluid and mobile. As a result, the entire world market tends to be the only coherent domain for the effective application of capitalist management and command (2000, pp. 253-254).

Nation-states are signified as anachronic. If they do not mature enough to understand the epistemology of the order, they remain vernacular. If they insist enough to be localized and close their gates, invasion becomes the last but not the least option. One way or the other, they will become the proletarian states as the “by-products of the Westernization of the world” (Toynbee, 1957, p. 201) because it is *natural*. Neocolonialism is not only a structure with its sign and power relations but also a system that is not free from the globe and imperial politics. Deconstruction of its theory does not pull down the system.

Nationalism is one of the leading causes of internal neocolonialism in post-colonial states for both post-structuralist and materialist readings. For Said, the most damaging imported ideology is nationalism. The mask of independence is firstly worn by many of the national leaders of colonized lands who save the bourgeois culture even after decolonization: “These bourgeoisies in effect have often replaced the colonial force with a new class-based and ultimately exploitative force; instead of liberation after decolonization one simply gets the old colonial structures replicated in new national terms” (1990, p. 74). Rather than resisting to capitalism and imperialism after independence, the fresh nation-states mimic modernist and Eurocentric discourses

and they are “wedded to the developmentalism of EuroAmerican modernity” (Dirlik, 1999, p. 20).

Nationalism functions in the same logic of colonizer for Fanon. This “crude empty, fragile shell” (2004, p. 97) operates as a defense mechanism against the West by importing, ironically, the unilinear historiography of the West in which the nation-state is represented as the phase to be followed by post-colonial states. By drawing on cultural, linguistic, and ethnic differences, official nationalism in the ‘Third World’ replicates modern European nationalism according to Benedict Anderson:

Nationalist leaders are thus in a position consciously to deploy civil and military educational systems modelled on official nationalism's; elections, party organizations, and cultural celebrations modelled on the popular nationalisms of nineteenth-century Europe; and the citizen-republican idea brought into the world by the Americas (2006, p. 135).

Nationalism is made, invented, or imagined (see Kedourie 1993, Kohn 1982, Hobsbawm 1992, Gellner 2008, Anderson 2006, Breuilly 1994, Bhabha 1990, Chatterjee 1993a and Chakrabarty 1992). While nation-state became a historical necessity before post-colonial states to be decolonized from slavery, torture, rape, and exploitation, it has become the main target of postcolonial theory today. Sartre asserts that “colonialism creates the patriotism of the colonized” (cited in Memmi, 2003, p. 24). This existential togetherness makes national states unavoidable after decolonization. This “anticolonial nationalism” (Chatterjee, 1993b, p. 5) is different than national movements in the West. Chatterjee asserts that if modern Western modular forms of nationalism like Benedict Anderson’s are used to define nationalism in former colonies, it will become consuming European imaginations (1993b, pp. 18-22). Then, placing the history of the ‘Third World’ countries into colonial, post-colonial, and neo-colonial trio engulfs them into the latest in which nationalism, xenophobia, dictatorship, hunger, and violence become the new signifiers for post-colonial nation-states. These current significations can easily be directed towards the West which experiences very similar problems.

The new bourgeois in former colonies, on the other hand, mimics the Western bourgeois whose materialism and hedonism are imported. Yet, the imported bourgeoisie “is already senile, having experienced neither the exuberance nor the brazen determination of youth and adolescence” (Fanon, 2004, p. 101). All it does is

replacing the places of colonizers, saving their institutions, and enriching its class. It becomes a caricature of the imitated one. Still, there are numerous versions of nationalism, and nationalism of the 'Third World' is "the *real* alternative to the postmodernist American culture" (Ahmad, 2000, p. 308) from this Marxist angle of vision. The action of neo-liberalism attracts the reaction of nationalization.

Even though it is of great significance to have national consciousness for resistance and independence in Fanonian terms, bourgeois nationalism functions like the former colonial racism by inventing its own others, be it neighbor states or different tribes, rival political parties or immigrants inside:

National consciousness is nothing but a crude, empty, fragile shell. The cracks in it explain how easy it is for young independent countries to switch back from nation to ethnic group and from state to tribe -a regression which is so terribly detrimental and prejudicial to the development of the nation and national unity (Fanon, 2004, p. 97).

While more inclusive movements such as negritude and Pan-Africanism have been discussed from America to Africa for a long time, nationalism still operates problematically in many nation-states of the world. Fanon's struggle to switch national consciousness firstly to 'a social and political consciousness inside', then to 'an international dimension' is still incomplete despite the existence of such institutions as the African Union due to nationalism and neocolonialism. On the other hand, Renan's dialectic vision for a confederation in Europe comes into existence with European Union. But, if universalism or deconstructing poles means denationalization, deleting borders, exported democracy, and multiculturalism for globalism, there appears a masked hegemony.

Greco-Roman superordinate identity of EU or Judeo-Christian coalition of America and Israel as an umbrella term takes immediately on rival civilizations. Lately, Islamic civilization is put on target and Muslims become the new wretched of the earth. In spite of confederations or unions, nationalist aggression lingers on the West as it does on post-colonial states.

Decolonization does not have to mean nationalism. It can continue even if the process seems to end. Some minds remain colonized, the economy is colonized, and some state structures are colonized. Therefore, there is always a need for decolonization towards the inside and the outside. Against the neo-bourgeois order in



former colonies, for example, Fanon advocates bridging the rift between rich and poor, which is the second imported conflict after nationalism. After independence, “the redistribution of wealth” (2005, p. 55) fails as the bourgeois black elite comes into existence.

Nationalism is not the only imported problem to post-colonial states from the West. Class division saves its place even if colonialism ends and independent countries are found because “Neo-colonialism, like colonialism, is an attempt to export the social conflicts of the capitalist countries” (Nkrumah, 1966, p. xii). While elite bourgeois exploits the welfare, racial hierarchy within the post-colonial state places others within the lowest step of the ladder. Therefore, nationalism and class division ruin post-colonial states coterminously. Yet, elitism does not operate in and for itself. It is transnational. The elites in post-colonial states and in the West have a symbiotic relation. They are the conductors of the capitalist-world system. The class division, nonetheless, does not only exist within the national borders. The competition among nation-states situates countries into a hierarchy in which few are producers and many are consumers. Within this dependent Manichean world, IMF and the World Bank have “the feel of a colonial ruler” (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 40) and global investments are only for the profit of the neocolonizers in this relation:

An investment in a mine-say in a remote region of a country-does little to assist the development of transformation, beyond the resources that it generates. It can help create a dual economy, an economy in which there are pockets of wealth. But a dual economy is not a developed economy (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 72).

At the time when globalism appeared, these definitions and arguments above for nation, nationhood, and nation-state seemed to disappear. The last thirty years of the twentieth century with the Nixon shock and the oil crisis in the 1970s, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 have all signaled what George H. W. Bush declared a “new world order” before the first Gulf War in 1990. The new global village seemed to offer borderless integration. Nevertheless, not only among the nations but also within the nation, this synthesis was a project of finance capitalism. Deindustrialization and dematerialization updated capitalism after the crisis. With offshore markets, financial imperialism collects capital in secrecy and by tax evasion, especially from elites of former colonies. Thus, the Western currency is

made stronger in exchange value. The city of London becomes a global finance market again. This neocolonialism swallows capitals instead of raw materials with the help of greedy elites escaping taxes and transparency. The United States, on the other hand, structurally exploits weaker countries with World Bank, IMF, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and Structural Adjustment Programs:

SAPs became a favoured means of disciplining postcolonial states, domesticating them and rendering them subservient to the needs of the global market. They also became a means of ensuring that postcolonial states would retain their peripheral status, neither attempting to delink themselves from the world-system nor ever imagining themselves capable of participating in it from any position of parity, let alone power (Lazarus, 2011, pp. 8-9).

While nation-states and the sense of nationhood strengthen again after 9/11, Brexit, and Trade War respectively, the new world order meets with the fuzzy logic of Asia. European cause-effect and white-black in science are replaced by fuzzy thinking. The grey world leaves bivalence back for multivalence. Mathematics is now in chaos after the butterfly effect. Although the complex dynamics of the world are unpredictable, the rise and the regression of states are also before the present time. China rises against ‘the end of history’ with its own globalism dating back to ancient ‘soft silk and smiling face’ diplomacy. Thus, democracy and capitalism are questioned because Asian powers can mount without them. The unipolar world seems melting, but capitalism retains its place as it is clearly seen from the state-capitalism of China and The Asian Tigers par excellence.

China’s belt and road initiative for win-win cooperation for common development is an old global imperialistic strategy of her strict rival. Just like former colonizers and imperialists, China wishes to modernize Africa through infrastructure this time. Even though it is represented that Chinese investments respect nature, conserve wildlife, and aid people with cultural projects; just a few factories are built while many big projects like bridges, highways (from Cairo to Cape Town), dams, railways, ports, airports, and hydropower stations are constructed throughout the continent. Chinese globalism is also geopolitics. From Shenzhen to Duisburg, the historical Silk Road is repaired for ‘trade’ in geostrategic positions. Moreover, infrastructure in disadvantaged countries is mounted to transfer raw materials, especially energy resources, to China easily and rapidly to make her industry grow more and more which produces at low prices to make markets consume its production.

This creditor imperialism uses debt-trap diplomacy promising hot-flow of money with snowballing high-interest rates. Although China tears down mosques in East Turkestan, she builds new ones in Africa. Though cataracts are removed by China Aid for fresh visions, what the disclosed eyes will probably see are the old ‘civilizing’ missions.

Infrastructure does not mean production without which the debits taken for these mega projects cannot be paid. This unsustainable growth is masked by old strategies. It is said that ‘to go fast, walk alone; to go far, walk together.’ This old saying is the same linear development doctrine of Enlightenment. ‘To catch the modern time, Africa needs to be modernized.’ The old ‘ever-developing time’ lie becomes new China’s strategy to ‘civilize’ Africa. Enlightenment and modernism come again to the continent, paradoxically from a communist country, for neocolonial profits which is exactly the same Nkrumah reveals fifty-four years before:

The result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world (1966, p. x).

Frederick Lugard’s dual mandate in colonial Nigeria reappears in Africa with China’s win-win policy. History repeats itself cyclically with new figures but with old yet credible lies. Marxian dialectics reappears again as the only choice to Africa. To move beyond imperialism, the countries of Africa need to be capitalized at first. Thus, rulers (who make themselves bourgeoisies at first hand) are convinced by this existential paradox, its economical profits, and by the belief in countries’ unavailability to solve their own problems without aid, be it philosophical or economical. Against this massive inferiority and dependency complex which are traumatic legacies of colonialism, mental enslavement needs psychological transformation. Decolonizing the episteme and the economy does not end.

The remaining part of this chapter will question cultural and epistemic neocolonialism. Eurocentrism of post-structural and materialist wings in postcolonial theory for their perspective against neocolonialism will be examined. Against their unity to define post-colonial states as kleptocracy due to devolution or failed dialectics, this reading handles neocolonialism as a global condition. With the help of the

philosophy of history, this dissertation does not read neocolonialism as a phenomenon only for post-colonial states, but for modern Western democracies too. Therefore, nationalism and class division is not only seen as the problem of post-colonial states but also as an acute contradiction in the 'First World' in which colonial aggression is saved to dominate and control the globe.

The epistemological expansion has been continuing since colonization. Culture is postmodernized. Consumerism is celebrated in the developed countries and exported to developing countries. By 'you are what you have', identities are molded. Since television and now with the Internet, the other is under mass information and advertisement bombardment. The invisible signifier behind the scene codifies the signs and the audience receives them without questioning. In political life, people are either careless or ideologized in a way that unification against such a cultural hegemony becomes impossible. Even trade unions are divided either according to professions or ideologies. By saving and creating binarism, hegemony strengthens itself. By excluding the others, it consolidates the rest who gives its power. Mass media with experts, intellectuals, and academicians manufacture the consent at such a level that the opposite ideas are immediately marginalized. A global common sense is invented. Any threat against the comfort to consume or to go on holiday means devastation of the routine. Thus, modern democracies invent these "*silent majorities*" (Virilio, 2006, p. 129, emphasis in original) who are made "*unknown soldiers of the order of speeds*" (pp. 136-7). They give the hegemony its power to secure the order because there are barbarians, terrorists, nuclear weapons of Iran or North Korea, and migrants to demolish it. Because the train of Fukuyama is under threat of 'Indians', internal police brutality or external military cruelty is done only for the sake of 'the nation's security'. In addition to goods and their signs, the subject consumes the meta-narratives and the operations made on behalf of them. An "interior colony" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p. 190) is created. Disciplinary institutions of modern democracies (home, school, factory, prison, hospital, and media) represent the sign that is defined by the 'master signifier'. The State invents desire as the mega desire machine. Hence, the subject desires what it desires. If it desires fascism, the mass follows. The subject desires his/her own repression because "We are all little colonies and it is Oedipus that

colonizes us” (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p. 265). S/he does not care about the tortures and civilian deaths caused by liberal humanist democracies at all because “we have got used to the inhuman. We have learned to tolerate the intolerable” (Hobsbawm, 1997, p. 265).

There is also an “*internal* Third World” (Jameson, 1990, p. 49) and “interior peripheries” (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p. 231) in the West. The others in the metropolises who are far from these bourgeois pleasures fear losing their jobs in the robotized workplaces due to their political views. Surviving the day and despair for tomorrow makes the hegemony stronger because it has always a crowd of unemployed to replace. The ‘underdeveloped’, on the other hand, are face to face with invasions and civil wars. They flee to survive their kids many of whom are drowned in the seas because the gates are closed to protect the Western ‘civilization’. Barbarians of colonizing ideology are again with us. There appears a certain paradox: while neo-liberalism comme(a)nds open gates, they are shut down against the immigrants.

Against neocolonial conditions in post-colonial states, the metropolitan diasporic theory focuses on new power relations after independence and the ways to subvert them to open the Third Space. In many post-colonial states, cultural resistance comes to the forefront on behalf of a national authenticity after decolonization. Such writing back naturally needs counter-discourses. Pre-colonial eras are the preeminent resource where authentic and virginal principles are believed to become a cure for colonial complications. Still, the origin is not always the safe heaven. For example, patriarchy, binarism and class distinction has existed as monumental problems prior even to colonialism. Women and the proletariat have been out of the traditional historiography. Besides, post-colonial rewriting constructs a new official history creating the new subaltern. In this respect, the present is celebrated against the claims for an authentic past and against linear or dialectical Western historiography.

A considerable number of theories in postcolonial criticism champions postmodern issues. Cosmopolitan critics assert that the postcolonial field should not be restricted to any place, time, or canon. Diana Brydon’s “glocal” (2009, p. 112) and Dorota Kolodziejczyk’s “provincialism” (2009, p. 153), Bhabha’s “vernacular

cosmopolitanism” (2000, p. 370) and Ashcroft’s “cultural possibility” (2001, p. 16) are all concepts of such cosmopolitanism. Glocalism does not transcend the division caused by religious faith, provincialism functions comparatively without depending on the metropolis, vernacular cosmopolitanism renders cultural translation an act of survival, and cultural possibility is grounded on Deleuze’s and Guattari’s rhizome philosophy which does not concentrate on roots, but on foreground present line where differences coexist together. Therefore, split, double, hybrid, and slippery identity is celebrated against binarism in post-colonial states. Their residence in Western academia discloses criticism for elitism and post-structuralist hegemony over postcolonial studies. Representing postcolonial people and speaking in the name of them run the risk of producing the second orientalism. True independence, nonetheless, means removing the white mask because “there is a big difference between a culture changing over time and a people being cut off from their culture” (Tyson, 2006, p. 423). If hybridity in culture, theory, or economy results in Western dominance (populism or liberalism in culture, Western social sciences in theory, and global capitalism in economy), it needs new subversions. The relation becomes assimilation when it is not reciprocal. From a materialist angle, the anti-imperial struggle is shadowed by such new discourses. In a way, postcolonialism is depoliticized. Along with women, ethics, and blacks, Linda Hutcheon places postcolonial subject “within the dominant culture” (1998, p. 230) whether they are all stands through margins. As well as post-structuralism, Marxism has a prominent position in the wake of postcolonialism. Gramsci’s hegemony and Samir Amin’s Eurocentrism still underlie the theory. Fanon’s, Memmi’s, and Césaire’s influential works resist transforming postcolonialism into a cultural event and “collapsing the social into the textual” (Parry, 2004, p. 4).

Anti-Western cultural resistance, nevertheless, is of pivotal position for decolonization especially for Frantz Fanon, Amílcar Cabral, and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o. Helen Tiffin asserts that “such pre-colonial cultural purity can never be fully recovered” because “post-colonial cultures are inevitably hybridised” (1987, p. 17). Jenny Sharpe, on the other hand, claims that “in the absence of a critical awareness of colonialism’s ideological effects, readings of counter-discourses can all too easily

serve an institutional function of securing the dominant narratives” (1989, p. 139). No matter how the Western discourses are subverted against the West by post-structuralist and culturalist readings, knowledge may lead to misrepresentation again. Because postcolonial criticism is mainly an academic interest, humanistic rhetoric of Social Sciences may discipline critics within its own doctrines dictating multiculturalism, globalism, decentralization, deconstruction, or hybridity as the last paradigm shift that may not fit to “cultures that are struggling to find a center and an essence for the first time” (Mitchell, 1992, p. 17).

Another epistemic violence may come from the postcolonial theory itself which deconstructs the violent epistemology of the West. Homi Bhabha presents a postcolonial contramodernity that is a (mis)translation of modernity. Its projective past is for an enunciative present that is a time-lag which “moves forward, erasing that complaint past tethered to the myth of progress, ordered in the binarisms of its cultural logic: past/present, inside/outside” (1994, p. 253). Even though it dams linear progress by hybridity, performance, or double consciousness, it reads documents of barbarism as the documents of civilization. It may well work for creole societies, but neocolonialism is a verbatim translation. This condition does not misunderstand modernity but inherits its binarism and class division. Positive mimicry brings colonized epistemology. It is a dead-end within the ideas of Enlightenment. It is a Habermasian hope for modernity.

If cosmopolitanism appears with metanarratives and universalizes them, it reminds the shiny ideals of the Enlightenment. Nomadology conserves monadology in itself. If the migrant, diasporic, indigenous or subaltern interventions cannot place at the center instead of edges, the dominance of the national or patriotic culture cannot be overwhelmed by “the hybrid conditions of intercultural exchange” (Bhabha, 2000, p. 139) because the hegemonic one with its state apparatuses conserves its priority. As an idea and a project, Bhabha’s notion of in-betweenness may be suitable for multicultural societies like the Caribbean or the U.S. In actual reality, nevertheless, the center does not accept interventions. As it is clearly seen in Charles Taylor’s placing liberalism at the center of his multiculturalism, the center has always its own standards of judgments deciding what to do with others by its *cultural* institutions from law to

politics. His choice for what is named 'Liberalism 2' (1994, p. 99) in *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* is much more about Gadamerian prejudices rather than 'fusion of horizons'. Liberal prejudice recognizes the other within its own historical and secular concepts central to the state. Dipesh Chakrabarty astutely draws attention to this centralism in colonies and margins in 'multicultural' post-colonial states:

Did European colonizers in any country ever lose any their own languages through migration? No. Often the natives did. Similarly, migrants in settler-colonial or European countries today live in fear of their children suffering this loss. Much of their local cultural activism is oriented to prevent this from happening (2008, p. xviii).

Therefore, culturalist interventions remain at the margins unless the center decides to protect the cultures of disadvantaged people and makes them include the decision-making processes on the issues they are related to. Today, the "internal colonization" (Habib, 2009, p. 739) against minorities- from African- Americans to Muslim immigrants- in the West opposes their cultural baggage that is claimed to hinder integration/assimilation to the metropolitan value-system. Provincializing Europe or America builds only limited mental miscegenation, hybridity, or polyphony between the dominant culture and diasporic cultures. On the contrary, black skin color and Muslim beard or scarf of an immigrant becomes a priori judgment of the natives because "the white man is not only The Other but also the master, whether real or imaginary" (Fanon, 2008, p. 106). Because they do not own slaves anymore, the natives believe that they are the true owner of the country and they use this discourse against immigrants instantly as they make a claim on a fair life. But, replying to far-right movements with 'American flag hijab' is paradoxical. It may represent multiculturalist discourse but it may also mean covering the mind with American liberalism and patriotism. It may turn into a 'white mask'. While the red color of the flag is fed by the blood of the globe and of indigenous people inside, responding far-right with again this U.S. patriotism is ironic. It is a success of Americanness because "The new magisterium constructs itself in the name of the Other" (Spivak, 1999, p. 7). As Western man becomes the savior who rescues eastern/southern women from the patriarchy of men during colonialism, the Western culture rescues women from the fundamentalism and the witchcraft of the East and the South.



This multicultural and postmodernist way of life is exported after it is universalized to operate globally. Instead of double consciousness, the dominant one operates as the master consciousness. They are not hybridized because the master language of the one overcodes the epistemology of the other (see Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, pp. 139-162). Despite its dominator and hegemonic past and present, the references of democracy, freedom of speech, and human rights are still applied to the West. In this way, there is cultural imperialism rather than cultural exchange. Therefore, seeing oneself from the gaze of the colonizer does not vanish. This hegemonic epistemology and dialectical ethics bring about a self-orientalisation. With its modern and liberal democracy, the white man becomes the future of the black again. In opposition to nation-states, modernity imposes liberalism, multiculturalism, decentralization, deregulation, and deindustrialization in the guise of postmodernism. Yet, “in Africa, theories of difference are relentlessly used to marginalize social groups because of their ethnicity, region, or sexual orientation (just as they do in the West!)” (Gikandi, 2001, p. 16). It is a neocolonial postmodernism using “simulacrum of pluralism” (Deane, 1990, p. 18). Besides, postmodernist diversity is also prone to grand narratives while parodying them. Hutcheon highlights the contradiction of postmodernism:

To challenge a dominant ideology, it recognizes, is itself another ideology. To claim that questioning is a value in itself is ideological: it is done in the name of its own power investment in institutional and intellectual exchanges within academic and critical discourse (1998, p. 224).

These words can easily suit postcolonialism. Such ideologic power brings the problem of exportation and re-representation. Talking in the name of the other creates another epistemic violence. After multiculturalism, it is expected to emerge infinite signifiers who can represent themselves. Instead, this global culturalism becomes a metanarrative talking on behalf of, for example, Maoris, Aborigines, Afro-Americans, Latin-Americans, refugees, and immigrants. Such collectivism tries to construct a national identity, common culture, and patriotism inside. Multiculturalism becomes formative, not expressive. However, “our ethnic identities are crucial to our subjective sense of who we are” (Hall, 2005, p. 448). Homogeneity prevents authenticity, even if it is a myth for some critics like Tiffin and Bhabha. Parry, on the other hand, claims that hybridity and cosmopolitanism are bound to mutability, not to mutuality:

European culture is undeniably 'hybrid', as are all cultures, and certainly metropolitan societies were multiply inflected by traffic with the colonial worlds. But this infiltration of influences should not be represented as a conversation with other cultural forms and cognitive traditions, a phrase that should properly be retained for reciprocal communications (2004, p. 8).

In this respect, postcolonialism runs the risk of becoming a global theory to be exported for neo-liberal politics like multiculturalism. Anti-colonialist spirit is overshadowed by postmodernist discourses:

By deploying categories such as hybridity, mimicry, ambivalence or James Clifford's 'newly, traditionally'- all of which laced colonised into colonising cultures- postcolonialism effectively became a reconciliatory rather than a critical, anti-colonialist category (During, 1998, p. 31).

Then, postcolonialism may be absorbed by "Taylor's advocacy of studying the other for comparative purposes as another form of imperialism or Orientalism: one that reinscribes the Western bourgeois cultural relativist as universal subject with the other serving as informant" (Seshadri-Crooks, 2000, p. 7). Multiculturalism offers a structure locating margin-center pole into a metropolitan and cosmopolitan solution. The metropole has become the ideal place while it was the former colonizer's. The dystopia of the colonized is served as the ideal immigration place now. This urbanization of cultures, nevertheless, can demolish home, center, locality, and difference of which residents become marginalized again. Such a homeless, centreless, and inauthentic postcolonial subject is driven to melancholia. An identity crisis appears. Centre becomes multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, or hybridity melting the margins in the same pot of discourse, be it political or ideological. Then, multicultural citizenship may become the reshaped nationhood re-presenting itself with patriotism.

Patriotism and citizenship may ensure immigrants a sense of belonging to their new house. The structure of this home, nevertheless, encapsulates the identity with its roof and borders. Even if the exterior paint is multi-colored, its door is locked to foreigners who are not likely to be neighbors. And hospitality can easily turn to hostility if the guest does not obey the rules of the home. Collective identity's politics of compulsion is replaced by the script of liberal politics of recognition. Charles Taylor's multiculturalism is based on dialogic authenticity. Its standards for judgments against other cultures are the presumption that all cultures are valuable, and examining them brings a society fused of horizons. But, knowing the other may transform into epistemic violence. After all, the liberal standard judging worth "has to draw the line":

Liberalism is not a possible meeting ground for all cultures, but is the political expression of one range of cultures, and quite incompatible with other ranges ... Liberalism is also a fighting creed. The hospitable variant I espouse, as well as the most rigid forms, has to draw the line (Taylor, 1994, p. 62).

Ironically, global open society policy raises the cultural walls while imposing multiculturalism. Mental independence, nevertheless, is not possible without decolonization of the psyche which is still under the impact of cultural imperialism. Culturalist formulations in postcolonial theory such as performance, dance and music may dam the progress of Western unilinearity in creole or multicultural societies but the paintings on the walls of Gaza cannot infiltrate into the other side which is grey and solid enough. Israel Defense Forces, however, “move through them” (Weizman, 2006, p. 59) thanks to the theory that is made ‘lethal’. Deleuzian and Guattarian rhizome for the cultural possibility is abused for military tactics “to disrupt Palestinian resistance on political as well as military levels through “targeted assassinations” from both air and ground” (p. 56).

Rather than the cultural exchange, “the cultural bomb” (Thiong’o, 1994, p. 3) drops on Africa. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon argued that the former immigrants visit their country as a “demigod” (2008, p. 10) by the time homecoming began. Not much has changed today. As it is depicted in many post-colonial novels, s/he is assimilated by the culture of the metropole. S/he speaks French or English rather than the mother tongue at home. S/he now believes that economic relief makes one white. The newcomer couples with white to become white. However, the rage comes to mind against the partner’s race and he revenges by sexual intercourse with her. While s/he feels like the white, s/he becomes black again after the return. The color and the appearance (scarf, beard, or anything symbolizing the rest) come before his/her individuality. Liberal democracy as ‘the end of ideology’ could not solve any of these legated problems. The breaching of the cycle is an illusion. Such colonial attitudes remain because postmodern capitalism exports the Western way of life. In a way, “The implication is that it is in human nature; and further, that all history has been moving toward American culture as its apotheosis” (Jameson, 1998, p. 63). After all, “one listens to reggae, watches a Western, eats McDonald’s food for lunch and local cuisine for dinner, wears a Paris perfume in Tokyo and ‘retro’ clothes in Hong Kong”

(Lyotard, 1984, p. 76). In Africa, on the other hand, there is “the culture of silence and fear” (Thiong’o, 1986, p. 15). Instead of hybridity, there is linguistic imperialism legated by colonial education. Decolonized minds and memories lead to cultural clashes and disclose the way towards coup d’etats.

Culture is the intersecting point of postcolonialism and postmodernism. They do no offer a telos but settled in here and now. “In the end the transformative energy of post-colonial societies tell us about the present because it is owerwhelmingly concerned with future” (Ashcroft, 2001, p. 17). Yet, Hutcheon puts up with “the economic (late-capitalist) and ideological (liberal humanist) dominants” (1998, p. xiii) of postmodernity. Their avoidance to build the same from the other for a multicultural possibility is problematical when there is a dominant postmodern culture with its imperial ruins.

In contrast to culturalist readings and third space imaginations, here-and-now is rejected because of its amnesiac present time. Ngugi claims that “a people without memory are in danger of losing their soul” (2009, p. 131). Similarly, Trinidad Tobogian poet M. NourbeSe Philip asks that “without memory can there be history?” (Philip, 2014, p. 71) Fanon and Cesaire’s new humanism is also against such hybridity. They are after a history-making black agent. Unlike the Caribbean or India, split identities are not the occasion for Africa. The clan ideology continues to divide their national consciousness and the reciprocity with the former white settlers is poor. Creolization falls short of cracking into linguistic ontologies. Humboldtian *volk*, Wittgensteinian linguistic world, Heideggerrean house of being, and Nietzschean prison-house all construct an identity and a world view. Therefore, language draws the line of divisions among tribes and against settlers or immigrants. The hegemony of English and French over local languages as ‘masterlanguages’ does not bring national consciousness, but mimicry. Since the time of colonial education, imagination has been crippled by the reality built by these ‘masterlanguages’. Hence, a global cultural possibility fails as the center export vocabularies while importing only service-sector words. ‘Exotic’ cultures are commodified for tourism. The question is that ‘which values the West from this dialogue?’ It is true that the curriculum of many Western literary departments is changed after postcolonial theory. It is valuable, but it is a poor

dialogue. While the West can culturalize the globe with its vocabularies in law, politics, economy, and science, local value-systems are either divested by the dominant culture or they are used to mount a self-determining identity. Democracy, peace, order, development are referred to the West. Even a nationalistic opposition is under the shadow of Eurocentrism. For this reason, balkanization is at the core of the national consciousness. The sense of belonging to a community creates its other. Then, a common language like French or English does not unite them but divides them into cultures. People are concentrated into one language that is separating by its nature. Diasporic postcolonialism and postmodernism imagine a glocal culture, but it fails as one dominates the other. They fall into trap of the “Benetton effect” (Group, 1982, p. 532) and become the culture of postmodern capitalism while trying to evade it. Because “diversity is useful for the reproduction of capital” (Castro-Gomez, 2013, p. 295), financial oligarchy creeps in the local and credits rural people. The strategy is changed. Industrial monopoly is transformed into accumulating the dematerialized profits from all over the world. Therefore, “rural development, sustainable development, and women and development” (Escobar, 1995, p. 11) are used as strategies to siphon even the least capital from every part of the globe. Microculturalism brings about microcredits. These microcredits produce macro profits for the banks. People are acculturated financially. Acculturating does not result in hybridity, but a deculturating by producing a bourgeois self-determined liberal. Neocolonialism is internationalized by neocolonizers. The episteme is colonized by new formulations. Globalism liberalizes culture, money, and industry.

The crisis between nationalism and globalism constitutes the neocolonial condition in post-colonial states. Based on binary relations, the post-structural wing reads neocolonialism as an internal phenomenon. The new rulers after independence govern just like the colonizers. New binarisms are constructed. The new others are created. There has been much to criticize this inner neocolonial situation in the post-colonial states that is hinged on “undemocratic bifurcated state” (Mamdani, 1996, p. 9), “multitemporal political life” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2018, p. 39), and “enclave economies” (Mbembe, 2003, p. 33), but the criticism for the outer neocolonialism is not lesser than it. In *Necropolitics*, Achille Mbembe puts forward how bio-politics

does not fit with post-colonial states where death is centralized instead of life (see 2003, pp. 11-40). The utility of the state is the utility of elites. Elections, on the other hand, become a *coup d'Etat* that is a state of emergency because the undistributed power is very desirable and to stay in power the rivals must be eliminated. In some post-colonial states, nevertheless, power is divided and the chiefs are used for the sake of controlling the result of elections. Besides, they are also used by global powers for the lands under their control. The government organizes mobile politics to stay in power. Nationalism and tribalism are operated together to consolidate voters in the city and the country. For the security of the order, it sacrifices its subjects. Unlike hybrid formulations, survival becomes the leading concern of African people.

Materialist critics, on the other hand, only refer to culture as it is associated with hegemony. Concentrating on the present and the culture irritates them for whom the time is built by political agents. Therefore, class, ideology, and imperialism are undermined by motivating too much on diasporic identities. The defense against postcolonial American academy comes from Marxist critics (see Larsen 2000, Ahmad 2000, Dirlík 1999, Parry 2004, Lazarus 2011). Although post-structuralist critics focus on elitism and nationalism as the neocolonial condition in the post-colonial states, materialist critics debate that neocolonialism is also an external issue. Their criticism springs from imperialism. Thus, the operations of globalism can easily be determined with help of the old imperial memories. When colonial powers move back, it does not mean the people stop being colonized socially, culturally, and economically. In post-structuralism, the present determines the past. For materialism, however, the past determines the present. Yet, representing post-colonial states as failed dialectics because of their failure to build a communist state cannot evade Eurocentric linear historiography. Failed dialectics is not so much different than second barbarism or devolution. Cosmopolitan ideals, on the other hand, cannot escape from the specter of unilinearity. Pluralist ideology runs the risk of becoming a tool of postmodern capitalism. Colonial legacies like mimicking the old binarism and class division are their common basis against the civilization discourse of the West. Even if they agree that the past is in the present, Enlightenment hovers over their metaphysics.

In post-colonial states, nationalism and elitism are handled as the source of the neocolonial situation by most post-structuralist and materialist critics. Yet, their common point is for inner neocolonialism. Imperialism is still the strongest argument of the leftists, and it constitutes the outer neocolonialism in their theory. Still, leaving aside one of them is reductionism and essentialism. Therefore, this dissertation handles neocolonialism as a two-pronged argument, unlike materialists and post-structuralists. They are united in their criticism against inner neocolonialism in post-colonial states which are either signified as a failed dialectics or devolution. While the cycle of empires is not breached as alleged, why post-colonial states represented as the land of kleptocracy? Why nation-states are made to desire ‘the end of History’? Because linearity and Eurocentrism hover over cosmopolitan ideals and socialist desires, this study reads rise and fall coterminously. Instead of the signification of second barbarism, the dissertation suggests that the barbarism of empires haunts modern liberal democracies against the immigrants inside and the ‘barbarians’/ ‘terrorists’ outside.

Even if there is a cultural exchange after globalism, it is a poor dialogue. Reinhart Koselleck asserts that “As long as human agencies exclude and include, there will be asymmetric counterconcepts and techniques of negation, which will penetrate conflicts until such time as new conflicts arise” (1985, p. 197). “Asymmetrical concepts that are unequally antithetical” (p. 161) inhibit reciprocal recognition and dialogue because the stronger one dominates the weaker. Hence, the cultural hegemony of the West governs the concepts. American multiculturalism, miscegenation, cosmopolitanism, or hybridity may become the leading concepts in the hierarchy of Western academia after which the others should follow. The colors of a carpet may present harmony, but if one of them is dominant to the others the unity becomes the peace and order of the master. Humanistic discourses of the old are again at the stage within new guises. The old lexicon is swept under this carpet. The metropole has become the ideal again. Progression becomes the common point of dialectical logic and teleological doctrine. Materialist critics read the history of the post-colonial states entrapped in nationalism as a failed dialectics. While the nation-state is depicted as a historical necessity before the decolonized states, it is the main

cause of binarism for the post-structuralist wing. Hence, deconstructed power relations portray neocolonialism as a block to progress and catch Western democracy or cosmopolitanism. As the references of democracy, freedom of speech, and human rights are given to the West, can one see himself/herself not from the gaze of the West? Is a Third Space possible in post-colonial states? If a Third Europe is created, is it not a self-orientalisation? Is liberal democracy the end of history? Does it really breach the cycles of empires? How can this linearity be dammed? As the legacy of violence and class division in post-colonial states remain, will celebrating dance, music, and performance be enough to end physical violence? While “for the nation to live, the tribe must die” was the historical necessity, is “for the tribe to live, nation must die” the new necessity?

These questions will be argued with J. M. Coetzee’s *Waiting for the Barbarians* and *Disgrace*. When there is no reciprocal relationship between the West and the rest, fusion becomes domination. *Waiting for the Barbarians* is based on this fragile dialogue. Hybridity is not an option in Coetzee’s oeuvre, even in his post-apartheid fiction *Disgrace* settled in colorful Rainbow South Africa. Based on the relation between Coetzee’s *Waiting for the Barbarians* and *Disgrace*, the dissertation argues how and why the barbarians who would never come in allegorical *Waiting for the Barbarians* arrive in non-allegorical *Disgrace*.

The critical literature for the novels has been over ethics (see Attridge 2005, Jani 2013) allegory (see Ashcroft 2001, Dovey 1988, Saunders 2001, Neimneh 2014), materiality (see JanMohamed 1985, Dirlik 1991, Gordimer 2014, Parry 2014), contextuality (see Attwell 1991, 1993, 2014). This dissertation, nevertheless, struggles to place Coetzee in a contradictory location, unlike these views. While the task of his oeuvre is “imagining unimaginable” (Coetzee, 1992, p. 68), this study discusses whether his post-apartheid novel *Disgrace* does it or not. In general, neocolonialism is an ironic recycle of colonial politics. Yet, the question is that who is the neocolonizer responsible for the chaos in the story? Why the waiting of the barbarians ends with *Disgrace*? Is it the story of this recycle or is there still a devolutionist ideology placing South Africa’s history into colonialism, post-colonialism, and neo-colonialism? While *Waiting for the Barbarians* subverts the linearity of the Empire and narrates the story



with season cycles of the ‘barbarians’, why do readers face a ‘neocolonial state’ of which decolonization is represented as a kleptocracy?

As Pierre Macherey puts forward that “what is important in the work is what it does not say” (2006, p. 97), the present study tries to unravel what Coetzee’s novels do not say instead of seeing them “in a particular way” (1986, p. 34) as he argues in an interview with Dick Penner. This does not mean freezing the postponed meaning of the novels in the comments of this dissertation. Instead, it aims at a new reading rather than being ‘the end of comment’. In place of encapsulated in History and mimicry of its realities, this study is based on freedom of literary thinking without transcending “worldliness” (Said, 1983, p. 39) of the novels and their writer. In this way, *Waiting for the Barbarians* is read as a historiographic metafiction, and *Disgrace* is analyzed to find whether it is a neocolonialist novel or not.

The salient problem is whether an approach, based on history as a leitmotif in Coetzee’s works, is available to his postmodernist, late-modernist, or postcolonial style on which critics could not agree. A historical examination can easily be applied to critical realist texts due to their close connection with historical facts. Critical realism is of vital importance for South African literature to counter colonial history and apartheid. Dominic Head, on the other hand, thinks that for J. M. Coetzee “history is unrepresentable” (2010, p. 12). The transition from that realism to late modernism and postmodernism gives him a special place in South African literature, but it also makes him highly disputed by charges of transiting historical facts of his country with help of allegories. From the beginning of his literary career by publishing the first novel in 1974, he has always been in the colonial, postcolonial, and neocolonial aura of South Africa. Even though he writes in a postmodernist style, the South African context is the main concern for his oeuvre.

South Africa has had pivotal concerns of postcolonialism and modernity. Unlike the other colonies, it is the latest one gaining its independence about fifty years after WWII. The country is also the first post-colonial postmodern state with its founding thesis Rainbow nation based on bricolage, multivalence, and diversity. From his age of eight to sixty-four, Coetzee witnesses the whole period of the apartheid

regime's governance with its repressions, tortures, censorships, limits, and prohibitions. He has also experienced the opposite reaction against the regime by protesting, boycotting, and fighting. For twenty-six years, South Africa is a democratic land, and Coetzee, now aged 80, has observed the new country's struggle to establish a true democracy with its faults and deficiencies. All of these life experiences are narrated in his novels overtly or covertly. They can be categorized into three periods. The novels based on colonialism (*In the Heart of the Country* and *Dusklands*), the fictions grounded on post-colonialism (*Waiting for the Barbarians*, *Lives and Times of Michael K.*, *Foe*, and *Age of Iron*), and lastly the works written in democratic or 'neocolonial' South Africa (*Disgrace*). Because the other novels are not formed by any postcolonial arguments, they are out of the scope of this dissertation. Moreover, due to the fact that the key point of the thesis is the relation among history, postcolonialism, and neocolonialism, *In the Heart of the Country* and *Dusklands* are kept out. *Lives and Times of Michael K.*, *Foe*, and *Age of Iron* will be drawn on for the argument, but the main theme will be built on *Waiting for the Barbarians* and *Disgrace*.

After presenting the genealogy of barbarism, the second chapter analyzes *Waiting for the Barbarians*. In the first section, Eurocentrism of dialectical logic and teleological doctrine is questioned. The second one concentrates on the relationship between cyclical history and the novel. Cyclical history and linear history are compared and contrasted. For the theory of the dissertation, the idea of Enlightenment and its counter-arguments are depicted from a wide range of thinkers: Hegel, Kant, Hume, J. S. Mill, Bacon, Comte, Benjamin, Spengler, Toynbee, Ibn Khaldun, Vico, and Hayden White. Enlightenment is of vital significance to recognize the hegemony in the epistemology of post-colonial states. And cyclical history is essential to discuss whether neocolonialism is a historical recurrence or it is a continuation following colonialism and post-colonialism linearly. The section asks at the end that 'does the turn of the power legitimize vengeance?' The next chapter begins after this question. It argues how the children of the *Waiting for the Barbarians* are grown in *Disgrace*. In the first section, suprahistoricality and its relation to Coetzee and the characters are examined after it is summarized. It is discussed that if suprahistoricality is evading history or a subjective history with its own memories and burdens. The second section argues

the connection and contradiction of the novels. For internal neocolonialism, theories of Frantz Fanon, Jean Baudrillard, Michel Foucault, John and Jean Comaroff, Achille Mbembe, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, A. M. Babu, D. W. Nabudere, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Mahmood Mamdani are drawn on. For external neocolonialism, Harry Magdoff, Joseph Nye, Andre Gunder Frank, Fernando Coronil, Samir Amin, Arturo Escobar, Walter D. Mignolo, Deleuze and Guattari, Hardt and Negri, Paul Virilio, Benita Parry, John S. Saul, and Neil Lazarus's ideas are studied.

Because these novels have not been examined from a neocolonial angle of view and it is tried to redefine the theory of neocolonialism, this study seeks to present a contribution to J. M. Coetzee studies and postcolonial theory.

## CHAPTER 1: WAITING FOR THE BARBARIANS

“There is not democracy, only dromocracy; there is not strategy, only dromology” (Virilio, 2006, p. 69).

Walter Benjamin argues that “Allegories are, in the realm of thought, what ruins are in the realm of things” (2008, p. 180). In this respect, this chapter does not read *Waiting for the Barbarians* as an allegory but as a historiographic metafiction by which the ruins in the novel are associated with the apartheid regime and modern democracies. Virilio identifies modern democracies as “the military-industrial democracies” (2006, p. 136) that rule the states just as ruling headquarters. Cities are divided into camps and bunkers. Factories, prisons, ports, suburbs, highways, and even traffic lamps illustrate such a military order. Yet, it is not only an internal regulation but also an external one. In his *Apartheid Did not Die* documentary, John Pilger identifies the global order as “global apartheid” (1998) that is governed by ‘security’ concerns. The best defense becomes the offense. With the advent of military technologies, the world has come “from the state of siege of wars of space to the state of emergency of the war of time” (Virilio, 2006, p. 156). Balance of power in the Treaty of Westphalia becomes balance of speed because “history progresses at the speed of its weapons systems” (p. 90). There has been always a perpetual war and the enemy. Cold War is no more alive but ‘global terrorism’ is at the scene. Thus, the states of emergencies and security precautions since the Roman Empire do not vanish. Preemptive wars against potential threats are waged for a ‘just’ reason. But, Virilio argues that “the more speed increases, the faster freedom decreases” (p. 158). The ‘noble and just war’ against dictators and terrorists covers the aggression of imperialism. Terrorism, barbarism, or dictatorship loses their meaning when they are emptied of their contents and filled with other signs turning into myths. Thus, democracy, freedom, and human rights become ironic when there are thousands of civilian deaths during these ‘noble and just wars’ done for the ‘peace’ of those people. Peace becomes war and war becomes peace. This simulacrum is marketed as a reality by embedded experts, academicians, intellectuals, and journalists. These people are not only the Western ones but also the rest who still try to advocate the ‘true’ meaning of the Western ‘civilization’.

With Steve Bannon's far-right movement in the U.S. and right-wing populism in Europe and all around the world, barbarians and terrorists become the source of evil again. Minorities and immigrants are tried to be cast out from the white culture of Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian civilization. This movement reminds Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* again. This novel is of great importance for the issues like the recurrent nationalism and its sovereign discourses against the other whose position is modified from colonized to neocolonized in a way that: "The war against terrorism has been described in high places as a struggle against a plague, a cancer which is spread by barbarians, by 'depraved opponents of civilization itself'" (Chomsky, 2003, pp. 217-218). The world of terrorists and barbarians outside is a dystopia contradicting with telos of the West:

To sum up: outside the commonwealth is the empire of passions, war, fear, poverty, nastiness, solitude, barbarity, ignorance, savagery; within the commonwealth is the empire of reason, peace, security, wealth, splendour, society, good taste, the sciences and goodwill (Hobbes, 1998, p. 116).

Hobbes' state is the place of civilized qualities and its absence means mere anarchy and barbarity for him. In addition to lack of familial and social relations and of any kind of ethics, Tzvetan Todorov ends his summary of historical descriptions made for barbarians with the most crucial one: their chaotic and random life is not suitable to Hobbesian civilization:

Barbarians are those who live in isolated groups instead of gathering in common habitats or, even better, forming societies ruled by laws adopted in common. Barbarians are people of chaos and randomness; they are unacquainted with social order. In another way, countries are close to barbarism when all who live within them are victims of the tyranny of a despot; and countries are not barbaric when citizens are treated on an equal footing and can participate in the conduct of the business of the community, as in Greek democracy. In the view of the Greeks, the Persians are barbarians in a twofold sense: because they do not speak Greek and because they live in a country subject to a tyrannical regime (2010, p. 16).

Therefore, the cultural baggage of the immigrants does not make integration/assimilation to Western values possible. Their 'laziness, dishonesty, wildness, and unsecularity' disrupt the peace and order of the West. Even if Todorov claims that "self-affirmation does not need to involve the destruction or submission of the other" (2010, p. 199), this contradiction has not been resolved since the end of colonialism.

After the Greeks build a binary relation with Persia and named their rivals barbarian uttering unrecognizable sounds, Rome followed the left traces by the time Hannibal of Carthage, Lusitanians, Spartacus of Thrace, Arminius of Germania, Boudica of Celts, Fritigern of Goths, Alaric of Goths, Attila, and Geiseric of Vandals resisted against it, respectively. With its constitutions and law, Rome constructed images of barbarians “as a kind of solution” (Cavafy, 2007, p. 17) as depicted by Cavafy’s influential poem *Waiting for the Barbarians*. By the end of the fourth century, Rome erected walls against rising barbarians. Fear of the barbarian image was reified when battles were lost; the Empire was besieged and collapsed by them at last. This fear is located in the social unconsciousness and collective memory of the West that migrants of today are labeled imminently when ‘democracy and humanism’ feel the threat. The Manichean legacy does not abandon the psyche and creates its contemporary imagined others.

Moral teleology was the leading discourse of the civilizing mission of the colonizer West. Accordingly, the occupied land was tamed by the colonial administration. Governor became an allegory for God that “for imperialism as social mission, God’s image is that of the governor: “an author and governor of the world, who is at the same time a moral lawgiver”” (Spivak, 1999, p. 36). Dissimilar to other colonies, South Africa remained a colony until 1994 and it ‘failed’ to follow the Western teleology. The modern nation-state was founded by the white minority which constructed a racist rule as the allegory of God to punish and murder black people as it wishes. Thus, the history of South Africa does not have a Western chronological order from barbarism to civilization or a cyclical one from metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche to irony. Apartheid is an allegorical intrusion in the history of South Africa. The regime symbolized itself as the sign of Western civilization in Africa. The *raison d’Etat* policy of modern states alleges that the cycle of empires is breached and it will live forever. But, this linear history was dammed by its own imperial aggression. Military modernity prepared its own end.

Post-colonial states are mainly nation-states. In the unilinear Western historiography, this is one of the main phases to reach civilization. Feudalism and empires are replaced by the objective rational state. The French Revolution becomes

the beginning of modernity and its nationalism is imitated by the modern nation-states of the 'Third World.' History invents the teleology to be followed by the other. As if nationalism is transcended in the West in spite of right-wing populism, ghettos, and Suburbans inside, post-colonial nation-states are targeted. In the neo-liberal global order, they become anachronistic. The new lexicon narrates that 'for the tribe to live nation must die', while the former formula signifies that 'for the nation to live the tribe must die'. But, the imperial and the colonial ruins do not stop following either the post-colonial nation-states or modern liberal democracies. Nationalistic aggression continues to determine the politics against the other. There are still barbarians at the gate, albeit under the guise of re-presentations.

As a white South African writer writing and speaking in English, John Maxwell Coetzee was born in 1940 in Cape Town to an Afrikaner lawyer father and a teacher mother. He is a translator, linguist, academician, and critic. Coetzee has written numerous fictions *Dusklands* (1974), *In the Heart of the Country* (1977), *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980) is the winner of James Tait Black Memorial Prize and Geoffrey Faber Memorial Prize, The Booker Prize is granted to *Life and Times of Michael K* (1983), *Foe* (1986), *Age of Iron* (1990) wins Sunday Express Book of the Year, *The Master of Petersburg* (1994), *Disgrace* (1999) brings him the second The Booker Prize, *Elizabeth Costello* (2003), *Slow Man* (2005), *Diary of a Bad Year* (2007), *The Childhood of Jesus* (2013), *The Schooldays of Jesus* (2016) and lastly *The Death of Jesus* (2019). Currently, he is an Australian citizen.

*The Lives of Animals* (1999) is a novella and *Three Stories* (2004) is his only short story. He has an autobiographical fiction trilogy including *Boyhood* in 1997, *Youth* in 2002, and *Summertime* in 2009. Besides, he writes critical articles for literature. Awarded with many precious prices, this highly productive writer is widely known and his works are of great importance for both postcolonial and postmodernist studies:

The importance of J. M. Coetzee in the development of twentieth-century fiction is now widely recognized. His work addresses some of the key critical issues of our time: the relationship between postmodernism and postcolonialism, the role of history in the novel and, repeatedly, the question of how the author can combine an ethical and political consciousness with a commitment to the novel as a work of fiction (Head, 2010, p. ii).

*Waiting for the Barbarians*, awarded with the James Tait Black Memorial Prize, the Geoffrey Faber Award, and the South African CNA Literary Prize, is published in 1980. The novel is “a pivotal work in the development of Coetzee’s oeuvre” (Attwell, 1993, p. 70). As “a novel about the failure to imagine a future” (Attwell, 2014, p. 202), *Waiting for the Barbarians* allegorizes the 1970s of South Africa and any kind of autocratic rule with an unknown milieu. *Waiting for the Barbarians* is a novel allegorizing not only the colonial empires but also the nation-states and modern democracies acting still in imperial politics. However, it is not a national allegory within Fredric Jamesonian terms. For him, all Third-World literature is national allegories because “they are all in various distinct ways locked in a life-and-death struggle with first-world cultural imperialism” (Jameson, 1986, p. 68). It may be construed as the story of an empire by a naïve reading, but liberal democracies are not intangible in this fiction.

The novel epitomizes the negligible relation between imperial history and modernity. As is the case in Palestine, modern ‘democratic’ Israeli state follows imperial policies such as invading outside and erecting walls inside. The allegory the novel depicts may be applied to any empire and to any present state acting in an imperial mode. With its Ubuntu philosophy and postmodern Rainbowity, post-apartheid South Africa is founded on a new philosophy against apartheid. But, it is not excused from allegory. The ruins of discrimination still haunt there.

Unlike the allegories in Dino Buzzati’s *The Tartar Steppe* and in Samuel Beckett’s *Waiting for Godot*, it is hard to read the novel without the context when it is written. The novel has a close connection to the course of J. M. Coetzee’s life, especially to his apartheid years. As Coetzee reached his eight ages, Afrikaner National Party won the general election in 1948. Within only one year, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act was regulated and in 1949 marriage between whites and blacks was invalidated. Immorality Act which was the second after the previous one in the colonial period prohibited sexual intercourse between races in 1950 with another act called Group Areas Act separating people into areas according to their nation and lastly with Population Registration Act categorizing people by blood. By the Communism Act of 1950, communism was defined so widely as to contain anything or



anyone favors equality for all races in South Africa. 1959 The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act was legislated to separate tribes for enclave states controlled by the Afrikaner center. Coetzee lived his childhood in this racist atmosphere and as he came to adolescence, Sharpeville Massacre happened in 1960 resulting in the death of sixty-seven and many wounded Africans. Within the same year Albert Lutuli, president of the African National Congress, was awarded Nobel Peace Prize for his political struggle against apartheid. The year South Africa gained its independence from British Commonwealth in 1961 thanks to a referendum, Coetzee graduated from the University of Cape Town with a bachelor's degree in English and Mathematics. In 1962, he wrote his master thesis on Ford Madox Ford in England and graduated from the same university after one year. The same year African novelist Alex La Guma was detained and banned later due to his writings both in literature and politics. He began his Ph.D. in the U.S. in 1965 and finished his dissertation on Samuel Beckett in four years at the University of Texas. Then, he started teaching firstly in America. In 1972, he returned to his country as a lecturer for the university he had studied his bachelor's and master. 1974 was a milestone for his literary career in that he published his first novel, *Dusklands*. In 1975 The Publications Act was promulgated for censorship in South Africa. Coetzee's *Summertime* narrates 1975 as follows:

South Africa is not formally in a state of war, but it might as well be. As resistance has grown, the rule of law has step by step been suspended. The police and the police who run the police (as hunters run packs of dogs) are by now more or less unconstrained. In the guise of news, radio and television relay the official lies. Yet over the whole sorry, murderous show there hangs an air of staleness. The old rallying cries-*Uphold white Christian civilization! Honour the sacrifices of the forefathers!*- have lost all force. The chess players have moved into the endgame, and everyone know it (2009, p. 12).

This suspension of law is symbolized in the novel by the crisis between Magistrate's usual Empire and the state of emergency of the Third Bureau employed by the metropole. Magistrate says that "I believe in peace, perhaps even peace at any price" (W, p. 15). The leader of the bureau, on the other hand, is on the side of the war against the barbarians who are accused of preparing a war against the empire. Magistrate judges the legal destruction of the empire against the imagined illegal resistance of barbarians.

In 1975 again, famous Afrikaner poet Breyten Breytenbach is imprisoned for treason against the apartheid regime because of his marriage with an ‘outsider’ and thinking outside the frames of that regime. Against these acts and segregation policies, there eventually appears a Black national consciousness from former tribal identities. Soweto Revolt of 1976 by black schoolchildren against The Bantu Education Act ends within years with another massacre of the apartheid regime and Steve Biko, founder of Black Consciousness Movement and one of the leading figures against apartheid, is killed by torture while he is under arrest. In the same year with Biko’s death, Coetzee’s second novel *In the Heart of the Country* is published and awarded with the CNA prize.

*Waiting for the Barbarians* has acquaintance with Samuel Beckett’s *Waiting for Godot*. Dissimilar to it, the Godots are not absent characters. They are also undefinable just like the Godot. ‘Barbarism’ is emptied of its content and filled with politically abused discourses. Even though there are nomads or fisherfolk outside the walls of the Empire in the novel, the state invents barbarism for the sake of its politics. They become the saviors for what goes wrong. This policy has its roots in Rome. “When businessmen predicted ruin, Diocletian explained that the barbarians were at the gate, and that individual liberty had to be shelved until collective liberty could be made secure” (Durant, 1968, p. 61). As a state of emergency is created, unchecked and unbalanced policies are justified thanks to the barbarians. For Edward Gibbon, on the other hand, “Fear has been the original parent of superstition, and every new calamity urges trembling mortals to deprecate the wrath of their invisible enemies” (Gibbon, 1782, p. 361). This fear erects the walls of Roman Emperor Aurelian against the barbarians.

The story is told by an official Magistrate of an Empire’s frontier in the present tense. He has no name and just waits for his peaceful retirement. The novel opens with his encounter with Colonel Joll from the Third Bureau of Civil Guard coming to the frontier to rebuff an imagined attack by barbarians outside the walls of the Empire. As they meet, Joll’s sunglasses are not recognized by the Magistrate due to their nonexistence at the periphery. As the narration progresses, it is implied that it represents dark vision which is unnatural to the Magistrate due to its opaque reality

constructed by the Empire of which citizens are only subjected to 'perform their duty' instead of thinking. For his usual Empire, "there is not much crime here and the penalty is usually a fine or compulsory labour" (W, p. 2) until the Third Bureau comes for a state of emergency. At the outset, he is one of the parts of that reality but a questioning one. The first conduct of the Bureau is to detain two tribespeople outside the wall: an old man and his nephew for a putative stock raid and torturing them to "find out the truth" (p. 3). This is a certain truth bereft of any doubts governing social life in the Empire: barbarians are uniting and coming to rape and plunder. Magistrate, though, considers this a childish dream and says "show me a barbarian army and I believe" (p. 9). Joll goes for an attack against the barbarians resulting in the capture of fishermen and nomads. They are tortured by Joll and his men. One of them, a young woman, is begging in the streets after Magistrate orders their release. At the very beginning of the second chapter, he calls the woman a barbarian in terms of reality constructed by the Empire because otherness is enough to sign the outsider as a barbarian. After all, "prisoners are prisoners" (p. 23). As a conscious response to the woman's blurred eyes and her sticks, he begins to care for her who yields his authority. He takes her out of begging and makes her live with him. The Magistrate tries to build a dialogue but comprehends its monologic nature in the Empire. He says "[I] turn my gaze inward" (p. 42) and "seeking entry" (p. 43) because "there comes no reciprocal gaze but only my doubled image cast back at me" (p. 43). This is a poor dialogue due to his failure of seeing out of the signification constructed by the Empire that makes the barbarian girl side-sighted by torture.

The Magistrate's relation with her and his witness to barbarism not of these prisoners but of the Empire trigger allegorical journey before him. Allegory in the novel is used as a strategy against the discursive organization of totalitarian regimes:

Coetzee's tactic in this novel is to portray imperial allegorical thinking in the thematic level of his novel and to juxtapose it with the allegorical mode in which the novel itself is written. The juxtaposition foregrounds the discontinuity between the two kinds of allegorical discourse, one based on imperial codes of recognition and the other on resistance to totalitarian systems. In the gap between the two lies the possibility of transformation, and Coetzee's text thus suggests that allegory can itself be used to dismantle the system of allegorical thinking that underwrites the act of colonisation (Slemon, 1988, p. 165).

Contrary to popular belief, Attwell does not relate the novel merely to allegory but to the atmosphere of the time the novel is written, especially to Soweto Revolt of 1976 and the killing of Steve Biko in custody:

Readers of *Waiting for the Barbarians* frequently take the novel's nonspecific milieu to suggest a form of ethical universalism. There is a difference, however, between universalism—which implies a humanist conception of a transcendent moral consciousness—and a strategic refusal of specificity, a refusal that is the result of being painfully conscious of one's immediate historical location. The milieu of *Barbarians* is the result, I believe, of just such a refusal (1993, p. 73).

Torture is the language the Empire uses while communicating with 'barbarians'. Similarly, the apartheid regime uses torture as a means of "destroying the kernel of resistance within" (Coetzee, 1992, p. 362). Besides, the novel echoes not only the present time of the narration but also the eighteenth century in a way that "In three of Coetzee's linguistic essays produced at the time of or shortly after *Waiting for the Barbarians*, extensive reference is made to eighteenth-century prose, notably Defoe, Swift, Newton, and Gibbon" (Attwell, 1993, p. 74). Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* has especially such a relation that "the connection does suggest that the novel might owe not only some of its essential vocabulary but also aspects of the narrative situation to Gibbon's eighteenth-century classic" (Attwell, 1993, p. 76). Be it either for the apartheid or for the empires, allegory of the novel elaborates nationalistic ruins looming over the present because "in all of us, deep down, there seems to be something granite and unteachable" (W, p. 157).

Coetzee's literature is mainly based on the question of "what is our responsibility towards other?" (Attridge, 2005, p. xii) and it "seriously addresses the ethical and political stresses of living in, and with, a particular historical locale" (Attwell, 1993, p. 1). In this vein, Magistrate's ethical journey "from duty to moral response" (Tegla, 2011, p. 85) becomes ours in "the story of an impasse" (Attwell, 2014, p. 215). By caring for the barbarian girl, he thinks that he liberalizes himself from the burden of the torture until he seduces her and comprehends that "the distance between myself and her torturers, I realize, is negligible; I shudder" (W, p. 29). After experiencing the torture from the same Empire, nevertheless, Magistrate leaves imperial discourse behind and begins to understand the language of barbarians. Poison becomes the cure:

After this journey the magistrate is imprisoned and tortured, and starts to speak a more humane language, the natural language in which, as Moses put it, 'the name of justice cannot be spoken' (1993, 127). It is only in these circumstances that the magistrate, unable until then to understand the language of the Barbarians, is finally able to speak it (Canepari-Labib, 2005, p. 94).

Magistrate is alienated from the Empire. It is in a state of emergency that is naturalized as the ordinary law because barbarians are coming to invade and plunder the Empire. This fearful waiting consolidates the citizens and the existence of the soldiers of the Third Bureau is legitimized by the social anxiety. Magistrate does not understand the language of the Empire anymore of which he was a serious part as a Magistrate before. He says to his torturer that "I am only trying to understand. I am trying to understand the zone in which you live. I am trying to imagine how you breathe and eat and live from day to day. But I cannot!" (W, p. 138).

State of emergency is not the exception but the rule for the barbarians. There are no trials and no records, but torture for them. In the usual Empire of Magistrate, on the other hand, the law is unjust. No matter how far his frontier is from the imperial center, it is a part of the unjust Empire:

He wanted to see his mother and his sisters again, he said. "We cannot just do as we wish," I lectured him. "We are all subject to the law, which is greater than any of us. The magistrate who sent you here, I myself, you, we are all subject to the law." (W, p. 152).

In the invaded lands of the barbarians, the written law judges people for an imagined invasion. The Rivonia Trials (1963-1964) accused Nelson Mandela and his friends to devastate the law and order of the apartheid in the name of justice. Nevertheless, the law was written to preserve the discriminatory order of the apartheid regime. For this reason, it was already unjust. Still, it distributed justice and imprisoned Mandela and his friends for long years. The frontier administered by Magistrate, on the other hand, is not a just place but a periphery of Hobbesian peace and order. It is an armed peace to preserve the law. Although they are not used, guns are always ready. The logic is simple. If no one resists and the rules are obeyed without question, peace and order are saved. Benjamin describes Nazist Fascism that "The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the "state of emergency" in which we live is not the exception but the rule" (1969, p. 257). Therefore, the rule is the peace and order for the subjects of the Empire. State of emergency is the rule for the others. Jewish/barbarian myth stays at the unconscious and waits for a spark to surface.

Liberal democracies do not leave this old policy. To consolidate their subjects, the social anxiety against the other is kept alive. State of emergency is not an exception anymore. It becomes a global condition.

Janus-faced Empire disciplines “its subjects, even its lost subjects” (W, p. 169) by its History. By the time a feeling of leaving this History behind is present at the end of the novel, Magistrate desires to write the true history but recognizes its impossibility soon. He comprehends that truth cannot be represented. Translating the sorrow of the other people will become a narration, not history. Therefore, the torture scene of the barbarian girl is not narrated. The relation between Magistrate and the barbarian girl is a reminder of Steve Biko and Donald Woods and Nelson Mandela and Bram Fischer's connection. After Biko's murder by torture, Woods risks his life and his journalism career to publish Biko's book. During The Rivonia Trials (1963-1964), Fischer advocates Mandela against the claims making him prisoned in the Robben Island for twenty-seven years. In the novel, Magistrate yells at Colone Joll that “history will bear me out” (W, p. 125) after Joll says there will be no record for him in the official history of the Empire. Like many other victims, the cause behind Steve Biko's death is hidden and it is out of the record. Yet, history bears him out. “Magistrate is the man who is prepared to sacrifice his freedom to his principles” (p. 124), but Empire makes him “a dog in a corner” (p. 128). Similarly, apartheid incarcerates Fischer for life imprisonment. Woods leaves his country, but history bears them out too. In his autobiography, Mandela describes Fischer: “Although he could have been the prime minister of South Africa, he became one of the bravest and staunchest friends of the freedom struggle that I have ever known” (2013, p. 91). In Woods' book, he names Biko “a close friend of mine” (1984, p. 13) and reveals the reason for his death. Magistrate, on the other hand, does not write his planned book on history inspired by the poplar slips because he thinks that “they form an allegory. They can be read in many orders. Further, each single slip can be read in many ways” (W, p. 122). Still, it is his story in the story of the novel we read narrates the crimes of the Empire. Therefore, it is not only an allegory but a historiographic metafiction. Unlike *Foe*, it may seem hard to read the novel in this way because allegory turns the argument against itself. Although there are no references to actual times and names, the novel

reminds the Roman Empire, the apartheid regime, Steve Biko and Donald Woods. Besides, there is no intertextuality but the title and the story remind Dino Buzzati's *The Tartar Steppe*, Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, Kafka's *In The Penal Colony*, and Cavafis' *Waiting for the Barbarians*. Last but not least, it reminds modern liberal democracies waiting for the new barbarians because the novel is narrated in the present tense.

Linda Hutcheon advocates that historiographic metafiction "is not apolitical, then, any more than it is ahistorical" (1998, p. 224), "neither is it nostalgic or antiquarian in its critical revisiting of history" (p. xii). Yet, this anti-totalizing stance is within postmodern capitalism and liberal humanism. It abuses, parodies, and ironizes metanarratives. The speeches in the postmodern novel are heterogeneous. This non-monology does not bring a synthesis. Because none of them authorizes the other, they co-exist in fiction without reconciliation. This has similarities with the palimpsest in postcolonial theory. The excluded others from the official history are recovered from the textual ruins that have represented them. This time, history is rewritten from the below as is the case in Subaltern Studies. But, re/covering is problematical because the new official history creates its own stories by covering new subalterns. In this way, Magistrate rejects author/ity and reburies popular slips for their future readers. He recognizes the impossibility of his story to narrate all the events in one harsh year. The novel, then, becomes a self-conscious re-writing the colonial history. It demystifies its discourses. Nevertheless, their referents are all pervasive. Hence, waiting for the barbarians does not end. He marginalizes himself at the sign-system of the empire. That is all he can do. His subjective history fails as he takes his administrative position again. It is too hard to imagine him to rule like the Third Bureau, but the waiting hysteria remains.

Magistrate's story demythologizes the Empire's History by subverting its ironic discourses. His ethical journey, on the other hand, contradicts the postcolonial theory. Inspired by adaptable cultures of India (Bhabha, Spivak, and Chakrabarty) and the Caribbean (Ashcroft, Gilroy, Glissant, and Brathwaite) diasporic postcolonial theory responds to the objectivity of history with creolization and hybridity. By using Foucault, Derrida, and Deleuze's theories, a multicultural response is given against

binarism. Dialogue and polyphony are used against the monologue of the West and the nationalism of the post-colonial states. In this sense, Coetzee's literary struggle is not postcolonial. He rejects rewriting a counter-history in the novel and he does not construct a third space due to the fragile dialogue. Magistrate is not the third alternative. He is a subject subjugated by the language and history of the Empire. Even if he retrieves his freedom from the Third Bureau, "granite and unteachable" (W, p. 157) 'masterhistory' and 'masterlanguage' imprison his mentality. Even if the Empire makes him a barbarian and he ceases to understand how the torturers can eat after the torture, barbarians are barbarians at the end of the novel. He fails to name them otherwise. The exchange in dialogue is unjust because the singularity of dominance is unexchangeable. The exclusive signifiers overcode the masterlanguage. After that, the sign system of the dominant culture hegemonizes the interaction. Its narration masters. "Asymmetrical concepts" (Koselleck, 1995, p. 161) bring about an imperialism Lyotard signifies as "conversational" (cited by Gallagher, 2016, p. 55). Because "there is a temptation to rely on European ways of representation and their concepts" (Heidegger, 1982, p. 15), the interaction is a nearly impossible dialogue. Language constructs Humboldtian *volk*, the world of Wittgenstein, Heideggerian house of being and Nietzschean prison-house. History textualizes its signification and narrates a story to invent a common culture by revealing its differences from the others. Coetzeean subjective history and suprahistorical evasion are nearly impossible. Their best resistance is settling Coetzee to the margins. Therefore, his literary struggle gets along with postmodernist or postcolonial linguistic and historical subversions. Neither multiculturalism nor creolization is an option in the novel. And the history is not rewritten to write back to colonial and apartheid History.

In opposition to culturalist readings stemming from the Caribbean which is not only the land of creole imagination but also of Césaire and Fanon, materialist readings are after creating a history-making black agent. Anticolonialism does not ground on post-structuralist here and now, but on resisting colonialism. Based upon this historical consciousness, materialist critics see history as a teacher educating the present time with past experiences. Against anti-historical attitudes for the sake of contesting the present, they are concentrated on legacies (class division and nationalism) to fight



against global capitalism and imperialism. The post-structuralist wing in the postcolonial theory, on the other hand, is concentrated on the discursivity of history and on its deconstruction. As an academician of literature, Coetzee is well aware of the two attitudes but tries to find his own place instead of locating at canons. For this reason, his dialogue with the philosophy of history is as pivotal as literary theories. He transgresses their monology in his oeuvre. This is not supplementing history and historical realism but demystifying the discourses they are grounded on. While deconstructing the discursive structures, he materializes history as an unreliable teacher. Marginalized by it, Coetzee imagines an unofficial history without metanarratives. In search of sympathy toward the Other, he favors subjective history and suprahistorical here and now. This subversion of temporality is not merely based on post-structuralism but also on African space with its living past and seasonal cycles. He writes his own *hi/story* in literary imagination which is already confined by the metalanguage and metahistory of which burden is bestowed upon his shoulder by his race and his first language, English. No matter how far he tries to escape, they haunt Coetzee and his novels.

Writing history does not only narrate events, but it also creates identities. While a self-determined liberal bourgeoisie is idealized by the Enlightenment philosophy, Marxism is after a political history-making agent. With oral history, memories, wounded bodies, and Ubuntu philosophy colonized people strive for an alternative. The political agency and national consciousness during decolonization is the leading premise to resist the white bourgeoisie. After independence, on the other hand, identity-making becomes controversial. For some African identity must transcend nationalism and unity for an African Union. For others, like the ANC in South Africa, a multiracial policy is pursued. In many places, the unity is divided among tribal identities again.

Postmodernism and postcolonialism unite in their here-and-now positions. For both, colonized or hegemonized people have never been passive subjects but they have subverted the dominant culture by parody, irony, and abuse. Even if the performative cultural actions like limbo, dance, and music may dam the linearity of progress; such a synthesis is weak in the African context, unlike the Caribbean. Because the dominant

language is his, Magistrate does not learn her language while the barbarian girl learns his: "I cannot make out a word. "What a waste," I think: "she could have spent those long empty evenings teaching me her tongue! Too late now"" (W, p. 78). When he brings the girl to his people, he tries to communicate with help of the girl:

"Speak to them," I tell her. "Tell them why we are here. Tell them your story. Tell them the truth." She looks sideways at me and gives a little smile. "You really want me to tell them the truth?" "Tell them the truth. What else is there to tell?" The smile does not leave her lips. She shakes her head, keeps her silence. "Tell them what you like. Only, now that I have brought you back, as far as I can, I wish to ask you very clearly to return to the town with me. Of your own choice." (W, p. 77).

The barbarian girl does not translate but interprets Magistrate's sentences to create a new story. The sorrow of torture is not translatable. Instead of truth, a subjective *hi/story* is narrated. When Magistrate meets with the barbarians "on equal terms" (p. 78); his insight towards them changes. Now, they are not in front as beggars in the Empire but as warriors:

What an occasion and what a shame too to be here today! One day my successors will be making collections of the artifacts of these people, arrowheads, carved knife-handles, wooden dishes, to display beside my birds' eggs and calligraphic riddles. And here I am patching up relations between the men of the future and the men of the past, returning, with apologies, a body we have sucked dry-a go-between, a jackal of Empire in sheep's clothing! (W, pp. 78-79).

This new insight, nevertheless, is full of historical prejudices. Magistrate sees them as anachronistic people. Their materials are exotic to him. For him, they belong to museums. This progressive linearity is the premise of colonial empires. To universalize the ideals of Western civilization, colonization is inevitable. Therefore, the old must be modernized. No matter how far he moves away from the Empire, its discourses hegemonize his language and his subjective *hi/story*. He neither opens the third space nor revolutionizes.

As the "defender of the rule of law" (W, p. 118), Magistrate seems to symbolize an alternative against the self-determining identity of Marxism and bourgeois liberal humanism at first sight. He does not supplement either dialectics or teleology. By Magistrate, Coetzee presents a literary struggle by subverting the time of the Empire and narrates the story in a season cycle. He also reveals the ironies of the Empire by blurring the line between barbarism and civilization. Liberal humanism is parodied as torturers "show me [Magistrate] the meaning of humanity" (W, p. 126). This humanism humanizes itself by animalizing the other. Barbarians are wild animals

in the novel. They are dark, lazy, filthy, stupid, low, immoral, and ugly. They are unevolved and anachronic. Similarly, Mandela wore short-trousers in Robben Island because he was still a 'child' who was incapable of understanding the reason of modernity and Calvinist moralism separating people according to their kinds. The moral teleology of the apartheid rules the other in the name of God. Because they are chosen people, whites construct as separate development by which tribes are segregated to peripheries and their industrial center is secured. Not to disturb conformity of liberal white population, the injustice is removed out of sight:

The response of South Africa's legislators to what disturbs their white electorate is usually to order it out of sight. If people are starving, let them starve far away in the bush, where their thin bodies will not be a reproach. If they have no work, if they migrate to the cities, let there be roadblocks, let there be curfews, let there be laws against vagrancy, begging, squatting, and let offenders be locked away so that no one has to hear or see them. If the black townships are in flames, let cameras be banned from them. (At which the great white electorate heaves a sigh of relief - how much more bearable the newscasts have become!) (Coetzee, 1992, p. 361).

The stone walls of the Empire are built into the minds. Magistrate's ethics, on the other hand, contradicts the morality of the Empire. He disgraces himself by sympathizing with 'low' people. This low and high hierarchy does not exclude modern nation-states and liberal democracies. Apartheid regime governs the country in a Social Darwinist policy. If one does not fit into the order, s/he is eliminated. The order is naturalized by Biblical references. But, it is not natural. It is a construction. In the novel, "moral barbarians" believe that everything is fair to sustain the security of the state which is beyond everything and everyone. It reminds the credo of apartheid:

If somebody telephoned a reporter and said, 'Tell the world - some men came last night, took my husband, my son, my father away, I don't know who they were, they didn't give names, they had guns', the next thing that happened would be that you and the reporter in question would be brought into custody for furthering the aims of the proscribed organisation endangering the security of the state (Coetzee, "Aussie laws 'like apartheid'", 2005).

These 'precautions' of the Empire believing that "pain is truth" (Coetzee, 2000a, p. 5) are precursors of a civil war caused not by God or History but by people themselves:

To true believers in the market, it makes no sense to say that you take no pleasure in competing with your fellow men and prefer to withdraw. You may withdraw if you wish, they say, but your competitors will most assuredly not. As soon as you lay down your arms, you will be slaughtered. We are locked ineluctably into a battle of all against all. But surely God did not make the market - God or the Spirit of History. And if we human beings made it, can we not unmake it and remake it in a kindlier form? Why does the world have to be a kill-or-be-killed

gladiatorial amphitheatre rather than, say, a busily collaborative beehive or anthill? (Coetzee, 2008, p. 119)

In a similar vein, Minna Niemi reads *Waiting for the Barbarians* in relation to Vincent Crapanzano's *Waiting: The Whites of South Africa* describing the attitude of the apartheid regime as a nerve concentrated on waiting for the barbarians and destroying of 'their' country (2011, p. 103). Before coming of the storm, precautions must be taken and the necessary action is a state of emergency to consolidate the citizens of the regime because "its own survival takes precedence over the law and ultimately over justice" (Coetzee, 1992, p. 362). After he brings the barbarian woman to her people, Magistrate returns to his frontier and faces the results of "treasonously consorting with the enemy" (W, p. 85). It is the moment when he feels as "a free man" and sees guards of the Empire as new barbarians with whom his "false friendship" (p. 84) ends. He says "we have no enemies... unless we are the enemy" (p. 85). He is Joll and his men making "filthy barbarities" (p. 125) and Magistrate thinks of Joll that "You are the enemy, you have made the war, and you have given them all the martyrs they need" (p. 125). He recognizes that "I was the lie that Empire tells itself when times are easy, he the truth that Empire tells when harsh winds blow" (p. 148). From the very beginning, it is a lie preparing its own end.

To avoid its own mistakes, it suffices to have the Other but the monkey discourse of the apartheid brings about gorilla warfare and the compressed pressure transcends the compressor at the end. By the same token, the Empire imagines the enemy and represents him/her by significations emptied of its contents. Because "the last truth is told only in the last extremity" (W, p. 105) in the Empire; torture is a tactic of the interrogators to take from the tortured what they have already believed whether it is true or not for the reason that the file has already been closed by the Empire. For them, barbarians are the enemy and it is the only truth about them written on their back as 'ENEMY' by torture. Barbarians are needed to name the Empire itself as a civilization. For this reason, the Other is constructed within the imperial sign system rather than recognizing the other. In this way, there is no dialogue (except Magistrate's poor dialogue) but only torture as the only contact in the novel. Thus, erected walls of the Empire against barbarism are not a sign of determining its physical border but also

of its mental border. Barbarians are mentally excluded as it is done physically. Barbarians “as a kind of solution” (Cavafy, 2007, p. 17) to the problem of organizing crowds are thus discursively constructed. The Empire forces its reality to come forward by torture. The roar Magistrate sounds “is barbarian language you hear” (W, p. 133) for the Empire’s reality in that collaboration with the enemy is treason and makes someone the Other. The barbarian and his utterances are “nonsense” (Wittgenstein, 2001, p. 4) beyond the limits of the language and the world of the Empire. It civilizes itself by comparing and contrasting with ‘the barbarians’:

The notion of "wildness" (or, in its Latinate form, "savagery") belongs to a set of culturally self-authenticating devices which includes, among many others, the ideas of "madness" and "heresy" as well. These terms are used not merely to designate a specific condition or state of being but also to confirm the value of their dialectical antitheses "civilization," "sanity," and "orthodoxy," respectively (White, 1978, p. 151).

Using allegory is not welcomed due to its blurriness in the South African context. Therefore, the author is highly criticized by the social realists who regard mirroring the violent acts around as the just path towards true writing. From a similar angle of vision, JanMohamed asserts that “Coetzee’s *Waiting for the Barbarians*, a deliberate allegory, epitomizes the dehistoricizing, desocializing tendency of colonialist fiction” (1985, p. 73). Allegorizing an escape story of a single character from an allegorical empire seems to universalize the milieu at first sight. Instead of citing ready-made struggle jargons against the apartheid, Coetzee allegorizes an Empire. Magistrate narrates this story under the circumstances the Empire determines. His ethical journey advances the chapters. The novel avoids giving messages. The narration escapes from the closures of master-narratives or master-discourses. He neither makes himself a propaganda tool of the regime nor becomes a comrade of the opposite reaction. Just as Michael K. and Magda, he tries to find his own space devoid of discourses encircling his life.

History is one of those discourses Coetzee tries to move beyond. His literature is the place where history is narrated by deconstructing its big structures and by disorganizing historical time that “is a construction imposed on formless chronicity, as part of the work of culture; fiction [on the other hand] can restore the perspective in which the constructedness of time becomes apparent” (Attwell, 1993, p. 86). By the same token, the story is narrated in a season cycle instead of the chronological time of

the Empire, beginning with the end of summer and lasting with the beginning of the winter. Because “Empire has created the time of history” (W, p. 146), Coetzee deconstructs this history although his own story ends in winter. In the end, Joll’s glasses are lost and he rides into darkness. The enlightenment of the civilization is subverted. Joll’s glory evaporates as “He is no stronger than a child” (p. 161). The aggression of the empire is loosened. In this scene, the Social Darwinist policies of the apartheid regime are parodied. Joll is tired at the end and he is even weaker than the children who build a snowman.

Arguably, the children making a snowman may symbolize the author’s hope for the future. It may symbolize the new humanism of Fanon and Césaire. Magistrate believes that barbarians “won’t harm anyone” (p. 167) and leaves poplar slips behind instead of a history book. He does not narrate a proletarian or a subaltern history. It is up to them how to comment on them and narrate their own stories.

The end of the novel is allegorical. Yet, the wind of progress is not stoppable. Barbarians will come because the Empire deserves to be devastated after what it has done to innocent people. In addition to the hope for a better future, there is also anxiety for it because “to the last we will have learned nothing. In all of us, deep down, there seems to be something granite and unteachable” (p. 157). A victim may become a victimizer and may read the poplar slips as the documents of new barbarians waging war against them. Magistrate dreams the barbarian girl builds a “snowcastle or sandcastle” (p. 119). The dream may narrate that if barbarians build a castle from the ruins of the Empire, it will be as fragile as the Empire’s. Therefore, history is unreliable.

Addressing imagination to a certain location is destroying muses for Coetzee. For this reason, reflecting history in South Africa either colonial times or apartheid era in literature is limiting oneself inside the borders that history draws:

In Africa the only address one can imagine is a brutally direct one, a sort of pure, unmediated representation; what short-circuits the imagination, what forces one’s face into the thing itself, is what I am here calling history. “The only address one can imagine”—an admission of defeat (Coetzee, 1992, pp. 67-68).

“*Therefore* the task becomes imagining this unimaginable, imagining a form of address that permits the play of *writing* to start taking place” (Coetzee, 1992, p. 68).

He liberates himself and his literature from the constructed history as the imagination of the history writer. Yet, his struggle is still in consolation because it is not possible to elude history as a whole. What he can achieve, then, is living at the margins of that history and mounting for his literature “a form that was simultaneously both inside and outside of history” (Morphet, 2004, p. 16). Even so, Canepari-Labib states that pessimism governing Coetzee’s novels leaves us a glimpse of hope for the future whether it is ambiguous or not (2005, p. 273). JanMohamed, on the other hand, asserts that Coetzee normalizes the Manichean binary with help of allegory implying such events can happen at any time, any place (1985, p. 73). The silenced barbarians are not given a voice for Dirlik. Although he sees the reason why Coetzee escapes history, Dirlik advocates that people do not live in an imagined history but in a real one (Dirlik, 1991, pp. 336-337).

Magistrate’s subjective history is not evasion. He neither represents a self-determined liberal bourgeoisie nor signifies a political agent. Against the objectivity of History, he subverts its linearity by season cycles. He evades this official story and constructs a relationship with barbarians. This sympathy is not even a possibility for the reality of the Empire. No matter Coetzee narrates the fragility of this relationship due to the walls in language; Magistrate tries a new way at least. For him, history is an invention. To Coetzee, it is “a self-serving truth” (Coetzee, 1992, p. 280). Because history is narrated from the present, it becomes unreliable. Therefore, Magistrate does not write a history book, but he leaves the popular slips to be narrated by the barbarians in their own way. Materialist readings, on the other hand, handle this allegorical end as an evasion. Coetzee’s escapist attitude is not due to his lack of interest in representing history, but it is because he is well aware of the inability to represent the sorrows of others as a linguist.

Post-structuralism in language sees reality as a construction. For this reason, not only history becomes a discourse but also the novel. Coetzee’s struggle is literary. For this reason, he does not use social realism or tragedy of white writing during the apartheid. Against the Empire’s “the jagged time of rise and fall, of beginning and end, of catastrophe” (W, p. 146), Coetzee handles history not as a counter political discourse but as a remembrance of a witness who is aware of the impossibility of

translating that remembrance and of representing his witness to the sorrows during apartheid.

This attitude is not only at odds with materialist thinking but also with postcolonial criticism trying to unsilence the colonized and oppressed people. His *hi/story* is opposed to the accustomed dynamics of South African writing. Coetzee's oeuvre rejects being subjected to History be it of apartheid or post-apartheid and to its canons in either period. It deconstructs the structure of History by which subjects are disciplined with its official stories.

As the "defender of the rule of law" (W, p. 118), Magistrate is neither a bourgeois liberal nor a revolutionist. He tries to shape his identity that is a production of history. His ethical evolution makes him remember the old days:

I remember the uneasy shame I felt on days like that. I would leave the courtroom and return to my apartment and sit in the rocking-chair in the dark all evening, without appetite, until it was time to go to bed. "When some men suffer unjustly," I said to myself, "it is the fate of those who witness their suffering to suffer the shame of it." (W, p. 152).

After he faces the brutal reality of the Empire, Magistrate tries to construct a sympathetic relation with the barbarians. No matter how much shame he feels for his unjust judgments before, he thinks that he was too weak to change the order:

But the specious consolation of this thought could not comfort me. I toyed more than once with the idea of resigning my post, retiring from public life, buying a small market garden. But then, I thought, someone else will be appointed to bear the shame of office, and nothing will have changed. So I continued in my duties until one day events overtook me. (W, p. 152).

For this reason, Magistrate is not a political agent. Although he risks his life like Bram Fischer and Donald Woods by bringing the barbarian girl to his people, he takes his judging position again at the end of the novel. His struggle is literary.

Allegory is one of the leading concerns for a post-modernist novel. *Waiting for the Barbarians*, on the other hand, is not a postmodernist novel because there is the poor dialogue haunted by the monologue of the Empire and the discourses of its History, instead of cultural exchange. Still, the pure categorization does not fit with the novel. He does not only draw on post-structuralism and postmodernism in his novel, but also on the philosophy of history. In his reading Coetzee's notes held in the University of Texas, Anthony Ullmann notices that Greek historian Kritoboulos'



*History of Mehmed the Conqueror* gives Coetzee the idea of the cycle of civilizations while writing *Waiting for the Barbarians*:

Kritoboulos's book and the translation of it are about the fall of one civilization at the hands of another. This idea, then, is the first seed of the idea that becomes *Waiting for the Barbarians*, and this is underlined in a note where Coetzee writes:

If we are to link this [Chinese setting] with the decay of Constantinople, the problem is that, by an inevitable extension, South Africa becomes another in a series of doomed civilizations (Notebook 1, 13 November 1977) (2016, p. 445).

Coetzee philosophizes history to demystify its discourses. Due to his humanist stance, it is easy to place Coetzee within canonical Eurocentric forms and to claim him as a developmentalist. Still, he transcends positionalities as a "posthumanist humanist" (Durrant, 2004, p. 47). In this respect, his historical view is not progressive but concentrated on here and now drawing on colonial past and philosophy of history to understand how history may recur.

This allegorical recurrence does not excuse post-apartheid South Africa and modern democracies. The imperial, colonial, and nationalist ruins of the past linger on the present. The new mimics the old. It becomes "changing in order to stay the same, and staying the same in order to change" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2018, p. 29). In *Youth*, Coetzee exposes this by saying that "As far back as he can remember, Afrikaners have trampled on people because, they claim, they were once trampled upon" (2003, p. 100). The oppressed can easily transit to the position of the oppressor. Violence justifies itself due to the violence of the past. While it may seem just, it becomes a feud. This vicious cycle is elaborated on in the second section.

Modern democracies, on the other hand, construct interior colonies like ghettos and Suburbans. Right-wing populism creates its own barbarians. Immigrants become the source of evil. Nationalistic aggression does not accept their cultural baggage. The only alternative is assimilation. This conditional hospitality represents itself as multiculturalism. Even if it is alleged that the cycle of empires is breached with modern democracies, *raison d'Etat* politics has still the imperial ruins in it. With postmodernist discourses, the globe is persuaded to a new universal epistemology. This open society brings a liberal culture desiring consumerism. A cultural dependency is constructed to make people believe modern liberal democracies as the end of

history. Instead of cultural exchange, the dominant culture hegemonizes the local values. In the novel, it is an imperial strategy:

Where civilization entailed the corruption of barbarian virtues and the creation of a dependent people, I decided, I was opposed to civilization; and upon this resolution I based the conduct of my administration. (I say this who now keep a barbarian girl for my bed!) (W, p. 41).

These imperial ruins in the present signify “for the tribe to live nation must die” policy as a historical necessity. There is no more “for the nation to live the tribe must die” doctrine. Such tribal consciousness, nevertheless, devastates the unity in national consciousness and divides people according to their cultures. This *divide et impera* is the rehash of the Roman Empire’s expansionism. If this cultural hegemony is not accepted, invasion is the last but not the least option. Crocker cites that how the state of emergency becomes the rule after 9/11:

United States policy and practice immediately after September quickly expanded under the dominant narrative to include prolonged detention of more than 500 persons without due process of law, extraordinary rendition of “suspects” to countries where they are tortured, actual commission of torture, and extra-judicial killing. All of these practices and policies have been actions taken in accord with a state of exception (2007, p. 307).

Just as in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, people are tortured and they are not judged for the accusation in this ‘free world’. Todorov claims that political truths ‘terrorizing the terrorists’ within a Manichean vision make civilization a barbarism easily. The words ‘clashing civilizations’, ‘war on terror’, ‘just war’, and ‘new world order’ operate only to precipitate the reverse action:

What is your opinion about what is called the “clash of civilizations”? Osama Bin Laden replied: ‘I say there is no doubt that it exists. The “clash of civilizations” is a very clear story, proved by the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet, and no true believer who proclaims his faith should doubt these truths.’ In 2002, other Islamists published a brochure entitled *The Inevitability of the Clash of Civilisations*; ever since then, the idea of a ‘clash’ has been greeted with wild enthusiasm in their circles (Todorov, 2010, p. 91).

By ‘democratic’ mission grounded on binarism, history is doomed to repeat itself for Todorov. He astutely insists that “the fear of barbarians is what risks making us barbarian. And we will commit a worse evil than that which we initially feared. History teaches us this lesson: the cure can be worse than the disease” (2010, p. 6). This self-criticism of Western civilization blurs the lines between civilization and barbarism. From a similar angle of vision, Bhabha draws attention to “‘barbaric nationalism’ in the West raising walls and underscoring borders again:

As barbarism stirs in the midst of our own interconnected civilization, the barbarians are no longer at the gates. Today, the barbarians police the gates and the victims are migrants and refugees who, in Arendt's poignant description, are "the oppressed history-suffering groups" (2018, p. 8).

As well as colonial empires, the apartheid regime, and post-apartheid South Africa, *Waiting for the Barbarians* is the story of this internal barbarism of the West. In opposition to materialist and postcolonial critics, his subjective history does not evade History or its reality. Coetzee's allegory is a literary resistance. He questions the big narratives like 'humanism' and 'democracy' of the Western civilization in his own way. In *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the scenes of torture by Colonel Joll to show "the meaning of humanity" (p. 126) and barbarism of the Empire are par excellence of such a strict criticism that is linking modern democracies to the former empires. Therefore, this neocolonialism does not only describe Africa, but it is a global condition as a neoimperialism. Instead of global cultural exchanges, torture becomes the language to communicate with the other if s/he does not desire her/his own cultural repression.

From *Dusklands* to *Disgrace*, master-slave dialectics is subverted. Power relations are inverted. This operates as divine justice because the apartheid and the Empire prepare their own finality. The problem is that the former tortured becomes the new torturer as is in the case of Boers detained in camps by British force who becomes the builder of the apartheid regime. In a similar vein, violence in the post-apartheid era is a recurrence of history. Instead of legitimizing this situation, Coetzee questions this repeating violence by denouncing how naturalized orders are constructed not only by the state and its institutions but also by its language defining self by othering the Other. But, it is not the irony of fate. It is the result of the actions the ruler has made. Similar to Vico's secular historicism, Coetzee demystifies history in his fiction.

Even if he subverts and demystifies the History of the Empire, Magistrate is not out of it. He is at the margins. This marginal position has similarities with Coetzee. He is "a white South African who late in life became a white Australian and, in between, lived for years as a white in the United States, where whiteness as a social reality is more masked than in South Africa or Australia but is still there" (Coetzee and Kurtz, 2015, pp. 77-78). No matter how hard he pushes the limits until the margins, his life story, whether in South Africa, Australia or U.S., is encapsulated in the white world

imposing its own truths on others. The next section will discuss Coetzee's and Magistrate's marginality and their subjective hi/stories against dialectics and teleology.

## **2. 1. Subjective History**

This section presents the Enlightenment ideology to reveal its remnants in neo-liberal discourses. Then, the conceptual history of barbarism is made to reveal the hierarchal order of the present. After that, the genealogy of posthistory is done to understand J. M. Coetzee's here and now position. To comprehend his relation to history, his life and literary style is examined. The subjective history of Magistrate is read from the angle of posthistory.

Colonialism is not only a historical period but also a discursive methodology to justify invading lands, killing people, and exploiting their resources. Neither Western historiography nor philosophy is out of this discourse. The idea of linear progress and rationality becomes the principal interest of the Enlightenment aiming at secularizing and naturalizing the world within the notion of universality. This scientific methodology presents the sole universal knowledge by undermining other knowledge practices all around the world. With the Treaty of Westphalia, the Western empires pay homage to each other's sovereignty. Wars of Religion end and pastoral power of the Church is replaced by the rationality of *raison d'Etat*. Westphalianism of objective rational states and the French Revolution's principles become the ideal, whereas it constructs its dichotomy immediately because "Europeans have only been able to make themselves humanbeings by creating slaves and monsters" (Sartre, 2001, p.151). By comparison and contrast, many discourses are invented. The darkness of the East and the South becomes the opposite of the Enlightenment. Barbarism, cannibalism, backwardness, despotism, and stagnation begin to signify the non-West. On the other hand, the West is rational, free, and civilized. To this end, Condorcet asks that "Will not the slavery of countries subjected to kings, the barbarity of African tribes, and the ignorance of savages gradually vanish?" (1795, p. 317). "The divine gift of reason" (Herder, 1800, p. 442) is indispensable towards the "one final goal" (Comte, 1974, p. 194) of civilized humanity that "distinguishes a wealthy and powerful nation from savages or barbarians" (Mill, 1859, p. 160).

In this discourse, progressive history proves their claims right due to neocolonialism. It is seen as devolution. Colonized people are still immature to develop. A long historical experience of Europe is before them. Without its evolutionary phases, humanity is not possible for them. First of all, they need to be free from religion, despotism, and tradition because they make them unfree and irrational. Kant narrates that the 'continued process of enlightenment' is just like the vertical growth of trees in a forest. If one of them matures horizontally, it cannot be enlightened and stays in dark. Moreover, he sees antagonism among societies as a balancing mechanism by nature that plans to order the progress from barbarism to civilization. This point of view takes colonizers as civilized and reckons inequality as an antagonistic reality of nature:

The human race could multiply and, like a beehive, send out colonists in all directions from the centre-colonists who were already civilised. This epoch also saw the beginning of human inequality, that abundant source of so much evil but also of everything good; this inequality continued to increase thereafter (1991, p. 230).

For his great federation, wars and crimes are inevitable because they are natural. Accordingly, colonialism is a watershed for the ultimate ideal society. Colonized people have a stoned natural order. For this reason, they are out of history. Historically, they do not have individual and free consciousness for Hegel. In the Orient, there are no humanistic institutions like laws or principles. There is only a free man who is the despot (1956, pp. 31-32).

This rationality of colonialism also constructs the discourse of neocolonialism. Even if colonialism ends, the colonial discourses endure under new masks. Democracy is the new route for ethical progress. To survive in the jungle of capitalism, nation-states must open their gates and climb the hierarchal ladder. If not, they are signified as anachronic states in the global world order. The First World becomes the ideal for the Third. Linearity within either in dialectics or in teleology is again at the scene. In this neo-liberal 'free world', they must open their gates for the free market to be able to live the liberal life of the West. If not, invasion is the last but not least alternative. Before that, the people must desire their own repression instead of this expensive military option. Therefore, they must see themselves from the gaze of the signifier. As

they believe in their own undemocratic character, the gates will be opened to import democracy.

This new discourse has its roots in the Age of Enlightenment. To desire colonialism, the civilization lexicon makes people believe their own barbarism. At first, barbarians are associated with their lands. In Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopedia*, the concept of barbarian gains a temporal dimension:

There is this difference between savage peoples and barbarous peoples: the former are small, dispersed nations that do not want to join together, whereas barbarians often join together, as happens when one leader has subjected others. Natural liberty is the sole purpose of savage government; along with this liberty, nature and climate almost alone dominate them. Occupied with hunting or with the pastoral life, they do not burden themselves with religious practices, and they adopt no religion that commands them (Louis, 2020).

This temporalization is based on Enlightenment historiography. The eighteenth century's view of barbarians leaves territorialization of the concept back and inserts it within dialectics. Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Law* defines barbarity within body politics by which union among them is guaranteed by the body of the chief in the clan (1989, pp. 290-291). The idyllic nature of the savages constitutes the first stage of temporal historiography of Montesquieu. Yet, he still territorializes to explain the 'nature' of the differences between the North and the South, the West, and the East. Even the barbarians of the North and the West are more civilized than the others who live in "the climate of slavery" (p. 282) and have in their spirit "natural laziness" (p. 237).

Barbarism is historicized to legitimize the idea of progress. "The African has become not only the Other who is everyone else except me, but rather the key which, in its abnormal differences, specifies the identity of the Same" (Mudimbe, 1988, p. 25). This diachrony constitutes a hierarchal epistemological order by which the rest is anachronized culturally and historically.

After decolonization, nation-states are built by formerly colonized people. According to this linear history, they step forward for progress. For dialectics, on the other hand, non-aligned socialist states become the antithesis before the phase of the synthesis. Hence, colonialism and post-colonialism are seen as historical processes. This is the chronology from barbarism to civilization. However, this march is not seen

as progress but as a failed enterprise by the Western canon. Law becomes the West, the disorder becomes the rest again. ‘The white man’s burden’ becomes ‘the manifest destiny’ to rule the world and make it free, peaceful, and orderly. Rationality, progress, and universality of Enlightenment are at the stage again.

Before the birth of postcolonial theory, the anticolonial spirit is not only political to found socialist states but also has a counter epistemology for another humanity arising from national consciousness bereft of the white masks. The subject is a historical agent with a social and political consciousness who gives up seeing himself/herself from the gaze of the West. After independence, nationalism hinders the progression to socialism. Therefore, post-colonial states become a failed dialectics for the dialectical materialist vision. This neocolonialism becomes devolution for Western historiography. Their common linearity constitutes today’s discourse of failed-states. This self-orientalisation is because of the development lexicon of neo-liberalism. The ruins of barbarism loom over the present.

Posthistory tries to evade the unilinearity. After the Protests of 1968, structuralism and post-structuralism, the historical social agent becomes an individual and oppositional realism disintegrates with Marxism. Disappointment towards trade unions and communist parties embracing social democracy triggers the birth of a theoretical left. The role of history over subjects is questioned. Hegelian and Lukacsian totalitarian synthesis for an organic unity is left behind. The meaning in philosophy has already been replaced by sign. After Ferdinand de Saussure’s synchronic approach to language appeared in the 1920s, structuralists have modified the theory to culture and history in a way that history is associated with narrativism just like literature. In this sign system, the reflection of reality is not possible because we create our world with the innate linguistic structures of our minds. Thus langue is transformed into structure and parole into particular events. Because the texts before a historian are linguistic and thus symbolic, his/her choice for which document should be gathered for a particular purpose, how it is explained, how the relationship between the time of document and the present of a historian are related and subjective experience of him/her are all determining factors for objectivity and subjectivity discussions in history (see Ricoeur, 1965, pp. 41–57). History becomes a metahistory and fiction. It is a “true novel”

(Veyne, 1984, p. x). Influenced by Northrop Frye, Hayden White modifies his myth typology into a narrational form of history. “To provide a verbal image of ‘reality’ (White, 1978, p. 122)” both historians and authors narrate:

Although historians and writers of fiction may be interested in different kinds of events both the forms of their respective discourses and their aims in writing are often the same. In addition, in my view, the techniques or strategies that they use in the composition of their discourses can be shown to be substantially the same, however different they may appear on a purely surface, or dictional, level of their texts (1978, p. 121).

Claude Levi-Strauss remarks that “History is a discontinuous set composed of domains of history, each of which is defined by a characteristic frequency and by a differential coding of before and after” (1966, pp. 259-60). Michel Foucault places Western history in an epistemic genealogical division. He rejects directional history and the ultimate truth for the sake of fragmentary and multivalent knowledge. The theological episteme is the first, classical episteme is the second in that world is ordered, and lastly modern episteme bases empirical man for the source of knowledge. When it comes to postmodern episteme, theology, order, and unity are all problematized and fragmented. His archaeological examination deals with how to structure the episteme within its own order. Even though each episteme may succeed the former, they are not progressive but discontinuous. His sequential effective history is not bound to fate or to any regulations. He writes history neither in terms of the past nor the present; he writes the history of the present (1984, p. 88). This is “a historical ontology of ourselves” (Foucault, 1984, p. 45) and “writing the history of the present” (Foucault, 1995, p. 31) archeologically, genealogically, and critically is to decipher historically constructed discourses and the limits for the question of freedom. Still, the life of humanity has an end whether s/he has killed God or not. “As the archaeology of our thought easily shows, man is an invention of recent date. And one perhaps nearing its end” (Foucault, 2005, p. 422). This finitude is the end of historically structured man. In his reading of Kant’s Enlightenment, Foucault is skeptical to the maturing progress:

I do not know whether we will ever reach mature adulthood. Many things in our experience convince us that the historical event of the Enlightenment did not make us mature adults, and we have not reached that stage yet (1984, p. 49).

History is not continuous anymore. Hence the subject cannot have a historical role or a historical objective in this non-diachronic but synchronic moment. Hegelian



and Marxist dialectics end. The sign-system between power and the subject dominates the theory. Later, the structures of epistemological violence of liberalism and humanism are deconstructed. Subjective existential questionings target Enlightenment rationalism and its idea of progress. For this Anti-Hegelian criticism, historical development is an illusion. Nihilism and pessimism take place the future betterment. Truth is inside life's moments rather than inside history. The moment at present is a gateway between the eternities of past and future for Nietzsche, the convergence of eternity and temporality for Kierkegaard, and a tangent at sphere half of which is sinking past and rising future is the other half for Schopenhauer. This moment is somewhat a becoming or opening. By the unification of events (not time), history is understood because it is not an objective time but a subjective one determined by personal contacts with life. This existential thought protects the individual against the generalizing theses for history. Nietzsche comes forth with a genealogical point organizing random moments of values rather than facts into a historical span. Against the paradox between the overall frame and individual moments, Nietzsche brings forth an ever-processing eternal recurrence. His genealogy is not made up of time sequence but of unrepeatable momentary events:

Rather, it [evolution of a thing] is a sequence of more or less profound, more or less independent processes of appropriation, including the resistances used in each instance, the attempted transformations for purposes of defence or reaction, as well as the results of successful counterattacks (1956, p. 210).

The postcolonial theory was born in this post-structural and post-historical atmosphere. From a here and now perspective, the many Caribbean and Indian postcolonial critics welcome the present with its hybrid and creole cultures to dam the linearity. Materialist critics, on the other hand, are haunted by the Hegelian linearity within the Marxian dialectics. Like posthistory, culturalist readings are after an ahistorical and a political individual. Even if s/he is not a liberal bourgeoisie character, hybridity runs the risk of transforming into multiculturalism that is the cultural ideology of postmodern capitalism. Post-colonial states are either criticized for their failure to found a socialist state or for being unsuccessful to build a democratic/cosmopolitan state. They become neocolonial states. Linearity lingers on postcolonial theory too.

As an academician, J. M. Coetzee has a close connection with posthistory, poststructuralism, and postcolonialism. His relation with history is not merely empiricist or inductive. As a result of his availability for access to the huge library of the University of Texas, Coetzee reads texts on colonialism and faces the deductive history of colonizers imposed on South Africa. He realizes that the country's history was not written for the country, but for the interests of colonizers:

In the library I came upon books unopened since the 1920s: reports on the territory of South West Africa by its German explorers and administrators, accounts of punitive expeditions against the Nama and Herero, dissertations on the physical anthropology of the natives, monographs by Carl Meinhof on the Khoisan languages. I read the makeshift grammars put together by missionaries, went further back in time to the earliest linguistic records of the old languages of the Cape, word lists compiled by seventeenth-century seafarers, and then followed the fortunes of the Hottentots in a history written not by them, but for them, from above, by travellers and missionaries, not excluding my own remote ancestor Jacobus Coetzee, floruit 1760. Years later, in Buffalo, still pursuing this track, I was to venture my own contribution to the history of the Hottentots: a memoir of a kind that went on growing till it had been absorbed into a first novel, *Dusklands* (1992, p. 52).

The first confrontation with untold history begins for him in that library. Within the history of colonialism, his great grandfather Jacobus Coetzee also has a role and it brings the burden of colonialism on his shoulders from his early novel to the last one. In *Dusklands* which may be the least allegorical work of Coetzee's career, the great grandfather's story to settle in South Africa is not narrated as a heroic memory but the author demystifies the Eurocentric history of colonialism in his earliest novel:

The present work ventures to present a more complete and therefore more just view of Jacobus Coetzee. It is a work of piety but also a work of history: a work of piety toward an ancestor and one of the founders of our people, a work which offers the evidence of history to correct certain of the anti-heroic distortions that have been creeping into our conception of the great age of exploration when the White man first made contact with the native peoples of our interior (1998a, p. 108).

Coetzee examines becoming "a tool in the hands of history" (1998a, p. 106). He revises history that the apartheid regime mythologizes and propagandizes in history lessons in South Africa's schools. The repressed history is one way or the other comes to the light. Rather than simply mimicking or mirroring what he learns at school, Coetzee narrates a *hi/story* in his novels by using literary methods like allegory and analogy. Because memory is malleable and psychology is dynamic, his perspective on the past is either influenced by his current postmodern condition or inner and outer forces making his memory:

Historical understanding is understanding of the past as a shaping force upon the present. Insofar as that shaping force is tangibly felt upon our lives, historical understanding is part of the present. Our historical being is part of our present. It is that part of our present—namely the part that belongs to history—that we cannot fully understand, since it requires us to understand ourselves not only objects of historical forces but as subjects of our own historical self-understanding (Coetzee, 2015, p. 15).

This historical self-understanding keeps abreast of memory-making. By the time the act of remembering works, what is remembered is bound to the time with its present interpretations. When a sense of taking a lesson from history appears, there comes into sight a selective memory fitting our current wishes. Therefore, the remembered things can easily be selected and new memories can be constructed on them according to the present time of an individual. Then, there appears a re/invention of history. By the same token, colonial history is written to excuse the old and to justify the present:

The rhetorical strategy of this imaginary history book is the same strategy we use today: we set limits to the moral capacities of the ancestors, making them, in effect, the unevolved, unenlightened ones, the children, while we become the adults (Coetzee, 2015, p. 89).

Coetzee faces the past and collective consciousness at the present. Social consciousness can be repressive for e.g. colonial sorrows or it can be repressed by an external hegemony/an internal regime controlling the country, but as long as an individual does not face it or diagnose the repressed unconsciousness, s/he becomes the very part of that repression, avoidance and selective memory. And s/he then shares the burden or the guilt of the ancestors. So, can one be blamed due to his/her race's crime? This question for national shame has been occupying J. M. Coetzee. For him, the ancestors (civilization) are refined from the past crimes in three ways: "a) colonization was a fashion at the *Zeitgeist*, so they cannot be blamed; b) we are more developed and civilized than them, so we should not query their less development at that time, c) there is nothing to do, past is past" (see Coetzee and Kurtz, 2015, pp. 85-89).

It is believed that the failure of the past will not recur as generations replace the former. Therefore, one should look forward because the past is over. What is done during colonialism is because of the circumstances of the *Zeitgeist*. Yet, Coetzee does not believe in such dialectics or teleology. His subjective history is post-historical because history is subjective, thus, unreliable.

Placing Coetzee in an allegorical place and time does not always seem possible. Still, he does not offer a counter-history. Because episodic memory does not tell but narrates, he writes from his own position no matter whether it is encircled by outer forces or not. In a sense, he creates his own past by selecting what is given to him to construct the history. It is possible to say that the school lessons he took made the bad memories of the colonizer past and of the apartheid repressed, but they were somehow unearthed by the subordinated people. Even if the regime narrated an official history, the living past of the subaltern people with their protests and the violence by the regime in return made him vigilant towards the grandnarratives. The problem is then, why does he find himself guilty of the past while he is not a torturer but a writer? Is writing giving him a safe space? Can he release himself from the sorrows by writing?

Head claims that “As a producer of English-language novels, Coetzee occupies a qualified site as ‘post-colonizer’, in which the sense of guilt and taint — a tempered complicity — can help structure a new space of aesthetic autonomy” (2010, p. 17). This role as the ‘post-colonizer’ originates from the old colonizer role of his race in South Africa. Now, the imported European-oriented postmodernist style brings to the country’s literature a new kind of hegemony for some critics. The space of South Africa and its history in his novels, on the other hand, makes postcolonialism an influential part of his style. After all, the two –isms are engaged because there is not modernity without colonialism:

Without the postcolonial time-lag the discourse of modernity cannot, I believe, be written; with the *projective past* it can be inscribed as a historical narrative of alterity that explores forms of social antagonism and contradiction that are not yet properly represented, political identities in the process of being formed, cultural enunciations in the act of hybridity, in the process of translating and transvaluing cultural differences (Bhabha, 1994, p. 252).

Then, not dissimilar to posthistory, postcolonialism changes the standard definitions of modernity and its sense of history flowing linearly. For Bhabha, the postcolonial way of handling history is beyond mere binaries:

The time-lag of postcolonial modernity moves *forward*, erasing that compliant past tethered to the myth of progress, ordered in the binarisms of its cultural logic: past/present, inside/outside. This *forward* is neither teleological nor is it an endless slippage. It is the function of the *lag* to slow down the linear, progressive time of modernity to reveal its 'gesture', its *tempi*, 'the pauses and stresses of the whole performance' (1994, p. 253).

Slowing down and legging Hegelian dialectics separates postcolonialism from Eurocentric modernism and Enlightenment philosophy. The ever-flowing time is dammed. “The damming of the stream of real life” (Benjamin, 2003, p. 13) for postcolonialism means that the past does not simply pass, but it projects its legacies and memories. For Coetzeean literature, the act of writing in that postcolonial aura means writing yourself and your *hi/story*, but with its choices:

I am tempted to try out the following definition of autobiography: that is a kind of self-writing in which you are constrained to respect the facts of your history. But which facts? All the facts? No. All the facts are too many facts. You choose the facts insofar as they fall in with your evolving purpose (1992, p. 18).

He writes this *hi/story* by means of post-structuralism questioning the role of language in narration:

He proceeds very much as if our identities, our sense of self, are constructed, and hence can be scrutinised through the operations of written language, and, later in his career, the manipulations of narrative form. This conviction has allowed him to explore in-depth, in ways that would be painful were they not so coded, the fine connections between writing a life, life-writing, and writing fiction; between Jakobson’s expressive function of language, as against his symbolic function (Boehmer, 2016, p. 436).

The terms like metahistory, masterrace, metanarratives, and their discourses make his style not favorable in South African space. He is criticized for being a part of the Eurocentric and the Commonwealth atmosphere. Coetzee who puts himself into “liberal, post-religious culture” (Coetzee and Kurtz, 2015, p. 4) reveals the reason why European intellectual and literary tradition is his choice rather than an African/postcolonial one that:

The short answer is that in 1960 there was no South African writer, novelist or poet, to whom I as a young man could turn for a significant and vital lead in how to respond to, how to feel about, and therefore how to write about, my homeland (Coetzee, 1993, p. 7).

The mainstream neo-Marxian reality in South Africa, on the other hand, does not fit with the highly questioned universal truths within postmodern manners:

By claiming that history and the novel are discourses, Coetzee articulates a postmodern awareness of cultural construction and mediation of the real in diverse discourses, showing that our experience of the historical real has changed in the postmodern world and that we should not accept reality as a stable thing (Neimneh, 2011, p. 22).

Even though he finds a place to settle in intellectual and literary tradition as a “first-world novelist” (Huggan and Watson, 2014, p. 1), the writer still locates at the margins in South African space. He feels in depth a lack of sense of belonging to his

race and to black people and the way they narrate the history either in history books or in literary works. Feeling like an outsider to both Afrikaner and black community begins at Coetzee's early ages. In *Boyhood*, he tells in a third-person narration that how his mother's contradictions are inadmissible for him:

He is always trying to make sense of his mother. Jews are exploiters. she says; yet she prefers Jewish doctors because they know what they are doing. Coloured people are the salt of the earth, she says, yet she and her sisters are always gossiping about pretend-whites with secret Coloured backgrounds. He cannot understand how she can hold so many contradictory beliefs at the same time (Coetzee, 1998b, p. 37).

Being an outsider continues in America when he protests Vietnam War costing him finding no place in universities to teach. He also condemns Australia's Aussie Laws of 2005 on terrorism by saying that "I used to think that the people who created (South Africa's) laws that effectively suspended the rule of law were moral barbarians, now I know they were just pioneers ahead of their time" ("Aussie laws 'like apartheid'", 2005). Later, he criticizes the Australian government's immigration policy as a "shame" (Australia's Shame, 2019). Instead of erecting new walls, more humane politics needs to be implemented globally because children are drowning in the seas while crossing the seas and oceans:

Cross-border migration is a fact of life in today's world, and numbers will only increase as the earth heats up, former pastures turn to desert, and islands are swallowed by the sea. There are messy but humane—or at least human—ways of reacting to this world-historical phenomenon, just as there are neat but inhuman ways (Coetzee, 2019).

Therefore, Head calls him a 'post-colonizer' of whom "interim position in a very particular corner of postcolonial writing: the literature of the 'post-colonizer', which here locates a transitional site between Europe and Africa" (2010, p. ix) characterizes his literary style. As "a doubtful Afrikaner" (Attwell, 2015, p. 20), Coetzee argues that he is alienated and marginalized firstly because of his language choice and then of his sect:

No Afrikaner would consider me an Afrikaner. That, it seems to me, is the acid test for group membership, and I don't pass it. Why not? In the first place, because English is my language, and has been since childhood. An Afrikaner is a person whose first language is Afrikaans. . . . In the second place, because I am not embedded in the culture of the Afrikaner (I have never, for instance, belonged to a Reformed Church) and have been shaped by that culture only in a perverse way. What am I, then, in this ethno-linguistic sense? I am one of many people in this country who have become detached from their ethnic roots, whether those were in Dutch South Africa or Indonesia or Britain or Greece or wherever, and have joined a pool of no recognizable ethnos whose language of exchange is English (1992, pp. 341-342).

As a child living in fantasies attached to the real-life to deal with the puritan world of settlers makes him a man of fiction at his early ages. No matter his literary career and intellectual discourse may carry a sense of Eurocentric manner, living at the margins of society -especially at the margins of his own race- presents him the chance of interrogating the Eurocentric order he sees in his own country. His intertextuality is bound not only to European literary canon but also to the texts of history in South Africa. In this way, his texts become “a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture” (Barthes, 1977, p. 146). This culture and tradition are not an either/or or neither/nor choice but both. After he meets with Jacques Derrida’s view on language and mother tongue, Coetzee doubts that he has an “Anglo Weltanschauung” (2013, p. 73) making him structure the world he lives in. Rather than this Anglo-centered world, he finds himself at margins again. In a letter to Paul Auster, he describes that situation: “That is why I say that it is possible to have a first language yet nonetheless not feel at home in it: it is, so to speak, one’s primary tongue but not one’s mother tongue” (2013, p. 72).

From the early novels to the latest ones, Coetzee’s marginalization and loneliness can easily be traced through the characters’ own adventures. David in *Jesus Trilogy*, K. in *Michael K.* or Mrs. Curren in *Age of Iron* lives an isolated life. This isolation is from space and time. Characters try to free themselves from the conflicts in society and historical determinisms, making them castaways deported from “the wheels of history” (2004a, p. 161). By doing this, the act of expression is questioned in post-structuralist manners. Characters are tried to be liberated from the historical and social structures in their language. Interrogating limits and capacities of language and expression supplies Coetzee a way of pondering on the act of narration. This approach put him aside from critical realism. He asks which truth or whose truth questions against realism’s determinist definition for reality:

I may be making up this story, but for mysterious reasons that have to do with its internal coherence, its plausibility, its sense of rightness and inevitability, it is nevertheless in some sense true, or at least it tells us something true about our lives and the world we live in (2015, p. 8).

The other way around is just like Plato’s view on poets: “The maker of the phantom, the imitator, we say, understands nothing of what is but rather of what looks

like it is” (1991, p. 284). Critical realism locates Coetzee in such a place due to his allegories. But the question is that are his theoretical allegories available to put into practice in real-life? Novelists can make their own worlds just as “Emma Bovary tries to live out a fantasy life (tries to live like the heroine in one of the romances she devours as an adolescent), but the world won't allow it” (Coetzee and Kurtz, 2015, p. 22). While the world has a controlling, restricting, and censoring role, will novelists construct their own worlds in their novels? Then, to whom this world will belong? Can it be shared with others? Will it have any chance to change any part of the real world? These realist questions derive from a pragmatic view of literature and resonate with the classic discussion: art for art's sake versus art for society's sake. Or is art for the self's sake?

Coetzee alleges that “My ideal reader is, I would hope, myself” (Morphet, 1984, p. 33). This statement may seem to position the writer in a location where he writes only for himself. But it is just because of reader-response criticism he has an acquaintance with as an academician who rejects the diagnostic and curing role of literature. Coetzee discusses that:

I don't have much respect for reality. I think of myself as using rather than reflecting reality in my fiction. If the world of my fictions is a recognisable world, that is because (I say to myself) it is easier to use the world at hand than to make up a new one (2015, p. 69).

One way or the other, a written document is not a passive material as it reaches a reader building a dialogue with it who makes it active. Such a situation is coined ‘living reading’ by Coetzee. While paradoxical with his ideal reader statement above, he asserts that “the art of the writer, an art that is nowhere to be studied though it can be picked up, lies in creating a shape (a phantasm capable of speech), and an entry point that will allow the reader to inhabit the phantasm” (2015, p. 179). For him, there is no novel without fiction whose author needs a reader whether he writes for himself or not. His style is far away from literary narcissism or elitism.

Such contradictions by him make critics define Coetzee in varying remarks. While Walkowitz qualifies Coetzee's fiction “transnational” (2009, p. 569), Stanton as “global” (2005, p. 1), Lopez and Wiegandt place them into a “cosmo-local” category (2016, p. 121). Attridge characterizes Coetzee's fiction “as an instance of late



modernism or perhaps neomodernism” because his work “follows on from Kafka and Beckett, not Pynchon and Barth” (2005, p. 2). James and Seshagiri, on the other hand, terms him as “meta modernist” (2014, p. 87) along with Julian Barnes, Ian McEwan, Cynthia Ozick, Will Self, and Zadie Smith. Poyner approaches the author’s style as “postcolonial late-modernist” (2009, p. 10). Due to the use of metafiction, Michael Green characterizes him “historiographical novelist” (1999, p. 135). Because he uses postmodernist and post-colonialist elements, it is hard to categorize him simply as modernist. Instead, due to the fact that he draws on both modernism and postmodernism in a postcolonial aura, pure categorizations do not fit with him. Though his relation to realism, modernism, post-modernism, and postcolonialism makes his works puzzling to be analyzed in a single method; “the obliquity of Coetzee's writing is the sign of its precision” (Huggan and Watson, 2014, p. 10). Drawing on his real-life experiences, following modernist Kafka and Beckett, using postmodernist figurative elements and depicting postcolonial situations in his fiction do not label him in only one but in many.

The Nobel Prize motivation of Swedish academy is for the author “who in innumerable guises portrays the surprising involvement of the outsider” (“The Nobel Prize in Literature”, 2003). The announcer, the Swedish writer Per Wastberg, declares him as “You have unveiled the masks of our civilization and uncovered the topography of evil” (“The Nobel Prize in Literature”, 2003). The origin of such a courageous confrontation is confusing. Is it an individual struggle against his race or is it because of the sympathy towards the other? The role of black characters in his novels, their speeches, and their silences has always been disputed. In a recent book *The Good Story: Exchanges on Truth, Fiction and Psychotherapy* in which he is interviewed by Arabella Kurtz, Coetzee rejects philosopher Thomas Nagel’s epistemological questions to ‘What is it like to be a bat?’ Because for him, there is another way from “1) What would it be like for a human being to be a bat? 2) What is it like for a bat to be a bat?” (2015, p. 136). Coetzee proposes that one can fictionalize how it is like to be a bat which means sympathizing with the other. This view is against the claim for “the only thing we may certainly know the truth about is oneself” (p. 136). Thus, if sympathy can be learned in a society, it will be an ideal state for him:

In fact, that would be my notion of a good society, even an ideal society: one in which, for each of us, our fiction (our fantasy) of ourself goes unchallenged; and where some grand Leibnizian presiding force sees to it that all the billions of personal fictions interlock seamlessly, so that none of us need stay awake at night wondering anxiously whether the world we inhabit is real (2015, p. 177).

This recent interview is somehow paradoxical because a reader can come across the failure of sympathy of white characters and the silences of the black ones in many of his novels. Still, his last novels which are written after leaving the South African space unfasten historical bonds. A land in which races, colors and languages mix becomes the author's ideal state where a new nation is built by leaving the past behind. In reality, nevertheless, he is aware of such a fantasy because history does not release the present just like the portrait of *Angelus Novus* drawn by Paul Klee. Coetzee problematizes this haunting history even in his late novels:

I am simply a new man in a new land, and that is a good thing. But I have not let go of the idea of history, the idea of change without beginning or end. Ideas cannot be washed out of us, not even by time. Ideas are everywhere. The universe is instinct with them (2014, p. 115).

In opposition to these words of the protagonist in *Childhood of Jesus*, one of his colleagues illustrates the oscillations of Coetzee towards history:

If history, like climate, were a higher reality, then history would have manifestations which we would be able to feel through our senses. But where are these manifestations?' He looks around. 'Which of us has ever had his cap blown off by history?' There is silence. 'No one. Because history has no manifestations. Because history is not real. Because history is just a made-up story' (2014a, p. 115).

Even if "history is merely a pattern we see in what has passed. It has no power to reach into the present" (2014a, p. 116), the protagonist believes in "the verdict of history" (p. 117) catching the present by its roots. On the other hand, Michael K. tries to change the course of history even if he is "tumbled over the lip into the cauldron of history" (Coetzee, 2004a, p. 151). Such a fluctuation is one of the leading problems Coetzee tackles in his novels. Even so, "he cannot help striking one as the most ahistorical of writers at the same time" (Watson, 2014, p. 21).

He refuses to be an object of the metahistory of his race. Yet, becoming a subject does not lose the bonds of the roots. This time, he is subjected to his masterrace no matter how he tries to escape. It silences the black characters and it blocks his sympathy with them. While he subjects himself to the true history of the past, his race, color, language, and class continue to authorize his life however he pushes hard to

cope with it. His ontological struggle frees Michael K. from the barriers of camp. He leaves himself alone from ‘civilization’, war, regime, hegemony, race, and its language. Even if this passive resistance seems like a glory; he is so weakened by these forces and their discourses that he hardly survives at the margins alone just like Magda of *In the Heart of the Country*:

I need people to talk to, brothers and sisters or fathers and mothers, I need a history and a culture, I need hopes and aspirations, I need a moral sense and a teleology before I will be happy, not to mention food and drink. What will become of me now that I am alone? For I am alone again, alone in the historical present... (Coetzee, 1982, p. 132).

Such margins are out of the scope of official history. Therefore, Coetzee writes his own *hi/story* without imposing an authority. By questioning authorization, he eludes functioning just as the apartheid hegemony dictating its own rules. He not only rejects God-like omniscient narration but also prophet-like catharsis narration. He has literary ethics rather than any ethics in his works, be it social or religious. He is after ethics of responsibility contemplating altruism. To Atwell’s question for the moral duty of an author in *Doubling the Point*, Coetzee replies:

To me, duty can be of two kinds: it can be an obligation imposed on the writer by society, by the soul of the society, by society in its hopes and dreams; or it can be something constitutional to the writer, what one might loosely call conscience but what I would tentatively prefer to call an imperative, a transcendental imperative (1992, p. 340).

By speaking without his own voice in the novels, he resists the authorization. He either writes in third-person or makes characters speak and tell their own stories. Thanks to this fictional technique, he does not own any words in the text. Rather than an owner of the sentences, he functions as a musical conductor. Thus, authority is transcended by fiction. But, both society and history have a strong effect on place and time in his literature. He offers his “writing as a Janus-faced vocation: at once social and personal-transcendental” (Danta et al., 2011, p. xvii). In an interview with Attwell, Coetzee states that rather than anti-heroic or messenger deeds, he is after the awareness just as the one who recognizes shadows in Plato’s cave:

I am not a herald of community or anything else, as you correctly recognize. I am someone who has intimations of freedom (as every chained prisoner has) and constructs representations – which are shadows themselves – of people slipping their chains and turning their faces to the light (1992, p. 341).

To construct an ideal ethical community is not his ultimate aim in his works. Nevertheless, his literature tries to transcend any master narrative or construction

imposing an imperative. The structures are deconstructed by the figurative speech in his works to see how the systems function. This is done astutely in *Waiting for the Barbarians*.

From the early novels to *Jesus Trilogy*, cleaning memories to begin a new ‘here and now’ life is his ideal for which he grapples with the grips of history and language:

When you travel across the ocean on a boat, all your memories are washed away and you start a completely new life. That is how it is. There is no before. There is no history. The boat docks at the harbour and we climb down the gangplank and we are plunged into the here and now. Time begins. The clock starts running (Coetzee, 2018, p. 232).

It is the result of the sense of exclusion from his childhood to the old ages that cast him out to the margins. No matter how hard he struggles against the Symbolic Order of the apartheid regime, Coetzee confesses that he carries the burden of his own white race in the Jerusalem Prize Speech:

Since there is no way of escaping the skin you born with (can the leopard change its spots?), you cannot resign from the caste. You can imagine resigning, you can perform a symbolic resignation, short of shaking the dust of the country off your feet, there is no way of actually doing it (1992, p. 97).

The spots signalize themselves in *Disgrace*. Masterrace permeates there in the protagonist’s speech and in the narrator’s. Unlike *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the narrator interrupts the story. It will be examined in detail in the second chapter.

As a linguist, Coetzee draws on language to deconstruct discursive relations in the novel by the Magistrate’s present-tense narration and passivized narration of the barbarians. When the novel’s structure is deconstructed, it is seen how passive clauses are used as a “rhetorical device” (Coetzee, 1980, p. 199). Yet, as he empathizes with the barbarian girl, the Magistrate moves away from the certainties of active discourses of Empire. Then, interpreting poplar slips and torture signs become uncertain for him after withdrawing activities of the Empire. The former agent Magistrate becomes a passive character in the story of the Empire. With such a linguistic strategy, Coetzee problematizes reality that “In this way, Coetzee illuminates how the “barbarians” in his novel become linguistically constructed, not as active subjects just beyond the gate, but as imagined agents added into the discursive “truth” of the narration” (Adams, 2015, p. 172). Just as the Magistrate, readers are not allowed to see what is happening in the torture room because

The ambiguity that the agentless sentence creates opens a space where we can see ourselves in relation to the dark chamber, not to fantastically imagine what it contains or to see its obscene spectacle but to consider where we lie—ethically—outside of it (Adams, 2015, p. 175).

The true challenge is not representing “the dark chamber” but “is how not to play the game by the rules of the state, how to establish one's own authority, how to imagine torture and death on one's own terms” (Coetzee, 1992, p. 364). Magistrate wishes to listen to the torture but faces its impossibility. Pain cannot be transferred or represented, but it can only be understood when it is experienced. This scene is connected with people tortured by the apartheid regime. Carrol Clarkson alleges that the difficulty in expressing thoughts in words is one of the leading concerns of Coetzee's oeuvre (2009, p. 107).

Representing is not authorship, but authority in Coetzee's works. This author/ity comes from the ‘masterlanguage’ of his first language and ‘metahistory’ of his race. For Rebecca Saunders context of a culture: its episteme, background information, common sense, and homogenous referents constitutes a hermeneutic law excluding what she calls “the zone of error” (2001, p. 223). By Magistrate, Coetzee interprets this traditional allegory of the apartheid regime outside the context and “parodies the *language* of apartheid” (p. 232). After the Magistrate finds new archeological signs outside the walls, he realizes a history before the History of the Empire:

“Now let us see what the next one says. See, there is only a single character. It is the barbarian character *war*, but it has other senses too. It can stand for *vengeance*, and, if you turn it upside down like this, it can be made to read *justice*. There is no knowing which sense is intended. That is part of barbarian cunning. "It is the same with the rest of these slips." I plunge my good hand into the chest and stir. "They form an allegory. They can be read in many orders. Further, each single slip can be read in many ways. Together they can be read as a domestic journal or they can be read as a plan of war, or they can be turned on their sides and read as a history of the last years of the Empire—the old Empire, *I mean*” (W, p. 122).

He finds out allegorical meaning that is far different from the stable and homogenous meaning of life in the Empire. He says that “Never before have I had the feeling of not living my own life on my own terms” (p. 43). After this, he decides that “I must assert my distance from Colonel Joll! I will not suffer for his crimes” (p. 48). He discovers other realities beyond the wall, however, he auto-censures the allegorizing at the end by saying “the old Empire, *I mean*” (p. 122). This intention places him within the confines of the Empire because no matter how much one tries to

liberalize himself from the discourses of the Empire, its historical burden cannot be eliminated. In the linguistic world of the Empire, there is no death for it. In a similar vein, the Magistrate is unsuccessful to interpret the wounds because he is encumbered with History just like Coetzee:

The liberal humanist magistrate eventually fails to translate the torture marks on the barbarian girl's body into the imperial master codes. In the magistrate's crisis of interpretation, which is also the crisis of the allegorical mode, Coetzee's novel highlights the fact that the liberal humanist discourse fails to recognize its discourse as discourse (Jani, 2013, p. 22).

Unlike Magistrate, the camp doctor in *Life&Times of Michael K.* understands Michael's allegorical journey escaping 'the cauldron of history'. He lives "in a packet outside time" (2004a, p. 60) "faraway the grinding of the wheels of history" (p. 161). He is after "the bread of freedom" (p. 146). He is neither a comrade nor a slave to the warring camps. For him, "What grows is for all of us. We are all the children of the earth" (p. 139). He lives as a man of nature without time and history. After a long examination, the doctor comprehends Michael's "originality of resistance" (p. 163):

'Your stay in the camp was merely an allegory, if you know that word. It was an allegory—speaking at the highest level—of how scandalously, how outrageously a meaning can take up residence in a system without becoming a term in it. Did you not notice how, whenever I tried to pin you down, you slipped away? I noticed. Do you know what thought crossed my mind when I saw you had got away without cutting the wire? "He must be a polevaulter"—that is what I thought. Well, you may not be a polevaulter, Michaels, but you are a great escape artist, one of the great escapees: I take off my hat to you!' (Coetzee, 2004a, p. 166).

This symbolic journey is not only an escape but also a resistance that is literary. He lives in an idyllic utopia. But, it is barbarism for the apartheid and its civilizational discourses. He is 'animal, dog, monkey, mouse, worm, parasite and fool' for their civilized reality. No matter how hard Coetzee tries to escape the Western teleology by a suprahistorical stance in his novels, the masterlanguage and the masternarrative haunts him. Still, he questions it in depth by cyclical history against the invented time of the Empire. One way or another, both dialectical metaphysics and teleological doctrine are Eurocentric and centered on the idea of linearity. For this reason, *Waiting for the Barbarians* is narrated in the present time, and chapters cycle in seasons. Against their reality, he presents a metafiction subverting the discourses of moral barbarians and their humanity. Nevertheless, it is historiographic because it is very hard to read it without context as it reminds the real events while reading.

In *Waiting for the Barbarians*, there is not a cultural interaction between ‘barbarians’ and ‘civilized’. After Magistrate’s central position at the periphery of the Empire is taken by the Third Bureau appointed by the imperial center, they do not wait for the barbarians and go after them. But, the barbarians are created in language at first. Then, it is materialized on their bodies by writing their back ‘ENEMY’. As a man of law, he does not sympathize with such violent actions. Then, he asks himself “who am I to assert my distance from him? I drink with them, I eat with them, I show him the sights, I afford him every assistance as his letter of commission requests, and more” (W, p. 6). “The distance between myself and her tortures, I realize, is negligible; I shudder” (W, p. 29). A common enemy brings about social anxiety. To consolidate the people of the Empire, barbarians are used as a term to define all the wrongs. Although it seems like a solution, ‘barbarians’ are passive characters in the novel while the soldiers are active. They are who create the victims. Magistrate becomes one of them after he picks up ‘the barbarian girl’ from the jail to his people. The Bureau considers this treason and tortures him before the folk. None of them opposes this persecution. For them, it is a festival. Because their reality is constructed by metanarratives of the official stories, torturing the invented barbarians is reasonable. For the Bureau, on the other hand, the scapegoat is found. The reality of the Empire dominates their minds in a way that they live in friend and foe dichotomy and fail to understand why he releases ‘barbarian girl’. This lack of sympathy and the fear from the other raise not only the walls of the Empire but also the mental walls in language. The mother tongue becomes a prison-house.

Dialogue is poor in *Age of Iron* too. South Africa in the novel is “a country prodigal of blood” (1990, p. 57). In *Waiting for the Barbarians*, Magistrate narrates that “There comes no reciprocal gaze but only my doubled image cast back at me” (W, p. 43). Similarly, Mrs. Curren tells that “Because in the look he gives me I see myself in a way that can be written” (1990, p. 8). Her dialogue with Verceuil is a weak exchange. He is an African living in the streets. Mrs. Curren shares her home with him. Still, the relation is fragile. Besides, she states that “He barely listens when I speak to him” (p. 20). The resisting blacks, on the other hand, construct their own discourses. For Mrs. Curren, on the other hand, comradeship “is just another of those

icy, exclusive, death-driven male constructions” (p. 137). The language of resistance becomes “ventriloquism, the legacy of Socrates, as oppressive in Africa as it was in Athens” (p. 91). She, nevertheless, advocates that “but what I think of them I must say in my own way” (p. 91).

Cancer consumes Mrs. Curren as racism consumes the apartheid. Her distance from the cruel regime is as far as her remoteness from the gorilla warfare that is terrorizing even children who stop going to school to fight in the streets. She asks her black domestic that “‘And when they grow up one day,’ I said softly, ‘do you think the cruelty will leave them?’” “They set people on fire and laugh while they burn to death. How will they treat their own children?” (p. 46). While the names of her children are Hope and Beauty, children are made iron to fight with the regime. As well as the regime, the resistance movement is barbarous for her. She reckons that South Africa is “A land that drinks rivers of blood and is never sated” (p. 58). It is “time for fire, time for an end, time for what grows out of ash to grow” (p. 59). As the remains of the racist apartheid regime, the ashes will not become fertile soil after independence. Coetzee’s anxiety for the future of South Africa continues in *Age of Iron*.

The language of resistance is the language of dialectics. No matter how they represent opposing sides, the civilizational lexicon of the apartheid and revolutionary discourse of resistance are comprised of unilinearity. Over individuals, they construct an objective history. Subjectivity is ignored. History is written in the name of black or white. The official history of the apartheid sanctifies the nation and legitimizes the crimes against Africans in the name of white people. Metanarratives oppress subjective moments of people. Reality is constructed after which people follow. Ideological state apparatuses hegemonize the minds of citizens. Symbolic Order of the state codes the signs in the official language. Individual significations are dominated by the master signifier. Imagination is smashed. The framework is presented either as a liberal bourgeois democracy or as a social(ist) realism. Neither dialectics nor linearity can escape the specter of colonialist discourses of the Enlightenment.

Magistrate, nevertheless, begins to recognize his own subjective history that is freed from the metanarratives of the Empire. Against the metahistory of the Empire



referring to the future in that barbarians will come, he tries to set a dialogue with them no matter how poor it is. When he looks at the girl “there comes no reciprocal gaze” (W, p. 43), but his own image is refracted. Still, he is the only one saying no to torture. People gather together to show that the barbarian story they have told to their children is accurate. After that, the Empire names him as a barbarian, not as the *One Just Man*, and Joll tells that his heroism will not be written in History for which Magistrate has dreamt a part in *the Imperial gazette* after his death. In the end, they are who prepare their own end and become the real barbarians. Neither Magistrate nor ‘the barbarians’ do anything. Activism finishes them. Their progressive metahistory ends even if waiting for the barbarians does not end in the novel. Magistrate evades this history and gives up writing a history book about the poplar slips he has excavated from the ruins of the former lives. Because history is a narration, there remains his story. History becomes *hi/story*. The past is narrated from the present reality. Therefore, history becomes unreliable. It is a metafiction. “Time has broken” (W, p. 47). He says “I wanted to live outside history. I wanted to live outside the history that Empire imposes on its subjects, even its lost subjects. I never wished it for the barbarians that they should have the history of Empire laid upon them” (p. 169). He distances himself from them and feels free. He tells himself that “I must assert my distance from Colonel Joll! I will not suffer for his crimes!” (W, p. 48). Magistrate’s evasion settles at the center of the margin again as Third Bureau leaves the frontier. Taking his position again symbolizes that the waiting will continue unless mental walls are demolished and barbarian figures are erased. He sees himself as “A jackal of Empire in sheep’s clothing” (p. 79).

It is the Empire that becomes the barbarian, tyrant, and enemy at the end of the novel. Before the state of emergency, there has been no war under the administration of Magistrate. But, the peace and order during the times of normal empire is also a lie. It is not without walls. The Empire has deported people from their own land and made them dependent:

Where civilization entailed the corruption of barbarian virtues and the creation of a dependent people, I decided, I was opposed to civilization; and upon this resolution I based the conduct of my administration. (I say this who now keep a barbarian girl for my bed!) (W, p. 41).

Empire, on the other hand, looks forward to “fresh starts, new chapters, clean pages” (p. 26). Its official history does not keep a record of its crimes. Instead, it creates reality to purify itself. While it is claimed that “we are the great miracle of creation” (p. 117), the other is represented as ‘barbarian, dark, wild animal, lazy, low, ugly, stupid and filthy’ in the novel. Coetzee allegorizes this Empire to argue that imperial aggression does not finish with modern democracies. They become visitors within the cycle of history as they turn into an empire just like the apartheid. He subverts the unilinearity of the Western historiography to narrate the imperial aggression hidden under the mask of democracy that is epitomized by the apartheid regime.

Even if Magistrate opposes imperial politics, he is not a political agent revolutionizing the Empire. He lets the wheels of history turn. Its linearity will not make it live forever. It will become a visitor in the cycle waiting for its replacement by the new power. The question is that does it mean a second barbarism? Will it be a neocolonialist state?

Magistrate’s posthistorical stance against linear History is not postcolonial. The chamber of history and of language hinders his escape. Magistrate is not an alternative to the political agency in dialectics or to bourgeois liberal humanism. For this reason, he does not offer a third space instead of demuting the barbarians unlike postcolonial novels or constitute a dialogical order, unlike postmodern novels. His space is the land of poor dialogue. Fanon claims that “For Hegel there is reciprocity; here the master laughs at the consciousness of the slave. What he wants from the slave is not recognition but work” (2008, p. 72). The colonizer does not recognize the other. Their relation is without consent. Africa is decolonized as the African subject stops seeing himself/herself from the gaze of the colonizer. Marxism is the leading force to end colonial exploitation and slavery. Local cultures and values like Ubuntu philosophy, on the other hand, are the premise of mental resistance. After independence, modern nation-states are founded many of which are ruled by black elites who are the comprador bourgeoisie of the former metropole. In Hegel, dialectics, and linearity unite. His objective rational state is a historical necessity of the present time while the empire corresponds to its own *zeitgeist*. This state grows from the ruins of savagery,

barbarism, and empires while Africa remains in “childhood” (1956, p. 109). Marx, on the other hand, claims that “Indian society has no history at all, at least no known history. What we call its history, is but the history of the successive intruders who founded their empires on the passive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society” (Marx, 1853). Without historical forces, change is impossible for him. This linearity handles capitalism as a force to lead feudal society towards communism. Therefore, a national bourgeois is necessary to industrialize the post-colonial state. However, it is entrapped within this stage because the black elite replicates the administration of the colonizer. Marxian ideals and African philosophy is replaced by liberalism and bourgeois humanism. The political agents during decolonization are subjugated by this new power. For this reason, the unity of national consciousness is disintegrated and people are segregated again according to their status and class. In this aura, the dialogue becomes fragile as people face “necropolitics” (see Mbembe, 2003, pp. 11-40). Muscles are tensed again and violence speaks. Surviving the day becomes the ideal while the elite becomes richer. Monology replaces dialog. This time the war is not waged against an external force. Internal conflicts create a coup d’etat spiral. The black sees himself/herself from the gaze of the West again. Economic rationality replaces the discourses of imperialism. The ladder of civilization becomes the ladder of democracy. Its last stage is neo-liberalism now. A dependency complex is recreated, the consents are manufactured and people self-orientalize themselves. Turning to white is the ideal again. This neocolonial situation is either evaluated as failed dialectics or a second barbarism. Although Magistrate cannot offer an alternative, his subjective history runs away from materialistic determinism and the unilinearity of Enlightenment historiography. Coetzee questions them with help of the philosophy of history. Cyclical history helps him to subvert their discourses.

## **2. 2. The Just Cycle?**

The new barbarism is the second beginning at the turn of the circle in cyclical history. Contrary to linear history, progress is not a part of it. History moves into a cycle and repeats itself at the end. Pitirim Sorokin alleges that theories made for history are shifted by the major changes in society. “Thus, generally, *in a Sensate culture, Sensate theories and philosophies dominate; in an Ideational culture,*

*Ideational ideologies; in a preponderantly Eclectic culture, Eclectic theories”* (Sorokin, 1952, p. 7). In ages of crisis just like the twentieth century after the world wars, Messianic, cyclical and eclectic concepts are drawn on to forecast where the fate of humanity moves. Cyclical theories of Ibn Khaldun, Nikolai Danilevsky, Oswald Spengler, and Arnold Toynbee are all made within the crisis of their societies while evolutionist theories are produced in the Sensate culture of the West which has been ‘progressing’ since the Age of Enlightenment.

As a Pan-Slavian, Danilevsky opposes the linearity of historical progress and periodization. In history, multi-linear and multi-directional movements determine the course: “The natural system of history consists in distinguishing different culture-historical *types* of development as the main basis of history’s divisions” (cited in Sorokin, 1952, p. 57).

Against linear and periodical history, Spengler presents a Copernican method in that “Mankind has no aim, no idea, no plan, any more than the family of butterflies or orchids” (Spengler, 1918, p. 21). Cultures have a natural destiny and organic morphology. In four seasons, they are born, grow, and die. The Medieval Era is spring with priesthood, aristocracy, and peasantry. Renaissance is summer with courtiers and mercantilists in city-states. The eighteenth century is autumn with Mozart, Beethoven, Goethe, and Kant, but the season is tired. Winter comes with civilization and with technological and imperial impetus in it. Civilization becomes the last, old, stoned, and inevitable phase as it loses its dynamism (Spengler, 1918, p. 106).

For the sake of the future of vulnerable Western civilization, Toynbee looks into history for the lessons there. Unlike Vico’s secular historicism, he says that “man is master of his own destiny, at least to some extent in some respects” (Toynbee, 1957, p. 30). And unlike Spengler, his history is not destined and the man shapes his own fate (1957, p. 38). Instead of states, Toynbee examines the history of twenty-six civilizations. Four of them (Far Western Christianity, Far Eastern Christianity, Scandinavia, and Syriac) are low, five (Polynesia, Eskimo, Nomads, Sparta, and Ottoman) stops growing early, and the rest (Western civilization) responds to challenges in the environment creatively. Death of a civilization begins when the

creativity of a leading group ends and the rest stop pursuing them (Toynbee, 1956, p. 246). At first, civilization breaks down. Then, it disintegrates. Finally, it dissolves. The decay starts inside when people enjoy their triumph and fails to respond to new challenges. Thus, they commit suicide. Later, barbarians do not mimic anymore and begin to attack it. In these circumstances, saviors emerge, but they cannot stop dissolution. Instead, civilizations may be stoned for thousand of years. Mere possible salvation is transfiguring the City of Man to the City of God. Then, a new civilization can emerge by a “new and unprecedented turn” (Toynbee, 1957, p. 39) to history. As a material civilization, Western civilization does not fill its spiritual gap, cannot progress sensationally, and thus is unsuccessful in constructing the Province of God in the world. Nationalism rises while morality decreases. Proletarian nations which are “by-products of the Westernization of the world” (Toynbee, 1957, p. 201) are submerged by Western civilizations. If national discrimination begins in Europe, intolerance reigns the continent and synthesis under one and only Western civilization by pammixia fails, tolerant and peaceful Islam transcending nationalism can invade Western civilization again. His fear is the product of history: invasion of Rome by the barbarians.

Ibn Khaldun is known for his science of *umran* that is the pioneer of sociology. He also invents a methodology for history by causality and critical realism. Rather than narrating historical victories of commanders and rulers, he focuses on the philosophy of history for which he becomes the first systemizer. “History is a theory and investigation. It is proving the existing things of which principle is punctuality and knowing arbitrariness of the case of which causes are recondite. The real and exact philosophy is this” (Ibn Khaldun, 2018, p. 78). A true historian must find the laws governing the world. Hence, he can see how history recurs around these laws: “The past resembles the present and future more than water resembles water” (p. 166). Editor and translator of *Muqaddime*, describes his methodology as “realist, empiricist, and rationalist” (p. 112).

The conflicts in the Maghreb in the fourteenth century make Ibn Khaldun theorize their causes and results. Though his observations are limited to life spans of states there for around 120 years, his cyclical theory affects the philosophy of history

in depth. *Asabiyya* and *hadara* are the ground of that theory. Nomads/barbarians live together in the order of *asabiyya* meaning collocation of a group of people according to blood relation and consolidation against others whether they are right or wrong. They have an agricultural life governed by the strongest clan. By the time this group gets stronger, the passion for dominating and governing rises. Ultimately, a state is founded. They settle in the city and become civilized (*hadara*) although they have a former but narrow civilization at the periphery before. The city life creates *umran* meaning “coming to a place or a city to settle, socialize and fulfill the needs” (Ibn Khaldun, 2018, p. 208) because “humankind is civilized [*medeni* derived from *medine* meaning city in Arabic] by nature” (p. 213). Then a new *asabiyya* is adopted for a common goal. Instead of blood relations, people consolidate for a broader aim like civilization (*umran*) under a maliq/sultan whose family has the best *asabiyya* among others. In this social organization, the former simple agricultural economy is now replaced with mass production and mass consumption. Raw materials of barbarians/nomads (*bedevi*) are manufactured. Later, luxury and comfort dominate this new life. Morality decreases and social relations (*asabiyya*) disintegrate. Taxes are raised by the ruler who transforms into an absolute monarch in time. New generations forget their condition for the first *asabiyya*. Laziness, inertia, and conformism pervade. *Bedevi* temperaments like courage, agility, and endurance disappear, thus, military power regresses. The monarch ruptures his relation with his family and monopolizes power. With the fourth generation, history recycles and the state collapses after its senility. *Asabiyya* recurs with a new group of nomads/barbarians invading the state. This process materializes within an economic determinism. The economy is the base of all superstructures in society. If it is not fair, others cannot be fair for Ibn Khaldun. Besides, geographical conditions are of great importance for the birth of civilizations. Harsh conditions prevent people from coming together. Nature hinders the growth of *asabiyya*.

As an anti-Cartesian and anti-Enlightenment philosopher, Giambattista Vico’s works involve language, philosophy, history, rhetoric, law, and culture. For him, there is a necessary course in the ideal eternal history moving through the age of gods, the age of heroes, and the age of men. Each age has its distinctive order and language.

This movement is not progressive, but recursive that a nation (not Christian nor Jewish) may return to a former phase. Feudalism after the fall of the Roman Empire is such a regression. By such formulations, he tries to find natural laws for divine the recycle of the history of pagan nations like ancient Greece and Rome. Vico legitimizes Heaven on Earth by the decaying course of paganism.

Vico's four master tropes –metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, and irony– form how human beings understand their world. In the first age, poetics is the key to comprehend the world and the first people (poets) react to nature with metaphors in their writings who “were the *sense* of mankind” (Vico, 1999, p. 136). Auspices and oracles govern the pagan peoples who imagine a mythical divine government. They are without reason and ignore causes. Like children, they are surprised by entire events which are caused by gods in their imagination. It is the age of poetic wisdom. In the heroic age, aristocrats who have semi-divine origins rule over bestial plebeians. Symbolic language is dominant. Nature is described by metonymy. Saturn means agriculture, Jove explains the thunder, Ceres defines the wheat and heroic peasants signify the part for the whole in a synecdochical manner. By the time reason replaces ignorance, plebeians recognize the equality and thus democracy rises in the last age, the age of men. Synecdochic unity takes the place of metonymic reduction. Yet, equality brings individualism. Unity and common sense disintegrate. When skepticism begins after weakening religion and strengthening power in the hands of wealthy people, anarchy takes place and history recurs. The first stage comes back: “Men first feel necessity, then look for utility, next attend to comfort, still later amuse themselves with pleasure, thence grow dissolute in luxury, and finally go mad and waste their substance” (Vico, 1948, p. 70). Finally, the clash of interests leads to a civil war. This is the age of irony in that rise and fall coexist. Still, it ultimately brings out the second barbarism.

In all these theories, luxury, conformism, uncreativity, nationalism, individualism, clash of interests, and skepticism towards common sense may end the lifespan of an Empire or a civilization. Yet, as the novel unravels, there is an exceptional one: the fear of barbarians. In the first section, it is summarized how the West invents *raison d'Etat* to prolong the life of the states after the Treaty of

Westphalia. It is alleged that that is the end of the empires. Even if they 'end', the barbarians are present at the moment because they are still "a kind of solution" (Cavafy, 2007, p. 17) for the modern states who legitimize their faults by re/mythologizing refugees, minorities, or other civilizations as barbarians or terrorists. They are still waited. Unlike the reasons cause empires to resolute, modern democracies invent barbarism/terrorism to explain all their wrongs in this context.

Internal decay is the cause behind the fall in cyclical theories. To cover it, Romans find a solution and create barbarians in language. They are signified as the enemy of civilization. By the time a scapegoat is invented, it is alleged that the city is purified from its sins. Then, the republic becomes an empire. The police state tries to dominate any opposition and evaluates any act of unusual situation as treason. Therefore, Joll tells Magistrate that "You have utterly disgraced yourself" (W, p. 123). The more the empire runs away from facing its own faults, the more it becomes aggressive. In the novel, the sunglasses of Joll may represent the luxury and conformism at the center. Peace and order at the frontier, on the other hand, can be read in this way. "Patriotic bloodlust" (W, p. 114) corresponds to nationalism as the other main reason for which Toynbee is very fearful. The last but the most important is that the nature of the cycle. Spenglerian seasons take one of the empires to the summer in which it lives rise and fall coterminously. The chamber is unstoppable and closes itself for new beginnings. At the end of the novel, it is implied that the Empire lives its last days.

Unlike Spengler's fatalism, Coetzee is nearer to Toynbee and Vico's secular history. Within the cyclical theories, Toynbee is the only one who examines an external factor decaying Western civilization. He reinvents Romans' fear of barbarians. He warns that if nationalism and atheism dominate Europe, Islam may present an antinationalist and religious alternative. The novel is based on such waiting. Furthermore, its allegory will make it to be read in a similar way unless this waiting ends. By the same token, the apartheid regime feared the barbarians. It banned political parties and caused them to organize underground militant policies. In 1960, a state of emergency was declared after the Sharpeville massacre. The state banned PAC and ANC and detained Nelson Mandela with his friends. During the Soweto uprisings, the



regime killed civilians again. Such events did not suppress resistance. Just the opposite, aggression grew and bone-to-bone struggle became inevitable. The regime prepared its own end and was constrained to release Mandela in 1990 to negotiate a peaceful transition to democracy. At last, the apartheid was delegitimized in 1994. The problem is that the weaker replicates the stronger as in Ibn Khaldun's theory of mimicry. As the latter hands over the power, the weak strengthens until its final decay like the former one. Therefore, Magistrate is worried about the future. Although the turning of the cycle is just and natural for Coetzee, he is anxious that history is "granite and unteachable" (W, p. 157) and the victim may become the victimizer. The former Boers under British tyranny mimic its moral teleology and make the state an allegory of God that punishes people and takes their life as it wishes like colonial administration. It will be never certain that how the new power will govern the country. It is implied that when barbarians mimic the luxurious lifestyle of the Empire after they take the power, the new-state may re/live the old story:

I think: "But when the barbarians taste bread, new bread and mulberry jam, bread and gooseberry jam, they will be won over to our ways. They will find that they are unable to live without the skills of men who know how to rear the pacific grains, without the arts of women who know how to use the benign fruits." (W, p. 169).

For the new beginning, the novel is open to imagination. It is neither optimistic nor pessimistic. Barbarians may come to the frontier because their asabiyya/aggression is created by the Empire's violent actions. In Ibn Khaldun's formula, it is inevitable. Vico reads this cycle with literary tropes. Magistrate recognizes that the empire's language becomes ironic as it manipulates humanism by animalizing others. His common sense is dissociated. The irony is the last of Vico's four tropes. In this phase, order disintegrates because words and meanings do not correspond anymore. Ashcroft reads these stages rule of God, aristocracy, democracy, and collapse of the order. Yet, postcolonial history does not fit with this formula for him. Ashcroft alleges that Magistrate seems the man of irony just like his Empire at first sight because "his face turned in two directions, he is both judge and judged, both law and transgressor, protector and enemy, imperial official and imperial outcast" (2001, p. 145). Then, he interprets Magistrate's tropic journey from irony to allegory because "irony becomes, in a sense, the ultimate trope of modernity [so of postmodernity], the trope in which

the fragility of modernity's project of imperial regulation of human life is finally unmasked" (2001, p. 142). Allegory, nevertheless, "provides a ground for political transformation through its capacity to re-imagine the trajectory of change and the place of the ordinary subject within it" (2001a, p. 156). However, it is the allegory before barbarians, if there is any, not of Magistrate who waits for the barbarians at the end of the novel, albeit his ethical journey. Accordingly, there is not one History in the novel but three. Each of them functions differently. For the Empire, its History ends with irony as the last phase of tropes before leaving back synecdoche, metonymy, and metaphor. The Magistrate's waiting, on the other hand, locates his subjective history at the core of History he has just tried to escape. This waiting is the main discourse of the Empire's linear History. Barbarians, though, are left with a hope for the future even if Coetzee has some doubts because to shape this future they have to transcend "granite and unteachable" (W, p. 157) history at first. Still, even if it is not as much easy as clay shaping, stones are not uncarvable. So the question is, 'Will their future become a history or the official History creating its own narratives?'

Cyclical history is also a great concern in *Age of Iron*. Unlike *Waiting for the Barbarians* and *Michael K.*, it is neither an allegory nor a depiction of a possible civil war. Narrating the last days of the apartheid regime, the story is told by a retired professor of Classics, Mrs. Curren in an epistolary form for her daughter. She is dying because of cancer just like the cancered apartheid regime. She despises the war and the fighting camps, even though she opens the gate of her house to black Africans. She tries to dissuade them from war-making children ignorant, cruel, and enjoyer of violence. With help of the philosophy of history, she tells that "'If you had been in my Thucydides class,' I went on, 'you might have learned something about what can happen to our humanity in time of war. Our humanity, that we are born with, that we are born into'" (1990, p. 73). But, it is too late to take lessons because:

'But there are times when there is no time for all that close listening, all those exceptions, all that mercy. There is no time, so we fall back on the rule. And that is a great pity, the greatest pity. That is what you could have learned from Thucydides. It is a great pity when we find ourselves entering upon times like those (pp. 73-74).

As it closes to its end, the apartheid regime becomes more and more aggressive and terrorizes the country. "Liberal-humanist posturing" (p. 78) is a lie. It turns into a

land of disgrace. Luxury and conformism in cyclical history consume the regime too because “What absorbs them is power and the stupor of power. Eating and talking, munching lives, belching. Slow, heavy-bellied talk” (pp. 25-26). Against the nationalist aggression, Mrs. Curren argues that “We shoot these people as if they are waste, but in the end it is we whose lives are not worth living” (p. 96).

As well as the regime, she opposes the other warring side. Mrs. Curren alleges that “War is never what it pretends to be. Scratch the surface and you find, invariably, old men sending young men to their death in the name of some abstraction or other” (p. 149). She refers to history to persuade them for individual salvation that is not freedom. This crisis arises from the shame she feels to be part of the system as a white. It makes her a slave: “Life in fetters. A death in fetters: that is part of the price” (p. 149). These fetters enclose her words: “Ashes in my mouth day after day after day, which never ceased to taste like ashes” (p. 149). It is the price she pays for the crimes of the regime committed in the name of the white race. Rather than a counter-violence, shame is her guide as “a touchstone” (p. 150). Yet, her speech is not heard by Vercueil because he is asleep while listening. The poor dialogue between black and white is surfaced in *Age of Iron* again. The question at the end is that “will shame satisfy the blacks and hinder a vicious cycle?”

Cyclical history helps Coetzee to criticize linear history in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, but his subversions are also linguistic. For James Phelan, “the homodiegetic simultaneous present” is used as a narrational strategy to question readers’ own complicity within the order:

Coetzee asks us to turn the experience of our progressive relationship with the magistrate back upon ourselves. And here the present tense plays a crucial role. When the magistrate achieves his insight that he and Joll are two sides of Imperial rule, it is natural for us to believe that the intellectual knowledge of his complicity will translate into action to change that complicity. But the later experience of the narrative asks us to go back and recognize that, however natural, the expectation was also unfounded. Similarly, when the magistrate resumes his position of importance in the town, it is natural for us to share his satisfaction. But the accumulation of evidence of his complicity leads us to recognize our own complicity (1994, pp. 240-241).

In this way, the active sentences used for the Empire narrate how it prepares its own end. This end is not organized by passive barbarians, but by the activity of the Empire that is implied covertly by the story structure and its linguistic strategy. Coetzee uses them to oppose agentless eighteenth-century texts evading responsibility

for their actions. This rhetoric is subverted. All the Empire's actions are narrated in active verbs while 'barbarians' are in passive conditions as victims who are labeled as "lazy, immoral, filthy, stupid" (W, p. 41) by the Empire's reality that harks back to the Enlightenment significations. In Kant, binarism between being static and progressive is narrated by the syntactical choices. While 'negroes' are narrated in passive without agents, the agents are absent:

...among the hundreds of thousands of blacks who have been transported elsewhere from their countries, although very many of them have been set free, nevertheless not a single one has ever been found who has accomplished something great in art or science or shown any other praiseworthy quality, while among the whites there are always those who rise up from the lowest rabble and through extraordinary gifts earn respect in the world. So essential is the difference between these two human kinds, and it seems to be just as great with regard to the capacities of mind as it is with respect to color (2011, pp. 58–59).

Similarly, Hegel uses the passive to stress backwardness and unprogressive nature of the rest of the world:

Africa proper, as far as History goes back, has remained — for all purposes of connection with the rest of the World — shut up; it is the Gold-land compressed within itself — the land of childhood, which lying beyond the day of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night (Hegel, 1956, p. 109).

Coetzee parodies this progressive idea and makes his Empire responsible for its finality without using passive clauses. At the end of the novel, Colonel Joll tells that "We froze in the mountains! We starved in the desert!" (W, p. 161). Rather than passive words, Coetzee reveals how Joll defeats himself with active verbs. Unlike postcolonial subversions, Coetzee uncovers the hidden agents rather than unsilencing colonized people. In this reality of the Empire, barbarians are presented as the actors to destroy it. On the contrary, the Empire commits suicide. Magistrate discloses its reality: "By day it pursues its enemies. It is cunning and ruthless, it sends its bloodhounds everywhere. By night it feeds on images of disaster: the sack of cities, the rape of populations, pyramids of bones, acres of desolation" (p. 146). During the last phase of an empire, its language becomes ironic for Vico. Actions and utterances do not correspond. In a similar way, Coetzee claims that sentences without agency create elitism:

The agentless sentence, as a form that says much by saying little, is wide open to misunderstanding by an audience not attuned to its nuances. Irony is by nature an aristocratic mode: it asserts a bond among the elite who can decode its inverted operations (Coetzee, 1992, p. 180).

This ironic language of the Age of Enlightenment overshadows the brutality of colonialism. Seasons of the Empire are also subverted. Spring becomes winter; winter becomes spring for the Magistrate. As he brings barbarian woman to his people, spring comes. Then, he recognizes the face behind the mask of the Empire. This ironic face is hiding its own barbarism with the Third Bureau led by Joll. He is Magistrate now who is tortured. The Empire follows time rather than seasons. In this time, it looks forward to prolong its lifespan. Progress cannot be allowed to stop. The Empire has to live forever. It is “time for the black flower of civilization to bloom” (W, p. 86). In the winter, it “builds proper cells” (p. 86) to darken the Other from its enlightenment. Barbarians are made “no longer fully human” (p. 88) and they “believe in nothing” (p. 89). Without them and the dichotomy between dark and light, its power melts. After all, a mighty Empire cannot die. For progress, obstacles have to be eliminated. Such a reflex does not only belong to colonial empires but also to nation-states built after their fall. Erected on modernist and Enlightenment ideals, it is naturally expected from them to be better than the Empires causing World Wars. Instead, nation-states are grounded on the myths over their nation and state. They are sanctified for which sacrifices are made if necessary. The othering legacy has prevailed all over the countries, especially over the apartheid South Africa in its most strict way. It is now nations that will live forever. For surveillance of this discourse, old tactics of empires are used. “Patriotic bloodlust” (W, p.114) pervades all the corners; it becomes a festival and entertainment. Even if it is believed that the irony of fate of the cycle of empires is breached by modern democracies, they are still waiting for their own barbarians. This perpetual summer may bring conformity and luxury, but winter hovers over.

Barbarism is parodied in the novel and the Empire becomes barbarous in winter. Joll’s expeditionary force returns to the district with twelve barbarians and tortures them at the center of the town before the society who watches, enjoys, and appreciates the soldiers. The center is now an arena in which each of them is a part of the torture done on ‘barbarians’ except one who can say ‘*No!*’ to the barbarism made by ‘civilized’ people living in institutized cultural forms. Magistrate says that “I cannot save the prisoners, therefore let me save myself” (W, p. 114) and “if there is ever anyone in some remote future interested to know the way we lived, that in this

farthest outpost of the Empire of light there existed one man who in his heart was not a barbarian” (p. 114). The light of Empire does not enlighten anymore. It becomes an enemy while creating the enemy. Man as “the great miracle of creation” (p. 117) as the leading discourse of humanism falls for Magistrate. The meaning of it is taught by Joll and his men to him. After a time, the Empire is in paranoia when soldiers fail to come across the barbarian army. The town is terrorized by the greed of the left soldiers. One by one, people leave the frontier.

The novel deconstructs the Empire’s main discourse by thematizing ‘barbarians are not coming and the waiting is in vain’ and it is the Empire goes for them “how not to end, how not to die, how to prolong” (W, p. 146). Barbarians only exist in the unconscious desire of the Empire. “Therefore, barbarian is not a fixed ontological presence of unitary category, but a narcissistic construct projected by the empire in terms of countertransference” (Yuan, 2000, p. 77).

They are used as ‘tools’ to consolidate the Empire’s power over its subjects. Magistrate recognizes that “we are the enemy” (p. 85) after he faces the Symbolic Order is constituted on the imagined who are just ‘nomads, fisherfolk, sheep-herders, obscure images, tricks of light, and reflections’:

I wish that these barbarians would rise up and teach us a lesson, so that we would learn to respect them. We think of the country here as ours, part of our Empire—our outpost, our settlement, our market centre. But these people, these barbarians don't think of it like that at all. We have been here more than a hundred years, we have reclaimed land from the desert and built irrigation works and planted fields and built solid homes and put a wall around our town, but they still think of us as visitors, transients (W, p. 55).

The Empire invents barbarism. It creates its other to make itself the civilization. There is neither a cultural interaction nor an economical exchange between them:

Where civilization entailed the corruption of barbarian virtues and the creation of a dependent people, I decided, I was opposed to civilization; and upon this resolution I based the conduct of my administration. (I say this who now keep a barbarian girl for my bed!) (W, p. 41).

This dependence is not only an economical relation. The segregating episteme of the apartheid regime is not authentic in and for itself. Enlightenment ideals of the Western civilization legitimize violent colonialism with the invented discourses. As they make the West rational, the rest is made the mad other. The idea of progress is universalized and exported to the globe along with nationalism and class division. In

this respect, the whites in South Africa build an objective rational state. This nationalist regime replicates Western industrialization to civilize itself. Material success brings about a superiority complex against Africans in the country. They are historicized and become anachronic because they are not mature to be able to found a state. They belong to the past. They deserve to live in the clan order. Because they are 'superior', the 'inferior' is dependent on them. They cannot think. The 'civilization' thinks in the name of them. They have no place in the urban because they belong to nature, like 'animals'. This Social Darwinism makes the apartheid regime a failed-state at the end. But, the remains linger on modern democracies too. They have their interior colonies. Even though far-right movements, ghettos, and Suburbans are the great realities of the West, it represents its failure as a success story. Democracy and postmodern culture replace civilizational discourses. Development takes the place of the progress in cultural anthropology. Neo-liberalism makes the state open its gates for its goods while it closes its gates against immigrants. The imperial ruins of Rome are erected as 'barbarians' arrive at the gate. The dependent people, on the other hand, desire their own oppression. The metropole becomes the route again. Or, a Third Europe is founded by post-colonial states. To be democratized, structural reforms are made by foreign debts with high-interest rates. For the hot-flow money, legal guarantees are warranted to multinational corporations. The stock exchange is disclosed to foreign capital of which currency hegemonizes the market. At the end of the day, the hierarchy among states is updated for developed-developing-underdeveloped. In this neocolonial global order, the rest self-orientalizes itself by depending not only on Western capitalism but also on its epistemic violence. Linearity does not leave the scene. Neoconservatism determines neocolonial politics.

Despite the subversions, parodies, and ironies against such metanarratives in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the Magistrate's subjective history is still haunted by the History of the Empire and its language constructing his sign-system. He oscillates between fact and fiction of the Empire's reality. Magistrate's vacillation makes his position difficult to define. After all, he is an administrator in his usual Empire and "a jackal of Empire in sheep's clothing" (W, p. 79). As he remembers the lack of civilized

virtues in the culture of barbarians, nevertheless, he is not sure again of his view on them:

Do I really look forward to the triumph of the barbarian way: intellectual torpor, slovenliness, tolerance of disease and death? If we were to disappear would the barbarians spend their afternoons excavating our ruins? Would they preserve our census rolls and our grain-merchants' ledgers in glass cases, or devote themselves to deciphering the script of our love-letters? (p. 56).

This crisis narrates the burden of metahistory and metalanguage over his shoulder. No matter how hard he tries to escape, he arrives at the margin. Although it is far away from the center, he is still in the circle. For this reason, Magistrate abandons the idea of writing a history book depicting the events because he realizes that as he writes the past tense is used in a monologic discourse. He does not want to represent them. Just as he tries to stop the physical violence against the barbarians he avoids the epistemic violence by imposing his own truth as the historical reality. Joll, on the other hand, tells him that “You want to go down in history as a martyr, I suspect. But who is going to put you in the history books?” (W, p. 125). Actually, it is what Magistrate desires and says “History will bear me out!” (p. 125). “In the history of the back of the beyond” (p. 125), the unofficial history is written not on papers but on bodies. Even though Joll claims that “there will be no history” (p. 125), the tortured bodies of barbarians will reveal the truth. Memories will save it. The problem is how to narrate them without the signification of his masterlanguage. As they are written as historical documents, they will become a narration for Magistrate.

What makes reading blurred at the end, on the other hand, is the fact that the Magistrate's taking back of his position from Joll after they defeat themselves in the war route without even touching barbarians. In spite of Magistrate's ethical journey infusing readers in it, he cannot destroy his complicity with the Empire, its reality, and its historical burden. His history becomes his story. This story in the story questions its own representation. But, it is not only a metafiction or an allegorical novel. It is also a historiographic metafiction reminding historical and present events. Colonial empires, the apartheid regime, and modern democracies correspond to the novel's unknown milieu. Unless the new barbarians are created and waited, the allegory of *Waiting for the Barbarians* will be related to actual spaces and events.



Historical discourses in the novel are directed to three points: to the compliance of liberals with apartheid South Africa, to the inescapable end of the Empire, and to the barbarians. Magistrate's opposition may be read as a symbol of white liberal South Africans. Although they criticize the inhuman actions of the apartheid regime, they do not do anything. Because ethics is not recognized in words but in actions, their compliance with the regime is questioned in the novel. The end of apartheid means the end of their liberal bourgeois life with its conformism and luxuries. Therefore, they are on the side of Hobbesian liberalism in which peace and order are saved by violence. Magistrate, on the other hand, pushes the limits and says that "I cannot save the prisoners, therefore let me save myself" (W, p. 114). His position is taken from him after he brings the barbarian girl to her people. He is made a barbarian and a dog. Because they are animals, they cannot have a history. Therefore, the Bureau does not record his torture. He knows that one-day history will be rewritten and reread and the hidden violent events of the Empire will bear out. Therefore, he says that "if there is ever anyone in some remote future interested to know the way we lived, that in this farthest outpost of the Empire of light there existed one man who in his heart was not a barbarian" (p. 114).

His position at the end is marginal, not liberal. Similar to Coetzee, he struggles hard against the center. Magistrate's future is unknown, barbarians are left with hope at the end. The Empire, on other hand, is doomed to fail soon. Although the cycle completes its round for the Empire, there remain many questions. Will sorrowful memories of barbarians make a better future without vengeance possible? Or, will they rewrite another official History on papers? The snowman the children make at the end symbolizes a new humanism. Coetzee defers the meaning until the end in which there is not one but many. He decides to leave poplar slips instead of a history book. They are alerting them in an allegorical way. If they can find out its allegory, they will not write the same History before them:

I think: "I wanted to live outside history. I wanted to live outside the history that Empire imposes on its subjects, even its lost subjects. I never wished it for the barbarians that they should have the history of Empire laid upon them. How can I believe that that is cause for shame?" (W, p. 169).

Just after the soldiers of the Empire leaves town, Magistrate takes his position in the frontier again. Yet, the problem is that Magistrate is still waiting for them at the end. He vacillates between a new humanism and a second barbarism. There appear new questions at the end: Will the barbarous regime replaced by a new one? Will history repeat itself? Will the recycle justifies its actions in the name of vengeance?

Second barbarism is a problematic turn in the cycle. While it can be read as just, it is a nightmare for the empire. L. P. Zamora designates a general allegory in Coetzee's works that "J.M. Coetzee, like Hegel, understands the shifting complexities of the roles of master and servant far better than to present them simply as a binary opposition" (1986, p. 4). Instead of this Manichean dualism, Hegel imagines an inversion in the relation between master and slave when the slave notices the master's dependence on him/her. In this manner, Coetzee's novels depict this inversion of power relations for Zamora. It is not just a reversal but a 'negative advantage' for free barbarians to Hegel. So, eluding barbarism is not true freedom. For this reason, "we must not on this account regard such a state of barbarism as an exalted one, or fall into some such error as Rousseau's, who represents the condition of the American savages as one in which man is in possession of true freedom" (Hegel, 1956, p. 364). In the absence of civilization, there is only chaos, even if it means a returning from History to nature as the Magistrate does:

From Hegel to Nietzsche and back to Rousseau, we return from History to the state of nature, the unmediated existence of fish in water, birds in air, or as the magistrate's "wistful vision" pictures it, to the Edenic prehistorical life of the "unthinking savage," calf-deep in the soothing waters of the lake that lies beyond the political and temporal limits of Empire (Moses, 1993, p. 124).

It is a nightmare for the Empire because natural man is the child on the ladder of history. For Hegel, Africa is "the land of childhood, which lying beyond the self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night" (1956, p. 109). Furthermore, this childhood is not a joyful memory, but a place barbarians desire to get them down. Nevertheless, it is the Empire that consumes itself in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. Still, the question remains. Will a second barbarism come? Or, will there be a new humanism better than Magistrate's and Coetzee's marginality?

Although Coetzee favors a savior “forgiv[ing] us the errors that have been committed by others in our name and grant us a second chance to build our earthly paradise” (W, p. 157), the novel ends with obscurity before the children representing the future who build a snow man instead of the snow castle that is “empty of life” (W, p. 57) the magistrate has dreamt. Although the road of the after story leads nowhere, Coetzee desires for a new man who is conscious that “The crime that is latent in us we must inflict on ourselves, I say. I nod and nod, driving the message home. Not on other” (W, p. 160). The new man just like Fanon’s, Césaire’s, and Mandela’s leaves vengeance back. As a man of justice, Magistrate waits for the bone-to-bone response at the end. Even though it is the right of the barbarians in return for their sorrow, Coetzee finalizes the story with children symbolizing hope for a better future. Unlike Hegel’s and Toynbee’s fear for barbarism, Coetzee is anxious for the vicious cycle although Magistrate tells that “I wish that these barbarians would rise up and teach us a lesson, so that we would learn to respect them” (W, p. 55).

Hermann Wittenberg and Kate Highman relate the novel to geographer and topographer Sven Hedin’s travel writing *Central Asia* written in 1898. That work is after lost people and records their popular slips. In opposition to this verisimilitude, they conclude that Coetzee’s aim is far beyond a mere recording. It is for a new world:

Coetzee’s approach to historical artefacts, including Hedin’s text, is quite different from Hedin’s. If Coetzee takes his cue from Hedin, he does not offer a novel that “supplements” history, fleshing out the texture of daily life, or figure the slips in such a fashion, as useful keys to unlock history and add to “knowledge”. Rather, the reverse happens: he takes fragmentary details and welds them into the creation of a new, imaginary universe, “an other” world (2015, p. 126).

Similarly, Victor Li reads the closure of the novel as a way towards a future that Jean-Luc Nancy calls ‘inoperative civilization’ in that there is no fusion of community but a ‘co-appearance’:

He wants to tell them to put arms on the snowman, but decides not to interfere. Neither party actively seeks to understand the other; there is no dialogue between them and no fusion of horizons takes place. Yet they share a space, an awareness of snowfall, and a sense of joyful exhilaration (2014, p. 24).

Still, it is difficult if not impossible to imagine new humanism as the new mimics the old. The justified violence in Hobbesian liberalism or Kant’s great federation for the sake of the sanctified state renders peace and order a utopia because

to make it live forever, sacrifice is inevitable. At the history's 'slaughter-bench,' violence is unavoidable. Nations have their unique epochs that they govern while the others are ruled because their turn is over. Even if it is alleged that each respective era is better than the former by the linear historiography, the vicious cycle rehashes. The questions are, then, while history sacrifices 'sub-humanity', will the new humans sacrifice the new sub-humans? Is it justice of the cycle? As the state of emergency is declared, everything becomes permissible in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. Will vengeance be similarly justified in post-apartheid South Africa? Can new humanity be imagined in *Disgrace*? These questions will be examined in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 2: DISGRACE

“For in terms of force relations, power always wins, even if it changes hands as revolutions come and go” (Baudrillard, 2007, p. 60).

Three years after the publication of *Waiting for the Barbarians*, *Lives and Times of Michael K.* was printed and won Booker Prize. During this time, school boycotts against restricting mother tongue in education continued. Coetzee became a Professor of general literature in 1984. The year his fourth novel *Foe* was produced in 1986, a state of emergency was announced. The same year, wide protest against the National Party government began with the demand of releasing Nelson Mandela from prison and resulted in thousands of homeless people dismissed from their shelters. The 1980s was the decade of armed struggle. *Michael K.* is the narration of this anxiety. Mandela was released and *Age of Iron* was published in 1990 as the last novel during the apartheid regime. The turmoil pushed the F. W. De Klerk’s government to negotiate with other parties, including African and communist parties. Inkatha movement appeared during the negotiations as the agent of the Boipatong massacre killing many African people. Far right-wing armed AWB movement demanded canceling the negotiations for the endurance of white hegemony by invading government offices where the negotiations were held. With some African tribe states in the country, AWB wished for separate and segregated states for each nation and clan. Accordingly, the first democratic election pursuing a union between blacks and whites was protested by both African and Afrikaner right-wing groups. During the protests, many people died, especially in Natal. A flourishing politician against the regime who was the leader of the South African Communist Party, Chris Hani was assassinated in 1993. His killing was a milestone for South Africa that prompted people to overthrow National Party’s separatist government lasting forty-six years.

Coetzee’s first novel of the free South Africa *The Master of Petersburg* was publicized in 1994 when The African National Congress came to power after the first multi-racial, free and democratic election. Mandela became the new country’s president. South Africa became a member of The Commonwealth of Nations in the same year with whose members the country shares norms such as democracy,

separation of powers, freedom of expression, and civil society. Truth and Reconciliation Commission was formed after a year to make guilty ones confess their crimes and to hear witnesses of the apartheid. In 1997, fictionalized autobiography *Boyhood* was published in which he played with classic autobiography by means of pastiche and historiographic metafiction. *Disgrace* (1999), made him win Booker Prize again for which he was the first one who is awarded twice. In 2002, Coetzee immigrated to Australia. After a year, Nobel Prize was granted and his fame was widened throughout the world literature as a result. *Elizabeth Costello* (2003), *Slow Man* (2005) awarded with South African National Honours, *Diary of a Bad Year* (2007), *The Childhood of Jesus* (2013) *The Schooldays of Jesus* (2016), and *The Death of Jesus* (2019) were all published, respectively. 2006 was the year when he became a citizen of Australia and he was given an honorary position at the University of Adelaide.

In democratic South Africa, there is a controversy over transition/transformation. The student protests continue on campuses, especially against university fees and language restrictions. From 1995 onward, Chapter Nine Institutions were built to improve democracy for freshly independent South Africa. In 1999, Thabo Mbeki became the president until Jacob Zuma succeeded in 2008. In 2000, TRC was replaced by Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. The Landless People's Movement was built in 2001 to defend their rights against the seized lands within the periods of colonialism and apartheid. United Nations announced 18 July as Mandela Day celebrated since 2009. As a result of Marikana Killings (2012), civilians were killed and wounded by police after the mine strike. The same year, the national rand was coined with a picture of South Africa's first democratically elected president, Nelson Mandela, who died one year later. Violence at the Kennedy Road settlement from 2009 was against the black opponents who refused to leave the shacks by governmental force. The statue of Cecil Rhodes in the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg was taken down after students' objections in 2015 as a symbol of rewriting history. Hate Crimes and Hate Speech Bill was set up in 2016 against insulting voices and hatred. Since 2018, Cyril Ramaphosa, the ex-trade unionist during the apartheid and the new millionaire of the post-apartheid, has been serving as the

fifth president. He is also the former ANC chief delegate at the negotiations with the NP to put an end to the apartheid. He has just promised land expropriation without compensation for his election campaign. It means taking the lands of the white people without paying the price. In a way, history is rewritten. Apartheid ends, but the arguments do not finish.

South Africa's history is non-linear contrary to the teleological or dialectical Western historiography. This condition is not due to its passivity but because of colonization and apartheid. In theory, it is the only post-colonial state transiting modern form of nation-states. Although the apartheid state is modern in terms of the course of mainstream historical vision, it is the military rule of a foreign minority over the native majority. Therefore, apartheid is an intrusion in the history of South Africa just like colonialism. Nelson Mandela, nonetheless, announced the post-apartheid nation as a Rainbow state raised on postmodern and postcolonial notions. Yet, Roelf Meyer who is one of the key people during the negotiations to finalize the apartheid regime has just recently confessed that:

We provided for the transition from apartheid rule to a full democracy. That transition happened in a swift moment. What we fell short of was to provide for the socio-economic transformation of the country. We prescribed certain reforms in the constitution that needed to happen, but it failed (2018, p. 81).

*Disgrace* tells the very story of these failed and non-developing posts. Even though he re/continues building allusive allegorical worlds in respective fictions such as the *Jesus Trilogy*, Coetzee tries a new way with *Age of Iron*. For the hottest conflict of the apartheid era, Coetzee terms the period in this novel as “the age of iron. After which comes the age of bronze. How long, how long before the softer ages return in their cycle, the age of day, the age of earth?” (1990, p. 46). *Disgrace* is the second non-allegorical novel. Unlike *Age of Iron*, it is the most controversial work in his oeuvre.

It is a novel that “has received more media and scholarly attention than any other work of fiction in all of South Africa's literary history, eclipsing its forerunner in the top position, Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country*” (Attwell, 2015, pp. 191-192). Duncan Brown points to its effectiveness after the publication:

J.M. Coetzee's *Disgrace*, as a novel, that enabled it to rip open debates about post-apartheid identity in ways that other texts appeared not to do, so much so that it entered parliamentary discussion, and even political parties ventured into the terrain of literary criticism and evaluation. So extensive was the public dialogue that some critics now talk of the 'post-*Disgrace*' period (2014, p. 1122).

Although it is hard to say that the novel opens a period while being the story of failure instead of a success, it still poses critical questions for true liberation and decolonization, notwithstanding the critical readings based on race in South Africa where "it is effectively 'put on trial' in the public sphere" (Easton, 2007, p. 189):

The fact that the ruling party appropriated Coetzee's *Disgrace* for its own ends (a 'restricted' reading, as LaCapra puts it, revealing generic confusion) in a public forum such as the SAHRC hearings and in the inner sanctums of government (since the ending of the novel was even discussed in Cabinet), might well constitute official censoring (Easton, 2007, p. 197).

Writing the novel of failure disappoints the ones for whom the progression has begun just recently. With national unity, Rainbow state, and TRC, the country succeeds for them. *Disgrace* was labeled as racist in 1999 by the Human Rights Commission of South Africa due to its racist stereotypes. Then, he was awarded to Order of Mapungubwe (gold class) by the South African government in 2005 "for his exceptional contribution in the field of literature and for putting South Africa on the world stage" (2013). The new power hugged him after he was awarded Nobel Prize and Booker Prize for the second time after the first with *Michael K*. Nelson Mandela declared that "he might have emigrated but we shall continue to claim him as *our own*" (cited in Easton, 2007, pp. 189–190). As power always creates politics for its own sake in any conditions, the new power claimed possession over a worldly recognized novel in the name of nationhood.

Unlike *Waiting for the Barbarians*, this novel is not narrated in an allegorical space. Instead, "South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) provided the seed from which *Disgrace* germinated" (Attwell, 2015, p. 196). The protagonist David Lurie's planned public confession after seducing his student Melanie is indirectly related to the TRC. Lurie rejects the confession and so, the discipline of the commission. The professor of modern languages resigns and his story begins. This is the story of a white liberal Afrikaner man who considers authority is still in his hands at the beginning in post-apartheid South Africa. After having sexual intercourse with his colored student (thirty years younger than him) by taking advantage of his teaching



authority, David confronts the new reality that power has already changed hands when his daughter is raped by three black gangs. He recognizes that he is the last generation of the past order who cannot easily recognize the new order.

Dominic Head, the writer of *The Cambridge Introduction to J. M. Coetzee*, stresses that “the ruling ANC in the new South Africa was incensed by *Disgrace*, and moved to condemn its depiction of black violence, finding therein a racist perspective and the promotion of racial hatred” (2009, p. 2). It is implied that this affair has a huge impact on Coetzee’s emigration to Australia. Hence, South Africa is covertly cited as a failure much worse than the apartheid in a well-known companion of him. The impetus that makes him write *Disgrace* is this failure in transformation:

The opposing force was the history that was taking place in South Africa. For having undergone the euphoric period culminating in the first democratic elections of 1994, the political transition was beginning to work its way into the fabric of everyday life- into public institutions, including the universities, often with ambiguous results that privileged short- term political gains over academic interests. In public institutions, transformation ceased to be the consensual vision it had been in the first half of the decade and became the name of politics, a shift in the balance of power between elites. In the universities, Africanization and neo-liberalism became interchangeable agendas, with transformation often being justified on economic grounds, and rationalization being justified on grounds that served current political interests (Attwell, 2015, pp. 190-191).

Politically and economically designed Rainbow South Africa depicts a transition rather than a transformation in mentality. It reorganizes the power that is inherited from the apartheid regime and its colonial modernity. Yet, it has a constitutional democracy by which elections are held and people vote freely for the party they prefer. To end the acts of apartheid, the Bill of Rights is institutionalized which is inclusive rather than separatist. It is very problematical to label the country as a total failure in a novel written just five years after the independence when it still grapples with the legacy of the apartheid: its debts, its laws, and its institutions.

To mention South Africa only with its failures makes the new beginning a second barbarism. Like many other post-colonial states, free South Africa is depicted, narrated, represented by mainstream Eurocentric media or academia as unsuccessful. The rise and fall, nevertheless, are hands in hands for the post-apartheid Rainbow state. Land expropriation without compensation as the latest election statement of ANC under Ramaphosa leadership epitomizes the rise of nationalism and the fall of norms

of the Rainbow Nation. The statement is originated by Julius Malema, the leader of the EFF, who scandalously says “I am not calling for slaughter of white people at least for now” (2018) in an interview with TRT World though he stresses the coexistence and naturality of living together in his following speech after the reaction of the interviewer. While Malema is after true decolonization, ironically, he comes forward with a modern Western term which is nationalism. But, the other irony of South Africa narrated in *Disgrace* is that as the former barbarians and today’s civilians take control of the apartheid regime allegorized as an Empire, the rise becomes decline. While linearity is allegorized in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, South Africa in *Disgrace* becomes an ironical Empire within cyclical history in that an empire’s maturity brings its death as the cycle closes. A second barbarism begins. In the course of the novel, it is probable to read the post-apartheid as a second barbarism beginning from the start of the cycle due to the corruption during Jacob Zuma’s government, civilian deaths, and poor conditions. It may also be read as a replication of the old order. Nonetheless, the compossibility of rise and fall hardly makes Rainbow South Africa a failed state.

Failure as the opposite of development is the legacy of Eurocentrism. “The notion that development is as natural to humanity as air and water is deeply embedded in our consciousness, and yet development as an idea is a relatively recent one in human history” (Dirlik, 1999, p. 29). By the same token, South Africa is failing to develop within Eurocentric terms. If one state fails to follow the linear process, it does not succeed in being modern or contemporary. It is referred undemocratic automatically. Such a historical vision is strictly bound to the grace of the economy:

Capital's coup de force is to make everything dependant on the economic order, to subject all minds to a single mental dimension. Every other issue becomes unintelligible. The displacement of all problems into economic and performance terms is a trap: the belief that everything is granted us virtually, or will be, by the grace of continual growth and acceleration-including, by extension, a universal lifting of prohibitions, the availability of all information and, of course, the obligation to experience *jouissance* (Baudrillard, 2010, p. 86-87).

There are two sides or ways to describe this neocolonial situation. At first, old discourses cycle in new guises. New dichotomies appear between infant-mature, developed-underdeveloped, or traditional-modern. Hence, the failure automatically matches with infancy, underdevelopment, and traditional ways of governance of the post-colonial state. They fail because they are not mentally and economically

developed. Structural reforms are needed to catch the modern era and universal reason. Religion and tradition must be overtaken to become an individual, *entrepreneur* in reality within Eurocentric terms. The reaction of the post-structuralist wing in postcolonial theory is to respond to the current condition with power relations. In a Foucauldian way, power saves its place while the positions are changed. Criticism is directed towards corrupted leaders and the black elite who are imitators of ex-colonizers. It also targets Eurocentric misrepresentation. Deconstructing epistemic violence, nevertheless, overlooks the external causes of the economic violence in post-colonial states. The problem is then the failure governs texts and generates discourses ironically when post-colonial states are mentioned. Neocolonialism is not independent of imperialism. The former dichotomy between rich and poor is inherited and the states are exploited by global mega-companies now. Against this contradiction, internal and external forces of this condition define the neocolonial situation in this study. It is a two-fold case without one, the other is not possible.

The inner problems are nationalism, tribalism, and elitism which are connected to power relations for the mainstream post-structuralist wing of postcolonial theory. Coetzee defines nationalism by saying that “They [nations] define themselves *as against* other nations, that is to say, they base their claim to a common identity on a negative quality” (Coetzee and Kurtz, 2015, p. 117). Therefore, this new nationalism casts out immigrants, coloreds, and whites. As it is said in *Age of Iron* “power is power, after all. It includes. That is its nature. It invades one’s life” (1990, p. 107). Even if power changes hand, it is not dethroned. To become a state, it is true that tribal identities are transformed into a unified national consciousness. But, this unity builds limits and finds enemies by its own national nature. Peripheries are mounted against this central metadiscourse. Orania and satellite townships are quintessential for this situation in Rainbow South Africa.

To finish the old separatism, the new power rewrites the history of the country. This history is not grounded on apartheid and colonialism because it is erected on a new pluralist concept that was served to world scene firstly with the 1995 Rugby World Cup:

What did the opening and closing ceremonies show? History remains a deeply contentious subject in South Africa. The struggle for the right to make up the story of the country is by no means over. Seeming to declare a truce on that front, the opening ceremony made an attempt to be history-less. It presented a dehistoricised vision of Tourist South Africa: contented tribesfolk and happy mineworkers, as in the old South Africa, but purified and sanctified, somehow, by the Rainbow (Coetzee, 2015, p. 353).

Dehistoricizing the apartheid and its significations means, nevertheless, storifying a common background like the Rainbow nation which one way or other continues to highlight the blood tie in National Union:

This conception of what nationhood consists in differs sharply from the conception that underlay apartheid, at least in its pristine years, and that still underlies such residual movements as Boere-Afrikanerdom and Zulu nationalism, which set as prerequisites a common history, common roots in a common territory, a common culture, and (most strikingly though also most vaguely) shared 'blood' (Coetzee, 2015, p. 352).

Although ethnicities, black, white, and colored, are aimed to be hybridized in a single nation comprising various colors, it still springs from nationhood for Coetzee. Rugby, therefore, is used as a tool for mounting national consciousness. However, the new Rainbow concept is a meta-narrative waiting to be transformed into a metahistory. Despite new policy makers' exercise on nation founding, Rainbow becomes a fresh exoticism for Coetzee:

Part of the experience of being colonised is having images of yourself made up by outsiders stuffed down your throat. At the World Cup ceremonies, South African spectators learned, some for the first time, that they were Rainbow people, that, whether they liked it or not, they would be represented as such on the world's television screens. As to the terms in which they would be packaged, they would have no say on these. The words and music, the images and stereotypes in which the Rainbow concept was to be dressed, would be concocted not just by foreigners but by an industry dedicated to the manufacture and recycling of the exotic, to the construction of varieties of rainbowness across the globe. For present purposes, their country was to be offered as an exotic destination, different from destinations certainly, but different only in a piquant, easily digested way, the way of sports tourism (2015, p. 356).

For him, packaging national terms into a new concept does not seem very different from the previous regime in terms of metanarratives. Even if people of the country are not left alone to make their own decisions on the land's future separately, the ANC government needs that pluralist concept to be able to prevent vindictive possible actions against the white minority for the past sorrow. Coetzee's sensitivity to nationalist stress of the Rainbow concept, on the other hand, naturally worries him due to the old memories remembering similar discourses built on 'blood'.

The years after the World Cup prove him right. Rainbow State remains only in theory. Vengeance conquers the land in *Disgrace*:

Violence, as soon as I sense its presence within me, becomes introverted as violence against myself: I cannot project it outward. I am unable to, or refuse to, conceive of a liberating violence. Is this pathological? Is it the sign of a blockage? I can only reply that such a diagnosis, whether Freudian (repression, overzealous acceptance of the law of the father) or Marxian (inaction in the service of real but unacknowledged interests), makes no difference to me. I cannot take it seriously. I cannot but think: if all of us imagined violence as violence against ourselves, perhaps we would have peace (1992, p. 337).

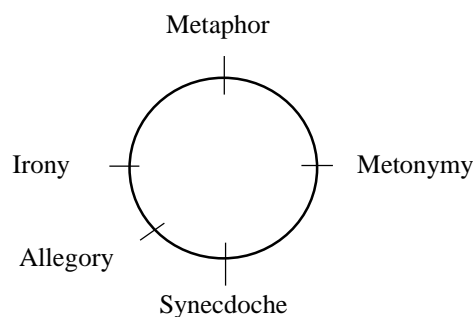
David and his Lucy are victims of this violence in *Disgrace*. This evokes the paranoia of the Empire in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. While criticizing Breytenbach's *Dog Heart* by asking that "is the very mechanism that drives white paranoia about being chased off the land and ultimately into the sea?" (2015, p. 312), is it possible for him to narrate a story on this paranoia for which he is charged with?

This dissertation reads *Disgrace* as a self-conscious novel of second barbarism by relating it to *Waiting for the Barbarians*. While the white characters fall, the black ones rise in the novel. This rise and fall is a leitmotif in Coetzee's oeuvre. When raped by black servant Hendrik, Magda defines the action as "deeper invasion and possession" (Coetzee, 1982, p. 118) in *In the Heart of the Country*. Here Coetzee symbolizes how time circles back and the act of rape is subverted to the white boss. This feud and vengeance also construct the main theme of *Disgrace* which is his first novel narrating free South Africa. The similarity between his first novel describing colonial time and his first novel written in democratic South Africa draws attention. The time span the author has crossed indicates that history remains the central concern in his oeuvre.

After *raison d'Etat*, it is believed that modern democracies breach the cycle of empires. There will be never the irony of fate. They will live forever. In Vico's tropics of discourse, there are four phases the history follows. From metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche to irony, he narrates the growth and death of civilizations. To stop this cycle, the West finishes internal conflicts. This check and balance in foreign policy is constituted after the Treaty of Westphalia. For this reason, this study reads that breach as an allegory within the tropics of discourse. It is alleged that the allegorical phase will live forever and the last phase irony will never come. It is the 'end' of history. In the last trope of Vico's cycle, the language of civilization becomes ironical as its

certain signs do not fit with the signified anymore. Common sense is resolute. The cycle re/commences from the beginning. Barbarism comes back.

The end of apartheid symbolizes that the allegory does not curb the advent of irony. With its modern rationality, it represents itself as the agent of Western civilization in Africa. It is dethroned; nevertheless, its *raison d'Etat* haunts modern democracies and nation-states. Segregation towards the blacks and immigrants in the West and Israeli's neoapartheid politics against Palestine epitomize this shadow. In this period of allegory, modern democracies continue the imperial politics to survive in the cycle. This new governmental politics can actualize anything at any cost to bring eternal life to the state, even if it contradicts its democratic norms. They are democratic in theory, but in practice, they can immediately return to barbaric policies of the former empires in a state of emergency against 'barbarians or terrorists'. Linearity finds itself in the cycle again:



**Figure 1:** Modern Democracies

Allegorical and unilinear modern democracies are represented as the end of history. To avoid the fall of former empires and to prolong their lifespan, violence is still an option for modern democracies ironically. Sacrifices do not finish. Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin describe the World Wars period as the second barbarism. Holocaust is the result of this modern but barbaric rationality. When this subverted linearity is applied to post-colonial states, second barbarism becomes problematical. Such failed dialectics perspective cannot escape from being Eurocentric. For linear history, on the other hand, they are anachronic modern nation-states within the time of postmodern neo-liberalism. The neocolonial condition of post-colonial states is either signified as a neofeudalism or a neobarbarism.

Instead of being locked into the frame of the discourses of the language of the apartheid and of the black consciousness, literature gives Coetzee the space where he can play with words and verbs. Allegory fits well with this strategy that transcends race, moment, and milieu and locates in a universal position that mocks both physical and linguistic barriers. Yet, the question is that ‘by using English in his works (not Dutch, Afrikaans, or any African language) does he open a space or encircles himself in a new one that is the Western thinking?’ This chapter argues this problem while examining *Disgrace*.

Even though he is an academician intertextualizing theories ranging from modernism and post-structuralism to postcolonialism, this does not mean entering new circles. Because such intellectual dispositions rest on peripheries, it is hard to place Coetzee in a Eurocentric position at first sight. Then, the question is that “How does his intellectual dialogism narrate the country in the non-allegorical *Disgrace*?”

As the cycle figure demonstrates above, Rainbow South Africa lies outside the circle the classical cyclical view of history has put forward so far. First colonized by the United Kingdom and then by the settler, the apartheid regime changes the course of its history:

I was eight when the party of Afrikaner Christian nationalism came to power and set about stopping or even turning back the clock. Its programs involved a radically discontinuous intervention into time, in that it tried to stop dead or turn around a range of developments normal (in the sense of being the norm) in colonial societies. It also aimed at instituting a sluggish no-time in which an already anachronistic order of patriarchal clans and tribal despotisms would be frozen in place. This is the political order in which I grew up (Coetzee, 1992, p. 209).

The apartheid regime as the rule of a minority over the majority constructs colonial modernity within South Africa. For this reason, it is an intrusion into the history of the country. In a document filmed by the CIA for the use of US government in 1957 called *Apartheid in South Africa*, Alan Paton- a South African writer famous for *Cry, the Beloved Country*- describes apartheid as “a race morality” (National Archives, 1957) for which people of that race feel that they are superior to the other. In the same document, an officer for The South African Native Affairs Commission which is the forerunner of the later discriminative laws describes apartheid as follows:

For obvious reasons, many opponents of this policy try to influence the Bantu people into other direction. And like all new philosophies, like all new policies, we had put our case on to Bantu people. And I can safely say today that the Bantu people are accepting the policy of *self-development* which essentially is apart with apartheid. Apartheid essentially is an *ever-increasing temple...* The policy leads to their *salvation* (National Archives, 1957, emphasis added).

In this respect, apartheid means ‘self-development, an ever-increasing temple and salvation’. The officer’s discourse is the discourse of Enlightenment seeing history as an ever-developing process. It is one of the core philosophies of the apartheid for which whites are developed and civilized while the other is underdeveloped and uncivilized. For racist and fascist AWB resistance movement’s leader Eugene Terre Blanche, South Africa is the “civilised Africa” (2011). The idea of civilization both covers and uncovers racial and discriminative ideas the hegemony has.

In a documentary filmed by Peter Davis in 1977, Gerrit Olivier, a professor of political science states that they need outsiders to unite within the Afrikaner community:

Numerically of course the Afrikaner constitutes of a small group and secondly we feel as a group that we are being straightened by outside forces. We perceive the outside world or we used to perceive the outside world as being hostile in a sense to us (P. Davis, 1977).

This hostility is one of the leading principles of apartheid. In the same documentary, Professor F.A. van Jaarsveld describes Afrikaners as the chosen people who have a religious mission just like Zionism:

One should remember that Afrikaners regarded themselves just like the new English as chosen people you know that is rooted in Old Testament, in Protestant religion, Calvinism especially and in the interior of South Africa they only had the Bible as literature because of their isolation from the West, from the mother country or well we were actually cut off from Holland. So they got their ideas directly from the Bible. Some ideas in it got even to the non-whites which say God is Canaanites and themselves as the chosen people with a mission (Davis, 1977).

Architect of apartheid policy Prime Minister (1958-1966) H. F. Verwoerd describes the regime as “Our policy is one which is called by an Afrikaan word ‘apartheid.’ And I am afraid it is misunderstood so often. It could justice easily and perhaps better much be described as a policy of good neighbourness” (*Miracle Rising*, 2013). However, this neighborhood does not mean hospitality but hostility in its sharpest definition. Along with this racial hostility, religious references feed the regime to legitimate itself. For Coetzee: “In its greed, it demanded black bodies in all



their physicality in order to burn up their energy as labor. In its anxiety about black bodies, it also made laws to banish them from sight.”(1997, p. 164).

South Africa has an intruded history in that the apartheid constructs its own historical discourses. Against this frozen ideology believing in linear progress, Coetzee responds with allegory in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. The everlasting present (here and now) and divine justice of the cyclical history inherent in the novel mock this frozen discourse, interpreting reality in one and only context and referent that is *veld nationalism*. Excluded from urbanization and industrialization by the Anglicization of South Africa, Afrikaners invent nationalism making them closer to the center. Peripheral proletariat position is inherited by blacks when apartheid is officially structured in 1948. Modern democracy only means “separate but equal” (2012) as DeKlerk says in an interview. Blacks are separate in the periphery; whites are separate at the center. This epistemology of colonial modernity does not build a population but a nation that is Afrikaner. The majority of the land, on the other hand, is disciplined in camp-like towns or by the chief who is related to the regime. They are out of the side except in urbanity where the labor force is obligatory for industrialization. The apartheid constructs a *raison d’Etat* to govern the country by bio-politics in that the society is controlled by the discourse of state utility. Foucault detaches bio-politics from pastoral power, which is concentrated on death and salvation. Its truth is organized for a temporary world and its law demands obedience without question. The pastor is responsible for each of his sheep not only in this world but also in the other world. Their salvation is bound to him. Such an ecclesiastical pastorate defines the Christian societies before Reformation. *Raison d’Etat*, nevertheless, is essentially preserving states against the cycles of history. The new modern states after the Treaty of Westphalia constitute an art of government hindering them to share the same fate with Babylon, Rome, or the Empire of Charlemagne. Thus, ‘in the name of God’ principle of the pastoral power is replaced by ‘in the name of State’. There is no more salvation but sacrifice for the sake of the preservation of the state. For sustainability of this new art of governance, the pastoral power is reorganized after philosophizing its essence. If there does not exist a Church any more imposing the just truth, a new diplomatic, political, and governmental reason can easily be studied. According to

Foucault, *raison d'Etat* comes into existence after such a process. This new political power needs technical knowledge and statistics to regulate the population by whom the wealth of the state is produced. For productivity of the population, infrastructure, public services, and health services are provided in urban that distinguish it from cities under the control of the Church in which death and preparation for the other world are at the center. The focal point of *raison d'Etat*, on the other hand, is letting people live in terms of rules determined by the law of the State and controlled by its police force (Foucault, 2009, pp. 326-327).

“Splendor of the republic and the felicity of each” (Foucault, 2009, p. 327) becomes the main principle. The sheep under pastoral power are converted to *homo economicus*. Therefore, liberalism becomes “the general framework of biopolitics” (Foucault, 2009, p. 383). While the subjects are allowed to live liberally and have now rights, it is not human rights but the rights of the governed. This liberalism is under control. Freedom as a technology of power is “nothing else but the correlative of the deployment of the apparatuses of security” (2009, p. 48).

To avoid scarcity and epidemics that had caused great problems for the former Empires, mercantilism appeared as an anti-scarcity system aiming at the circulation of grain against the danger in the scourge of scarcity. Circulation meant *laissez faire* but it was also regulated due to widening circuits. Disciplinary police were created for the security of the new order in that trade meant opening the gates of the walls of the old Empires. As the cities were urbanized, probabilities expanded more and more. Migrating people, thieves, beggars, and miasmas were new probabilities. To manage them, a security mechanism was operated. The social contract theories of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau tried to solve the sovereignty problem. In theory, people were not any more individuals under the discipline of a sovereign but a population to be controlled.

After the birth of the political economy, the art of government revolved around the population. For Foucault, the eighteenth century was thus a major shift in the art of government in such a way that he says “we live in an era of governmentality discovered in the eighteenth century” (2009, p. 109).

In apartheid South Africa, this bio-politics was very suitable for its liberal politics but only for its population that was the white population. For black individuals, on the other hand, the regime drew on colonial politics that was the essential part of modernity. As well as disciplinary apparatuses, it tried to control Africans by custom. Just like English colonization, the chief was made responsible for the control of his subjects. The majority in the country was kept under control. Yet, the main problem was with the black proletariat in the urban. For the sustainability of factories and public services, they were needed. They were disciplined by the apartheid. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1949, Immorality Act, Population Registration Act, and Group Areas Act in 1950 separated people according to blood. They were not civilized and so they had no place in the civilized cities and they could not have any relation to civilized people. They were barbarians and they were a disgrace for the linear teleology of the apartheid ideology. Hence, they could not be a part of the population and this civilized modern regime could even kill more than 170 schoolchildren during Soweto Uprisings. As discipline was gone, this allegory of God took life. It could be immediately transformed into an Empire when a state of emergency was at present. For the preservation of the modern democratic state as the ultimate ideal, sacrifices were inevitable and it did not matter whether the old methods of punishment from former empires were used. Sacrifices refreshed 'peace and order'.

Minority ruled the majority, and it was a long intrusion in the history of South Africa. While it fits with Western teleology and constitutes a modern state, apartheid is an allegory of empires that face the same fate as them. Although it took too much to demolish the latest colonial state of the world compared to the other post-colonial states, black individuals in the urban became uncontrollable and undisciplined day by day when it was realized that tribes divide them. There appeared a black consciousness replacing a tribal consciousness. Urban resistance transformed into the resistance of the population. Ultimately, the apartheid regime was dethroned in 1994.

For the new power, on the other hand, the cycle does not start from the beginning. Rather than constructing a metaphoric order, it mimics the allegorical breach in the cycle despite its promises before the fall of the apartheid. Yet, the

question is that “why does it have to follow the modern liberal bourgeois democracies?” Fanon explicates the cause:

At the core of the national bourgeoisie of the colonial countries a hedonistic mentality prevails because on a psychological level it identifies with the Western bourgeoisie from which it has slurped every lesson. It mimics the Western bourgeoisie in its negative and decadent aspects without having accomplished the initial phases of exploration and invention that are the assets of this Western bourgeoisie whatever the circumstances. In its early days the national bourgeoisie of the colonial countries identifies with the last stages of the Western bourgeoisie. Don't believe it is taking short cuts. In fact it starts at the end. It is already senile, having experienced neither the exuberance nor the brazen determination of youth and adolescence (2004, p. 101).

The national bourgeoisie replicates the allegory of the West which is in the last phase that is ironical age in cycles of Vico and Ibn Khaldun. It covers its intermediary and agency relationship with the metropole by nationalistic discourses. In lieu of transformation, the new power chooses to retain the authorial position. Hence, the things that make the allegorical phase unsuccessful, also make the new power transit into the ironical period. Thus, one can easily link the post-apartheid South Africa to a neocolonial state in *Disgrace* because its echoes are very loud in Coetzee's novel. As Fanon says “The apotheosis of independence becomes the curse of independence” (2004, p. 54). Then, it may be read as a disgrace at first sight.

As the Empire tells the Magistrate “you utterly disgraced yourself” (W, p. 123), disgrace is not a sad but a celebratory matter for Coetzee in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. But whose disgrace is it in *Disgrace*? Of David, of Lucy, or of Rainbow South Africa? Spivak reads it from absent voices in the novel. Lucy, as the counterfocalizer to the protagonist, speaks to the reader who is the listening subject whose ethical impulse struggles to hear not only her but also Petrus, Pollux, the two other gangs, and the unborn child. Thus, literary ethics transcend silencing political power focusing on the center (that is David in the story) and undermines the periphery (that is Lucy and indigenous people). For this reason, disgrace is not negative in itself but a ground level to begin a literary task that “Its [of literature] task is to foster yet another displacement: into a work for the remote possibility of the precarious production of an infrastructure that can in turn produce a Lucy or her focalizer, figuring forth an equality that takes disgrace in its stride” (Spivak, 2002, p. 30).

Literature and its readers form a space in that epistemological violence does not operate because the number of readers signifies the number of the varying gazes.

Reading the novel with its relation to Byron and Wordsworth, Margot Beard claims that it “addresses the major proposition of Romanticism—the essential nature of creative the imagination which is our only means to enter the experience of another, of overcoming our atomistic isolation from the rest of creation” (2007, p. 74). Such empathy is an ethical duty before David after his ‘disgrace’. As his ethical process progresses from ‘anthropological to anthropocentric morality’, he realizes the survival of the fittest in the new South African order:

In Coetzee’s fictional world, rapid social change in South Africa entails an intensified struggle for existence for all species. All animals, human and nonhuman, are pushed hard to maintain their equilibrium in this new environment. Nonhuman animals “come nowhere” in the nation’s priorities, according to Lucy; the Animal Welfare League in Grahamstown is stripped of funding and staffed entirely by volunteers (Coleman, 2009, p. 599).

Deirdre Coleman reads the rape scene in this survival atmosphere and claims that “In a parody of the holy trinity, the gang of three demonstrates the meaning of the survival of the fittest. They show Lurie that in competitive, evolutionary terms, black seed prevails over white, youth over age” (2009, p. 605).

Fanon, on the other hand, describes blacks’ raping or having sex with white women as “a wish to be white” (2008, p. 6) who are symbols of the boss and the master. And the former slave now desires to invade and possess this governing and controlling position. Coetzee deeply scrutinizes this neocolonial situation in *Disgrace*. She is Lucy who is raped now, not to become white but to make her black. That’s why; the child in her womb after the rape is not a symbol of hybridity but of domination. Lesbian Lucy becomes a domestic housewife. Instead of vengeance, Lucy accepts the burden of history. But, she is not after justice but amnesia for her child. Yielded to a new form of patriarchy, Lucy finds a sense of success in not leaving her farm. Rather than flying to her mother in Holland, she stays and says that “Yes the road I am following may be the wrong one. But if I leave the farm now I will leave defeated, and will taste that defeat for the rest of my life” (p. 161). Keeping her house while submitting the land is a ‘hushed resolve and proactive silence’ for Mary LeBlanc:

Her agreement with Petrus both acknowledges “the terms that matter” in Lucy’s world and allows her to continue her sense of purpose on the land. Proactivity, as Lucy shows, procreates;

it gives a new life that reconciles with existing facts. David believes such a possibility is “not workable” until he sees it in action (2017, p. 165).

Giving birth to her child seems like a resistance to the new patriarchy at first sight. But neither the land nor her child is left to her. She says that “If he wants me to be known as his third wife, so be it. As his concubine, ditto. But then the child becomes his too. And the child becomes part of the family” (D, p. 204). Instead of a hybrid child and land, her hope for the future is bound to the house. She deconstructs patriarchal norms and leaves blood tie and possession:

At the heart of the unfreedom of the hereditary masters of South Africa is a failure of love. To be blunt: their love is not enough today and has not been enough since they arrived on the continent; furthermore, their talk, their excessive talk, about how they love South Africa has consistently been directed toward the land, that is, toward what is least likely to respond to love: mountains and deserts, birds and animals and flowers (Coetzee, 1992, p. 97).

She tells David “I am not trying to save my skin. If that is what you think, you miss the point entirely” (p. 112). Lucy’s panorama at the end of the novel draws a picture of love for nature compared to the land that is depicted as the land of danger, anarchy, HIV, and darkness before.

David Lurie, on the other hand, does not leave his position in university professorship liberalized by his Romanticism only for his disgrace but also for the shift in authority. A relational case arises in *Age of Iron*. Because an inversion of power from whites to blacks is conceivable in the novel, the protagonist Mrs. Curren states that “But why should I accept that: my life would have been worthless no matter who held power in this land? Power is power, after all. It invades. That is its nature. It invades one's life” (Coetzee, 1990, p. 107). She believes in a naturally cycling history that has divine justice making victims the avengers. Coetzee foresees this neocolonial situation in both *In the Heart of the Country* and *Age of Iron* then he problematizes it in *Disgrace*. While he is anxious for a vicious cycle, the failed-state representation echoes second barbarism.

With his suprahistorical attitude, David isolates himself from the immense changes in post-apartheid society with his world of Romantic literature:

Lurie manages to shelter himself from the wave of lifetransforming demands the present imposes on him—the Baudelairean “shocks” of the modern age described by Walter Benjamin—by adopting what Nietzsche has called the a-historical perspective of an ascetic, and the supra-historical perspective of the artist, living “within his income, within his

temperament, within his emotional means,” and at the same time keeping his eyes “turned toward the great archetypes of the imagination we carry within us” (Liatsos, 2005, p. 192).

After the disgrace of seducing his student, a committee chaired by a professor from religious studies (echoes Desmond Tutu who is the forerunner of the TRC) is regulated in university investigating the case without judgment. It expects a confession and a “mention of the long history of exploitation of which this is part” (D. p. 53) with sincerity from David but he rejects it because narrating the truth is only a *hi/story* and “a self-serving truth”(Coetzee, 1992, p. 280). The committee does not accept his secular confession and it offers him giving his repentance in a public confession in return for keeping his job. It tries to cure, re-educate and reform him for the new order. Yet, it is not the right way of judgment for him. It is not a medium as law serves but “a TV show in fact” (D. p. 66). “Although he has himself abused his power, Lurie resists disciplinary” (Lenta, 2010, p. 3) trying to control him by curing and so making him continue his ‘business’. He refuses his compilation with “the long history of exploitation” the committee offers until he confronts “the real anthropological truth” (D, p. 118) after the rape of his daughter. From the suprahistorical attitude at the outset, he recognizes the cycle of history and comes across with “the New Age tyranny of therapeutic discourse” (Ragachewskaya, 2015, p. 224). In this new order, his university has already been reorganized according to neo-liberal politics and makes David an adjunct professor in communications from a former professor in literature:

Change in the name of the university at which Lurie lectures from Cape Town University College to Cape Technical University suggests its orientation towards the utilitarian concerns of the market. At this new institution, the departments of Modern Languages and Classics have been closed. Formerly a professor of modern languages and a specialist in Romantic poetry, he now finds himself within the discipline of "communications," whose premise - that language is primarily a medium of communication - he considers "preposterous (Lenta, 2010, p. 4).

He rejects to be disciplined by the new power and its bio-politics and resigns after refusing to confess the seducement. Yet, he is still after an excuse and Melanie’s boyfriend asks Lurie “Didn’t you learn your lesson?” and he answers “What was my lesson?” (D, p. 194). The lesson is that “Stay with your own kind” (p. 194). Due to “the seed of generation, driven to perfect to itself, driving deep into woman’s body, driving to bring the future into being” (p. 194), the new black generation is driven to the old white myth: ‘the survival of the fittest’. He is Lurie before who holds the teaching position by planning a lesson for Pollux raping her daughter: “Teach him a

lesson, Show him his place” (p. 206). This place is the rank black people have been placed for a long time. Now, he is Lurie trying to learn his ‘lesson’ that is staying with his own white kind. Black women are for black men just as white women are for white men before. Now, the whites are the most unfit to survive. His daughter, though, is raped by three black men whose “seed aching to perfect to itself” (p. 199). Unlike his father, Lucy is taught her lesson. ‘Dogs’ have become the patron “debt collectors, tax collectors” (p. 158). She recognizes that “why should I be allowed to live here without paying?” (p. 158). She pays the price, and she is subjected and subjugated by the new order. Still, it is not a defeat for her. She plans a future for her child.

In the end, David eludes History and lives like a dog just like his daughter. Nonetheless, his white prejudices for the ‘new barbarians’ are not resolved. What happens at the end is his self-relief. It is again a suprahistorical position, just as in the beginning. Unlike Magistrate in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, he fails to raise a sympathetic relation with ‘barbarians’. Again, he is compliant with the History he tries to evade. At last, David’s gaze sees Lucy with “the great archetypes of imagination” (D. p. 23) gained by Romanticism seeking an escape to nature:

At the centre of the picture a young woman, das ewig Weibliche, lightly pregnant, in a straw sunhat. A scene ready-made for a Sargent or a Bonnard. City boys like him; but even city boys can recognize beauty when they see it, can have their breath taken away (D, p. 218).

Notwithstanding sympathetic imagination with women and dogs, his Romanticism is unsuccessful for a dialogue with the indigenous. Lucy’s sacrifice for the sins of apartheid, on the other hand, underscores the institutional violence and power relations. Rather than seeing the act of rape as an individual crime, Lucy draws the big picture behind. There is a legacy bestowed upon the present.

Foucault in his reading of Nietzschean suprahistory constitutes a genealogy in that with “substitutions, displacements, disguised conquests, and systematic reversals” (1984, p. 86) ‘will to power’ determines the course of history which is “the endlessly repeated play of dominations” (1984, p. 85):

Humanity does not gradually progress from combat to combat until it arrives at universal reciprocity, where the rule of law finally replaces warfare; humanity installs each of its violences in a system of rules and thus proceeds from domination to domination (1984, p. 85).



“The entry of a masked "other"” (1984, p. 88) into a new dominion harks back to violence done to him/her. Although such a view may validate violence against the former perpetrator, Coetzee moves away from such vindictive struggles in either side of politics.

“Power is a challenge” (Baudrillard and Lotringer, 2007, p. 58) and thus it is “democratized, liberalized, vulgarized and, more recently, decentralized and deterritorialized, etc. (Baudrillard, 2007, p. 61).” By the same token, the concept of Rainbow state emerges for which Coetzee has no belief. Power only changes hands and thus strategies within a recurring cycle. While Petrus is transformed into a manager from dog-boy, she is Lucy now becoming a dog. Moreover, he is now Petrus who wants whites out of sight just as the forerunner white liberal politics of apartheid. David misinterprets all the actions and “the question is does he have it in him to be the woman?” (D, p. 160). He fails to understand why his girl yields to the power of the new order. David, on the other hand, questions his egoism after he comes to the countryside to live with Lucy. He cares for the dogs when he becomes a dog out of History. He can only recognize the Other as he becomes the Other.

The Other is the dog he cares about, not the African characters. Penguin cover of *Age of Iron* presents readers a photograph in which the African wild dogs look at the smogs after the mountains. In an interview in 1972, Steve Biko tells that “70 percent of the population [are] underdogs” (cited in Mngxitama et al. 2008, p. 1). In the Vintage cover of *Disgrace*, there is now a frail cur. It seems that wild dogs look after them. Coetzee describes the apartheid police as “hunters run packs of dogs” (2009, p. 12). The order is inverted now. The whites become dogs in the novel just as blacks during the apartheid.

To prove their humanity, they attack the whites who dehumanize them. Fanon says that “As soon as you and your fellow men are cut down like dogs there is no other solution but to use every means available to reestablish your weight as a human being” (2004, p. 221). Muscular tonus repressed by colonialism is released. It is time for speaking. Muscles speak. In the novel, it is much more like a vengeance to “replace the foreigners” (Fanon, 2004, p. 105). Yet, it is a bourgeoisie slogan for ‘a wish to be

white'. It means taking up his class and wearing the white mask. The first thing forward-looking Petrus says after David tells that 'Lucy is raped' is that "Will Lucy go to the market tomorrow? Because she will lose her stall if she does not go" (D, p. 113). And as David says his car is also stolen, Petrus replies that insurance will replace. Such a material replacement permeates post-apartheid South Africa. Those who are cast out become subhuman as Fanon asserts. In the novel, they become dogs. In the end, David recognizes his and his race's dog status in the new order. Because there are too many, dogs are killed and burnt. David helps Bev Shaw to do it in the veterinary clinic. In the last pages, he decides that he does not save the dog he likes for one more week. In a sense, he sacrifices the dog. Arguably, it symbolizes David's anxiety for the sacrifice of the whites who are the most unfit in post-apartheid. In a way, David approves the turn of the justice of the cycle. It is now their turn to become dogs.

This "irony of fate" (Fanon, 2004, p. 57) becomes "the curse of independence" (p. 54) because replicating the colonizer West which is at the last phase in the cycle for Fanon is ironic. Neo-liberal politics of ANC after the independence mimic modern liberal democracies Coetzee allegorizes in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. In a case of threat or stagnation, they erect walls and invent barbarity or terrorism just like the former empires. Raison d'Etat is invented to live longer than them. But, this governing reason does not refrain from the old politics. In the novel, Rainbow South Africa is now in its turn in the cycle but *Disgrace* narrates how ironic replication is. Even after independence, the muscular tonus is not released because the wealth cannot be distributed fairly by the neo-liberalism of ANC. Therefore, binarism between the rich and the poor is saved. The shacks do not disappear. Towns centralize the new black elite. Neocolonialism creates a kind of Adlerian leech. Its discursive hegemony presents a path for development that is narrated as one and only. Such a dependency complex repeats the colonizer saying "if you want independence, take it and return to the Dark Ages" (Fanon, 2004, p. 53). The national bourgeoisie says after independence that "we need to use the lash if we want to take this country out of the Dark Ages" (p. 72). This epistemic violence keeps binarism at the center and canalizes resistance towards internal conflicts. In this respect, apartheid, colonialism, and the white race become the scapegoat to purify the faults during the ANC government. With the

diverse colors, the Rainbow Nation is a great start for creating something else than ‘a third Europe’. Yet, as well as South Africa, “this grotesque and generally obscene emulation” (Fanon, 2004, p. 239) entraps post-colonial states into the dialectic of national consciousness. It is not transcended. Instead, it constitutes a neocolonial order. In some other places, there is ‘negative dialectics’. Tribal consciousness reappears, divides the nations, and leads tribes into internal conflicts. Still, with its postmodernist and postcolonial notions, South Africa is not a failed state. Rise and fall coexist there.

By “attributing responsibility to state officials” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 155) not to ideologies prompting them to act, TRC is the indicator of ANC’s adopting neo-liberalism and forgetting the past anti-capitalist struggle. Similarly, focusing on cycling back of history instead of individual crimes makes Coetzee stress the replaced power from white hands to black hands in *Disgrace*. In such a way, the rebirth of barbarians becomes possible in post-apartheid South Africa who looks forward like Petrus instead of taking the lesson from history teaching that ‘states are not eternal but visitors at the cycle waiting for the turn’. The result of Coetzee’s lesson in this philosophy of history determines the barbarian bereft of race or richness. Still, there is a need for a new vocabulary. Unless this barbarism is designified, its paranoia will pervade.

In this way, reviewer Robert Berner sees *Disgrace* as the representation of the Rainbow’s ‘dirty secret’:

Only rarely do we hear of the country’s dirty secret: violence against rural whites by black hooligans, made worse by the government’s inability or unwillingness to do anything about it. “It happens every day,” Lurie says of the assault, “in every quarter of the country,” and a white neighbor adds that “the police are not going to save you, not any more” (2000, p. 228).

This barbarian paranoia reaches such a point that a new *Holocaust* is expected by some in the white right-wing. Farms are robbed and violence is done to farmers. This story symbolizes the vengeance the black men want to take for the mainstream media. At the end of *Waiting for the Barbarians*, such paranoia makes people connect any guilt to barbarians who are the usual suspect just as in Rainbow South Africa:

Nothing would induce her to tell her story. When the lamp was put out she would begin to whimper. Her friends claim a barbarian did it. They saw him running away into the reeds. They recognized him as a barbarian by his ugliness. Now all children are forbidden to play outside the gates, and the farmers carry clubs and spears when they go to the fields (p. 134).

Such readings see *Disgrace* as the representation of a lawless post-apartheid South Africa, but it handles the problem of law to depict that law “is both then medium that dissolves difference and itself a marker or carrier of difference” for Michelle Kelly (2015, p. 171):

The force of the novel’s critique is directed at the liberal conception of the law in the rather calcified form that he exemplifies, as he reverts to legal procedure to protect his own interests; against this it enjoins the reader not to think of post-apartheid South Africa as lawless (contrary to the most critical accounts of the novel), but to question the construction of “the law” as a pure, monolithic, single entity, or a neutral, uncontested space (Kelly, 2015, p. 167).

“The great campaign of redistribution” (D, p. 176) is still a campaign for elections in post-apartheid South Africa. Instead of inclusive citizenship, the ANC government retains nationalistic discourses to stay in power. This is a general post-colonial problem for post-colonial states. “If cultural nationalism was a rallying factor in the struggle against imperial powers in the decolonization, the post-colonial political class basically makes recourse to the same cultural legitimization strategies to justify its power” (Ndi, 2017, p. 33). This nationalistic politics in South Africa cites apartheid past as the source of all the wrongs in the country that are promised to be solved in long-awaited free democratic South Africa. Such legitimization inverts the old binary rather than the co-existence of the diverse colors of the Rainbow.

After the power relations leg of neocolonialism above, the following paragraphs handle globalism as the second leg of it which has weak echoes in *Disgrace*. Neocolonialism is not only linked to post-colonial tyrants, dictators, or elites, it is also related to the external forces as neocolonial powers. Colonial legacy does not hover over post-colonial states but also over the Western democracies. Fernando Coronil ponders on how old colony-metropole relation is transited to a new center-periphery which is neocolonialism as “the reproduction of colonialism” (1996, p. 68).

Sharing power with chiefs on behalf of tradition or saving the centralized power of colony for the sake of the nation within post-colonial states makes them vulnerable to foreign interference in politics and economy. Imperialism seeks local partners to sustain the indirect government of colonies. Chiefs at the periphery and elites at the center are the best companions. The new elites replacing the white

bourgeoise need a durable economy. The chiefs seek for multinational global megacorporations to sell the raw materials in the lands under their control. For this, debts and military aids are granted to them and to the states to keep the power at the center. Therefore, metanarratives are vital for sustaining the consolidation of the masses. At the periphery, the metanarrative is custom, whereas at the center it is a nation. To comprehend how this international system functions in the new nation-states which have just fought against imperialism, Magdoff describes nationalism as “the alter ego” (1978, p. 120) of globalization. On this score, “the new manifest destiny-the manifest destiny of our times-is the responsibility to teach the heathens the art of economics, so that these people can also become healthy, wealthy, and wise” (Magdoff, 1978, p. 151).

Technological essentialism and structural reforms to become a developing country are an illusion in the neocolonial condition. As the state is founded on capitalist norms, the majority of the society is trained and disciplined to become proletariat while few turn to bourgeois and fewer to elites. All the new culture dictates “climb upper if you can!” This new order is not so much different from the old:

Third World countries, under the sway of a long history of colonialism and semicolonialism, have evolved a mode of production, a class structure, and a social, psychological, and cultural milieu that are subservient to the metropolitan centers. So long as these conditions prevail, even the removal of the multinationals would not basically change either the sovereignty or the underdevelopment question (Magdoff, 1978, p. 188).

Internal political struggles of post-colonial states make them vulnerable to global inclusion by becoming on the side that fits with the world-market economy and opens the doors to capitalist expansion. By military aid (training and armament) and loans of money, the army is modernized. Roads, railways, and ports (if there are any) are modernized with the debt through which trucks, cargo planes, and ships of multinational corporations arrive at the metropole. The dependent state is stabilized in its position, be it developing or undeveloped because capitalism cannot live without this hierarchy. In a way, while undeveloped states become proletariat of the First World, the developing semi-industrial ones mess around climbing up and live with the fear of falling down.

This situation leads to a re-dependency complex meaning ‘without Westernization, progress is impossible’. The self-reliance and self-confidence of people evaporate. The West becomes the Messiah for salvation again. Much desired structural reforms also create social institutions dividing society into classes. They do not bring a social democracy but a liberal one. Cultural dependency is directed towards modernity and its norms. But, they are read politically by the power for the sake of its survival. It takes strategies of hegemony, authority, binarism, and class division instead of democratic citizenship rights. As a result, mimicry pervades all forms of life from political to cultural. As Ibn Khaldun puts forward, “the defeated imitates the winner like *badavi* imitates *hadari*” (see 2008, pp. 361-362). The winner is not the ANC this time, but global capitalism in South Africa.

In *Disgrace*, nevertheless, the success of neo-liberal globalism is a very weak part of neocolonialism. After his interview with J. M. Coetzee, Stephen Watson realizes that the writer is not restricted to his country of birth and its experiences, but he sees it within the context of the globe:

In an interview conducted in 1978, J. M. Coetzee remarked that he was inclined 'to see the South African situation [today] as only one manifestation of a wider historical situation to do with colonialism, late colonialism, neo-colonialism'. At the same time, as if to underline his sense that South Africa's situation was bound up with a global historical process, he added, 'I'm suspicious of lines of division between a European context and a South African context, because I think our experience remains largely colonial.' This colonialism, he concluded, was evident even in publishing in this country: 'Our literary products are flown to the metropolitan centre and re-exported to us from there at a vastly increased price .... That very fact should give people pause before they start talking about a South African literature' (2014, p. 13).

These ‘colonial remains’ constitute neocolonialism for Coetzee. Yet, it is not a central concern in the novel. On the other hand, the inner neocolonial condition in post-apartheid South Africa is very loud. Legacies of apartheid haunt the words. Inherited discourses promulgate social life. Liberty means the ownership of land and property like the older days of white liberals. Decolonization is transited into mimicry of such discourses. Individual possession marks the new South Africa: “A risk to own anything: a car, a pair of shoes, a packet of cigarettes. Not enough to go around, not enough cars, shoes, cigarettes. Too many people, too few things” (D, p. 98). Although Lurie thinks that “perhaps history has learned a lesson” (p. 62) at the outset, he recognizes that his daughter is becoming a peasant at the end. And Petrus transits from

the dog-man to a manager. In mentality, though, he remains the same. “It is a new world they live in, he and Lucy and Petrus. Petrus knows it, and he knows it, and Petrus knows that he he knows it” (p. 117). History fails to teach the lesson again. Petrus imitates the chiefs who are under the control of the indirect rule of colonizers.

For the softer ages after the age of iron, one has to believe in linear teleology. Petrus has a strong belief in it just as the ANC promising for the recovery because ‘truth heals’. But, it is the old lesson of civilization. In *Elizabeth Costello*, Coetzee narrates that the reason is compulsory to progress:

Come to our schools, they said, and we will teach you how. We will make you disciples of reason and the sciences that flow from reason; we will make you masters of nature. Through us you will overcome disease and all corruption of the flesh. You will live for ever (2004b, p. 137).

This rationality promises a linear development. The new rationality in post-apartheid is not dissimilar to it. Even though he ironizes this condition in *Disgrace*, Coetzee does not lament the inevitable end of the apartheid regime. After David’s despair for the rape, it is recognized that there is no other choice than to permit “history to come to full circle” (p. 175). By this, Coetzee narrates the divine justice of history. He argues that “I don’t believe that any form of lasting community can exist where people do not share the same sense of what is just and what is not just. To put it another way, community has its basis in an awareness and acceptance of a common justice” (1992, p. 340). But what is just? Taking revenge or taking positions?

Arguably, Pollux is one of the children at the end of *Waiting for the Barbarians* who make a snowman symbolizing new humanity. They grow and take their revenge. Earlier hope for their future, thus, fails. Is there a new one before the unborn child of Lucy? Is the new order of South Africa governed by those who cannot govern themselves? Is the only possible way of governing mimicking the old apartheid order? Is it all their capacity? Do these views belong to Coetzee or to the white liberal discourse of David Lurie or of the narrator?

While a sense of relief is granted to Lucy and David, the question is that why the indigenous people are left with their silences? Why are they represented by David and the narrator? *Disgrace* is the very story of these questions. Within the limits of the

discourse of white liberalism, the only thing David can do is that an individual relief from the symbolic order. Hence, they fail to hear the Other. In the end, because “soon history will have come to full circle” (D, p. 175) as “the country [barbarians] is coming to the city” (p. 175), “he [David] is inventing the music (or the music is inventing him) but he is not inventing the history” (p. 186) for a Romantic escape. But he rereads the escape by “educat[ing] the eye” (p. 218) and rewrites his opera on female characters accompanied by a dog, and played by a banjo. Still, justice needs sacrifice and he pays it at the end with the dog he loves.

“So, it has come, the day of testing” (D, p. 94) in the “darkest Africa” (p. 95) says David. Barbarians prepare “their boiling cauldron” (p. 95). They invade the country. As the novel reaches the end, David comes to the city from the country. But the narrator tells that “the country is coming to the city. Soon there will be cattle again on Rondebosch Common; soon history will have come full circle” (p. 176). Then, barbarians come who would never come for the *Waiting for the Barbarians* and “a raiding party moving in, cleaning out the site, retreating laden with bags, boxes, suitcases. Booty; war reparations; another incident in the great campaign of redistribution” (p. 176). The cycle is completed. However, it does not begin from the beginning. It begins from the ruins the apartheid has left:

A tight little petit-bourgeois household, frugal, prudent. The car washed, the lawn mowed, savings in the bank. All their resources concentrated on launching the two jewel daughters into the future: clever Melanie, with her theatrical ambitions; Desiree, the beauty (D, p. 168).

Therefore, the capital of colored liberal Christian Isaacs family is saved frugally and prudently. This new elitism replaces the older and saves bourgeois temperament for progress. While Petrus in the country and Mr. Isaacs in the city develop, David is forced to “the margins of history” (D, p. 167) and he learns that “there have been ‘developments’” (p. 196). As she thinks ‘objectively’, Lucy is left with the house and the kennels because the country is too risky without living under the hegemony of the new patriarchy. She signs the land over Petrus and she will leave the child she carries to his ‘kind’ for the sake of peace. His powerless father does not have the authority bestowed upon his race anymore. “That’s all gone, gone with the wind” (p. 133). Nothing is restored. His stolen car is not recovered, even if it is



promised. Neither Lucy nor David goes to court for the rape case. The land is lost. David's flat in the city is robbed.

The next section will discuss whether David Lurie evades from the South African context or *Disgrace* is an ethical change in him within this context.

### **3. 1. Suprahistorical Evasion/ Facing the History**

“Can one really draw a line between justice and vengeance? (Coetzee, 1999, p. 112).

The suprahistorical examination of history resists universal and objective views of the historical process of states and civilizations for the sake of their subjects. Subject-based existential questionings target Enlightenment rationalism and its idea of progress. For this Anti-Hegelian criticism, historical development is an illusion. Nihilism and pessimism take the place of future betterment. Truth is inside life's moments rather than inside history. The moment at present is a gateway between the eternities of past and future for Nietzsche, the convergence of eternity and temporality for Kierkegaard, and “a tangent” at sphere half of which is sinking past and rising future is the other half for Schopenhauer (1969, p. 269). This moment is somewhat a becoming or opening. By the unification of events (not time), history is understood because it is not an objective time but a subjective one determined by personal contacts with life. This existential thought protects the individual against the generalizing theses for history.

As a devoted Christian philosopher, Kierkegaard supposes that internal history is divided into three: aesthetic, ethical, and religious progress according to the decision that is made. To him, “subjectivity is truth, because the objective truth for an existing person is like the eternity of abstraction” (1992, p. 312). Dissimilar to the dialectics of Hegel, he supposes that existence is subjective and cannot be put into a rational order. His inner dialectics transfigures aesthetic and ethical stages and ultimately reaches the final religious point. Yet, it is not a universal claim. Individuals are free to determine their positions and this choice repeats itself constantly. Thus, patience is needed and this brings pessimism because kinesis of the inward history replays.

Unlike Kierkegaard and Schopenhauer, Nietzsche comes forth with a genealogical point organizing random moments of values rather than facts into a historical span. Against the paradox between the overall frame and individual moments, Nietzsche brings forth an ever-processing eternal recurrence. His genealogy is not made up of time sequence but of momentary events:

Rather, it [evolution of a thing] is a sequence of more or less profound, more or less independent processes of appropriation, including the resistances used in each instance, the attempted transformations for purposes of defence or reaction, as well as the results of successful counterattacks (1956, p. 210).

He classifies writing history into monumental, antiquarian, and critical. The first should inspire people, the second should illustrate the historical development, and the last should teach them about past errors. Nietzsche defines unhistorical as the condition of animals that are out of history and suprahistorical (*überhistorischen*) as the eternal recurrence of historical incidents. Moments reiterate perpetually from which only the over-man can escape with his will to power. In his genealogy, laws of traditional history are not valid because every moment is concluded. Their collection only indicates a cyclical process in an ever-expanding history of an arbitrary world.

These existential examinations of three philosophers make history inexplicable by the dichotomy between the subjectivity of the individual and the objectivity of history.

By focusing on Coetzee's oeuvre, race, milieu, time, and criticism written for him, the goal of the dissertation is a much more detailed reading against 'metacommentaries'. Instead of positionality within a frame, it tries to transcend responding genre expectations for the novels. Therefore, it avoids simple definitions to label them anti-colonial or neocolonial novels. In *Disgrace*, Coetzee focuses on the power that remains the same while changing paradoxically. While he has not a teleological vision to compress South African history into colonial-post-colonial-neocolonial trio, he draws on cyclical history to narrate the divine justice overthrowing the barbarous rule of the Empire in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. The old victims, nonetheless, become avengers after the apartheid. New barbarians are created and new sacrifices are desired. Coetzee problematizes this in *Disgrace* and David Lurie tries to escape from this new atmosphere.

Although it is not easy to link historical perception to Coetzee while it can be easily applied to social realist writers, he is interested in the philosophy of history. Therefore, his historical vision is not only post-structuralist or suprahistorical but also it is affected by the cyclical history. Coetzee's writing style, nevertheless, is highly criticized due to its lack of a realist perspective towards South Africa where history and its representation are of extreme significance to be able to counter colonial history's discourses and to subvert them by rewriting history. For example, Chinua Achebe criticizes the way of seeing imagination as an independent phenomenon from the fact in literary writing by saying "that degree of fancying needs a good dose of fact to go with it" (2018, p. 24). For Njabulo Ndebele, on the other hand, African fiction operates "an art of anticipated surfaces rather than one of processes" (1986, p. 32) in realistic manners. Instead of resisting the status quo, art may confirm it by reflecting social problems as they are. Lewis Nkosi considers this South African experience as a canonical form:

We find here a type of fiction which exploits the ready-made plots of racial violence, social apartheid, interracial love affairs which are doomed from the beginning, without any attempt to transcend or transmute these given 'social facts' into artistically persuasive works of fiction (2005, p. 246).

With artistic creativity, Coetzee eludes such stereotypes. Lenta asserts that, unlike Nadine Gordimer with whom he is often compared and contrasted, academic life in far lands gives Coetzee a sense of universalism:

Though his "history from the inside" has not been confined, as has Nadine Gordimer's, to the recording and interpretation of what he has himself witnessed, or might have done, he has been committed in his subject matter to the colonial process in South Africa, of which he has treated Apartheid as a special instance (Lenta, 2002, p. 210).

To Jane Poyner, "Coetzee bridges the gap between the "West" and the so-called Third World..." (2009, p. 5) by European literary tradition (from Dante to Beckett) and African thinking (from Fanon to Cesaire). Gordimer herself opposes such a comparison by stressing the correlation between reality and fiction:

At the same time, the critics wrestle with whether or not Coetzee's fiction is part of the discourse of colonialism itself, avoiding its stark issues with elegant allegory or whether, indeed, his themes are distilled from that bloody starkness (2014, p. viii).

"Imagining a possible 'moral community'" (1992, p. 339) is the failure of South African literature for him. Instead of representing it, he tries to *imagine the*

*unimaginable* through fiction. His stance is an ethical opposition instead of a political resistance. In *Youth*, Coetzee narrates that he himself reads English traveler William Burchell's *Travels* in British Museum and regards the book as real in opposition to famous Western novels. For him, Burchell:

...may not be a master like Flaubert or James, but what Burchell writes really happened. Real oxen hauled him and his cases of botanical specimens from stopping-place to stopping-place in the Great Karoo; real stars glimmered above his head, and his men's, while they slept (2003, p. 137).

The above quotation is just playing and parodying with realist manners in literature. His autobiography is written in a fiction format which makes his views on Burchell dubious. There he prefers metafiction to metanarrative because:

...Coetzee's works are centrally concerned with the ontological status of stories and with the relation of art and life, with the all-pervasiveness of narrative, the discursive nature of history and of our experience of reality, and with ethical issues pertaining to the practice of writing and reading (Effe, 2017, p. xii).

His close contact with mathematics and the academy brings Coetzee a more scientific perspective than his colleagues with whom he has been compared. In an interview, Coetzee explains the reason behind the use of allegory in his works as a central figure of speech which is beyond the scope of critical realism:

...I don't have much interest in, or can't seriously engage myself with, the kind of realism that takes pride in copying the 'real' world. The option was, of course, open to me to invent a world out of place and time and situate the action there, as I did in *Waiting for the Barbarians*... (Morphet, 1984, p. 30).

Instead of realism, the writer prefers late modernist and postmodernist attitudes in which he has a chance to question the role of the reader in literature to whom literary works are not simply directed, unlike realism. He contends "I am hesitant to accept that my books are addressed to readers. Or at least I would argue that the concept of the reader in literature is a vastly more problematic one than one might at first think" (Coetzee and Morphet, 1984, p. 31). He thinks that "My ideal reader is, I would hope, myself" (p. 33). Coetzee rejects moralistic and didactic ways of writing. Thanks to allegories, none of his novels are censored during the apartheid. The following quotation from the author on Harold Pinter's Nobel Prize lecture targeting former English prime minister, who is with America for the invasion of Iraq, clearly presents the true way of narration for a writer:

When one speaks in one's own person - that is, not through one's art - to denounce some politician or other, using the rhetoric of the agora, one embarks on a contest which one is likely to lose because it takes place on ground where one's opponent is far more practised and adept (2008, p. 127).

For Coetzee, an artist is not a rhetorician and should not direct his speech to win an argument because "...words, like a prism, have only to be shifted slightly in their angle to reflect a quite different meaning" (Coetzee, 1999, pp. 64-65). As a response to "Do you see yourself as exploring the deep structures of the South African imagination?" He tells the interviewer that "The imagination is my own. If not, I am really in the soup" (Coetzee and Morphet, 1984, p. 33). The first part of the answer is simply postmodernist. In the second, however, there is a hesitation that no matter he tries to run to margins, he cannot evade the metalanguage and the metahistory of which he is a part and for which he feels the responsibility. Hence, his works cannot be merely handled in their allegorical world. History encircles Coetzee because "the history out of which one grew (the memories that make up one's past) is immutable, beyond one's control" (Coetzee and Kurtz, 2015, p. 20). His own subjective history is not only *hi/story* but also is burdened with the collective responsibility for his race during colonialism and apartheid.

Removing any biographical, philosophical, or historical facts from fiction is what New Criticism does. On the other hand, unlike poetry which is 'monologic', the novel is dialogic in which "an elastic environment of other, alien words about the same object" (Bakhtin, 1982, p. 276) can exist at the same time. For this reason, the reality is not reflected but refracted. Therefore, Coetzee is beyond becoming a representative of New Criticism even though he dismisses critical realism. He favors Bakhtin and his view on mimetics more.

The debates over realism and authenticity stem from the well-known argument between Bolekaja critics (Chinweizu, Jemie, and Madubike) with modernist African writers (Soyinka, Clark, and Okigbo). The first group accuses the second of importing foreign experience to represent African reality. On behalf of oral tradition, they think that European modern literature obscures language and with unfamiliar images, these writers move away from the reality of their own countries for elitist reasons while readers are far from decoding allusive literary style. They reject the notion of

apprentice within universal literature because oral literature is an independent African literary form in that readers are functional just as authors who do not impose metanarratives but include the readers into performance. Their claim for pre-colonial purity rejects hybridity. But for Soyinka, this is a pseudo-tradition and a neo-Tarzanism. For him, social commitment, by removing any space for individuality, is a mandate that is “miraculously reserved for the artist alone” (1975, p. 43) and complexity is the best way to represent the current African reality in a crisis of transition. Later critics assert that discussions over literary form overshadow colonial legacies. Young African neo-Marxist writers pay attention to material conditions exploiting their countries. Socio-political themes become the basis of such social realism. Post-apartheid literature, nonetheless, gives voice to new views like Graham Pechey and Njabulo Ndebele who uphold narrating the ordinary life of society and its everyday experience. The social role of the writer still determines the mainstream African literature with tributaries resting on humanism. While Botsotso poets and Robert Berold are on the side of multiculturalism, Tatamkhulu Afrika and Karen Press point legated socioeconomic problems. With the rise of J. M. Coetzee, the strain between European literary attitudes and African reality gets on the stage again. His oeuvre is not subsumed under history. It does not supplant history. On the contrary, history is demystified in his fiction. While doing this, he faces the repressed guilt of the glorified narrative of history in which he shares responsibility.

Still, *Age of Iron* is a turning point for Coetzee’s literary career. For the first time, apartheid South Africa is directly mentioned on which the milieu is grounded. Gordimer problematizes his changing sense of realism:

A half-turn to realism? Realism? Nothing is more unreal than simulation of outward reality; realism, whether in painting or writing, doesn't exist. Art is transformation. Coetzee simply took up a mode of art he had not much used before, now perhaps more suited to, demanded by, his theme and his changing sense of relation to his society, where and how he lives (2014, p. xi).

In short, history is not presented by Coetzee. Instead, he narrates his own *hi/story* which is not a materialist or a liberal one by facing the official history. It is literature and philosophy of history that helps him to question their discourses. Coetzee recognizes the historical failures of the white race for which he shares its responsibility. Just like Hayden White, he sees history as a metanarrative. Even though

the storm of progress is inevitable, past experiences are momentary and cannot be bound to a developing universal history. Sedimentation of the past weakens the wind under the wings of the *Angelus Novus*. Not only the History haunts Coetzee, but also the language. Bakhtin defines the master-language of the Western civilization as follows:

The victory of one reigning language (dialect) over the others, the supplanting of languages, their enslavement, the process of illuminating them with the True Word, the incorporation of barbarians and lower social strata into a unitary language of culture and truth, the canonization of ideological systems, philology with its methods of studying and teaching dead languages, languages that were by that very fact "unities," Indo-European linguistics with its focus of attention, directed away from language plurality to a single proto-language—all this determined the content and power of the category of "unitary language" in linguistic and stylistic thought, and determined its creative, style-shaping role in the majority of the poetic genres that coalesced in the channel formed by those same centripetal forces of verbal-ideological life (1982, p. 271).

Yet, this monoglossia is not transformed by a polyglossia because the conversation between contemporaries is impossible when the white is modern and the black is a child in history. They are not contemporaneous and the black has still a long path to follow according to Eurocentric teleology. This distance cannot be bridged by the suprahistorical Magistrate, Michael, Jesus, or David. Master-language of their master-race haunts their evasion and renders the dialogue with the other nearly impossible. It is a prison house: "we have to cease to think, if we refuse to do it in the prison house of language; for we cannot reach further than the doubt which asks whether the limit we see is really a limit" (Nietzsche, cited in Jameson, 1974). Then, the novel becomes the story of the mastership of monologue as in *Foe*. The representation of the black characters cannot be evaded from the prison of language. They are not silent, unlike Friday. But, the representation of the voice is controversial. Therefore, they are depicted from the gaze of the white race. It is the face value for a naive reading. The problem is the representation itself. The message one gets from the other can only be put into paper after what remains from the remembrance. The filters of language and history 'refine' the memory. Then, truth becomes unreliable and history becomes a story. Each representation becomes a fragmented truth. The narration is no more mimicry of the world but a part of its story. Coetzee's last novel *The Death of Jesus* is also motivated by this problem. With his washed away memories and timeless lifestyle, David is a suprahistorical child. But, the message of his story at

the end is uncertain because each reading will create its own meanings. The prisonhouse of language builds discursive walls and the evasion is once more hindered.

Although David Lurie lives in suprahistorical moments in *Disgrace*, the legacy of colonialism and apartheid looms over his here and now. Even though Coetzee accepts the just cycle to change positions between the ruler and the ruled in *Disgrace*, he disapproves of the vengeful cycle by which the muscles speak. For him, “You can’t unmake the past. What is done is done” (Coetzee, 2018, p. 18). This stance is against those who see revenge as a natural right that is epitomized by Julius Malema’s threat for the extermination of the whites. While David Lurie favors a here and now position, it seems that he pays the price of the past for peace and order by sacrificing the dog he cares about at the end. Even if he yields to the just cycle taking power from white minority, *Disgrace* has a warning for the vicious cycle.

David Lurie witnesses how he and her daughter are transformed into dogs owning nothing at the end of the novel. Besides, he is who has controversy to yield the new ‘peaceful’ order because “Lucy may be able to bend to the tempest; he cannot, not with honour” (p. 209). He has difficulty accepting the cycle because even if the turn of the cycle is just he cannot comply with the vindictive cycle.

In the end, David tries to educate his eye for nature and his unborn grandchild. He imagines a space for the baby that is already chaotic. It is implied that there will be a sacrifice as long as the number of people is too many for the country. The first ones who will be sacrificed are dogs and dog-like people like David refusing to bend the new order. All he can do is changing the center of his opera. The woman is at the core now instead of Byron and a dog finds a place in it. In his suprahistorical evasion, there is no country for the black men. They cannot find any place in his literary imagination, including his hybrid grandchild. Discursive borders of the apartheid haunt him and “the great archetypes of the imagination” (D, p. 23) make this connection impossible. After all, he is “not a bad man but not good either” (p. 194) who waits for new scholars to find out the “single authentic note of immortal longing” (p. 214). “He is inventing the music (or the music is inventing him) but he is not inventing the history” (p. 186).



David finds his grace in arts at the end. He runs away from the context of South Africa to his opera.

He recognizes that there are too many 'dogs' for few resources and white liberal people are the most unfit for this new order. For the sake of it, sacrifice is inevitable. "As hunters [police of the apartheid] run packs of dogs" (Coetzee, 2009, p. 12), it is now their turn to be chased. David's Romantic evasion fails and sacrifices his dog. The stronger dog takes the life of the weaker. In the country, it is "a risk to own anything: a car, a pair of shoes, a packet of cigarettes. Not enough to go around, not enough cars, shoes, cigarettes. Too many people, too few things" (D, p. 98). This Social Darwinism is based on the 'might is right' principle. For the struggle of existence, there is a natural selection in that the poor, the weak, the black, or the animal is eliminated. The Apartheid regime replicates this Western strategy to make African children with trousers. Therefore, it legitimizes its segregation policies because it is *natural*. Each race has its own skills. Africans have their anachronic culture and their civilization founding race must not be contaminated.

Due to the fact that the new Rainbow order keeps the core doctrine of the old Social Darwinism, one has to bend in front of the new authority in order to survive. "There is no higher life" (p. 74) anymore for them. Without the fitness, the white generation becomes the slightest in the chain just as black before. Petrus and his people are now the fittest who have now the long-awaited opportunity for vengeance against the apartheid. "Once he was a boy, now he is no longer" (p. 152) and there is no more waiting for the barbarians. The old development lie is with the new cycle now.

Lucy tells her father that "I am prepared to do anything, make any sacrifice, for the sake of peace" (D, p. 208). Thus, it is implied that sacrifice is inevitable for peace and order of a collective life in a newly founded state. Yet, it is not a social contract but a power transfer. In *Diary of a Bad Year*, Coetzee's author Senor C. writes:

What the Hobbesian myth of origins does not mention is that the handover of power to the state is irreversible. The option is not open to us to change our minds, to decide that the monopoly on the exercise of force held by the state, codified by the law, is not what we wanted after all, that we would prefer to go back to a state of nature (2008, p. 4).

Such a given collective power is open to abuses. The social contract becomes the law of the master. Still, Lucy does not find any solution other than yielding to the new order except one. She rejects being out of sight by not leaving the country, the child, and her home even if she loses her land and her sexuality. It is now well known that ‘physical draining away’ was the main policy of the apartheid regime. Their “craziness about race” (Coetzee, 1991, p. 24) segregates black and white to hinder envy the white liberal life and desire white woman because contamination means “the return of confusion and heathendom and chaos” (p. 13). Hence, Lucy objects to this segregation policy and keeps her place at the center of the sight even if her sexuality is effaced. Lucy’s sly civility is passive resistance: “Perhaps that is what I must learn to accept. To start at ground level. With nothing. Not with nothing but. With nothing. No cards, no weapons, no property, no rights, no dignity” (D, p. 205). She begins her new life ‘like a dog’. She accepts Petrus’s conditional hospitality by becoming his third wife and granting her land to him. She is left with her home. For Lucy, it is an adaptation, not a defeat. Running away from the country would be the defeat. Even if she does not become a slave, it is “subjection, subjugation” (D, p. 159). It makes her a peasant without the land just like the Africans during colonialism and apartheid. Gareth Cornwell reads the scene as a “pastoral idealism” (2003, p. 62). Lucy saves at least her home. By forgiving Pollux for the rape, she leaves the past behind. To end this vicious cycle, Lucy does not abort her child. Her amnesia, nevertheless, is unlike the TRC’s. It is sly civility. While men could not stop the patriotic lust, she subverts it as a woman. Yet, the future is still ambiguous. Will she live in peace?

Melanie’s rape is avenged by Lucy’s rape in *Disgrace*. The two rapes are equated on Lucy’s bed although the scenes are independent of each other. Lucy’s rape may be read as revenge for the black girl Melanie’s rape by a white man. Coetzee seems to draw attention to the vengeful cycle. While David’s disgrace for the seduction is tried to be punished by the ‘puritan’ committee and causes him to leave the university professorship, his daughter’s rape is unpunished in post-apartheid South Africa. After the first, a public confession is demanded not only for the rape but also for “the long history of exploitation of which this is part” (D, p. 53). Lucy’s rape, on the other hand, is not only rape. Her dogs are killed, her house is robbed, and her

father's face is burned. Unlike Melanie's, this one is vindictive. Yet, "Vengeance is like a fire. The more it devours, the hungrier it gets" (D, p. 112). It is a rehash: "As far back as he can remember, Afrikaners have trampled on people because, they claim, they were once trampled upon. Well, let the wheel turn, let force be replied to with greater force. He is glad to be out of it" (Coetzee, 2003, p. 100).

In line with Coetzee, Gordimer draws attention to the danger in the vengeful cycle for post-apartheid South Africa:

No violence is more frightening than the violence of revenge, because it is something that what the victim stands for brings upon him. It is seldom retribution for a personal deed, of which innocence can be claimed. The rape has nothing to do with desire; the penis is a gun like the gun held to a head, its discharge is a discharge of bullets (1994, p. 111).

The moral stance of the TRC against violence is questioned in the novel. Apartheid is not only based on race but also on morality. It takes the idea of the chosen people from Calvinism. The white race is responsible for protecting the Christian civilization against Antichrist that is communism in South Africa. In the post-apartheid period, morality is now before David Lurie.

As a womanizer like Don Juan, he is a servant of Eros following his instincts. Therefore, he rejects the disgrace of the moral court because he is a post-religious man and a man of nature. Romantic David's suprahistorical lifestyle without the time and the space of South Africa is changed at the end when he begins to care for the other. His 'I don't care!' irresponsibility ends with the dog. But, it is also sacrificed like a lamb in the closing pages of the novel. He also changes his opera with new characters and a banjo (an African instrument). In a sense, he does his share for peace and order. There is no more evasion. Sacrifice is inexorable in post-apartheid South Africa. Notwithstanding his secular ethics and empathy towards the other, he is not transformed at the end morally because "after a certain age one is too old to learn lessons" (D, p. 172). In contrast, he becomes a visitor. The new country is not for the old man. Thus, the novel does not end and opens a narration before David.

The changes in the life of the characters are not without violence. The white race is made responsible for the guilt of apartheid by the black characters in the novel. This atmosphere creates vengeance, but the question is that is it really just? At the end of *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon asks two great questions "Am I going to ask the

contemporary white men to answer for slaveships of the seventeenth century?” and “Have I no other purpose on earth, then, but to avenge the Negro of the seventeenth century?” (2008, pp. 178-179). Like Fanon, Coetzee hopes for a new humanism instead of a third Europe because it only means ‘a wish to be white.’ Taking his ruling position and his class does not transform the country. It updates itself according to the neo-liberal world order. Coetzee tells that how Mandela was unprepared for the new global order: “Like the rest of the leadership of the ANC, he [Mandela] was blindsided by the collapse of socialism worldwide; the party had no philosophical resistance to put up against a new, predatory economic rationalism” (Coetzee, 2014b).

Such mimicry has the potential to replicate the violence of the apartheid regime against the other, be it physical or economic. Besides, the apartheid itself is a replication. In an interview with Wim Kayzer, Coetzee defines apartheid as the mimicry of Nazi ideology:

I think the peculiar cruelty and horror of apartheid was a very un-African aspect of it. It was a very rigid and ordered, and in a sense European derived system imposed on a country and a society to which it was really completely foreign. And its horror was all the more because it seemed such an absurd rerun in Africa of what Nazis had done in Europe. It seemed a farcical replay of a history that ought by then to have been obsolete (2000).

Such craziness floats in the air and waits for the right conditions for Coetzee. *Disgrace* is a warning. This farcical replay is in the air in *Disgrace* and waits for the right conditions. Rainbowity of the social contract is in danger of becoming the law of the master.

Coetzee tries to evade History, but he faces the repressed guilt of this glorified narrative. One of the colonizers, Jacobus Coetzee, in South Africa is his ancestor and he feels collective responsibility unlike the liberal critics of the apartheid. The modern states are allegorized as empires in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. While the body of the governor is the ruling God in colonies, the body of the white race is untouchable, incommunicable, and even unseen in the modern apartheid regime.

Raison d’Etat politics is invented in the eighteenth century to prolong the lifespan of the states against the irony of the fate of empires. In the ironic phase of the cyclical history of empires, conformism, luxury, nationalism, uncreativity, individualism, and skepticism brings the second barbarism. Rise becomes fall.

Although it is acclaimed that this irony finishes with the end of empires and the birth of modern democracies, *Waiting for the Barbarians* narrates that it is an illusion because modern states are not out of the novel's allegory. Pastoral politics is administered by the Empires for the salvation of the subjects in the other world. Raison d'Etat politics, on the other hand, motivates the subjects on the salvation of the state and the race. "Democracies, as experience shows, require demonized enemies" (Hobsbawm, 1997, p. 257) because "nothing could conceivably be worse than the Devil's triumph" (p. 258). For this reason, the communism of black people in South Africa becomes the Antichrist during apartheid.

Allegorical empire can easily be related to the apartheid state that comes to full circle like the former empires because of the imperial politics which is illustrated especially in the times of state of emergency. In Western rationalism by which the apartheid springs, an animal is out of history. Therefore, just as colonialism makes the other sub-human and animal, apartheid peripherizes the others according to naturalistic reduction. Because an animal belongs to nature, there is no need for them in the metropolises. Otherwise, their civilization is contaminated. After they become seen as a human with the emergence of low wage, the cultural relativism is invented to divide people according to their racial skills. If there are no lines, races can be degenerated. Then, animalization is dehistoricizing the other to justify segregating violent politics. Just like the Africans, the whites are made dogs in *Disgrace*.

Because David Lurie evades the reinscribed history demanding a "mention of the long history of exploitation of which this is part" (D, p. 53), his disgrace in the house of Isaacs is insincere because he desires Melanie's sister. His instincts and Romantic evasion continue until he begins to care for the dog. Later, his opera is embellished by South African context at the end. Coetzee, on the other hand, evades politics and its narratives to justify itself in History, but he faces what these politics hide. It seems that David's suprahistorical evasion is similar to the Magistrate, Michael K., Jesus, and even to Coetzee. As a man of literature, he has been at the margins since his childhood. Due to his sect and his first language, he is alienated in his early school years. Then, his literary attitude towards apartheid and post-apartheid puts him on target from all sides. He is marginalized again. Coetzee evades politics and he chooses

ethical problems to handle in his novels because “The *feel* of writing is one of freedom, of irresponsibility, or better, of responsibility toward something that has not yet emerged that lies somewhere at the end of the road” (1992, p. 246) and “there is no limit to the extent to which we can think ourselves into the being of another” (2004b, p. 77).

The tragedy of white writing during the apartheid and witness writing, journalistic or documentary writing, protest writing, experimentation, and critical realism of the opposition in the literature of South Africa are demythologized by his fiction which is not a supplement to history, be it nationalist or socialist. Nevertheless, fiction is also a discourse because it is a narration and a story just like history. Reality is a construct and its representation is mediated by language which has its sign systems and discourses. Therefore, his suprahistorical subjective history is unreliable. It is a narration filtered by language haunting his words. He is neither a liberal autonomous subject nor a revolutionist individual. Nechaev, leader of an oppositional student organization in *The Master of Petersburg*, tells fictional Dostoyevsky that “Seeing is not just a matter of the eyes, it is a matter of correct understanding” (Coetzee, 1999, p. 180). He tries to give a history lesson to him for the false consciousness. But, history is “granite and unteachable” (Coetzee, 2000, p. 157) and it is unreliable just like the fiction:

Besides, who is to say that the feelings he writes in his diary are his true feelings? Who is to say that at each moment while the pen moves he is truly himself? At one moment he might truly be himself, at another he might simply be making things up. How can he know for sure? Why should he even want to know for sure? (Coetzee, 2003, p. 10).

Still, the eye can be educated towards the other. David’s worry for the Persian sheep and his tears for the dog symbolizes the transformation of his former suprahistorical lifestyle as a pariah, harijan and marginal who has rejected the reformation of the new South Africa. While he fails to sympathize with the black characters in the novel, he sacrifices his dog like a lamb at the end. Because the new order demands payment for the debts of the apartheid, he yields at last. He cannot evade anymore. Nevertheless, “the old lag” (D, p. 216) David finds his place in Romanticism again. This time, he renovates the opera that is no more Byronic but Wordsworthian with an African instrument banjo and the dog. Once more, he is “a

figure from the margins of history” (D, p. 167) and a visitor in the new South Africa. This being of an outcast is very similar to Coetzee. From his childhood, he rejects choosing sides and taking positions:

From the frying-pan into the fire. What an irony! Having escaped the Afrikaners who want to press gang him into their army and the blacks who want to drive him into the sea, to find himself on an island that is shortly to be turned to cinders! What kind of world is this in which he lives? Where can one turn to be free of the fury of politics? (2003, p. 85).

This dissertation does not place the author’s literary stance in clear-cut positions due to his modernist inspirations derived from Kafka and Beckett and using post-modern literary elements like metafiction, historiographic metafiction, and parody in a postcolonial aura. He is not a classicist who dictates his own story to readers in a God-like fate-shaper role. Coetzee lets his characters speak (sometimes ironically with their silence as in *Foe*) in his novels whose stories are not available to be narrated in South African literature during the apartheid era. By doing this, he does not go for a reflection of their stories in a realistic way. With allegories and analogies, the world he belongs to is problematized rather than confessing this world’s mistakes with proper sentences. Fictionalising, thus, frees him from being a ‘puppeteer’ dictating characters how to live in a walled state just as apartheid commands. Likewise, the author does not authorize himself as an omniscient narrator who controls everyone and maneuvers them into any space of the novels he wishes. Moreover, the disclosed narration delays the meaning as new readers take place and interpret them. Due to the fact that “interpretation is thus an author-itarian activity” (M. Marais, 2014, p. 70), he does not also govern interpretations that may appear. Therefore, he avoids explaining his novels during interviews.

The evasion and visitorship of David Lurie may be read as Coetzee’s emigration to Australia. Yet, he is still in the South and publishes his last novel *The Death of Jesus* in Spanish at first rather than in English. Against the cultural attraction of the North, Coetzee resists this cultural hegemony that decides what to be published, translated, and labeled as a classic. Coetzee states that the new global imperialism is different than Victorian imperialism. The new one has a cultural hegemony that stretches everywhere. It is mental colonization:

There is a process of intellectual colonisation going on today that is far more massive and totalising than anything Victorian England could muster. It originates in the culture factories of the United States, and can be detected in the most intimate corners of our lives, or if not in our own then in our students' lives: their speech, the rhythms of their bodies, their affective behaviour including their sexual behaviour, their modes of thinking. This colonising process is the cultural arm of neoliberalism, of the new world order (2000b, p. 111).

Coetzee's Southern stance narrates that he eludes politics and its discourses (be it nationalistic, leftist, or communist), metahistory and its reinscription and masterlanguage of the North, but he is still at the core of ethics to handle the relationship with the other even though these metanarratives haunt his works. After all, he is in the prison of language.

By the silence of barbarians in *Waiting for the Barbarians* and the speech of black characters in *Disgrace*, he does not give the subaltern a voice like a postcolonial novel but he examines both the silence and the voice for which he has author/ity. While the Empire mutes barbarians and creates the story to represent them, the speeches of black characters in *Disgrace* do not leave the problem of representation behind. There is still the authority in the voice of the white characters and the narrator against the blacks. There is also a newly emerging power after the fall of apartheid. The sign system is subverted, but discourses remain similar. Now, Petrus looks forward. During the apartheid years, the resistance of black people is grounded on existentialism, socialism, and Ubuntu philosophy. The Freedom Charter in 1955 epitomizes their opposition. Against erasing the history for a progressing civilization lie, the time of the apartheid is dammed by memories, wounded bodies, specters, and legacies. History does not lead linearly, but the past is in the present like the present is in the future. Historical documents become palimpsests in which the failed erasures reappear. While the regime represents itself as civilized, its barbarism comes into sight. The official history becomes an official story. The problem with the palimpsest, nonetheless, is that it can be rewritten. After the fall of apartheid, TRC is constituted to hear the confessions because 'truth heals'. To look forward, the past should be left behind. Hence, linearity reappears at the scene and narrates a new story to the people of Free South Africa.

After Pollux says that "we will kill you all" (D, p. 207), the question remains if the deal or the alliance protects Lucy from the subsequent threats. Will her adaptation



bring her a better future by paying the price? These questions are not only for Lucy but also for post-apartheid South Africa. Will vengeance end if the Afrikaners adapt to the new order by paying the price? Or, will it be justified for the past crimes? To keep the stall in the market and to look forward, it seems that the sacrifices are also inevitable in the new country. After all, “the more things change the more they remain the same” (D, p. 62). The next section will argue these questions.

### **3. 2. Failed Dialectics of the Rainbow State?**

South Africa in *Disgrace* is a land of seduction, rape, force, theft, brutality, and violence. This place of chaos and anarchy narrates that nothing is succeeded after the fall of the apartheid regime. This kind of failed state image is labeled to post-colonial states and ‘Third World’ countries. Chomsky describes that how the present imperialism is operated by this discourse:

The "system" is coming to have some of the features of failed states, to adopt a currently fashionable faction that is conventionally applied to states regarded as potential threats to our security (like Iraq) or as needing our intervention to rescue the population from severe internal threats (like Haiti) (2007, p. 1).

To Chomsky, the failed state is right at home. In Coetzee’s novel, on the other hand, such an external neocolonial reading is missing. This argument is not a search for “political efficacy of literature” (Attridge, 2002, p. 320), but is meant to pay attention to the missing point. This reading does not equate David’s or the narrator’s voice with Coetzee, but it focuses on reemerging Enlightenment discourses against post-colonial states. This section will ask why post-apartheid South Africa is not allegorized in *Disgrace*? Why is it narrated as a failed state? Does it open an imagined space for the future at the end?

Such representations become traditional as one of the post-colonial states is mentioned. Representation is intentional and “the question is: who is mobilizing what in the articulation of the past, deploying what identities, identifications and representations, and in the name of what political vision and goals?” (Shohat, 1992, p. 110). Knowledge is the pillar of Orientalism for Said. Similarly, post-colonial states are either compressed within failed dialectics of colonialism-post-colonialism-neo-colonialism or linearity of colonialism-nation-state-liberal democracy by the mainstream epistemology. While inventing new stories like ‘the end of history’,

Western humanism creates new barbarians and introduces them a path to follow. There is no more sub-human and civilized man dialectics, but democratic states and failed states. Erstwhile master-slave dependency complex is replaced by an economical dependency complex. Without liberalization, there is no development either in the economy or in humanity. The other sees himself/herself from the gaze of the master signifier again. Such self-orientalisation is constructed by cultural imperialism. Democracy for development and its structural reforms harbor the legacies of Eurocentrism of which intellectual structure, for example, claims that:

At this point we leave Africa, not to mention it again. For it is no historical part of the World; it has no movement or development to exhibit. Historical movements in it — that is in its northern part — belong to the Asiatic or European World (Hegel, 1956, p. 117).

Underdevelopment is a well-known signification for Africa today. Hegelian dialectics places the objective rational state at its highest stage. After barbarism and empires, nation-states become the pinnacle of Western civilization. Due to its naturalness/animality, Africa is even out of his History. They can be negated:

What we properly understand by Africa, is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature, and which had to be presented here only as on the threshold of the World's History (Hegel, 1956, p. 117).

Hegel's "violent hierarchy" (Derrida, 1982, p. 41) also locates at the centre for his philosophy of history. He argues that "The History of the World travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of History, Asia the beginning" (1956, p. 121). Against this Eurocentrism, Spivak reveals that "our sense of critique is too thoroughly determined by Kant, Hegel, and Marx for us to be able to reject them as "motivated imperialists," although this is too often the vain gesture performed by critics of imperialism" (Spivak, 1999, pp. 6-7). Marxist critics like Fanon and Sartre subvert Hegel's negation to end the violence during Algerian independence with violence. For Hegel, there is no reciprocal existence but a Manichean logic. Marx, on the other hand, proves Spivak right by describing the 'never-changing natural history' of India:

We must not forget that this undignified, stagnatory, and vegetative life, that this passive sort of existence evoked on the part, in contradistinction, wild, aimless, unbounded forces of destruction, and rendered murder itself a religious rite in Hindustan (1960, pp. 36-37).

This legacy of the Enlightenment builds the basis of discourses of the apartheid regime. Its military modernity is grounded on cultural anthropology. Because Africans are 'different', they are discriminated. This racist rationality imposes separate development. The argument is that their tribal culture is anachronistic in the modern era and they must be aperted from city centers for this reason. This order is also moral because people are created according to their kinds for the white Calvinist Christianity in South Africa. While Africans are animalized, white man becomes "the great miracle of creation" (W, p. 117). This lexicon, nevertheless, is not original. The former Boers under British tyranny replicate its moral and historical teleology for progress and development. They make the state an allegory of God that punishes people and takes their life as it wishes like colonial administration. History recycles for South Africa. After the regime is delegitimized with the first multiracial elections after forty-six years, ANC under the leadership of Nelson Mandela promises a Rainbow country. But, taking positions does not replace the system. The ruins of apartheid still haunt post-apartheid South Africa. Its discourses are rehashed. Traditions are invented for political means. Hegemony keeps the binarism because to remain in power its wrongs must evaporate by refracting them towards the other. The class division still pervades the country. The rift between the rich and the poor is not anymore a matter of race but of class in the Rainbow state. It becomes a farcical replay, failed dialectics, devolution, and a neocolonialist state. However, it is only the signified side of the coin. Colonial ruins and specter of Enlightenment haunt modern democracies too. If there is neocolonialism, there are neocolonizers too.

The teleological rational and dialectical negation of this legated ideology finds its place in Coetzee's novels. In *Disgrace*, the 'barbarians' rise and look for their share in the progress promising them development. If read as the story of the narrator or David, numerous racial descriptions would be found. Besides, conflating Coetzee with the characters and the narrator he has created makes the reading of his novels problematic. Equating him with the Magistrate or with David Lurie causes instant charges. He, nevertheless, questions the act of narrating. He does not only put words on the paper but also considers their discursive signification. Compiling him within this white discourse while pondering upon it thoroughly gives his literature a place that

is 'thinking at the limits of language'. By this, *unimaginable can be imagined* within the free lands of literature fenced with words that have already their cultural meanings. Therefore, the historical burden on his shoulder inherited from the colonial and apartheid past haunts his way as he tries to escape it.

The usual Empire in *Waiting for the Barbarians* and Rainbow ANC in *Disgrace* have ironic language. Their discourses do not equate with the signified anymore. Their civilizational and democratic signs remain on papers. The signifier signifies them as it wishes. Power keeps its place even if people or systems change. People from whom the authority takes its power are subjected by it. In Vico's chamber, it is the last phase of a state before dying. In this respect, neocolonialism will also end as colonialism ends. The popular slips left for the new power in *Waiting for the Barbarians* are read in a similar way to the Empire in *Disgrace*. The allegory of the slips is read as "the real anthropological truth" (D, p. 118). Because history is "granite and unteachable" (W, p. 157), David is told that "Stay with your own kind" (D, p. 194). "Teach him a lesson, Show him his place" (p. 206) is the language of the apartheid. It is rehashed now. The segregation of the old apartheid regime hovers over Rainbow South Africa in *Disgrace*. The novel is written just five years after the end of the apartheid. In this limited time, why post-apartheid South Africa is associated with the empires? Is neocolonialism determined only by ANC in power? Or is this power shared by a world structure? Long-awaited barbarians come at the end. Does this guilt belong to ANC failing to raise new humanity? What is the role of colonial and apartheid legacy in it? What is the role of imperialism constituting a neocolonial world order? Is escaping History like Michael K., and David a solution? Can they really elude it by narrating their own hi/stories?

Even if modern democracies and the apartheid regime are allegorized as empires in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, Rainbow South Africa is ironized in *Disgrace*. It is depicted as a neocolonial state. In its devolution, only positions are changed. Although this inversion is narrated as just due to barbarism of the apartheid regime in Coetzee oeuvre, *Disgrace* represents a second barbarism. Allegorized barbarians in *Waiting for the Barbarians* are reified in *Disgrace* ironically. Neocolonialism is not only an internal African problem, but it is a global condition. There are also

neocolonizers. With its dominant epistemology, imperialism still interrupts the course of South Africa as *deus ex machina*. In comparison to the loud inner criticism of neocolonialism in post-apartheid South Africa, what is missing in *Disgrace* is that the quiet criticism of outer neocolonialism which is still exploiting there materially and epistemologically. It is true that power remains the same, even if it changes hands in South Africa:

In its hegemonic function, power is a virtual configuration that metabolizes any element to serve its own purposes. It could be made of countless intelligent particles, but its opaque structure would not change. It is like a body that changes its cells constantly while remaining the same (Baudrillard, 2010, p. 65).

The post-colonial states are no longer dominated by outside forces, but they are under the hegemony of globalism and its discourses. Neo-liberalism is its economic leg and democracy is its epistemological leg. They create a new dependency complex in a way that it is believed that without them development is impossible. This situation makes people hostages who internalize the new order just as Baudrillard puts forward:

Indeed, it could be said that hegemony brings domination to an end. We, emancipated workers, internalize the Global Order and its operational setup of which we are the hostages far more than the slaves. Consensus, be it voluntary or involuntary, replaces traditional servitude, which still belongs to the symbolic register of domination (2010, p. 34).

In post-colonial states, on the other hand, replicating neo-liberal politics and democracy transforms the condition of being hostages into a Stockholm syndrome for him:

Caught in a vast Stockholm syndrome, the alienated, the oppressed, and the colonized are siding with the system that holds them hostage. They are now "annexed," in the literal sense, prisoners of the "nexus," of the network, connected for better or worse. (2010, p. 37).

The old civilization discourse is now replaced by democracy, which is the "by product of globalization" (Baudrillard, 2010, p. 54). The democracy of neo-liberalism demands structural reforms. They do not only involve infrastructure projects like airports, highways, and ports but also the constitution of a law that guarantees the security of the routes. Democracy advertised for the sake of people is transformed for the sake of global mega-companies. Far from being a cure for the rift between the rich and the poor, it continues to feed "catastrophic dialectic" (Baudrillard, 2010, p. 60). Violence responds to this violent discrimination. To end it, post-colonial states once more replicate these liberal(izing) discourses which are already illusions and

simulacrum. The death of George Floyd illustrates this paradox. While canvassing for itself as the cradle of democracy, U.S. has veiled the police state very successfully so far. If the reverse is optional in post-colonial states, the old discourses are reorganized this time: nationalism as the discourse of modernity, chiefdom as the controlling strategy of colonizers, and elitism as the copy of the bourgeoisie. For South Africa, the first two have been the focal point of elections after the term Rainbow nation goes out of date. The latest election promise ‘compensation without expropriation’ of ANC and of EFF or Malema’s scandalous speech for ‘extermination of whites’ in the country are both mobile politics to win the race rather than a plan. If it were a plan, nevertheless, it would be nothing more than mimicry of apartheid and colonial policies. The claims for vengeance and authenticity for the land will not bring a fresh aura but the old wrong that is aparting one race out of the side of the society that is founded as a Rainbow. Re/creating a barbarian simulacrum may serve as a kind of solution but it will be nothing other than a self-barbarization. To masquerade shacks that are the symbol of an unbridged rift among the rich and the poor, mental walls are erected for political means. Yet, “a wall is always suicidal” (Baudrillard, 2010, p. 105). To preserve the state, the apartheid does not abstain from brutality. But, the paranoia that is the fear of barbarians at the gates is actualized for it even if there are no barbarians than the regime itself. The post-apartheid South Africa, on the other hand, has a similar politics against immigrants from the very beginning:

The new government headed by Mandela never for a minute considered abolishing or even questioning the nation’s borders, as defined years earlier by the erstwhile colonial power, Britain. Liberated or not, any child who treks through Africa without a pass will be stopped when he arrives at the South African frontier (Coetzee, 2019).

The pass laws of the apartheid are transformed into a passport policy in Rainbow South Africa for Coetzee. Binarism is saved. TRC, on the other hand, is founded to end the vicious cycle. Managed by archbishop Desmond Tutu, the commission hears the victims and the perpetrators because it is believed that ‘truth heals’. For a peaceful future, it is organized to finish the conflicts. Grounded on amnesia, TRC rewrites the official history to look forward. In postcolonial theory, rewriting history is one of the leading concerns. Unlike this post-colonial state, it writes back to the past to reveal the repressed events. Linearity is dammed by the

perpetual present. The past is not deleted but lives in the present. The limbo dance, for example, is inspired by the motions of slaves in the slave ships. This culturalist reading is after a Third Space that is neither dialectical nor linear. It is not based on here and now. Linearity, on the other hand, is the basis for progress. The past is cited only when a scapegoat is needed for political wrongs. But, it determines the present. The rift between poor and rich has not been bridged since colonialism and apartheid. Many people still live in shacks like in the old times.

In this way, Gayatri Spivak brings forward subaltern people who have been ignored by elite forces either colonial or local whose epistemic violence constitutes the other. She rejects post-colonial intellectual essentialism and Western discourses to give voice subaltern groups who are 'double-colonized'. She asks her famous disorienting question: "can the subaltern speak?" (2010, p. 21). Representing others, however it might be with sympathy, can generate its own dominating meta-discourses. For her, the subaltern cannot speak because some others always speak for him/her. Ran Greenstein asserts that "history 'from below' is written from above" (1995, p. 230) and so, the distance between intellectuals and marginalized groups cannot be closed. This time, post-colonial nationalism creates its other. The palimpsest metaphor describes the colonizer history's erasing the past of the colonized however it fails. But, the post-colonial state reinscribes the palimpsest for a more 'right' version but it also erases. While the metaphor objects to Western progression by interlocking the past, the present, and the future, it is also vigilant to its reinscription by the new power. Sarah Dillon argues that "The presence of texts from the past, present (and possibly the future) in the palimpsest does not elide temporality, but evidences the spectrality of any 'present' moment which always already contains within it 'past', 'present' and 'future' moments" (2005, p. 249). As colonial legacy haunts the present, the postcolonial present determines the neocolonial future.

TRC constitutes the basis of neo-liberal forward-looking policy for South Africa. To make people forget their poor conditions, the new power puts forward old discourses within new guises. Parry describes how ongoing structural inequalities loom over South Africa, of which history is written officially for amnesia to make global capitalism operate freely in its market:

Concerned to narrate the new nation and rewrite the colonial past as one of cooperation and transculturation, this genre of reconciliation historiography, which significantly emerged in the 1990s, foregrounds a South African past of congruence, social assimilation and cultural osmosis, hence necessarily fostering forgetfulness of separation, exclusion and repression, and occluding the counter-memories of overt and hidden traditions of resistance (2004, p. 191).

Thus, TRC fails to rehabilitate the past. 'Born debted and born slave' motto of colonialism is updated after a new black bourgeoisie is born while the class division is saved because "restorative justice is finally not about the victim but about restoration of the state" (Urquhart, 2006, p. 16).

For John S. Saul, postmodern South Africa has a "magical market realism" (2001, p. 429) created by ANC's neoliberal policy. Instead of transformation, the new country transits into a new period with the old NP's program aiming

ANC's withdrawal from any form of genuine class struggle in the socioeconomic realm and the abandonment of any economic strategy that might have been expected directly to service the immediate material requirements of the vast mass of desperately impoverished South Africans (Saul, 2001, p. 435).

Chris Landberg argues ANC's capitulation to the neoliberal system of the globe begins four years before the end of apartheid:

Since 1990, when the democratization process began, some foreign governments, notably the US and some of its allies - Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan - successfully induced the ANC to move away from its socialist economic policies, including that of nationalization. Instead, they succeeded in persuading the movement to embrace Western-style free market principles which the ANC increasingly, albeit reluctantly, adopted. It is interesting to note, for example, that Mandela's evolving position on fiscal responsibility was a direct response to pressures from foreign investors and government (cited in Saul, 2001, p. 436).

The anti-apartheid movement is not only political opposition but also economic objection based on socialist terms. The Freedom Charter epitomizes this vision. Yet, the poor remain poor and "sacrificed on the altar of the neoliberal logic of global capitalism" (Saul, 2001, p. 429). Mandela confesses that "In our economic policies... there is not a single reference to things like nationalisation, and this is not accidental. There is not a single slogan that will connect us with any Marxist ideology" (cited in Marais, 2011, p. 97). For him, the free market is a "magical elixir which would bring freedom and equality to all" (cited in Nash, 1999). It is true that the debt of the NP is transited to ANC and the new government needs fresh money. But, building the economy on neo-liberal doctrines is highly contradictory with the pre-apartheid program of the party seeking 'redistribution' instead of privatization. After Mandela, Tabo Mbeki goes further by saying that "we must strive to create and strengthen a



black capitalist class” (Mbeki, 1999). In the presentation of GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) Mbeki declares that “Just call me a Thatcherite” (cited in Bond, 2000, p. 83). After him, Jacob Zuma falls into disrepute for corruption and bribery. Biographer of Mbeki, Mark Gevisser quotes the words said for Cyril Ramaphosa, the last president from ANC, at a dinner collaboration of an Anglo-American mining house with a black enterprise called NEC: “we can call your chairman Cyril rather than comrade Cyril”. Besides, Gevisser cites that “Cyril Ramaphosa was the man who built the unions in the eighties, ‘one very senior Anglo-American executive tells me’, and he’ll be the one to break them in the nineties” (cited in Saul, 2001, p. 444). Saul summarizes the birth and the rise of this elitism and bourgeoisie under ANC since 1994:

Their [ANC politicians] sense of self-importance bore no quasi- traditional markings. It was auto-produced: having pulled off the impossible, the overthrow of apartheid, they are very pleased with themselves indeed. Too smart now to be mere ineffectual lefties, they expected to play the only game in town (capitalism) successfully. It is this kind of coolly self-satisfied, self-righteous, and profoundly ideological thrust on the part of the new ANC elite ('sellout' is much too crude a term for it) that is the single most depressing attribute of South Africa's transition (Saul, 2001, p. 446).

The Commission of the TRC ‘dehistoricizes, decontextualizes, and individualizes’ the guilts of apartheid to rewrite the History in that passivized actors of the regime doing their duties are given impunity for Mahmood Mamdani. “The Commission rewrote the history of apartheid as one of a drama played out within a fractured political elite: state agents against political activities” (Mamdani, 2002, p. 57). Instead of ‘crime against humanity’, the apartheid era is rewritten as ‘black-on-black violence’ by the TRC. The institutional legacy of the former regime reads it as a rule of law. Therefore, the commission defines victimhood and perpetration in terms of the former rules. Many victims are cast out of it. Besides, the political motivation behind the perpetrators is not questioned. Even though “a visceral transformation” becomes the slogan of the new nation repairing its wounds, “a justice of reasonable payments” (Saunders, 2005, p. 102) for material wounds is not considered by the TRC. As a result, the power that designates discursive construction could not be recognized, and that makes people in the authorization of the country rewrite the History with new dichotomies. The past could not be rehabilitated because binarism kept its place in the

social structure. The new power subjects its citizens to discipline and control them. The History is rehashed.

This recurring history makes Coetzee philosophize on it in literary terms. In his first novel *Dusklands*, Coetzee quotes Gustave Flaubert saying “what is important is the philosophy of history” (1998a, p. 54). Beginning his literary career with such a citation shows why the philosophy of history is one of the primary references to analyze his novels. Using metafictional techniques in his works means revolting not only to metanarrative but also to meta-history, imposing its own autonomous discourses as the only reality of the past. Using history, on the other hand, does not mean reflecting but citing it:

In the case of Coetzee's fiction, the social history model is inappropriate simply because Coetzee does not write in a mode of realism: not only does he set himself apart from it polemically, but more importantly, the novels do not offer representation but *citation*, foregrounding the textual aspect of our relationship with history (Attwell, 1991, p. vii).

Questioning history with interpretative, representative, and narrative character by post-structuralism brings up “the problem of temporality” (Young, 2004, p. 54). Instead of the present perfect tense of historical consciousness, temporal consciousness prefers the present tense. In this way, Coetzee uses the present tense in both *Waiting for the Barbarians* and *Disgrace*. Magistrate uses past tense only when stories (not historical realities) “reach from the capital of unrest among barbarians” (p. 8). Coetzee mocks this metanarrative by language and narratology. This strategy does not imprison the story in a definite time. Thanks to allegory, the novel can be reread until the cycle of history changes its entire course. *Disgrace*, on the other hand, is not a here-and-now story. It is not allegorical and represents post-apartheid South Africa directly and questions the transformation not only from a post-structuralist perspective but from the point of power relations with help of the philosophy of history.

Inside erected walls of History, Coetzee tries to liberate himself by writing, which is not a means of building new walls for readers by metanarrative but of opening new routes of thinking bereft of metatexts like history:

This crucial, pivotal development enables Coetzee to explore the possibility that if history is not directly representable, that, as Fredric Jameson would say, if our access to it is always textual (*The Political Unconscious* 35), then qualified forms of freedom might be discoverable in the writing of it (Attwell, 1991, p. 17).

After facing the colonial documents, Coetzee becomes acquainted with the official history written by the apartheid regime. The reality of South Africa is invented:

I reiterate the elementary and rather obvious point I am making: that history is not reality; that history is a kind of discourse; that a novel is a kind of discourse, too, but a different kind of discourse; that, inevitably, in our culture, history will, with varying degrees of forcefulness, try to claim primacy, claim to be a master-form of discourse, just as, inevitably, people like myself will defend themselves by saying that history is nothing but a certain kind of story that people agree to tell each other-that, as Don Quixote argued so persuasively but in the end so vainly, the authority of history lies simply in the consensus it commands. . . . I see absolutely no reason why, even in the South Africa of the 1980's, we should agree to agree that things are otherwise (Coetzee, 1991, p. 20-21).

Against this *hi/story*, Coetzee narrates his own story devoid of narrative closures directing their own endings to readers. “Such is the politics of agency in Coetzee: while the question of *who* one is writing *for* affects every writer in South Africa, Coetzee is unique in achieving a degree of critical objectification and control over this question” (Attwell, 1991, p. 32). To the author, literature in South Africa is in prison during apartheid. And for the price that has to be paid is that “The very lowest price is the destruction unnatural structures of power that define the South African state” (Coetzee, 1992, p. 97). By doing this, Coetzee moves forward the borders the power draws for not only the life of people but for their literature by censoring or prohibiting the act of imagination and thus writing. With his imported literary techniques, he offers a fresh breath to South African literature. For this, he is accused of colonizing literature by taking foreign movements fed by Eurocentric norms. What he actually does is not bringing Victorian attitudes othering ‘Third World’ but modern, post-modern, and post-structuralist way of thinking that argues the very same attitude epistemologically, ontologically, and linguistically.

Expecting him to criticize the apartheid in his writing realistically is just what may be expected from an Afrikaner writer. Because he is not African, he can only sympathize with what happened to them. There is no way to reach deeps of hearts. Rather, he struggles with the burden of his race to whom he belongs because “...there is no way escaping the skin you are born with (can the leopard change its spots?), you cannot resign from the caste” (Coetzee, 1992, p. 96). The author faces his spots. The problem is that there is no way of deleting natural spots coming by birth. “You can

imagine resigning, you can perform a symbolic resignation, short of shaking the dust of the country off your feet, there is no way of actually doing it” (1992, p. 96).

In the Jerusalem Prize Speech, Coetzee asks “how does it come about that someone who not only comes from but also lives in so notably unfree a country as my own is honoured with a prize for freedom?” (1992, p. 96). He liberates himself at least from the limits of imagination. Coetzee tells that “We have art, said Nietzsche, so that we shall not die of the truth. In South Africa, there is now too much truth for art to hold, truth by the bucketful, truth that overwhelms and swamps every act of the imagination” (1992, p. 99). Therefore, he does not write realist novels but fictions devoid of constructed big truths and they open a literary gate at margins against the wall apartheid erects.

Coetzee renounces not only the national role of the regime but also the social responsibility the struggle calls in his literature. While denying ready-made forms and jargons social reality imposes to act of writing, he rejects the trumpet mission of writer dictated by hegemony. Treitschke defines works of the national writer as tools of propaganda:

What a disaster for civilization it would be if mankind blotted its heroes from memory. The heroes of a nation are the figures which rejoice and inspire the spirit of its youth, and the writers whose words ring like trumpet blasts become the idols of our boyhood and our early manhood. He who feels no answering thrill is unworthy to bear arms for his country (1916, p. 67).

The oppositional side, on the other hand, pushes special responsibilities for literature which must be rebellious against the order and represent the real truth:

In certain periods of history-in South Africa in its revolutionary phase, for instance- the artist may thus have his subject dictated to him by the people without needing to feel any ‘loss of artistic freedom’. Between artist and people there ought to exist at such times ‘a dynamic of collective conscience’ to which the artist should be sensitive (Coetzee, 2015, p. 282).

Compressing literature inside archaic poetics of Plato’s and Aristotle’s does not fit with Coetzee. Plato’s sense of writing pairs with black writing within the manner of reflecting the world as it is. The catharsis of Aristotle, on the other hand, purifies white writing’s structured language. Ancient poetics cannot absorb Coetzee. He liberates himself. He is liberal by means of Afrikaner nationalism and African nationalism. The question is then; does such liberalism make him conformist by not belonging to any

part of the contradictory camps? His loneliness does not mean building an isolated space he enjoys. “Indeed, if we are to speak of a lonely poetics in South Africa, Coetzee’s of the 1970s and 80s was perhaps the loneliest of all” (Attwell, 2006, pp. 172-173). Rather, his struggle against the burden of his race and History put on his shoulders makes his literary style postcolonial along with modernist and post-modernist.

His liberal attitude towards literature is not like that of Alan Paton or Helen Suzman. Because liberalism is another way of “the dictation of an overmastering daimon” (Coetzee, 2015, p. 319), Coetzee posits himself at the margins of such liberalism fed by meta-narratives as Eurocentric norms recognizing post-modernist writing as the end of history in literature. Benita Parry, on the other hand, describes his liberation as silence, which functions in his novels to mute native characters with help of post-structuralism:

I want to suggest, however, that the various registers in which silence is scored in Coetzee's novels speak of things other than the structural relationship of oppressor/oppressed or the power of an unuttered alterity to undermine a dominant discourse and that these other things are signs of the fiction's urge to cast off worldly attachments, even as the world is signified and estranged (2014, p. 44).

On the other side, Jani advocates that the author narrates failing liberal discourse: “The novels painstakingly establish distance between the self and the other, not for reflection, but to produce a gap of difference between the humanist and the subaltern” (2013, p. 20). Thus, Coetzee criticizes the only way of white criticism in apartheid South Africa which is liberal and humanist. Moreover, his literary stance is a criticism against ‘humanitarian imperialism’(Jani, 2013, p. 21).

This imperialism is fed from the very similar springs of Enlightenment philosophy building civilizing mission of colonialism. For the universal progress of humanity, colonized people are needed to develop according to Eurocentric norms and now the ‘Third World’ is expected to progress the steps towards liberalism and democracy. For the reasoning part of that philosophy, locals are not capable of reasonable thinking. In this respect, the ‘Third World’ needs foreign logical instruction to be able to move forward both economically and politically. But, if there is a criticism for humanitarian imperialism by Coetzee, it is against the ideology of

apartheid. There is also external imperialism within new guises, and economic success is served as the way to follow linearly by post-colonial states. It may be true that the West is economically developed, but if there is a development, it is uneven development. Andre Gunder Frank terms it “underdevelopment” (see 1978) and Samir Amin defines it as an “unequal development” (see 1976). ‘Third World’ is made dependent on the First in the capitalist world order. After World War II, the capital was internationalized by Marshall Plan exporting social democracy and welfare state to Europe. That was a golden age and economic boom until the late 1960s. 1973 oil crisis and 1976 IMF crisis in Britain lead countries to a global free-market economy. With this neo-liberal politics, state-ownerships were privatized and factories were relocated to places with low wages. Stronger ones imposed modernization of infrastructure and institutions of weaker countries who had borrowed credits with high interests for such an ideal. The result is that:

In the first flush of independence, the young governments had been easily tempted by lavish offers of foreign aid, which they saw as a means of stimulating development and financing education and health infrastructure programs. While aid on reasonable terms can contribute to development, the necessary condition is that the loans should produce more than the interest and redemption costs. This did not happen, with the result that by the end of the 1980s, most sub-Saharan countries were forced to devote anything between 40 percent and 82 percent of their foreign exchange earnings to redeeming their foreign debt (Legum, 1999, p. 45).

Hence, indebtedness hinders the ‘Third World’ prospering in the economy. Structural Adjustment Programs have made it dependent on foreign investments, aids, and institutions founded after structural reforms:

SAPs have become a favoured means of disciplining postcolonial states, domesticating them, and rendering them subservient to the needs of the global market. They have also become a means of ensuring that postcolonial states retain their peripheral status, neither attempting to delink themselves from the world system nor ever imagining themselves capable of participating in it from any position of parity, let alone power (Lazarus, 2004, pp. 37-8).

For Coronil, forgetting the past and not memorizing it blinds us to see neo-formats of imperialism:

It is being rediscovered, with a convenient mixture of historical amnesia and imperial nostalgia, that the comparative advantage of the ex-colonies lies in their colonial role as sources of cheap labor and raw materials. These neoliberal policies assume a view of nations as independent units, whose transformation and historical progress depend on internal "adjustment" (1996, p. 68).

Neo-discourses of neoliberalism taken from the Enlightenment ideals divide the world into a hierarchal three from down underdeveloped Third World, then middle

developing World, to high First World. In this order, precapitalist Other must restructure its state to be involved in higher ranks. For this, structural reforms are needed. The state must be democratic, open to the free market, and unrestrictive to the private sector. For Wallerstein, nevertheless, developmentalism is left behind for a globally constructed neoliberal order (2004, p. 86). This new order is not a choice but an obligation. Instead of expenses to mount and to function industry, finance capitalism becomes the operative force of today (Wallerstein, 2004, p. 86). For Wallerstein, it is a sign of chaos leading to the dissolution of this neo-liberal order. If hegemony of the world system compels others by force to join its order, it only signals its failure to convince people to the functionality of that order. The roots of this global condition lie at the heart of “informal empire” policy of Great Britain to create new markets and divide labor internationally (Magdoff, 1978, p. 27). Harry Magdoff’s definition for neocolonialism is very similar to the above description for informal empire with tiny nuances like new powers such as the U.S. and new subjects:

The rapid decline in colonialism stimulated the rise of alternative means of domination by the more powerful nations. Control and influence by means other than outright colonial possession is hardly a new phenomenon. Indeed, informal empire has been an important ingredient throughout the evolution of capitalism as a means to secure markets and access to raw materials. Along with outright colonialism, informal empire helped to shape and sustain the international division of labor between the advanced manufacturing nations and those supplying raw materials and food (Magdoff, 1978, p. 73).

This situation leads to rivalry among not entrepreneurs inside but monopolist countries outside enlarging after the second Industrial Revolution by the late nineteenth century. Monopoly capitalism as “the governor of the imperial engine” is run by the financial interests of banks and industries. With its military bases, modern navy, Open Door diplomacy and capital export (debt capital as the surplus capital) the U.S. grow as the superpower in military and monopoly capitalism after World War II. By the same token, the U.S. dollar becomes the global coin of the realm, and New York and the city of London come into existence as the finance center. In this period, not only multinational companies rise but also “military-multinational industry” which is “the path now being followed in rival imperialist powers-a process that may well be speeded up in view of the weakness now being revealed in the internal and external positions of U.S. capitalism” (Magdoff, 1978, p. 111).

The cycle in the neocolonial condition does not turn in and of itself. Globalism and imperialism are hand in hand. Responding to the challenges in Toynbee's theory is not encircled in the borders of the nation-state anymore but in the borders of the world. *Asabiyya* of the bourgeois in neocolony mimics the class division pervading the world. The allegory of modern democracies prepares the new states to move into the stage of irony that is the last phase before the fall. Instead of inheriting freedom of speech, citizenship, freedom of belief, division of power, and balance and check; the new power gets authority, hegemony, elitism, binarism, Social Darwinism, and class division. Post-colonial states import the interior colony of the West.

But isn't it too simplistic to place post-colonial states into the failed dialectics of colonialism-post-colonialism-neo-colonialism? For this reason, this dissertation does not only examine inner neocolonialism but also worldly neocolonialism operated by imperialism in the guise of globalism. After all, it is the world of "We came, we saw, and we killed" as Hillary Clinton declared after Qaddafi's murder when she was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Neo-liberalism is not without imperialism. It began right after the U.S. backed coup d'Etat of Pinochet against Allende. Therefore, neocolonialism does not only represent post-colonial states but also the neocolonizers.

South Africa is one of these post-colonial states within the neocolonial condition in which Coetzee was born and lived until he emigrated to Australia. Drawing on Koestler, Watson describes Coetzee's situation in South Africa as an "intellectual maladjustment" (2014, p. 27). Watson describes him 'a coloniser who refuses':

So much of Coetzee's work can be viewed as a failed dialectic, a world in which there is no synthesis, in which the very possibility of a synthesis would seem to have been permanently excluded. No doubt this failure may be taken as a metaphor for the human failure of colonialism itself, but in Coetzee's case it is obviously blooded by his own contradictory position as a 'coloniser who refuses' and an intellectual with an essentially romantic and modernist inheritance (Watson, 2014, p. 28).

Coetzee, nevertheless, questions his own compliance from the first of his fiction to the last. He feels a responsibility for the past. Fanon argues that "The body of history does not determine a single one of my actions. I am my own foundation. And it is by going beyond the historical, instrumental hypothesis that I will initiate the cycle of my freedom" (Fanon, 2008, p. 180). He tries to make a new humanism bereft of



colonial mentality. At the end of *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon asks two great questions “Am I going to ask the contemporary white men to answer for slaveships of the seventeenth century?” and “Have I no other purpose on earth, then, but to avenge the Negro of the seventeenth century?” (2008, pp. 178-179). Like Fanon, Coetzee hopes for a new humanism instead of a third Europe because it only means ‘a wish to be white.’ The children making a snowman at the end of *Waiting for the Barbarians* illustrate this hope for the future devoid of violence, vengeance, and binarism. But, is it possible from his marginal position haunted by his masterlanguage and the metahistory?

*Disgrace*, on the other hand, may evoke a second barbarism immediately after reading it. Even if protagonists of his novels try to reject being the objects of History, overall stories fail to do so. Due to the fact that he is not after presenting salvation, Coetzee does not represent but interpret his own observation of history. Rather than ethical or ideological allegories directing to a determined end, his allegory is hermeneutical in such a way that misrepresentation of the Other can be a “suicidal one” (Jani, 2010, p. 134) as it is seen in the suicide of the Empire in *Waiting for the Barbarians*.

In Adornian terms, *Waiting for the Barbarians* builds negative dialectics. Apartheid South Africa succeeds in constructing a nation but fails to be a civilization. Lastly, it turns into a barbaric Empire. Post-apartheid South Africa, on the other hand, runs the risk of recycling history while a postmodern Rainbow State is built with the struggle of people for a fair and prosperous country.

The relation of the apartheid regime to modernity illustrates the close link of modernity with colonialism. In addition to civilization, Brett Neilson compares barbarism with modernity and concludes that “barbarism offers a challenge to the Enlightenment construction of European modernity, threatening to reverse or disrupt its central tenets of rationality, progress and universality” (1999, p. 81). As the Enlightenment ideals show barbaric attitudes, they become ‘rational barbarism’. Similarly, by imagining its own barbarians postmodern principles of South Africa are at risk for the same fate.

ANC has a vanguardist neo-liberal politics because it is planned that lands possessed by whites will be taken without compensation and neo-liberal because while creating its own black elites it does not close the gap between rich and poor but re-memorizes the legacy of the apartheid and portrays children and grandchildren as targets for the all problems it fails to solve in the country. Analogous to the racial segregation policy of apartheid, the Rainbow State mimics the former and creates its own barbarians:

In modern South Africa, international immigrants (particularly those from elsewhere in Africa) are often derogatorily labelled *kwerekwere*, a similarly pejorative reference to how foreign-language speakers allegedly sound. Xenophobia against this group—these new ‘barbarians’—is widespread and has received considerable international media attention in recent years due to large-scale anti-foreigner riots in the country (Gordon, 2017, pp. 1700-1701).

But, signifying ANC as the sole responsible is reductionism. This internal neocolonialism is not without external neocolonialism. Political scientists Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way define the linkage of the rest to the West as a strategic power by which they are *forced* to democratization:

1) *economic* linkage, which includes credit, investment, and assistance, 2) *geopolitical* linkage, which includes ties to Western governments and Western-led alliances and organizations; 3) *social* linkage, which includes tourism, migration, diaspora communities, and elite education in the West; 4) *communication* linkage, which includes cross-border telecommunications, Internet connections, and Western-media penetration; and 5) *transnational civil society* linkage, which includes ties to international NGOs, churches, party organizations, and other networks (2005, pp. 22-23).

This analysis is linked to Joseph Nye’s soft power. “The major elements of a country’s soft power include its culture (when it is pleasing to others), its values (when they are attractive and consistently practiced), and its policies (when they are seen as inclusive and legitimate)” (2009, p. 161). For him, coercive power of U.S. cannot gain the success alone. Power needs to be smart because “in today’s information age, success is the result not merely of whose army wins but also of whose story wins” (pp. 162-163). Then, it is hard to think about the democratization of South Africa without these external linkages. International sanctions help in ending the apartheid, but they make South Africa open its gates for the free-market of neo-liberalism. Yet, such criticism against external hegemony is weak in *Disgrace*. This makes neocolonialism an inner problem.

Neither in *Waiting for the Barbarians* nor in *Disgrace*, Coetzee rewrites history from the point of segregating ideology of the apartheid or of white liberalism. What he does is just questioning the depths of his heart because “apartheid will remain a misery as long as it is not approached in the lair of the heart. If we want to understand it, we cannot ignore those passages of its testament that reach us in the heart-speech of autobiography and confession” (Coetzee, 1997, p. 164). Then, his works can be handled as a self-confession and self-narration of the history he has witnessed. Rather than representing South African history as a historian or as a critical realist, he represents his own feelings, reactions, thoughts, and ideas towards it. Such an expressionist approach is highly criticized by Lukacs:

In its original form, as photomontage, it is capable of striking effects, and on occasion it can even become a powerful political weapon. Such effects arise from its technique of juxtaposing heterogeneous, unrelated pieces of reality torn from their context (2007, p. 43).

On the other hand, modernism, post-modernism, and post-structuralism shape Coetzee’s literature in a way that it does not mirror reality but handles it as a construction:

It thus abandons the goal of mirroring objective reality and its underlying socioeconomic laws, becoming instead a passive depiction of the alienation of people under capitalism. More important, by universalizing alienation (rather than seeing it as an effect of capitalism), the movement provides no basis for progressive politics (Leitch, 2010, p. 907).

Still, the silence of black characters in *Disgrace* is problematic. Due to the metalanguage of liberalist discourse and the spots on his body inherited from his race, he cannot unsilence them. For this reason, it is hard to name it a postcolonial novel. Besides, the commission, representing TRC, fails to build a dialogue with David. It tries to re-educate and re-form his character. The new reigning language imposes its own reality. This hegemonic language of the economy is not ANC’s originally. It belongs to postmodern neo-liberalism. Its epistemic violence with its dominant culture constitutes an asymmetrical relation. ANC’s economical language replicates the globalized discourses. Unlike postcolonial novels, hybridity does not exist in the novel. Dissimilar to postmodernist novels, there is no multivalence in *Disgrace*.

The racial discourse of David Lurie and the narrator is the least concern of this study. But, the failed state representation is highly problematic. After announcing Steve Biko’s death, the South African radio broadcasts that:

To say that Mr. Biko's death resulted from a system which permits gross mistreatment in violation of the most basic human rights, is absurd ... It would be nearer the truth (to say that he) was a victim of a confrontation in South Africa which had been recklessly supported from abroad, the victim, more particularly, of instilling among black activists the notion that it is their right to rule all of South Africa and to hell with the established order (Bernstein, 1978, p. 117).

Is the order of the country they have the right to rule a hell? Does *Disgrace* re/sound it again? The post-apartheid South Africa does not fail due to not following the linearity or dialectics. The irony of it is that it replicates the old. As victor mimics the defeated, it becomes a farcical replay and a simulacrum. Instead of the promises of the Freedom Charter and Ubuntu philosophy, the neo-liberalism of ANC presents South African people 'a wish to be white'. Yet, relating the Rainbow state as a failed state in a novel written only after five years of democratization is still problematic. In addition to the mimicry, there is also the legacy of debts, laws, and institutions of the apartheid. The capitalist system could not be subverted easily because the First World is in the Third World in the neo-liberal global order.

Failure in the post-colonial states is not one-sided. There may be no more domination in Africa, but global hegemony still haunts there. After affirming failures of leaders like Banzer, Somoza, and the Duvaliers, Abacha, Mengistu, and Mugabe, Indira Gandhi and Zia ul-Haq, Suharto and Marcos, Lazarus oppose to refer post-colonial era a *disgrace*:

For domestically, too, the newly inaugurated postcolonial regimes undertook all manner of ambitious projects intended to improve the livelihood and welfare of their citizenry, from literacy and adult education campaigns to the construction and provision of hospitals, from the building of roads and sewage facilities to vast irrigation schemes (as most notably in the Sudan, for instance), and from the redistribution of land to the outlawing of feudal rights over the labor of others. Here, women were granted the right to vote, and to own property. There, workers were granted the right to organize and strike. Still elsewhere, compulsory education of children was introduced. Constitutions were framed; new laws were passed; many tyrannical and bitterly resented colonial laws and edicts were struck down (2004, p. 34).

Signifying post-apartheid South Africa as devolution or second barbarism is puzzling. It can directly relate it to the mainstream Western media's argument of 'failing post-colonial states'. With the legacies of colonialism and of apartheid, replication of old discourses or power relations, and with the role of global hegemony, it is hard to label it as an empire just like the apartheid or as a failed neocolonial state. It is a state in which rise and fall co-exist. The black characters rise in *Disgrace*, but

the majority of black people cannot rehabilitate their poor conditions and they are still landless. Besides, they are ignored by the government in post-apartheid South Africa:

The poor are poor because of their lazy essence. Rather than the hard work of addressing the structural poverty created by colonialism and apartheid, the poor are simply blamed for their poverty. Neoliberal orthodoxy encourages the poor to become entrepreneurs of themselves, and while there certainly are many people who try to scrape by doing all kinds of precarious work, from serving as maids and gardeners, to selling food on the street and collecting scrap for recycling, official unemployment at nearly 30% means that such prospects are limited (Gibson, 2020, p. 121).

Even though colonialism-post-colonialism-neo-colonialism may depict the cycling history by which colonialism returns to post-colonial states that are ruled by feudal politics of tyrants and chiefs, it is also the story of Eurocentrism to make them follow the developmentalist discourse replacing the old civilizational one. Even if the new power replicates the metropole, this neocolonialism is not only an internal definition but also an external one. The ex-colonizers recur as neocolonizers. Notwithstanding Coetzee's criticism against internal neocolonialism in *Disgrace*, the global hegemony and exploitation are silent.

“For the question is not ultimately about the laws of history, but about who controls the signs of power” (Atwell, 1991, p. 108), the empire invents discourses to “how not to end, how not to die, how to prolong” (W, p. 146). In the sign system of the new power in Rainbow South Africa, on the other hand, the apartheid has still its legacy. Does it also haunt Coetzee? Why do the children fail to invent a new humanism? Why do they rape Lucy barbarously? Why the old barbarian paranoia parodied in *Waiting for the Barbarians* is actualized in the non-allegorical *Disgrace*?

## CONCLUSION

This dissertation comes to the conclusion after theorizing neocolonialism and analyzing J. M. Coetzee's most contradictory fictions *Waiting for the Barbarians* and *Disgrace*. Although nineteen years stand between them and he writes other novels during the time, their relation draws attention to imperial ruins hovering over the present. At the end of *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the long-awaited barbarians do not come to the allegorized Empire. In *Disgrace*, on the other hand, they arrive and invade post-apartheid South Africa. This narration echoes the second barbarism. During decolonization, the independence of post-colonial states is signified as the second barbarism. Then, their nation-states are either represented as devolution or the failed dialectics in terms of Eurocentric historical progress. Today, there is a democracy and failed-states dichotomy.

Even if it seems that neocolonialism in this dissertation is a Hardtian and Negrian reading of imperialism, the colonial ruins defining the argument make it different from their *Empire*. Unlike holistic world-system theories, South Africa is a case study in this work. Just like them, it reads the country with its ties to the worldly-capitalist system. Similar to post-development studies, the dissertation handles neocolonialism as a discursive phenomenon. Dissimilar to them, it is not sure for post-modernism because of its universalized position as a newly imported epistemology from the West to the rest. Just as multiculturalism causes Benetton Effect, microculturalism may bring about microcredits siphoning even the least capital in the globe. Postmodern decentralization and deregulation remind neo-liberal globalism. Democratic and humanist discourses of marginal groups lead to the universalization of postmodern rationality. Its heterogeneity may cause culturalist essentialism causing tribal conflicts. Postcolonial hybrid formulations, on the other hand, undermine the cultural hegemony of the West. The relation among cultures is not reciprocal because the exchange is not a compromise, but the domination introducing non-Western peoples a path to follow. Mimicry becomes the ideal again after colonialism. A re-dependency complex comes into existence and the rest self-orientalizes themselves by seeing their cultures from the gaze of the West.

The dissertation tries to re-write its own theory. Neocolonialism is re-defined in a two-pronged argument. With help of the philosophy of history, internal neocolonialism and external neocolonialism are held together to assert that neocolonialism is not a postcolonial phenomenon for post-colonial states, but it is a global condition. In cyclical history, Vico's chamber reads historical progression with literary tropes. Metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony represent the birth, the growth, and the death of empires. After *raison d'Etat*, it is alleged that modern democracies will never face the empire's irony of fate. It is believed that this balance of power politics will make the states live forever. This study places allegory before irony in Vico's cyclical trope. Before the last phase, it is argued that allegory breaches the circle. Colonial ruins, nevertheless, loom over modern democracies. Progress is replaced by development, universalization by globalism, civilization by democracy, barbarians by terrorists, second barbarism by failed states. By re-inventing the social anxiety of the Romans against the barbarians at the gates, *divide et impera* politics is updated for epistemic, cultural, and material violence.

As well as the relation between the comprador inside and the neocolonizer outside, this study seeks to present how people desire their own repression by self-orientalisation. With its ghettos and suburbans, The Third World in the First is exported to Third by drawing and representing a multicultural and hybrid portrait of their own. While doing this, the colonial ruins of signification surface to produce new hierarchies. An Africa is invented, represented, signified, and imagined because the developed needs Africa to create its own development. Democracy relies on failed states. Africa becomes the land of drought, starvation, and ignorance. To stop this underdevelopment, aid programs of the West arrive there for 'humanitarian' goals. The African country is restructured with debts and credits. In the end, it is not itself to develop but the West with high-interest rates. The discursive hegemony controls the world, but imperial dominations do not end. Coup d'Etats in Africa and the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan epitomize the compossibility of domination and control. Not to omit recent events, China's globalization is examined. China mimics this debt-trap diplomacy in Africa with the infrastructure projects. After Covid-19, nonetheless, it seems that globalism and localism will crash theoretically as government and

nationalism come back in opposition to decentralization and globalization of neo-liberalism. Only time will reveal what expects us after the virus.

Linearity, rationality, and civilization doctrines are remarketed with new labels like development, globalism, and democracy. Such arguments have their roots in the Enlightenment philosophy. The first sections of the two chapters archeologized their conceptual history. J. S. Mill's civilization, Condorcet's linearity, Kant's great federation, and naturalistic history, Herder's spirit of time, Hegel's dialectics for development of consciousness for freedom, Social Darwinism, Comte's positivist history, and the law of the development of human intelligence, and Marx's social consciousness determined by the history of productive forces all form the ideology of Enlightenment for which rationality, modernity, and progress essentialize their universalist Eurocentric discourse. Although they may have been compared and contrasted in and of themselves, progress and development have always been the common point of the Eurocentric Western ideology, be it dialectical or teleological. In this respect, the dissertation does not only analyze the genealogy of progression and development in the 'magisterial' texts but also their relation to the magisterial novels of J. M. Coetzee.

Against the constitution of history as a master-narrative, suprahistory foregrounds individualism and momentary events by rejecting universalism and objectivism. With Frankfurt School, the progressive dialectics become negative dialectics after the massive sorrow caused by World Wars. Post-structuralism handles truth as construction and questions the reliability of historical texts. History becomes a meta-history and instead of muting them, a historical role is given to individuals, and subjects are freed in here and now. These criticisms have been strengthening until the new Empire is left alone by the decline of the Soviet Union. While neo-liberalism begins to reshape world-capitalism, he finds himself a new enemy after 9/11. To define himself, he objectifies this new other. He says that I am not she. With Fukuyama's totalitarian theory 'the end of history' and Huntington's Manichean 'the clash of civilizations', the Enlightenment ideology refinds its power that is not only material but also epistemological. The narrative becomes master again and tells that 'to develop like us one needs progress in mentality'; s/he must be free and democratic. It is rational



and natural because liberal democracy is the end of history. To universalize it, democracy may be imported because the closed doors to neo-liberalism must be smashed. The world must be made free. This lexicon is the ruins of Enlightenment philosophy. To hide the colonial objectives, civilization discourse is used and abused. It creates its barbarian other. Similarly, neo-liberalism uses freedom for its free-market ideals. It constructs good governance and failed-states dichotomy. During decolonization, independence is signified as the second barbarism. Representing post-colonial states as neocolonial has an analogous argument. But, there is no document of democracy that is not at the same time a document of neocolonialism.

This study takes neocolonialism not as failed dialectics or devolution after post-colonialism within the line of dialectics or teleology. Without any intentional historicity, it does not aim at a political, polemical, or synthesizing reading. Postmodernism and postcolonialism try their ways to dam the linearity. Instead of entrapped in academic hegemony, this study reads neocolonialism as a global condition. The post-structuralist wing in postcolonial theory reads neocolonialism according to power relations and binarism in post-colonial states. The materialist wing, on the other hand, rewrites against external neocolonialism. Alternatives are either postmodernist such as multiculturalism, polyphony, multivalence, and hybridity or revolutionist presenting Eurocentric dialectics to post-colonial states for unilinear progress. Rather than imitating the current camps defining neocolonialism differently, the philosophy of history helped for a fresh reading. It supports uncovering how Enlightenment discourses survive under new masks and how modern liberal democracies are with imperial traces. Thus, inside neocolonialism and outside neocolonialism are presented as concurrent phenomena. To dewesternize epistemology, it is advocated that rise and fall have compossibility instead of dichotomy.

The legacy of binarism is not a vestigial remain among others legated by colonial ideology derived from Western epistemology creating Manichaeism by objectifying and subjectifying. Neo-liberalism, elitism, power relations, nationalism, and tribalism are all bound to this ideology. Neo-liberalism exploits there by amputating local investment, elitism does it by capitalizing the rich of a country among

the few, the rulers do it by centralizing all the power and hinder a civil society, nationalism does it by its othering mechanism (minorities or migrants become the source of an economic failure), and tribalism does it by using the former colonial chiefdom (the chief controls the ruled for the sake of his and of shareholders interests, be it the government or the multinational companies).

This imitated binarism is narrated in Coetzee's *Disgrace*. The African character Petrus is founding a tribal consciousness in a small countryside of post-apartheid South Africa that is the very apotheosis of apartheid harnessing chiefs and customs. The Isaacs family, on the other hand, lives a neo-liberal life in conformity. Universities are redesigned for material functionality in which David Lurie is a professor. He seduces one of the students and resigns after refusing to confess the 'disgrace'. Confession is the leading political agenda for ANC and TRC is constituted for a Rainbow Nation leaving binarism behind. Coetzee problematizes this new nation-building and sees it as a new metanarration. Aside from these criticisms of the new order, the main problem in the novel is in its relation to *Waiting for the Barbarians* in which it is implied that barbarians will never come. The barbarians, nevertheless, come to post-apartheid South Africa and rapes David's daughter Lucy. While rape is the paranoia in the first novel, it is now a reality in the latter. On the one hand, *Waiting for the Barbarians* is the novel of allegorizing imperial governance including apartheid, on the other hand, *Disgrace* is the story of a failed post-colonial state.

It is true that the power saves its position in post-apartheid South Africa. It maintains binarism for its hegemony. Post-colonial states with new black elites keep the colonial heritage alive. Coetzee sees this new order for South Africa and writes *Disgrace*. While it lacks the voice of the colonized, it is because he is laden with metalanguage of his race which is deconstructed in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. The problem is not the silence of the black characters but making the myth of barbarian concrete. For this reason, it seems less postcolonial than a neocolonial novel at first sight. Although *Waiting for the Barbarians* allegorizes an empire in an unknown milieu, his dream of a better future for the black children is disappointed by the barbarians in post-apartheid South Africa depicted as a land of disorder in *Disgrace*. The victim is now a white girl Lucy unlike the black barbarian girl in the former novel.

And she admits tribal dis/order Petrus constructs in the countryside. While the allegory of *Waiting for the Barbarians* is adjustable to any Empire operating within a colonialist modernist ideology, unilateral neocolonialist criticism of the post-apartheid South Africa as the land of kleptocracy in *Disgrace* is problematical. The post-apartheid South Africa in *Disgrace* narrates a kind of second barbarism. In the neocolonial global condition, nonetheless, the end is not only suicidal because the cycle does not turn in and of itself. Imperialism operates as a *deus ex machina* either in a military form or by its cultural hegemony that produces consent. People commence desiring their own repression. This re-dependency complex brings about mimicking the virtues of the West. Civilization discourse of colonialism is supplanted by democracy as the lexicon of globalism. As if nationalism, patriotism, and racialism are worked out in the West, liberalism, and multiculturalism are represented as the universal solution. But, just as colonialism does not bring civilization, the imported democracy does not lead to a cosmopolitan globe.

In *Waiting for the Barbarians*, there is hope for a new humanism like Fanon's and Césaire's at the end. Not to become a tool of the Empire's history, Magistrate tries hard to sympathize with barbarians. But, barbarians are barbarians at the end of the novel. Magistrate fails to name them otherwise. His subjective history places him at the margins of Empire. Nevertheless, he is still inside because of the walls in his language. Therefore, he continues to wait for them after he takes his position. *Waiting for the Barbarians* is not a *roman à clef* and its universality is instructive. The novel has its allusions to the South African context, but they are only overtones. Therefore, this allegory is not only suitable to the apartheid but also to modern democracies within the neocolonial and imperial order. Not only the content but also the title of the novel offers too much for a neocolonial reading stretching from colonialism to neocolonialism and imperialism. Instead of saying "The Empire waits for the barbarians", this agentless sentence erases the subject, the moment, and the milieu. Hence, it can be easily connected to any place, any time, and any agent except one. As the objects of the story, the barbarians locate at the center and they will exist unless the binarism melts. With allegory of the continuous waiting, Coetzee parodies this linear

progress grounded on the dichotomy between dark-light, developed-undeveloped, and progressive-static. Therefore, this study reads it as a historiographic metafiction.

In his first novel *Dusklands*, Coetzee cites Flaubert arguing “what is important is the philosophy of history” (1998a, p. 54). The philosophy of history is a great concern for his oeuvre. His philosophy of history, on the other hand, is post-structuralist and posthistorical. He subverts, mocks, and ironizes the masternarratives of the Western discourses by his metafiction. With the cyclical history of the empires, Coetzee deconstructs the unilinear teleology but it is not his final point. As a ‘castaway of history’, he chooses to locate out of the circle and the line of History. In search of sympathy toward the Other, he prefers a suprahistorical here and now in that he struggles with the burden of history bestowed upon his shoulder by his race. He writes his own *hi/story* in the literary imagination. Magistrate tries a counter-history in his book, but he quits as he recognizes that it is intentional and unreliable. David Lurie, on the other hand, “is inventing music (or the music is inventing him) but he is not inventing the history” (D, p. 186). Instead of a history book, they leave allegorical stories behind. Their struggle is literary. Similarly, Coetzee responds with his imagination. The dog is a recurrent theme in his oeuvre. Unlike political agents in social realism or bourgeois liberals in the Western novel, his protagonists try for an individual posthistory against metanarratives of the objective History. This posthistorical dog symbolizes being out of civilization and history. But, this evasion is not an idyllic utopia. Magistrate’s subjective history and David’s suprahistory are evasions from the metahistory. Yet, they are encircled by the metalanguage. “The shade of a melody” (D, p. 183) captures David as Magistrate’s “doubled image” (W, p. 47) makes him construct a poor dialogue with the other. Traces of History encapsulate them and the discursive walls of the prison of language prevent this suprahistorical evasion. Even if he faces the repressed guilt of the official History and subverts its discourses in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, *Disgrace* narrates the impossibility of the evasion when someone has still the spots of a masterlanguage on his body.

Unlike Levinasian readings, the argument of this dissertation is based on poor dialogue. It is not reciprocal because the monologue of the masterlanguage dominates the exchange. It is conditional hospitality. Its words are fenced with the historically

constructed signs. Barbarian sign in *Waiting for the Barbarians* and black sign in *Disgrace* is filled with prejudices in the English language. After “discover[ing] himself suspecting that languages spoke people or at the very least spoke through them” (1992, p. 53), Coetzee faces *Anglo Weltanschauung*. No matter how hard Coetzee interrogates a new vocabulary waiting does not end thanks to “the great archetypes of imagination” (D, p. 23). Magistrate does not write a counter-history. Coetzee imagines a stylistic alternative. Telos of the History of the Empire is subverted by cyclical history. Its actions are narrated in active verbs to depict how the Empire prepares its own end by othering and torture. His subjective history is his story. In *Disgrace*, nevertheless, David Lurie fails to sympathize with black characters. The white David faces how the power of his race is dethroned in post-apartheid. However, he has difficulty acknowledging it due to the authority his race gives him. The narrator’s voice is sometimes compiled with him. This narrational strategy examines author/ity and its bordering limits.

Therefore, hybridity is not a third space in his oeuvre because it is an unequal, anachronic, and asymmetric exchange. The master side dominates the other as it has the power of knowledge to represent it. Dissimilar to the gaze of Levinas, Fanon’s gaze is existential and examines seeing oneself from the gaze of the master. This one is still the linchpin of neocolonial condition. The rationality, universality, and linearity of the Enlightenment underpinning the civilization discourse are again at the stage with new lexicons like democracy, humanism, and development. While post-colonial states are decolonized, the old discourses recycle. Even if it introduces the illusion of the linear progress, imitating the new discourses pervades post-colonial states owing to this self-orientalizing gaze. The metropole becomes the ideal route again. Coetzee narrates this internal neocolonialism astutely in *Disgrace* in which the rhetoric of the apartheid haunts Rainbow South Africa. Still, there are also external neocolonizers that are missing in *Disgrace*.

Coetzee demystifies the reinscribed history after the fall of the apartheid in *Disgrace* just as he does it in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. This reinscription erases the promises of The Freedom Charter. The sharing Ubuntu philosophy is forgotten. It is replaced by neo-liberalism. Yet, this erasure fails. The new progress discourse takes

the place of the former dichotomy between barbarian and civilized. There is another binarism now between developed modern liberal democracies and underdeveloped neocolonial states. Binarism and class division do not vanish in the new South Africa. Fenced locations and ghettos are still present there. The past is still in the present. Colonial ruins linger on the post-apartheid state. But, it is not an inner condition. It has also neocolonizers. It is no more a story of barbarians at the gate because the Empire has not left the gate. Barbarian paranoia justifies Rome's walls. Similarly, modern democracies erect new walls against new barbarians. This rational/moral barbarism is the empire under the mask. It is a castle of democracy. Nevertheless, post-colonial states follow the path they have opened. Not to return to the 'dark ages', it is preferred to be white. Still, the ironies of Rainbow South Africa do not constitute a neo-apartheid. The country mimics the allegory of modern liberal democracies that sweep imperial politics under the 'multicolored' rug.

It is true that the Rainbow State fails to repair economic problems. Black characters fail to take their lesson from the past and prefer vengeance. The period is also the story of success. It is the success of global neo-liberalism and its partners in South Africa. What is missing in *Disgrace* is that the black majority are still living in poor conditions, unlike Petrus or Mr. Isaacs. And unlike David and Lucy, the white elite save its former position shared by the black elite now. Post-apartheid becomes a transition rather than a transformation. Still, it is not a neo-apartheid nor it is a failed state. Such totalitarian representations are reported as any similar event to the apartheid period occurs. This discourse is used to prove 'nothing goes well after we civilized whites abandon the government'. The Empire Coetzee allegorizes interprets the reality in one and only context. It freezes its ideology. The Rainbow State, nevertheless, is not an Empire. The farm killings are used to define a future holocaust in media. At the end of the novel, it is implied that sacrifice is inevitable for the new order because there are too many people for the few positions. In this competition, the most unfit will not survive because history comes to full circle for them. Even though it is depicted as divine justice because of the crimes of apartheid, Coetzee draws attention to the vengeful cycle in which the victim becomes the victimizer. "Power is power, after all" (Coetzee, 1990, p. 107) and it does not take its lesson even if the

rulers change. And vengeance is the highest danger. The white population, on the other hand, is still in far better conditions with the historical advantages inherited from the apartheid. Their children have good education creating job opportunities and they do not have housing problems, unlike the many black children. ANC's co-existence politics keeps binarism at the core. Nationalism appears as the elections come. Chieftaincy is used to control and consolidate the rural people. Elitism is created. The rift between the poor and the rich remains. But, the government is elected democratically, and the country has an inclusive constitution.

Although Coetzee is well aware of history as a narration expecting him to fill the gaps and reply to the questions with ready-made answers in the culture of his masterrace and of its metalanguage in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the narrator's voice in *Disgrace* obscures the reader to grasp the novel as a narration. While he is after a just cycle to dethrone the apartheid in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, his philosophy of history imagines a civil war in *Michael K*. Then, he is anxious for "what grows out of ash to grow" (1990, p. 59) in *Age of Iron*. The novel ironizes the apartheid and it is a disgrace for which Mrs. Curren feels shame for its crimes as a white Afrikaner. In *Disgrace*, on the other hand, post-apartheid South Africa is ironized but the price is not paid by shame. This time, it is paid by David's losing his professorship without an official trial and by his daughter Lucy's rape. The novel depicts a failed-state story. Even though it is a self-conscious neocolonialist novel, Coetzee fails for a new vocabulary. Eurocentrism in the novel and good governance-failed states dichotomy pervade the pages.

In *The Good Story*, Coetzee replies Kurtz that "You suggest that the more a society believes it has cut its ties with the past, the more likely it will at an unconscious level be under the sway of the past I couldn't agree more" (2015, p. 86). For this reason, his suprahistorical evasion is interrupted each time and it is recognized at the end that "There is no such thing as a new life. We have only one life, one each" (Coetzee, 2006, p. 237). Because "the watch fixes the number in a circular order" (2020, p. 8), David refuses to wear the watch given as the birthday present in Coetzee's last novel *The Death of Jesus*. Even if he does not give up evading history in his latest novels, "Empire has created the time of history" (W, p. 146) and "freedom is

always and only what is unimaginable” (Coetzee, 1990, p. 150) because the progress seems inexorable, except in literary imagination. He subverts linearity and eludes to suprahistory. History becomes his story, not the other way around. Still, his life with its metahistory and metalanguage haunts him even in the best place where unimagined can be imagined. It is “a life in fetters” (Coetzee, 1990, p. 150). Although emigration to Australia may be seen as a search for immunity from the historical burden and writing new matters to discuss in post-*Disgrace* novels may symbolize liberal cycling on clean streets of civilization; the last three novels *The Childhood*, *The Schooldays of Jesus*, and *The Death of Jesus* narrate returning to the original fire that is imagining a better future for children and children of them.

*Disgrace* may be the story of the ethical fall of David, but relating it to the disgrace of the black community failing to govern and to develop the country will be an Afropessimist narration. It will become nothing more than actualizing the myth of barbarians in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. Barbarian children at the end of the novel grow and come to *Disgrace* to replace the positions of the whites and to rape one of them. This is the paranoia and the myth in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. Yet, they come and the post-apartheid Rainbow nation became a *disgrace*. If *Disgrace* is a novel of failure, it is also the story of unsuccessful David who fails to empathize with black people due to the great historical burden over his shoulders by which Coetzee questions masterrace, its masterlanguage, metahistory, and their epistemic violence for which he feels responsible. While he problematizes them in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, *Disgrace* becomes the story of *Arrival of the Barbarians*. He writes that “I cannot save the prisoner therefore let me save myself” (W, p. 114). At least, it can be said for Coetzee that “There existed one man who in his heart was not a barbarian” (p. 114). Like Ngugi and Achebe, he criticizes internal neocolonialism. Unlike Naipaul, he is not a defender of civilizational discourses. But, the failed state in *Disgrace* is Eurocentric because South Africa is not the land of kleptocracy, but a country in that rise and fall co-exist. Rather than having a linear history, it has multitemporalities.



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