

**Public Welfare Foundation:
“South African AIDS Activists Zackie Achmat and Nonkosi
Khumalo to Speak on the Fight to Bring AIDS Treatment to
South Africa”
November 6, 2003**

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

[START RECORDING]

MALE VOICE 1: Public Welfare Foundation and on behalf of all of my colleagues here at the Foundation and my colleagues in the grant making world, Dr. Michael Sinclair, the Kaiser Family Foundation we welcome all of you here today. Everyone here is an honored guest but I did want to introduce to you someone who we're very, very pleased to have with us from Beijing, China, Dr. Won Yan Hai (misspelled?) who is the coordinator of the AIDS Action Project; one of the leading HIV and AIDS education programs in China. Thank you for being with us today.

One hundred years ago the True Reformer Building where we're sitting now, which is the first in America to be designed, constructed and paid for by African Americans, the building was dedicated as a testament to the strength and self reliance of a community struggling against the injustice of racial segregation. A community leader declared at the dedication ceremony in 1903 that this building would shine forever to help those who are struggling through the darkness of injustice. When we became the stewards of this historic community resource in 1999 we promised to keep the spirit of the True Reformers alive in all that we do here to support communities around the world that are still struggling against the darkness of injustice.

And it is in that spirit that we are honored to welcome

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

our guests Zackie Achmat and Nonkosi Khumalo. In 1994 shortly after the historic first democratic election in South Africa a journalist asked Nelson Mandela, now that the African National Congress is the government what is the role of the popular movement from which the ANC has risen? And President Mandela answered the popular movement is more important now than ever for it will both give us the support and hold us accountable to fulfilling the promises of the new South Africa. Zackie and Nonkosi and their colleagues in the treatment action campaign and activists working on issues in the popular movement across South Africa are keeping alive the vision of the ANC revolution even if the current ANC government is not.

What we need to support tax criticism of the Mbeki government's lack of action in making drug therapies available to people in South Africa who are living with HIV and AIDS we must also understand that AIDS is a political disease that has been allowed to continue as an epidemic within the familiar cracks and crevices of social and economic injustice. We must understand that for the two billion people around the world who exist on less than two dollars a day AIDS is simply another manifestation of being left behind by the new world economic order. We must understand that the neo-liberal economic policies of structural adjustment, privatization and so-called free trade agreements make it difficult for any government to meet the basic human needs of its people including health care,

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

education, jobs and affordable housing all of which should be the tests of a truly democratic and civilized society.

As Americans we can best show our support and solidarity with Zackie and Nonkosi by speaking out about our own government's lack of responsiveness and misguided action on AIDS in Africa. Despite George Bush's promises of 15 billion dollars over five years for AIDS programs in Africa and the Caribbean only two billion has been released so far this year. During the Bush administration's three years 7.5 million Africans have died of AIDS and another five million are infected each year.

But even the money that is available is put to misguided use. One third of all AIDS prevention funds given by the United States must be used only to encourage abstinence outside of marriage. While recent studies show that condoms are currently unavailable to most Africans, George Bush continues to pander to his friends in the American religious right who insist that sex, and not AIDS, kills people.

And so we greet Zackie and Nonkosi in the spirit of solidarity with which so many of us identified in the anti-apartheid movement; a movement that inspired a generation of Americans to take action to change their own government's complicity with the raw force of evil that apartheid represented.

Let us remember the lines from Bertolt Brecht's play,

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

the Life of Galileo. In that play a monk asked Galileo, don't you think the truth will prevail even without us if it is the truth? And Galileo responds, no. The truth prevails only when we make it prevail. The triumph of reason can only be the triumph of reasoning people.

Today in greeting our guests let us be inspired by their courage and let us recommit ourselves for the most important act of solidarity that we can offer them because Americans is working to make sure that reason and truth are restored and then prevail in our own country's actions in Africa and around the world.

[VIDEO PRESENTATION]

MALE VOICE 2: Well it's my great pleasure ladies and gentlemen. About two weeks ago Johannesburg at the site of the presentation of (unintelligible) Nelson Mandela work for Health and Human Rights (unintelligible). And I thought it might be best for me this afternoon to leave you some paragraph, the comments by Mrs. (unintelligible) Michelle (misspelled?) AKA Mrs. Mandela at that event.

We are here tonight to celebrate the efforts of an extraordinary group of people and an organization that in less than five years of existence moved a nation, shifted government policy and advanced the rights of people with HIV everywhere in the world. But mostly what we want to stand up and rejoice about is the fact that South Africa today has a constitution

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

that allows freedom of speech, free organization, the right to public protest and resorts to an independent (unintelligible).

Civil society helped win the victory against apartheid. Yet many after the demise of apartheid speculated that there no longer was a role for civil society in South Africa. Well my friends tonight we also celebrate how wrong they were.

All over the world in example after example there is clear evidence of the indispensable role of civil society shaping humane and just democracy. Civil society is nothing more than the banding together of citizens to improve the quality of life, right the wrongs, redress the injustice of injustices and to advance the rights of the disadvantaged. In short to perpetuate the ageless human struggle for the just society.

Civil society is an indispensable part of modern democracy. And as indispensable as (unintelligible) and the judiciary and the government responsive of its citizens.

Tonight we stand up and rejoice that South African democracy is stronger for the efforts of those we recognize. We need to rejoice because their efforts have helped move this country closer to that idealized (unintelligible) society. The PAC struggle grows out of the best tradition anti apartheid group. The result is an exceptionally high level of awareness and mobilization against HIV AIDS in helping reduce the stigma associated with the epidemic and raise the national

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

consciousness of the fact that we are all affected by HIV AIDS. Thus as democracy gives us rights it also gives us beauty. Let us never be silent. It is our duty as citizens (unintelligible) demand our rights, mobilize and organize for the advancement of the greater good.

Well ladies and gentlemen; I'm sure that we could all applaud the concept of civic duty. But how many of us would be prepared to put our lives on the line for the greater good? That is what Zackie has done, and who knows at what cost to him long term health. How many of us would be willing to endure being ostracized by our families, friends and community for openly declaring our HIV status. That's what thousands of (unintelligible) members have endured. They have had the courage to do this because they knew at the end of the day their lives are on the line too. But mostly because of the impeccable bravery, courage and commitment of Zackie Achmat and his ability to make them believe that they could change the course of history.

All organizations are greater than the sum of their parts. But it is a very rare honor to be in the company of one who has written his own page in the annals of our times and together with thousands of other courageous South Africans have moved a nation and changed the world for the better.

Zackie (unintelligible), welcome.

MR. CORNELIUS BAKER: Good afternoon. I'm Cornelius

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

Baker, the Executive Director of Whitman Walker Clinic. And it is such an honor to be here with you and, of course, with Zackie and Nonkosi. Thirty years ago this month actually Whitman Walker Clinic was founded here in Washington on the heels of the civil rights movement and Stonewall rebellion in New York. And what came after during the early seventies creating the free clinic movement and our mass movement in this country towards health care for the poor and for those who had been disenfranchised.

We began an STD clinic caring for gay men who were not getting (unintelligible) treatment from their doctor or physician because of their sexuality. In the early 80's we began responding to HIV epidemic first because it affected gay men but then because it was a moral imperative that we continue to address for all people in our community and that what we feel very strongly about is that which occurred to us in the first years of the 80's as this epidemic began both in us and gay men that it should not occur to other people in the world and certainly not in our community that they would be denied care and treatment that they deserve as humans.

Which leads us why we're here today; and I suppose I would want to just digress for a moment in acknowledging the work that we've done in the past 20 years and what did occur to us in the first years of the (unintelligible) tie ourselves to the struggle that, of course, Zackie and Nonkosi are leading

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

today is that CBS News in a very cowardly act just cancelled a documentary film, fiction, whatever you want to call it on the Regan. And the religious right that because their viewpoint on AIDS have been distorted. But the public record is clear. No matter how you characterize it in film and no matter what words are put in his mouth on film, in 1987 the then President spoke to the American Foundation for AIDS Research and the Third World International AIDS Conference. And while he talked about the need to respond to the epidemic, at the end of his remarks he said the only judge of their souls will be God. And the implication of that is clear; and the implication of his silence the seven years preceding is even more clear. Not only do we have millions of people in our country who suffer (unintelligible) and thousands who struggle every day but we also have, because of the lack of American leadership and will, a full borne HIV epidemic pandemic around the world that now threatens the lives of 40 million people on earth today and an additional 50 to 60 million in the decade to come.

But there are heroes in our struggle. Two of them are with us right now; people who refuse to take no for an answer when those who are in power and those who have position and those who have wealth when those who can do something refuse to do so. And they stand up. And they stand up not only for themselves but they stand up for all of us.

I'm really particularly honored to be introducing

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

Zackie, and not in any slight to Nonkosi, so I will get to (unintelligible). But actually at lunch today Zackie called his mentor, former boss, Justice Edwin Cameron, one of the other great heroes of the movement in South Africa having come to Whitman Walker Clinic to witness our law program and said, oh, you may not recall that.

And I recall every Monday that I am in Justice Cameron's presence. But even more so I recall the first time that he introduced us several years ago. And what a great honor it was then. And my admiration of you has only grown in the years (unintelligible).

Zackie lives with HIV. But not only does he live with it, he challenges it. And he challenges all of us to think about it in different ways and in new ways of what it means to have it (unintelligible) in our world.

He comes to this, I think this place of power, this place of presence in the world not just because of the HIV epidemic but because of his whole experience in being a South African. He joined the anti apartheid movement in South Africa during the 1976 uprising. He was detained and imprisoned on more than five occasions as a youth activist. Zackie was a community activist who assisted with the organization of youth, labor, health and community organizations between 1977 and 1999. And he is still an active member of the African National Congress. He also campaigned for lesbian/gay/bisexual and

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

transgender equality and was a founding member of the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian equality. The Coalition campaigned for the equality clause in the constitution; one of the world's great constitutions, South Africa.

Zackie was also Director at Aids Law Project between 1994 and 1997. In December of 1998 he gathered with ten other activists who launched a treatment action campaign. And they've had numerous successes which I'm sure he will tell you about and Nonkosi will also inform you of. So I won't discuss them now.

I would like to say, and many of you have probably read the article on this in the New Yorker covering Zackie last year or earlier this year, and you've read about him in other newspapers but his principle stand, not to take anti retro viral therapy while other people in his country were denied them is something that I found so incredibly moving, so deeply, profoundly challenging as a moral concept in the world for those of us who are in places of privilege whether it's because we have health care or because we are Americans in how we go about our work (unintelligible) honest in our solidarity (unintelligible) other people in the world.

And as a person living with HIV for over 20 years now I found it such an extremely rich and deep moment of even personal challenge and what does it mean to be an activist today in the world and what we're trying to (unintelligible)

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

for all people in the world.

He was rightly honored and awarded the first Desmond Tutu Fellowship in October 2001. Nonkosi I've just met today and who is just as bright as an angel. And it is such a great joy to be in her presence as well. I won't tell her age because it is just so deeply offensive to the rest of us. But I will say she was born in 1977. And you know there's that saying don't hate me because I'm beautiful. Well you know you don't get to be both. So this is a real problem. And she has, you know, she's studied out the wazoo (misspelled?). She went to the University of Natal and she has a B.A. degree, majored in legal studies. She graduated in 1998. She received an honors degree in 1998 and she has been active with the African and National Congress and with other programs throughout her education and schooling. But more than sort of her biography, because she's so incredibly young that she doesn't really have one, I was moved by her word and her own descriptions of herself. And by way of introduction I would just like to read to you. And Nonkosi writes; I began seeing people close to me dying slow and painful deaths due to AIDS related illnesses. And then I began to question the manner in which the HIV AIDS problem was being dealt with in South Africa. I was concerned by the manner in which people living with, or families of people living with HIV and AIDS, were being stigmatized and being discriminated against. It dawned to me that education

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

and awareness are not the only solutions to the dealing with HIV and AIDS and that something more, much more than that, had to be done.

We are so grateful that these two people are with us and that they are doing more, so much more, that we've done. And I bring to you now Zackie and Nonkosi.

MS. NONKOSI KHUMALO: Ok, he wants to sit next to me because he wants to hold my hand (unintelligible). Thank you (unintelligible), a good introduction I would guess. I am not sure whether (unintelligible) because I think even just some of the faces are taken. I think the people that have been doing tremendous work at PAC are the people that we left behind in South Africa.

I would like to thank all these people coming here. I am what they call voices from the front line. And we are so honored to be here. We've had tremendous time in the last two days meeting with the Senators, the Congressmen which we did yesterday. And we've done so many other interesting things. I think about the U.S. but also some of the things that we would like to pose as a challenge to you as Americans or people that are living in American. And possibly things that we would like you to take home with you after our brief meeting with you today; but before I go on I would like to just take an opportunity to thank some of the few organizations here that have supported PAC ever since it started in 1998. And that

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

includes mostly the Public Welfare Foundation, the South African Development Fund, Medicines and Frontiers, Bread for the World, Treatment Action Group, Gay Men's Health, The Health (unintelligible), Project Inform, the Consumer Project and Technologies, Student Global AIDS Campaign and TA University. They have done more than enough for PAC. But we still asking them to continue doing more for the organization.

Before I go on I would like (unintelligible). But anyway, before I go on with this, there's quote that I, this is my piece of paper that I wrote in 1995. And I carry it along with me all the time. I think it has been an inspiration for me one as an activist but secondly as a young ANC activist in South Africa.

It is a speech by Nelson Mandela that he gave in his inauguration in 1994. And as I read I would like all of us to reflect on what it means to each and every one of us. Because it says so many things about us as individuals but they're all that we have in the face of humanity, I mean our different countries.

And it goes like; our deepest fears is not that we are inadequate. Our deepest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure. It is our light, not our darkness, that most frightens us. We ask ourselves who am I not to be brilliant but to be gorgeous, not to be talented and not to be fabulous. Actually who are you not to be (unintelligible)? You are a

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

child of god, playing small doesn't serve the world. There is nothing enlightening about shrinking so other people won't feel insecure around you. We are born to make many manifest of glory of good that is within us. It's not just some of us, everyone. And as we let our own light shine we unconsciously give other permission to do the same. As we are liberated from our own fear our presence automatically liberates others. It's just like (unintelligible).

So one would ask me what does it mean to me; as (unintelligible) an individual. What has it taught me over the years in terms of going after what I want? It says I should never be afraid to talk about what I want and what I feel. And South Africa has (unintelligible) by a lot of struggle. (Unintelligible) and in the 80's (unintelligible) where, as young people at the time, our schools (unintelligible) because was told that I was born late (unintelligible). And you would see people all the time in the streets, you know, (unintelligible) I would think they would like to see change in their lives. And ever since I joined PAC in 2001 which at the time I knew so little about them but I think my experience (unintelligible) organization that I could identify with at the time. It has taught me how do you become an activist because we all want (unintelligible) activists in our own right (unintelligible).

Being an activist is not only (unintelligible)

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

something about it. And I think the milestone that (unintelligible) over the last five years has demonstrated (unintelligible). And it continues to demonstrate I think to many other organizations (unintelligible) as much as we have fought for democracy it's not enough to just (unintelligible) hold accountable each and every (unintelligible) that is holding a public office.

And I think those are the lessons that you might want to learn as well in our own country. I'm speaking this I think in the light of the (unintelligible) abortion view. And I'm thinking we have (unintelligible) ninety of them are women. And it feels like everybody's talking about (unintelligible) by men. And I think for me it's so, I think it's challenging to me as a woman and as a young woman that having all these powerful people, powerful men, powerful white men making decisions about us as women. And they're saying we can't make choices of our pregnancy, we can't make choices about whether or not we want to have babies. And they do not understand the dynamics behind being a woman in a country where first of all (unintelligible). So I think we should be learning from them, it's not only about (unintelligible). And we should be focusing more on equality but also on what socialism is in the context of equality (unintelligible). It should be informing the way that we are dealing with (unintelligible).

I'm just going to give a briefing of you know where PAC

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

started. That is an organization in 1988 (unintelligible) with where we want to go because I think it needs to be that it's old enough to think about (unintelligible).

PAC started in 1998, I am told, by 15 (unintelligible) Zackie and then (unintelligible) and other grandmothers (unintelligible). And why didn't form, I think the formation of the movement at the time which was (unintelligible) organization was that there was a serious and (unintelligible) move (unintelligible) not talking about treatment like everywhere else in the world. And the fact that there was a strong issue amongst the politicians and especially people that (unintelligible) decisions in our country. It was a very (unintelligible).

We also wanted to look at the issues of how do we bring treatment to the people that most need (unintelligible). And those are the poor (unintelligible). I cannot (unintelligible) what about the next (unintelligible) who's unemployed (unintelligible) doesn't know anything about this treatment but knows as much as he or she can (unintelligible) about, you know, speaking about having HIV. And (unintelligible) stigma of contention in many ways (unintelligible).

We have learned over the years that there are medicines. There are medicines to treat opportunistic infections (unintelligible) stem the progression of HIV to AIDS. I have mentioned that (unintelligible) balance

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

And over the years we have learned how do we advocate different levels of government and educational policies in terms of getting access to (unintelligible). I'm just going to give one example of a drug that we or (unintelligible) cocalmeningitis (misspelled?). It is manufactured by a pharmaceutical company called Pfizer. And at the time when we started advocating for the abilities of the drug it was extremely expensive (unintelligible). Many people didn't get access to them. And so we were talking about issues of patients. At the time you could never imagine me talking about patients, what (unintelligible), who goes with this patient and how do we begin to advocate the patient. And I think one of the great things that I have learned to take it to understand not only what is going on in South Africa but understand what the international policies are that affect directly the way that I live my life.

And it has created many opportunities. And one of them (unintelligible) about HIV (unintelligible). I think half of people in this room would never understand what, you know, how many types of (unintelligible). But some of us have been fortunate enough to get the basic information and understanding of what is it and how does it work.

And then we decided that because (unintelligible) for the patient and people cannot get access to conozole

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

(misspelled?). Just going to break (unintelligible) because then that is how we can get access to (unintelligible) that we want even though our policies are so strict. Especially for the people that cannot actually afford this.

Then we went to Thailand and we imported the genetic (unintelligible) biozole (misspelled?). Actually the same thing that conozole (misspelled?) does at a much lesser price. And TAC has over the years been getting such a supply from Thailand. And we're giving it to government hospitals where they're not getting access to conozole (misspelled?) though donations they had with the government. And it has, you know, done a lot of (unintelligible) for so many other people.

And I think what prompted that was we were giving so many people in the organization that were dying of (unintelligible) they couldn't get access to treatment. It has improved tremendously.

And then we've had our campaigns. Some of them were designed that people would go to them never get treated (unintelligible) South African government. And it was civil disobedience (unintelligible) where we said we're just going to occupy government (unintelligible) to take ourselves to the police station so we get arrested (unintelligible). And interrupting public meetings that the Minister was having in and around the country. And some of us had to (unintelligible). And we want to thank all our supporters here

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

for supporting us through the process of civil disobedience because I think we are where we are today and our South African government is even considering a rolling out program of anti retro virals because we took a stand against them. But we also got support from you guys and many other groups that couldn't make it today here.

And we are (unintelligible) point talking about how do we bring the price of drugs down. But we are saying to you we are closer to where policies are made. What are you saying about paragraph six of the declaration; so what do you think of how it could be (unintelligible). Because as much as we want to think it's a capitalist (unintelligible) for African centers of who are, I mean, (unintelligible) so we're asking that kind of support from you. We're saying let's encourage our government to involve themselves in (unintelligible) and get as much money as possible for the Global Fund so there's not only South African benefits from there but many other countries that need assistance can get access (unintelligible). I can go (unintelligible) but I would like to give the opportunity for Zackie to take over some (unintelligible) I might not have covered (unintelligible).

MR. ZACKIE ACHMAT: I hope she (unintelligible). Very, very difficult to be here; there's many of us here (unintelligible). Many people here have lost many people (unintelligible). It's always difficult to speak to people

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

about AIDS. But I want to speak about internationalism because that is the heart of everything we do (unintelligible). No, Cornelius made fun I think not of Nonkosi's age but of our age. But in our age we used to talk about internationalism and not globalization.

What does that mean? That means solidarity. Nonkosi mentioned the Pfizer donation or the Pfizer defiance campaign. But we don't have money at that time. We were poor and very poor struggling organization, still struggling, but we're not so poor.

Nonkosi mentioned that we went to Thailand and that we both made (unintelligible). One, noconozolecatchol (misspelled?) cost 18 U.S. dollars. We brought it back from Thailand at the price of less than 18 U.S. cents. That's what it costs. That was made possible by a range of international possibility. There are people who would come together to believe that all of us have the right to life and to dignity. But most important of those was a woman who donated money to us, Linda Dee, a Baltimore AIDS activist who said, ok, I'll find you five thousand dollars to get the money, to get the (unintelligible). And that helped us enormously in getting the drug.

That wasn't all. Metre (misspelled?) Sans Frontier, Doctors Without Borders, had a branch in Thailand. And they helped us find the bioequivalent studies that showed that the

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

medicine that we were going to bring into our country was safe and effective. That it wasn't a fake generic and it wasn't just a copy of a medicine that was going to do harm.

Many, many people contributed to that. I remember the Thai activists and meeting with them. They themselves had just been organizing against Bristol Meyers Squibb to ensure that people had access to stabudin (misspelled?) and bidenozene (misspelled?) drugs that you will know as D14 and BDI. We call them by their generic names because we don't want to promote any particular company.

But also while those people in Thailand were campaigning on BMS drugs, Bristol Meyers Squibb drugs, it was the work of people like Jaime Love (misspelled?) at consumer project on technology and other people like that who made all of us aware that those drugs, the invention, the research and development were the efforts of scientists and doctors at Yale University and the NIH. And that the drug companies had appropriate the fruits of other people's labor and were charging excessive prices, putting a huge price on life. And it was our duty to act against this.

And it was bringing together all that knowledge and making sure that it was not the preserve of lobbyists but the understanding of ordinary people on the ground; that it was work shopped in Cailitcha (misspelled?) (unintelligible) in Johannesburg, Soweto (misspelled?) where people could speak

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

about those things, people who ostensibly are denied the fruits of globalization. But I believe that those are the fruits of globalization operation working together internationally.

It allowed us over the last few years, all of us, and when I say us now I'm not speaking about that. I'm speaking of people sitting in this room. I see our colleague Jennifer Joney (misspelled?) who has deserted us. She's one of our best lawyers who ran away to the United States. You'd better come back home soon.

But you know all of us, what we have achieved is one of the most remarkable, one of the most remarkable victories against global corporate power. From four and a half thousand rands, which is more than 650 dollars a month, that is what our medicines used to cost. The average income of a South African family is less than 1,500. The average family is less than 1,500 rand a month. So four thousand five hundred rand was a lot of money.

Cornelius mentioned, thus does Edwin Cameron, I remember the days when he paid four and a half thousand rand a month for his medicine. And we as his friend had to try and get money for a judge because otherwise he would have to sell his house in order to stay alive. All of us and all our efforts have pushed back multi national power and achieved the possibility of the right to life for millions of people.

Today in our country these medicines, if our government

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

had the decency to act, these medicines would be available. I pay for them breaking the patent to the fact treatment project; I pay for them 43 dollars a month. But the Clinton Foundation, I see after one gets out of power one gets better, I don't think that there's hope for your current President after power.

But the Clinton Foundation has made it possible to get the same drugs at 11 dollars a month for the state sector. That says to me that it is not only poor countries that are suffering, that the people who are suffering most in this country, in the world are people in the United States and in Europe, suffering under the profiteering of the drug companies. And it is critical that all of us stand together and ensure that not only people living with HIV but that people, the old age pensioners, should not have to cross the Canadian or the Mexican border but that they should be able to get their medicines here free and affordable at an accessible price.

At the end of this year we are celebrating five years of PAC. Early next year we will be celebrating ten years of democracy in South Africa. It's a very important moment for all of us. It's one of the most exciting places in the world to live in not because we've got a dumb president but because we've got a vibrant society, a vibrant civil society because we've got an icon of democracy like Nelson Mandela not because we've got tact (misspelled?) but because we've got millions of poor people preparing and getting ready to vote; to use their

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

vote to change their lives.

And I believe as an ANC member that those of you who are ANC supporters and have been in the anti apartheid movement should say to yourselves that the ANC does not belong to Tavo (misspelled?) Mbeki. The ANC does not belong to anyone but the people of Salgofal (misspelled?) liberation, all of us. And that means that in transforming our society the most important task before us now is to save the lives of four to five million people.

In the last century 17 million African people, men, women and children, went to jail because of the past laws. Being in the right place at the wrong time people were arrested and put into jail, criminalized because they could not move the country of their birth.

Imagine a holocaust against poor people in which four or five million people die without access to medicine. It pains all of us enormously to have struggled against our government in this area. It's an enormous pain and it still is.

You imagine Wuinick (misspelled?) Peza (misspelled?), one of our first volunteers in PAC. She was a mother of three children. She had a lovely life in the early parts when there was no condoms and she had many things to do. She had HIV. She died on her night, one night, her dementia was so bad that she wrote 39 postcards to Pavo (misspelled?) Mbeki saying

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

please Mr. President, give AZT free to pregnant women. That lid, the next morning she was dead.

We had an enormous campaign that many of you will remember. It was a tragedy that we had to take our own government to the constitutional court to ensure that women have the right to have their children born without HIV. The same government who we had assisted, all of us together, people in this room, people beyond this room, to fight the drug companies and force the drug companies to withdraw from a court case against our government. That that government was denying women the right to choose in the same way as Bush Nonkosi mentioned, Bush is trying to limit women's rights to choose.

So we say that our constitution and our history of struggle because we are the children of govern Mbeki, we are the children of Walter Susulu (misspelled?) and of Braun (misspelled?) Fisher (misspelled?). We are the children of Nelson Mandela. We're the children of Luke Frist (misspelled?) and of Albertina Susulu (misspelled?). And we know what our rights are and what our constitution means to us.

So for all of us there's an enormous pride in what we have achieved as a country. I am going to vote ANC next year, not for Thabo Mbeki but for the history of the ANC and for the future of our country.

And where does tack (misspelled?) stand now as government is announcing a roll out? The biggest challenge we

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

have is to ensure that our campaign is to bold a people's health care service, to ensure that every person in our country has access not only to anti retro viral therapy but when you're a kid with asthma and you go to a clinic that there's oxygen there to ensure that nurses who previously had to see only one or two people die a year but now will see three or four people die every day; that those nurses are helped and assisted in every way. Our job is to help bold a people's health service because otherwise we will not get anti retro viral therapy properly.

The government will announce one anti retro viral program per district. The government has admitted that up to 500 thousand people to date need anti retro viral mixers. All of us here now that with the best political will in the world, and I promise you that means short in supply in South Africa, but the best political will in the world the government will not reach more than 150 thousand people over a year.

That means still that there's an enormous job for all of us to do to ensure that people have access to medicine. What is all of our role in this? Treatment action campaign; our job is to ensure treatment literacy.

I spoke to people this morning and said the example of people like gay men's health crisis, treatment action group and the work that they did in educating themselves is model to all of us people living with HIV to ensure that we know as much, if

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

not more than our doctors do, that we know about acyclovir, we know what TB drugs do, we know the shortage or the shortcomings of TB diagnostics, we know what a PCR test is, Nonkosi mentioned those.

But the challenge for us is to scale up treatment literacy programs. The challenge to us is to make sure our clinics work. But above all the challenge to us is to make sure our democracy in South Africa survives and thrives and to save the lives of four to five million people.

There's one appeal I want to make to all of you. Nonkosi mentioned that we had an enormous amount of death earlier this year. At the time of the civil disobedience campaign we (unintelligible) for the first time in our organization. That cost seven thousand members on our books. We have 110 branches across the country. By anyone's standards that's a small organization. We have enormous support throughout society but between the 20th of March when 600 people handed ourselves over for arrest and said arrest us or arrest our Health Minister, on that day, between that day and when we had our conference on the first of August more than 100 of our members died. More than 100 of our members died.

Most of them left children behind. Most of them died. Only one of them had access to medicines and she died of lactic acidosis which is a rare side effect that you get from anti retro viral therapy. She died from lactic acidosis because she

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

had to travel 60 kilometers to get to a doctor that would treat her because she couldn't go to a public healthcare facility because they were stopped from using anti retro viral therapy.

All our members died. We decided all those members of ours died; we decided to treat our members because government is not going to be able to treat everyone immediately. But we cannot create a class of deserving activists who get medicine and other people continue to die. So we say for every one PAC member that we treat we will treat one person in society; one person unrelated to PAC.

But what we want to appeal to you; in South Africa we're going to get 10 thousand people contribute 50 rand a month. But in Europe and in North America we want two thousand of you to give about ten dollars a month to help save the lives of activists and people unrelated to us. That is what you could (unintelligible).

But more importantly all of you and all of us have to continue working together to roll back the power that corporate have gotten over our lives, to reclaim democracy and not to let it die. It is a tragedy when a military, an actor, who espouses all the worst values of militarism, becomes the governor of the eighth biggest economy in the world. It's a tragedy when that happens. It means that we don't take our vote seriously. And it's critical that everyone here ensures that we have in the White House, in the Governor level, people

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

who are prepared to pursue peace, democracy, development throughout the world, people who are prepared to ensure that holocaust against poor people in the world is not used as an excuse to deny women the right to abortion in Africa, that it is not used to deny people the right to condoms in our country, and most of all that it is not used to make our country even more dependent on multi national corporations.

So for all of us we want to say thank you to everyone who has helped. And many of you we won't mention; many of you who we have probably just have forgotten in our over excited state. But from all of us really we want to say thank you for the work that you've done and for the work that you'll continue to do.

I want to add on one thing here. Michael is still with us and Larry mentioned that Michael works for the Kaiser Family Foundation. They've done enormous work in South Africa on health systems development. They fund a program called Love Life. That program is under attack. We attack it from the left; the Christian Fundamentalists attack it from the right. You know it's important thing there is that what all of us have to realize is that our prevention efforts have failed. Our prevention efforts have failed. It doesn't mean that condoms don't work. It means that there's few condoms. It means that we don't talk enough about sex. It believes that we don't realize enough that economic independence of women will go much

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

further than the condom does. It means that we don't realize enough that our messages of ABC are too simplistic, that when we say abstain it's a moral judgment, not an encouragement to young people who make the choices not to have sex when they don't want to.

And I say that coming from a country where young girls face rape on a daily basis in their schools, in their homes, in their workplaces and so on. And so the right to say no is not simply a question of the so called morality of abstinence but to create an environment where choice is possible. When we say be faithful it is the biggest killer of women in Africa and South Africa particularly. To say be faithful without saying be faithful with a condom is a huge mistake because the women who are most at risk today are the women who are in marriage who are being faithful but are being faithful without a condom.

The third one, so say simply condomize (misspelled?) without understanding how we need to change our sexual behavior, without understanding the methods of how we need to change our sexual behavior is a mistake. You can't take those fighter jets that you're use in Iraq and drop condoms on people just as much as it won't work to use those fighter jets to drop anti retro virals over (unintelligible).

But what I want to say, but what I want to say is that the real morality that all of us have to take our shoes and step into is to simply say that not to do harm to oneself and

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

not to do harm to others. Doesn't matter how many partner I have or who I sleep with. I'm a fag, I'm a gay man, proud of being a fag, I'm proud of being a gay man, I'm proud of my ex-boyfriend's committee and all those things.

That doesn't bother me. What bothers me is that I may have harmed someone. And what bothers me is that I should not harm anyone else. And it's critical that in all our sexual behavior that that is the morality that you need to carry across. And I would appeal to people of faith, because I'm not one of them, I would appeal to people of faith to develop a genuine morality and to deal with this epidemic. Because otherwise there's 600 deaths that we have in South Africa every day now; we're turning into the 1,500 new infections that we have every day now or turning to 1,500 (unintelligible).

So I appeal to everyone that in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America we have to stand together. Europe and North America we have to stand together. And I want to end by saying that the most important thing in this global age is internationalism of ordinary people working together, supported by good thinking philanthropists like Barry, like Michael, like many others. I wonder where Judy's hiding. She always hides. There she is in the back as usual.

And I want to say thank you to everyone. And I want you to give your support not simply to PAC but to every single organization struggling on a moral basis to ensure HIV

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

prevention and treatment. Thank you very much.

MALE VOICE 1: We have microphones around the room. And Zackie and Nonkosi have agreed to take questions. So head for the mikes if you have some.

FEMALE VOICE 1: Ok. First of all thanks very much both of you for coming here. I learned a lot from both of you. Could one or both of you speak about the role of the World Bank and the IMF and the economic policies either in South Africa or maybe more generally in Africa and the effect that that's having on the health care system and AIDS in particular?

MS. NONKOSI KHUMALO: We'll take as many questions as we can and then we'll just answer them later.

FEMALE VOICE 2: Yeah, I was wondering to what extent are you afraid that now that the South African government has agreed to start rolling out an anti retro viral campaign that (unintelligible), ok, now we have the success. People talk about the Ugandan success story. And I always worry about that. Because it makes it look like there's not a problem anymore. So how as activists do you (unintelligible) pressure up now that you've (unintelligible)?

MALE VOICE 3: Yes, I wanted to congratulate you guys (unintelligible) on the good work you guys are doing. My question is the argument that was booked by the William Jameson Clinton Foundation and also several arguments or several discussion going on right now at the WTO have a lot of

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

restriction and regulation and rules; is the TAC working a long term plan just, you know, to address this regulation? Or what is the strategy that you guys are using to address those, you know, short term solutions, so called solutions?

MALE VOICE 4: (Unintelligible) the Russian office of Africa. The United States is as you know currently engaged in negotiations with the Southern African Customs Union Countries. And I'm particularly concerned given the precedents of recent agreements between the U.S. and Chile and Singapore that the U.S. is really insisting upon some standards with regard to patenting that will make it even more difficult with the access to affordable medicines. My question is you know are you engaged in this issue? What, it's very secretive here in the United States, how much are you informed and if you are engaged how might we be in solidarity with you on this? Thank you.

MALE VOICE 5: I was wondering if you could say something about the cultural and historical roots based annihilism (misspelled?)? Particularly if you could talk a little about homophobia in South African context? And I'm also wondering if you've had a chance to talk to organizations fighting homophobia in this country, and success in bringing a message to those groups about the importance of a global epidemic and working to fight the global epidemic?

MS. NONKOSI KHUMALO: Ok. In respect (unintelligible) I think I will take, ok two questions. One on (unintelligible)

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

role in the context of (unintelligible). I think I will briefly look at the issues of homophobia in South Africa and what has been our experience. But it's going to be a personal, I think, account on such an issue in South Africa.

One; I think you the speaker who raised the question on the Ugandan prevention and treatment issues on HIV and AIDS and mentioned a very critical point in terms of things being hid away at some point and us thinking that everything is good and glory in terms of provision of, I mean, access to healthcare services for people. And I just want to, I think, dwell a little bit on that.

And so many times we have also been under attack. I've been told in Uganda it has been the ABC strategy but we have so many times fall short of accounting for many deaths that have been before the epidemic (unintelligible) at some point. And that it's not as if it was just under control in Uganda. People died first in Uganda. And they started managing the epidemic as such. And we want to acknowledge that they have done tremendous work in terms of political will in terms of politicians taking a role and leadership in terms of giving out messages around prevention of HIV and AIDS and maybe also starting discussing possibilities of treatment programs for people.

And it's going to be an issue in South Africa as well. It's been an issue everywhere else in the world. They have

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

always been under pretense that once treatment is available for people then it's the end of it all. And I think that one should take into account just the possibility to say if this is what we've advocated for, for many, many years, it is still our responsibility to make sure that it happens and that it happens in the proper and I think in a structured way as well that allows people to engage in it.

And we do not want to see a situation where the people do not adhere to the medicines because they do not know what they take it with. They are toxic; they're not nice to deal with if you do not use them properly. And I think the role of TAC through it's treatment program is to take forward a message to people the importance of taking their medicines and taking them in time and understanding what the side effects are and how do you deal with them. But also educating people at a broader level on the issues around not only treatment; how do you treat yourself but also prevent and new infection. And I think we have so many structures in place that it's time to put up at the moment we deal with the situation as it comes.

It's been a treatment literacy program has been the backbone of TAC's work over the years. And we, at this point in time, trying to strengthen it even more. So just in short it's not going to be the end of TAC and TAC activism I mean in the field of provision of treatment. There's still so much more that we want to do in that regard.

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

And then coming to the issue of homophobia; I was talking to, who I was talking to this morning, it might have been I think Joe or somebody when we were having lunch that when I first went to Capetown I seriously had serious problems with gay and lesbians. Because where I grew up in Durbin (misspelled?) there was just no visibility of gays and lesbians. So when I went to Capetown I had to stay with Zackie's sister who has a partner who's a female. Now I didn't know that before I went in. So on my first night Medi (misspelled?) came back home and here I was at home already. So I'm waiting for the partner that I've been told about all day long. And when the partner arrives it's a female. And I'm saying, hmmm, now this I do not know enough. I don't think I would actually cope with it.

Now that's part number one. Then I went to David following day. Zackie was gay. Nathan was gay. The (unintelligible) was gay. Everybody on the staff is gay. And I was thinking well I don't know what am I supposed to be (unintelligible). At home we play and we say homosexuality is not the way to be. Now I am surrounded with this whole gays and lesbians in the office. I don't know how to breathe. I don't know how to behave. I'm not sure whether I should smile or be saved.

But what has happened I think and I think it's all about being open minded about issues. It's all about

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

understanding that there is not description of a self. And so the fact that I am me, me is personal to just myself. And then not to be judgmental to the next person. But also it's a whole movement I think in South Africa but most importantly in Capetown where it's not just an issue there by day but there's a lot of activity in terms of raising the profile of gays and lesbians in the city, but also in South Africa.

And to say there's nothing wrong with being gay and there's nothing wrong with being lesbian. I am such a liberated person now. I'm so happy to meet with the fags (unintelligible). But he can talk more about maybe his experiences in the U.S. and homophobia issues. That was just my personal story around homophobia.

MR. ZACKIE ACHMAT: I think that the question of the World Bank and the IMF is critical. Because we live in an era in which the crisis of quality is the crisis of representation at the global level. How do we as ordinary people, how are we represented by institutions such as the United Nations, the Global Fund, the World Bank, the U.N. IMF and so on? And how do we hold those institutions accountable?

And I think the first place I want to start is that the World Bank, the statute adjustment programs of the 1980's and early 90's destroyed our health care systems (unintelligible) in Uganda. Uganda people started changing user fees for the first time when they came to power. Now as you know South

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

Africa has been one of the best pupils of the World Bank and IMF despite the fact that we don't own the money. And to prevent that we have a wily old fox who was our first president. And when he came to power the first thing he did is he said women and children will have free access to all our clinics. And that's, of course, undermined the World Bank's attempts to pressurize them to deal with it.

And many people don't realize that that was a reaction on the pressures to charge user fees at our clinics and so on. Now it's very important that we engage the World Bank at every level; in the streets, in as much as we can, marches and so on. It's also very important that we engage them from within, that we talk to them and we ensure.

The IMF is not the same. The IMF is a much more evil institution. It's much more closed. It's much more unable, we much, it's not possible to engage with them at this stage. So I really believe that we need to put the greatest pressure on the IMF to ensure that countries; let me give you an example. In Uganda their Global Fund money was delayed by more than nine months. Why? Because if they took it they would go through the ceiling of what was available to them, of the amount of money they could spend on health.

So the Finance Minister said to them you're not allowed to take this money. Or if you take it I'm going to have to take away your health care budget.

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

So these are the conditionalities (misspelled?) that these institutions place on us. So it's critical that people here and all of us need to be aware of those conditionalities and fight against them. So I would, I understand fully the difficulties that we face with them.

I think that very often we as activists only do the shouting on it. We don't do our homework, our research homework and so on. And that is the critical part that needs to inform all our work. That without decent science, without decent research, without decent homework we can't win the argument.

It's not good enough to shout about 600 people a day are dying. You have to have the answer of what it's going to cost to treat them. You have to have the answer if it costs too much how you're going to bring the prices down.

So those are the critical things that we need to look at. On the issues of the cultural roots of annihilation (misspelled?) and waiting for the comrade or the friend or the colleague is going to ask me now why has President Mbeki taken this stand?

And I'm sure anyone who had that question on their mind; there are a few people here with that question on their mind. I think homophobia played a small part in it because the literature president to President Clinton and the letter to the world leaders on HIV said what is the similarity between gay

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

men in San Francisco and New York and African people? Why should the epidemic only be high among them but not among heterosexuals in North America and Europe?

So there was a tinge of homophobia. But I would believe that it goes much deeper than that. The stand of our government previously, the denialism (misspelled?) of our government, it stands on a number of legs. The first one I would say is the perception that our president and many of his circle of people have, as nationalists, of how Africa is viewed by the West. That we are a continent that only keeps its hands outstretched for beggar dollars. That we are a continent diseased; that we are a continent of poverty that we are an incontinent continent only capable of being promiscuous. And that that was the material basis that informed the denialism (misspelled?). One of the material basis.

The second place, and I'm not a conspiracy theorist so you don't have to worry, the second place is when Thabo Mbeki was Deputy President in our country he was on the bi-national commission with Al Gore. And Alex Erwin, our minister of Trade and Industry was there. And the two of them were on the U.S. bi-national commission when Clinton and Gore put South Africa on the trade watch list. Sanctions against South Africa because of our (unintelligible) Act.

And that made him realize the power of the drug companies. And of course he wanted to do something and he

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

didn't want to. And if you remember at that time it cost four and a half thousand rand to treat a person. And that figure was stuck in our Minister of Health.

Let me quickly tell you something about our Minister of Health. She got her medical degree in Leningrad. Now many of you will know that Leningrad was the heart of the Russian revolution, the Stalin was over, then it became Moscow. But she got her medical degree in Leningrad. And there are two medical things that you learn in Leningrad. The first one is party loyalty; the second one is party loyalty. So that's the medicine she learned in Leningrad.

Now the question about our Minister of Health and everyone; they repeat it like a mantra that it cost four thousand people, four thousand rand a month to treat people. And that to treat four million people times four thousand rand a month would bankrupt the country, never mind the health (unintelligible).

Now there are obviously mistakes and deliberate obfuscation and distortions in those things. But the economic questions, the cultural questions, the homophobia and all that was what underlies and continue to underlie the HIV denialism (misspelled?). In fact people, Michael mentioned that we have thousands of people who prepare to be open living with HIV. But Nonkosi will be able to tell you the number of middle class people like myself who prepare to be open about our HIV status

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

you can count on the fingers of one hand.

The people who are open about their HIV status are working class and very poor people. And so Peter Mukaba (misspelled?), one of the most remarkable youth leaders of the ANC in the 80's, died of AIDS, died of AIDS related illnesses. But no one was prepared to speak about it publicly. No one was prepared to speak about it publicly.

The ANC's opposition, the IFP, their youth leader Tim Bakoza (misspelled?), died of AIDS related illnesses. No one, everyone spoke about cost, about the fact that he'd infected women. But no one was prepared to speak openly about the fact that he had HIV.

Nelson Mandela and President Mbeki's spokesperson, (unintelligible) Kashlana (misspelled?), died of Aids related illnesses. And he was made to make the worst denialist phrases just before his death. Now you imagine the pain and the stigma that that puts not only on those people but on all people in South Africa living with HIV when your president and your government won't give your illness a name.

And so I think that the root of denial go very, very deep. And it's something that's, I think, all of us need to continue to challenge. But I always say to people there's something worse than Thabo Mbeki's position. It is the hypocrisy of Tony Blair, of the European Union, of George Bush who have the money and the ability and know that the medicines

¹ kaisernetwork.org makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of written transcripts, but due to the nature of transcribing recorded material and the deadlines involved, they may contain errors or incomplete content. We apologize for any inaccuracies.

work but invent every obstacle including absolved of capacity and all those sorts of things in order to prevent people getting access to medicines and in order to prevent spending the money that is necessary to ensure that people have the right to life and dignity.

MALE VOICE 1: Thank you Zackie and Nonkosi for being with us. Again, let's show our appreciation one more time. Thank you.

And Cornelius thanks for being with us. Michael Sinclair and everyone at the Kaiser Family Foundation, my colleagues at Desa (misspelled?) Douglas and Joe Wilson and Judy Blair and all the people who put this program together. And I don't see that they're in the room but two of the best event people in the city, Scott Sanders and Jeff Travers of High Noon Communications who took care of this whole event from the time that our guests arrived last night and thank all of you for being with us. Thank you.

[END OF RECORDING]