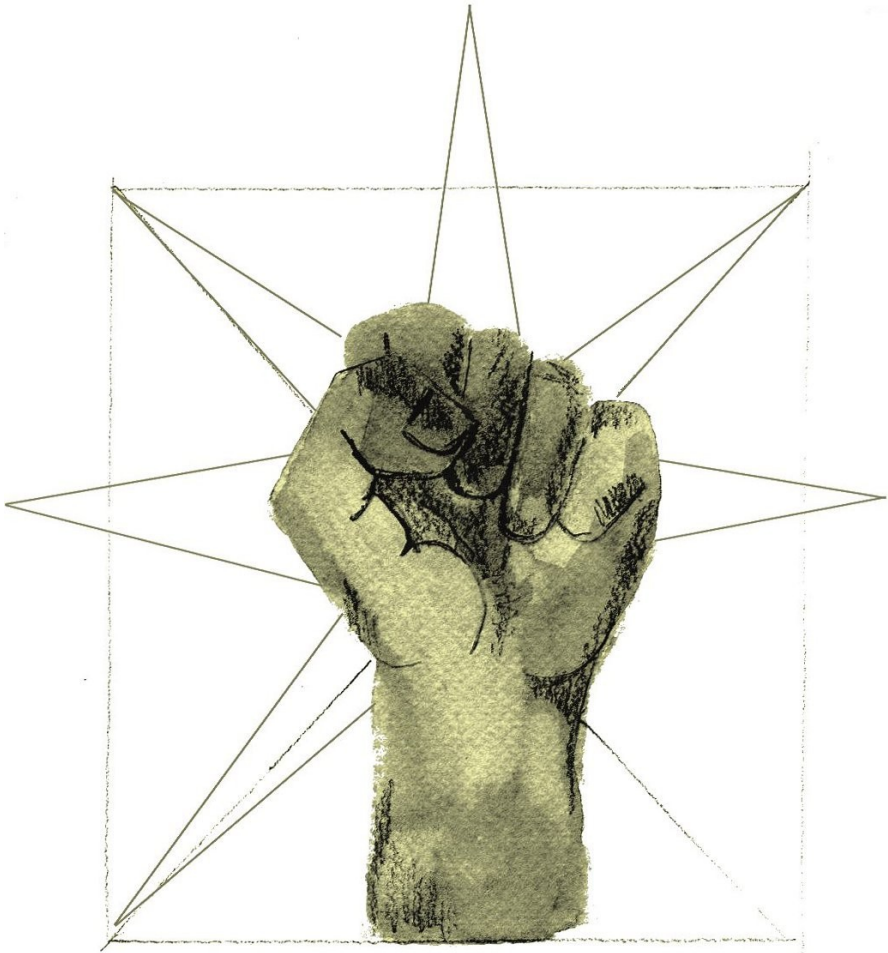


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Great Speeches of Africa's Liberation

AFRICAN YEARBOOK OF RHETORIC

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AFRICARHETORIC PUBLISHING

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Foreword

This volume is the outcome of a project funded by South Africa's National Research Foundation (NRF, Grant 65885). It is the result of teamwork, lead by the present editor, with graduate students in rhetoric and selected senior contributors.

The overarching brief of the project was to collect, authenticate and publish key speeches that have impelled, accompanied or celebrated Africa's liberation from colonialism and access onto "the world's stage", as Hegel would, and did say. Collection was arduous and authentication even more so. This writer recalls a despairing afternoon in Maputo when he searched the derelict and deserted building that used to be the propaganda office of the erstwhile liberation movement of Mozambique. A few dusty shelves. Old pamphlets of the 1970s. Nothing *in situ* left of the eloquence of a Mondlane or a Machel. It is surprising to see how ill kept are print and audio archives of Africa's liberation, if kept at all; how disinterested, puzzled and unresponsive are many communication offices of national governments.

Most speeches that have survived in print are curious or melancholic remains from propaganda bureaux when ideology held sway: they served then a purpose for action, but they serve today little purpose for scholarship. Copyright issues and the aporia of public domain complicate matters further with a fair degree of uncertainty regarding the status of speeches from revolutionary sources or from defunct régimes. Of course, as is often the case the Internet reproduces, disseminates and affirms speeches that are fraudulent copies, while the loss of reliable print material is compounded by social networking naivety which, nonetheless, is indicative of a genuine hunger for knowing. Indeed Dr. Colin Darch who contributes the Mondlane chapter and has produced, with Dr. David Hedges, a translation of a momentous speech by Samora Machel, has been collecting and preserving books of Africa, salvaging from the decolonisation era and, as some would put it, recent recolonisation, all that can be saved on a continent where, says Doris Lessing in her Nobel Lecture, exists "a hunger for books from Kenya down to the Cape of Good Hope". Alas not for speeches that determined Africa's destiny. A massive and urgent work beyond the scope of this project must be done to preserve this momentous epoch in Africa's political oratory. This is our first contribution to this task and the NRF must be thanked for its support. A further instalment is planned for 2012.

For this first publication we have put together a collection of speeches which, in their own time and not merely in our warped perceptions, or nostalgic desires, provoked a political tremor, defined a moment, projected a vision (up to the early 1960s). Some of these momentous speeches will not be known to English-speaking readers who are more used to look at Africa through the lens of the "Cape to Cairo" tunnel vision, and they will possibly discover what can be termed "Latin Africa", that is, the liberatory oratory from lands colonised by France, Italy and Portugal. Southern Europe settled first

Africa, in a geopolitical logic that goes back to Roman times.

The first speech is possibly the earliest to articulate clearly and irrevocably a need for liberation; it was delivered in 1836 by Emir Abd-el-Kader. It is reproduced here in French since the *African Yearbook of Rhetoric* takes pride in its multilingualism. Readers will discover the first authentic transcript of Patrice Lumumba's indictment of Belgium's rule. They will read, as it was delivered and not redacted, Macmillan's "Wind of change" speech which as paradoxical as it may seem belongs to this collection. Addresses by Haile Selassie, Mohammed V, Kaunda, Mondlane and Machel complete this unusual and compelling first collection of the great speeches of Africa's liberation.

In the course of this project and in a variety of capacities graduate students at the Centre for Rhetoric Studies, at the University of Cape Town, have been involved, and their contributions are acknowledged: Jonathan Bain, Garreth Bloor, Wishal Jappie, Jessica Jenkin, Bridget Kwindu, Philippa Levenberg, Lindiwe Mazibuko, Lethiwe Nkosi and Tobie Taljaard.

In addition experts have been brought in: Professor Abdelhai Azarkan (University of Fes, Morocco) helped secure hard to find Moroccan sources; Dr. Mohamed Shahid Mathee (University of Johannesburg) translated from the Arabic; Dr. Colin Darch (University of Cape Town) and Dr. David Hedges (Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo) offered their signal expertise on sources in Portuguese. Specific authorships are recognized at the end of each chapter. Brett Syndercombe took charge of a fair share of archival research and editorial management.

We also acknowledge help from the Librarian of the Parliament of South Africa.

The Editor, acting as the project's principal investigator, coordinated teamwork, undertook research and designed this volume.

The Editor.

Emir Abd-el-Kader: The proclamation of 1836

The opening speech for this collection will take many by surprise. Its date, 5 February 1836. Its content, a call for liberatory jihad. Its orator, a man whose name and international prestige held at the time the same resonance as Nelson Mandela's in the late twentieth century. Emir Abd-el-Kader (1808-1883) raised the flag of the Holy War against the French who were themselves unsettling the Ottoman occupants from the coastal regencies of what would eventually become modern Algeria. An Islamic scholar, a war leader, an orator, Abd-el-Kader sought to bring to fruition an Arab sultanate in Algeria, in a balance of power between the colonising French, the Moroccan Empire, the marauding tribes that refused any form of central power, and the Ottoman loyalists. In defeat (1847) his prestige only grew and he became the embodiment, in the orientalist imagination of Europe, of the Noble Arab, the scholar-warrior, and an ally of sorts in Europe's Realpolitik of colonisation and the dismantling of the Sublime Porte. He is credited for having inspired Napoleon III with his "politique arabe", or, the integration of Algeria into France. In 1860, while living in dignified exile in Damascus, he took up arms to stop the massacre of its Christian community by Sunnis. It is hard to imagine, today, the world-wide prestige Abd-el-Kader enjoyed in the mid-nineteenth century.

In 1836, four years after he had been recognized as leader of the Arabs in the region, and just a year before the Treaty of Tafna whereby the French acknowledged his emirate over the historical core of modern day Algeria, Abd-el-Kader delivered a proclamation to rally forces, addressed to the city-fortress of the Figig (a Berber stronghold in today's eastern Morocco) and, through them, to the militia from the Sahara. The Emir routinely used letters to his counterparts in Egypt, Syria, Morocco, requests to the doctors of the faith in the holy city and Coranic university of Fes, proclamations and the traditional Friday sermon as well as war harangues to support his cause and, notably, to give it an international face.

Indeed, the war harangue is a standard of Islamic oratory: its models are, among others, the proclamation before the battle of Yarmouk (636) when Muslim forces defeated the troops of Emperor Heraclius south of the Golan Heights, or Tarik's harangue as he was about to invade Gothic Spain in 711. They are linked to the good works inherent to the propagation of the faith, or jihad, mixing the extolment of violence with the blandices of piety, resorting to poetic prose and scriptural references. This harangue goes a long way to explain, or illustrate how a rhetorical tradition can be maintained across time, from the Prophet's Quran (especially Surah At-Tawbah, 9) or Ali's eloquent addresses down to Osama Bin Laden's proclamations. Abd-el-Kader's proclamation ushered in Africa's liberatory eloquence.

Source

“Une proclamation de l’émir Abdelkader aux habitants du Figuig en 1836”, *Revue africaine* LVII, 1913, pp. 246-264 (the manuscript and its translation were established and introduced by an officer-interpreter, L. Gognalons). The text given here reproduces the French original with minor orthographic corrections; original notes have been abbreviated or revised.

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Osama Bin Laden, *Messages to the World*, Bruce Lawrence, ed. (London: Verso, 2005).



Au nom de Dieu Clément, Miséricordieux! Que Dieu répande ses bénédiction sur notre Seigneur et Maître Mohammed, sur sa famille, et leur accorde le salut!

A tous les représentants de l'autorité des ksour¹ Figuigiens et aux membres de leurs assemblées, gens doctes et nobles chérifs. Aux notables et chefs dirigeants!

Que Dieu vous fasse prospérer dans le présent et l'avenir! Qu'il guide votre jugement sur dans la voie orthodoxe et vous couvre des marques de sa protection en gloire et majesté!

Que le salut adressé à vos éminentes assemblées s'étende sur vos demeures inviolables et les pare des signes de la vénération la plus éclatante, accompagné de la miséricorde et des bénédiction divines, tant que s'élèveront au firmament les étoiles scintillant de leurs feux étincelants!

Certes, le courroux de l'Islam est mérité justement par vos pareils et les manifestations de la colère divine sont bien dues à vos actes et à vos paroles. Comment en serait-il autrement, lorsque l'ennemi, l'infidèle (puisse Dieu lui faire subir la pire des humiliations!), parcourt en tous sens le pays des

¹ Fortified villages.

Musulmans et s'y répand avec audace, mettant tous ses efforts à détruire leurs villes et leurs bourgades, sans en épargner les lieux saints consacrés aux prières habituelles des matins et des soirs!

Son aiguillon atteint douloureusement le plus proche comme le plus éloigné (d'entre eux); ses armées remportent des victoires sur les plus illustres (combattants de la foi), qu'ils soient réduits à sa merci ou qu'ils refusent de se soumettre. Il met en œuvre tous ses mauvais desseins et sa perfidie dans toute l'étendue de leur pays et répand sur la lumière de l'Islam les ténèbres de sa nuit, à tel point, que le blanc rayonnement de son aube n'est pas éloigné de s'obscurcir.

Et cependant, quels efforts n'avons-nous pas faits pour le repousser à maintes reprises, engageant avec lui de fréquents combats, en lutte ouverte ou sourde, tels que nous avons rompu nos lances qui s'en sont trouvées souillées de sang jusqu'aux poignées, combats au cours desquels les plus valeureux de nos héros ont vu se terminer leurs jours et les cavaliers épuisés perdre leurs forces debout sur leurs étriers.

Nous ne cessons de lutter, prenant tour à tour l'offensive ou restant sur la défensive, jusqu'au jour où, les combattants d'avant-garde seront anéantis et où les plus intrépides de nos guerriers auront disparu dans la mêlée.

Aussi craignons-nous que la situation ne devienne plus grave et ne s'étende désastreusement d'une région à l'autre. Nous désirons donc, en faisant appel à votre jugement sain, sûr garant de succès, et à vos décisions avisées et pures, vous voir ranimer chez vos frères leur énergie inébranlable et les engager jusqu'au dernier à resserrer leurs rangs étendus. "Le croyant doit être envers le croyant comme se comportent les différentes parties d'un édifice qui sont solidement soudées les unes aux autres et se tiennent entre elles. Les Musulmans sont semblables à un seul corps, dont toutes les parties souffrent à la fois lorsque l'un de ses membres ressent une douleur. Il n'est de véritable croyant que celui qui désire pour son frère ce qu'il souhaite pour lui-même, car Dieu n'accorde son assistance à son serviteur qu'autant que celui-ci prête son appui à son semblable. Le Musulman est le frère du Musulman".²

Prêtez-vous mutuellement appui, animés du dévouement et de la crainte de Dieu! Les Musulmans ne sont-ils pas tous frères? Ô croyants! Qu'avez-vous donc, lorsqu'au moment où l'on vous dit: "Allez combattre dans la voie de Dieu! Vous vous êtes montrés lourds et comme attachés à la terre?"³

² Unreferenced hadith (editor's note).

³ Quran, 9:38 (editor's note).

Ceci dit, il est nécessaire que vous donniez à chacun son dû plutôt que de vous laisser attirer par les affaires humaines.

Quant à la lutte pour repousser les Infidèles (que Dieu les confonde!) qu'elle soit toute dans la persévérance et dans une liaison intime entre vous, soutenus par l'espoir d'obtenir l'une des deux belles destinées: la victoire ou le martyr, et la récompense suprême d'un bonheur ineffable pour le cœur des créatures humaines.⁴ — Or voire noble connaissance n'est pas sans ignorer ce qui a été révélé à ce sujet par les enseignements du Qôran et les paroles du Prophète!

Votre belle ardeur et votre conduite disciplinée se retrouveront dans l'emploi que vous ferez de vos capacités expérimentées, en plus de la dure leçon que vous infligerez aux infidèles. Toute votre force consistera dans la masse compacte de vos contingents aguerris; leur valeur s'est suffisamment fait connaître de nous d'après la façon dont elle a su inscrire vos actions méritoires et élogieuses et vos exploits glorieux, à l'époque des faits d'Oran et de ses combats.

C'est pourquoi nous souhaitons ardemment de vos sentiments les plus purs de vous voir réunir vos forces et de mettre toute votre ardeur à nous aider de vos fantassins et de vos cavaliers; nous acquerrons ainsi la récompense spirituelle et temporelle et mériterons dans le lieu du séjour éternel une place élevée.

Votre arrivée aura lieu, s'il plaît à Dieu, à la fin de la fête du Sacrifice, après que vos chefs seront venus nous trouver pour nous concerter sur les moyens à employer et les préparatifs nécessaires pour atteindre au but que nous nous proposons, comme nous l'attendons de vous.

De la façon de répondre à notre cri de détresse et de déférer à notre appel (dépendra) la cohésion de ce rassemblement colossal et bien ordonné des Musulmans dont la raison d'être est tout entière basée sur une même expression et fondue en une seule personne.

Si donc vous vous imposez le sacrifice de satisfaire à nos désirs, quelle belle action vous accomplirez là!

Commencez à faire vos préparatifs et tenez-vous prêts en vous mettant sur le pied de guerre, avec chevaux, armes et tentes. N'envisagez que ce qui doit le plus vous préoccuper des dogmes de votre foi religieuse.

⁴ Quran, 9:52 (editor's note).

Qu'aucun de vos héros ne reste en arrière, tant cavaliers que fantassins!

Si, au contraire, il arrivait que vous vous contentiez seulement de jeter les yeux sur ce message, et que vous ne déférez pas à l'appel de Dieu, notre devoir ne nous en a pas moins dicté l'obligation de le faire. Notre compte sera réglé par Dieu entièrement; c'est de Dieu dont nous implorons le secours et en qui nous mettons notre confiance. Je ne cherche d'assistance qu'en Dieu auquel je me remets de toute chose et auprès duquel je retournerai. Il n'y a de véritable force et puissance qu'en Dieu, le Très-Haut et Tout-puissant! Que Dieu répande ses bénédictions sur notre Seigneur Mohammed, sur sa famille et leur accorde le salut!



Introduced and revised by Ph.-J. Salazar and transcribed by Tobie Taljaard.

Mohammed V: The Tangiers speech

Seen through the myopic lenses of colonial and post-colonial English history of oratory, the stature of Mohammed V, the Cherifian emperor and sultan of Morocco (1909-1961) is a blur. However when on 10 April 1947 he addressed the crowds in Tangiers, still an International Zone recently evacuated by Spain, the impact of the Discours de Tanger was felt immediately throughout the troubled region, right up to Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, and of course the French Empire — impelled by the fact Arabic is an international language in spite of its dialectical variations, and because Arabic rhetoric responds, across borders, to recognisable forms of address by and large rooted in the Quran and its subsequent traditions.

The Islamic leader who extolled decolonisation in polished yet irrevocable terms and was soon to be deposed and sent into exile (1953), spoke with an oratorical authority that stemmed from two sources. On the one hand, he was a direct descendant of the Prophet through Fatima, and was regarded by his people, and often referred to by France as Caliph or Commander of the Faithful — in the Arab West (the Maghreb) he held the same prestige once vested on the Ottoman ruler in the East. In fact, the day following the speech, acting as imam he personally led the hebdomadary prayer by delivering a second speech, a Friday homily, a rare occasion but indicative of his religious and even doctrinal authority. The homily was a call to 'Arab unity' across obediences, a direct reference to the newly founded Arab League. On the other hand, Mohammed V was the inheritor of a monarchy that, until the Reconquista, practically held sway over Andalusian Spain and gave Islam some of its greatest philosophers — Averroes (Ibn Rushd) — as well as the revered theological Al-Karaouine University (founded in 859). The State of Morocco, contrary to the Arab lands to its east, had maintained its independence ever since its Islamic foundation, twelve hundred years before, both from Christian powers and the Ottoman caliphate. The French protectorate was recent (1912-1956) and the main colonial power (as opposed to the Spanish rule of peripheral territories, some still under Madrid's dominion today) remained all along aware and respectful of the dignity of the Cherifian monarchy. Mohammed V spoke therefore with the dual authority of a 'well-guided' sovereign and the sovereign of a State that in the seventeenth century was treated on an equal footing by Louis XIV, the embodiment of an interrupted political and theological tradition.

It is this long culture of independence that also made Mohamed V a liberatory leader in Africa. After his return in 1955, the Arab monarch whom General De Gaulle had made a Companion of Liberation for having sided with France and not Germany, threw his weight behind another liberation, the decolonisation of Africa; he supported Patrice Lumumba and was a key actor

of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Tangiers Speech precipitated North Africa's decolonisation by giving it a voice, a programme and a vision.

Source

Umar Baha al-Din al-Amiri, Tangiers, printed at the expense of the compiler, no date. The *Discours de Tanger* (as it is usually referred to) has never been published before in any language other than its original Arabic and in an official French translation. This translation contains, at the very end, an added sentence, written by the French Governor General ("Seek your inspiration from the French, friends of freedom that sets this country on the path of prosperity and progress"). Mohammed V refused to read it aloud, which precipitated the dismissal of the Governor General and ultimately the deposition of the Sultan.

There is a private, truncated, film recording of the speech viewable at: http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x12nu_discours-tanger-1947_people .

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All praises are due to God only. Salutations and peace be upon the Messenger of God. Of the bounties which only perpetual gratitude can fulfil as an obligation is the bounty of coming together between hearts that unites their presence, purified their [mutual] love, and renders sincere their work for God. Such is the description of the believers of whom our Lord (exalted He is in His might) says, "Indeed, the friends of God, will have no fear nor shall they grieve; those who believe and who used to revere [their Lord]. To them are given glad tidings in this life and the Hereafter; there is no substitute for the words of God and that is the tremendous victory".

The believer is distinguished from the rest of humanity by his or her complete certainty, contentment of soul, depending on his Lord in his movements and stationary moments, during moments of happiness and difficult times. He knows that God the exalted made clear to him all that He made obligatory upon him and in order to discharge it with complete certainty that the Creator

(exalted He be) does not cause to go to waste the reward of the one who works righteously. Therefore, it remains for us to purify our work after strengthening our certainty [of God's promise] and resolve so we may turn out to be true believing servants of God.

Muslims have been overwhelmed by terrors to the utmost degree; the hand of misfortunes has hurled them around with catastrophic results. Knowledge used to be the spring of illumination between us, the beauty of secrets, but we discarded it until our paths became darkened, and our confusion was increased and entrenched through ignorance. Justice was firmly established in our dwelling, disseminated throughout the breath of the courtyards of our lands available to all: the sedentary and the Bedouin; all the servants of God enjoyed it. But we strayed from the straight path until darkness and oppression pervaded our presence and dwellings and transformed into the suppression and oppression of the rights of our principles. Kindness and good were the order among the sedentary and the Bedouins. Extreme generosity and spending in the way of good held sway until avarice and niggardliness took possession of souls and polluted them.

We are the cause of our misfortune that allowed the winds of division to scatter us. The calamities that descended on us were not confined to rifts of the *mashriqi*¹ from the *maghribi*,² but have extended to ripping apart the oneness of the land that used to compete with other lands in its national unity and consolidation. So much so that a man became estranged from his brother, migrating from his place of birth never to visit it again by any means possible.

Through our tremendous heedlessness we squandered the most noble of rights. The unity of our lands was torn asunder because of all the disrespect we sowed and reaped on it. Also we spent the days of our lives in grieving and sadness and were scattered on all important matters. But the Master, Exalted He be, showed us mercy with His guiding inspiration when He granted us sovereignty over these lands. We endeavoured to the utmost of our ability to remedy these circumstances, showing the path to the secret of success, in the now and the future, guided by the teachings of our righteous religion which unites between the hearts of Muslims and guides the Muslim Arab nation to mutual assistance, solidarity and succour. With the establishment of that noble league, which strengthened the bonds between Arabs wherever they are found, enabled their kings and leaders in the [Arab] East and [Arab] West to unite in action and in directing their forward march toward religious

¹ Arabs of the Middle East (editor's note).

² Arabs of the Western Arab World, that is North Africa (editor's note).

guidance, Islamic glory, and Arab honour, we undertook the task to retrieve our bygone glory with all our efforts, by awakening the innermost self, guiding consciences, maturing ideas, and enlightening minds.

And since we knew that this nation's life is contingent upon what its noble predecessors contributed, we took it on our shoulders to disseminate knowledge, both the traditional and the modern. Through the former to adorn our souls and minds with the lights of faith and high moral standards. Through the latter to acquire the means of forward movement through all paths of progress and development and livelihood. Then, by the grace of Allah and His complete assistance, everyone began to live the good results of education armed with ambition to increase their activity of disseminating it widely. Schools were built where Moroccan youth received the seeds of virtue; on the horizons of guidance the happy dawns of felicity began to sparkle. The nation awoke, alert to its rights and treading the most beneficial of paths toward its glory and honour.

However, what a difference there is between what the nation achieved on that path and its final aim; that achievement was only in the beginning of the efforts and it was vital for the nation to sacrifice more before celebrating its happy achievements. Then if the squandering of a Right is the result of the silence of its people, a Right will never be lost when it is upheld by one who demands it. The Rights of the Moroccan nation are not squandered and will never be squandered. For we — by the bounty of God and His assistance — are alert and vigilant for the preservation of the existence of the fatherland, working for the guarantee of its glorious and bright future, and moving in order to achieve this wish that awakens the heart of every Moroccan.

It is our simple duty never to weaken in resolve and seriousness in pursuing praiseworthy endeavours indispensable to and necessary for the national homeland. We remain tirelessly persevering to realize our ambition of preserving our past glory and achieving new progress.

In order to cover all regions and areas of Morocco placed under our complete sovereignty, firmly standing in directing all its affairs as evidence of our beautiful care, we visited at every given occasion all its provinces and territories, from West to East.

The time thus is right for us to visit Tangiers, a capital city, whose position in Morocco we equate to the crown in regard to the parting of the hair. Tangiers is the gateway to Morocco's commerce, the pivot of its diplomacy,³ the

³ Since the eighteenth century and the establishment of numerous Western consulates

outstanding characteristic of its luminous beauties, the most beautiful preface to our glorious history,⁴ built in the early eras of the history of humanity. As long as Morocco blossoms with and takes pride with Tangiers's greatness.

So we renewed with this visit the covenant of the visit made by our sainted grandfather Moulay Hassan to remove it from its very heedlessness of slumber.

Therefore we made its blessed presence a priority to inspect its preserved affairs, bringing to its shores the glad tidings of care and escorting to its population clear evidences of consideration and supervision that they may know they are in the first row of our sincere and loyal subjects and the distinguished vanguard of the forces of reinforcement among workers. We came as a loving and caring father to attend to all of Tangiers's concerns and visit all its areas. A father who is deeply committed to all the duties incumbent upon him and is ready to execute them in order to soothe his conscience, please his Lord. [A father who] raises up with his country in a way that retrieves for it its past glory and the necessary ambitions it must nurture to regain its Rights and to endeavour toward progress that will place the entire Morocco as a whole⁵ among the league of countries and most civilized and refined nations.

On this we made our covenant with Allah and towards which we pledged all our talents and resources. We await very soon the result of the conference which will be convened to reflect and deliberate on Tangiers's concerns hoping that the voice of the Moroccan people will be heard in order to arrive at the rights we hope for. The renewal of this covenant throughout these lands where our Cherifian⁶ convoy has descended, brought us tremendous happiness. We met with our caliphal representative in Tetuan⁷ whose resolve and complete preparedness to moving ahead is known in complete agreement with the whole of our principles as to what pleases God (may He be glorified).

We are confident that all our subjects who obey his authority will dispense to

the Sultan used Tangiers as a *de facto* diplomatic capital (editor's note).

⁴ Since Roman times, Tangiers had been the geopolitical key of the region, as much Southern European as it was North African (editor's note).

⁵ At that stage Morocco was split between the Spanish Protectorate in the North, the main French Protectorate, the International Zone of Tangiers and Spanish Sahara or Rio de Oro in the far South (editor's note).

⁶ The Moroccan sultan is a direct descendant from the Prophet, hence the qualification.

⁷ Moroccan city, then the capital city of the Spanish Protectorate.

him sincere advice as is obligatory on every believer without which unity cannot be completely realized. We also hope that the outcomes of this gathering will be abundantly praiseworthy in all the avenues of good by the will of Allah. The requests of our subjects in Tangiers have reached us; some of them which were implementable have been addressed in assistance to them. We will, with the help of God, devote all our efforts to them until they achieve all their desire and they praise, by the bounty of God, their good fortune. We are only calling them to efforts that are in line with their ambitions manifested in perpetual tranquillity and prevalent dignity. Indeed the best of progress is borne from movement untouched by recklessness and not interspersed by instability.

On this we have appointed in every city and every region of our kingdom men whose sincerity and competence we set great hopes on. We assigned them the duty of vigilant and committed representation on our behalf for the public welfare of this nation and the guarantee of its civic and legislative rights. This sublime duty requires that one forgoes personal interests for the sake of the national interest. Position is not an avenue to using authority for something other than which it has been created for. Rather, employment is an institution which aims, foremost and finally, at serving the welfare and benefit of our loyal subjects, relieving them from the yoke of oppression and ignominy, extending assistance, and promoting all social, economic and cultural projects that aim at enlightening the minds [of people], raising the standard of living and improving the difficulties of living. In summary, every functionary whom we appointed as our official representative in a region, area or city must endeavour and strive to his utmost to provide for the people while enjoying all [benefits] that are conferred through obedience to the Cherifian throne, sincerity and loyalty to the Alaouite crown. This crown has worked for centuries, with all strength it was given, for the preservation of the existence of this nation, the wellbeing of its different regions, and the happiness of its various classes.

In light of all this, we instruct government officials, pashas, caids, judges, and all functionaries whom we accorded our trust and favoured with our support to reflect on the momentous national duty placed upon their shoulders. Let them abide by tractability in conduct and mutual relations, justice and fairness in court trials, experience and determination. Let us be cognizant to whatever is directed to every single duty so that we may discharge all duties without any negligence or fear and cowardice. There is no excuse for laziness that impedes and frustrates. Let us equip ourselves with that which spurs us on and away from deadly impotence, and toward hard effort which gathers and puts in order all that is scattered. There is no honour for those who vie in dereliction of their duties and in weakness and there is no future for the

impotent. Let us move toward the sources of knowledge that enliven the hearts and let us be receptive to its radiant light by which the darkness of mishaps is removed. Let us advance toward science that enlightens those who reflect and ponder the paths of useful endeavours and toward works whose benefits are the best defence against covetousness.

If you welcome and accept the sincere calling and advices we have directed to you, you would have been delivered, now and in the future, from the abysses of ruin and destruction. It will be possible for you to live honourable and august among mankind once you have removed from your hearts the despair that kills. Be well acquainted and aware of the duties your pure and strong religion places upon you so that you may realize through it a perfect felicity. To this end does the Exalted Creator call us when He says in His wise Quran, "Whoever holds onto [the way of] Allah has been guided to a straight path".⁸



*Introduced by Ph.-J. Salazar and translated from the Arabic by
Mohamed Shahid Mathee.*

⁸ Quran, 3: 101 (editor's note).

Haile Selassie: Appeal to the League of Nations

Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Elect of God, King of Kings of Ethiopia — these were some of the names in the titulature of Haile Selassie (1892-1975), “Power of the Trinity”, the Christian monarch of Ethiopia who, on 30 June 1936, addressed the League of Nations to denounce the Italian invasion of his country (1935). His speech, delivered in Amharic after a short apologetic introduction in French, language of diplomacy (“Je prie l’assemblée de m’excuser si je ne m’exprime pas en français mais c’est mieux pour ma pensée avec toute la force de mon esprit et de mon cœur en parlant en amharique”), was a defining moment for African oratory of Liberation. For the first time the head of state of an independent African country was resorting directly to the League in full session to stop an invasion by another member State, a modern, brutal colonisation (Italy stitched together an Impero in East Africa with Ethiopia, Eritrea and its Somaliland). The speech received world-wide coverage, thanks to newsreels, and due to the intriguing stature of a Christian leader in Africa, possibly the world’s oldest, continuous Christian monarchy and State (barring the Papacy), augmented by the mystique that has shrouded the land of Abyssinia since the Middle Ages (the tale of the Land of Prester John, descendant of the Three Magi), and diplomatically supported by the very real, political intercourse Southern Europe had entertained with Ethiopia since the early fourteenth century. On film the Negus cut a majestic, near ecclesiastical figure, aided by the stern nobility of his deportment and the lyrical diction of his ancient language. In practical terms his speech struck at the heart of ideals that were supposed to ensure peace, not only peace in Europe but peace in the world: the security of weaker powers from aggression by stronger ones; the means put at the disposal of the League to ensure the respect of its Covenant; the use of just force even in an iniquitous war; the value placed on international law. For that reason Haile Selassie’s address to the League of Nations served as an articulate and severely argued warning for the impending violence European democracies were soon to endure, three years later, when Germany applied to them the methods unleashed by Italy onto an African, sovereign nation — an aggressive war of latter-day colonisation the League chose to term “a dispute”, as it lifted sanctions against Italy a mere four days after the speech. The Lion of Judah returned to Addis Ababa in May 1941.

Source

Selected speeches of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, 1918 to 1967 (Addis Ababa: The Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, 1967).

(Introductory sentence in French, followed by):

I, Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, am here today to claim that justice which is due to my people, and the assistance promised to it eight months ago, when fifty nations asserted that aggression had been committed in violation of international treaties. There is no precedent for a Head of State himself speaking in this assembly. But there is also no precedent for a people being victim of such injustice and being at present threatened by abandonment to its aggressor. Also, there has never before been an example of any Government proceeding to the systematic extermination of a nation by barbarous means, in violation of the most solemn promises made by the nations of the earth that there should not be used against innocent human beings the terrible poison of harmful gases. It is to defend a people struggling for its age-old independence that the head of the Ethiopian Empire has come to Geneva to fulfil this supreme duty, after having himself fought at the head of his armies. I pray to Almighty God that He may spare nations the terrible sufferings that have just been inflicted on my people, and of which the chiefs who accompany me here have been the horrified witnesses. It is my duty to inform the Governments assembled in Geneva, responsible as they are for the lives of millions of men, women and children, of the deadly peril which threatens them, by describing to them the fate which has been suffered by Ethiopia. It is not only upon warriors that the Italian Government has made war. It has above all attacked populations far removed from hostilities, in order to terrorize and exterminate them.

At the beginning, towards the end of 1935, Italian aircraft hurled upon my armies bombs of tear-gas. Their effects were but slight. The soldiers learned to scatter, waiting until the wind had rapidly dispersed the poisonous gases. The Italian aircraft then resorted to mustard gas. Barrels of liquid were hurled upon armed groups. But this means also was not effective; the liquid affected only a few soldiers, and barrels upon the ground were themselves a warning to troops and to the population of the danger. It was at the time when the operations for the encircling of Makalle were taking place that the Italian command, fearing a rout, followed the procedure which it is now my duty to denounce to the world. Special sprayers were installed on board aircraft so that they could vaporize, over vast areas of territory, a fine, death-dealing rain. Groups of nine, fifteen, eighteen aircraft followed one another so that the fog issuing from them formed a continuous sheet. It was thus that, as from the end of January, 1936, soldiers, women, children, cattle, rivers, lakes and pastures were drenched continually with this deadly rain. In order to kill off systematically all living creatures, in order the more surely to poison waters and pastures, the Italian command made its aircraft pass over and over again. That was its chief method of warfare.

~ *Appeal to the League of Nations* ~

The very refinement of barbarism consisted in carrying ravage and terror into the most densely populated parts of the territory, the points farthest removed from the scene of hostilities. The object was to scatter fear and death over a great part of the Ethiopian territory.

These fearful tactics succeeded. Men and animals succumbed. The deadly rain that fell from the aircraft made all those whom it touched fly shrieking with pain. All those who drank the poisoned water or ate the infected food also succumbed in dreadful suffering. In tens of thousands, the victims of the Italian mustard gas fell. It is in order to denounce to the civilized world the tortures inflicted upon the Ethiopian people that I resolved to come to Geneva.

None other than myself and my brave companions in arms could bring the League of Nations the undeniable proof. The appeals of my delegates addressed to the League of Nations had remained without any answer; my delegates had not been witnesses. That is why I decided to come myself to bear witness against the crime perpetrated against my people and give Europe a warning of the doom that awaits it, if it should bow before the accomplished fact.

Is it necessary to remind the Assembly of the various stages of the Ethiopian drama? For twenty years past, either as Heir Apparent, Regent of the Empire, or as the Emperor, I have never ceased to use all my efforts to bring my country the benefits of civilization, and in particular to establish relations of good neighbourliness with adjacent powers. In particular I succeeded in concluding with Italy the *Treaty of Friendship* of 1928, which absolutely prohibited the resort, under any pretext whatsoever, to force of arms, substituting for force and pressure the conciliation and arbitration on which civilized nations have based international order.

In its report of October 5, 1935, the Committee of Thirteen recognized my effort and the results that I had achieved. The Governments thought that the entry of Ethiopia into the League, whilst giving that country a new guarantee for the maintenance of her territorial integrity and independence, would help her to reach a higher level of civilization. It does not seem that in Ethiopia today there is more disorder and insecurity than in 1923. On the contrary, the country is more united and the central power is better obeyed.

I should have procured still greater results for my people if obstacles of every kind had not been put in the way by the Italian Government, the Government which stirred up revolt and armed the rebels. Indeed the Rome Government, as it has today openly proclaimed, has never ceased to prepare for the

conquest of Ethiopia. The Treaties of Friendship it signed with me were not sincere; their only object was to hide its real intention from me. The Italian Government asserts that for 14 years it has been preparing for its present conquest. It therefore recognizes today that when it supported the admission of Ethiopia to the League of Nations in 1923, when it concluded the *Treaty of Friendship* in 1928, when it signed the *Pact of Paris* outlawing war, it was deceiving the whole world.

The Ethiopian Government was, in these solemn treaties, given additional guarantees of security which would enable it to achieve further progress along the pacific path of reform on which it had set its feet, and to which it was devoting all its strength and all its heart.

The Wal-Wal incident, in December, 1934, came as a thunderbolt to me. The Italian provocation was obvious and I did not hesitate to appeal to the League of Nations. I invoked the provisions of the treaty of 1928, the principals of the Covenant; I urged the procedure of the conciliation and arbitration.

Unhappily for Ethiopia this was the time when a certain Government considered that the European situation made it imperative at all costs to obtain the friendship of Italy. The price paid was the abandonment of the Ethiopian independence to the greed of the Italian Government. This secret agreement, contrary to the obligation of the Covenant, has exerted a great influence over the course of events. Ethiopia and the whole world have suffered and are still suffering today its disastrous consequences.

This first violation of the Covenant was followed by many others. Feeling itself encouraged in its policy against Ethiopia, the Rome Government feverishly made war preparations, thinking that the concerted pressure which was beginning to be exerted on the Ethiopian Government, might perhaps not overcome the resistance of my people to Italian domination.

The time had to come, thus all sorts of difficulties were placed in the way with a view to breaking up the procedure of conciliation and arbitration. All kinds of obstacles were placed in the way of that procedure. Governments tried to prevent the Ethiopian Government from finding arbitrators amongst their nationals: when once the arbitral tribunal was set up pressure was exercised so that an award favourable to Italy should be given.

All this was in vain: the arbitrators — two of whom were Italian officials — were forced to recognize unanimously that in the Wal-Wal incident, as in the subsequent incidents, no international responsibility was to be attributed to Ethiopia.

~ Appeal to the League of Nations ~

Following on this award, the Ethiopian Government sincerely thought that an era of friendly relations might be opened with Italy. I loyally offered my hand to the Rome Government.

The Assembly was informed by the report of the Committee of Thirteen, dated October 5, 1935, of the details of the events which occurred after the month of December 1934, and up to October 3, 1935.

It will be sufficient if I quote a few of the conclusions of that report (Nos. 24, 25 and 26) "The Italian memorandum (containing the complaints made by Italy) was laid on the Council table on September 4, 1935, whereas Ethiopia's first appeal to the Council had been made on December 14, 1934. In the interval between these two dates, the Italian Government opposed the consideration of the question by the Council on the grounds that the only appropriate procedure was that provided for in the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1928.

Throughout the whole of that period, moreover, the despatch of Italian troops to East Africa was proceeding. These shipments of troops were represented to the Council by the Italian Government as necessary for the defence of its colonies menaced by Ethiopia's preparations. Ethiopia, on the contrary, drew attention to the official pronouncements made in Italy which, in its opinion, left no doubt "as to the hostile intentions of the Italian Government".

From the outset of the dispute, the Ethiopian Government has sought a settlement by peaceful means. It has appealed to the procedures of the Covenant. The Italian Government desiring to keep strictly to the procedures of the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1928, the Ethiopian Government assented. It invariably stated that it would faithfully carry out the arbitral award even if the decision went against it. It agreed that the question of the ownership of Wal-Wal should not be dealt with by the arbitrators, because the Italian Government would not agree to such a course. It asked the Council to despatch neutral observers and offered to lend itself to any enquiries upon which the Council might decide.

Once the Wal-Wal dispute had been settled by arbitration, however, the Italian Government submitted its detailed memorandum to the Council in support of its claim to liberty of action. It asserted that a case like that of Ethiopia cannot be settled by the means provided by the Covenant.

It stated that, "since this question affects vital interests and is of primary importance to Italian security and civilization..." it "...would be failing in its most elementary duty, did it not cease once and for all to place any

confidence in Ethiopia, reserving full liberty to adopt any measures that may become necessary to ensure the safety of its colonies and to safeguard its own interests”.

Those are the terms of the report of the Committee of Thirteen. The Council and the Assembly unanimously adopted the conclusion that the Italian Government had violated the Covenant and was in a state of aggression.

I did not hesitate to declare that I did not wish for war, that it was imposed upon me, and I should struggle solely for the independence and integrity of my people, and that in that struggle I was the defender of the cause of all small States exposed to the greed of a powerful neighbour.

In October 1935, the fifty-two nations who are listening to me today gave me an assurance that the aggressor would not triumph, that the resources of the Covenant would be employed in order to ensure the reign of right and the failure of violence.

I ask the fifty nations not to forget today the policy upon which they embarked eight months ago, and on faith of which I directed the resistance of my people against the aggressor whom they had denounced to the world. Despite the inferiority of my weapons, the complete lack of aircraft, artillery, munitions hospital services, my confidence in the League was absolute. I thought it to be impossible that fifty-two nations, including the most powerful in the world, should be successfully opposed by a single aggressor. Counting on the faith due to treaties, I had made no preparation for war, and that is the case with certain small countries in Europe.

When the danger became more urgent, being aware of my responsibilities towards my people, during the first six months of 1935 I tried to acquire armaments. Many Governments proclaimed an embargo to prevent my doing so, whereas the Italian Government through the Suez Canal, was given all facilities for transporting without cessation and without protest, troops, arms, and munitions.

On October 3, 1935, the Italian troops invaded my territory. A few hours later only, I decreed general mobilisation. In my desire to maintain peace I had, following the example of a great country in Europe on the eve of the Great War, caused my troops to withdraw thirty kilometres so as to remove any pretext of provocation.

War then took place in the atrocious conditions which I have laid before the Assembly. In that unequal struggle between a Government commanding

more than forty-two million inhabitants, having at its disposal financial, industrial and technical means which enabled it to create unlimited quantities of the most death-dealing weapons, and, on the other hand, a small people of twelve million inhabitants, without arms, without resources having on its side only the justice of its own cause and the promise of the League of Nations. What real assistance was given to Ethiopia by the fifty-two nations who had declared the Rome Government guilty of a breach of the Covenant and had undertaken to prevent the triumph of the aggressor? Has each of the State Members, as it was its duty to do in virtue of its signature appended to Article 15 of the Covenant, considered the aggressor as having committed an act of war personally directed against itself? I had placed all my hopes in the execution of these undertakings. My confidence had been confirmed by the repeated declarations made in the Council to the effect that aggression must not be rewarded, and that force would end by being compelled to bow before right.

In December, 1935, the Council made it quite clear that its feelings were in harmony with those of hundreds of millions of people who, in all parts of the world, had protested against the proposal to dismember Ethiopia. It was constantly repeated that there was not merely a conflict between the Italian Government and the League of Nations, and that is why I personally refused all proposals to my personal advantage made to me by the Italian Government, if only I would betray my people and the Covenant of the League of Nations. I was defending the cause of all small peoples who are threatened with aggression.

What have become of the promises made to me as long as October, 1935? I noted with grief, but without surprise that three Powers considered their undertakings under the Covenant as absolutely of no value. Their connections with Italy impelled them to refuse to take any measures whatsoever in order to stop Italian aggression. On the contrary, it was a profound disappointment to me to learn the attitude of a certain Government which, whilst ever protesting its scrupulous attachment to the Covenant, has tirelessly used all its efforts to prevent its observance. As soon as any measure which was likely to be rapidly effective was proposed, various pretexts were devised in order to postpone even consideration of the measure. Did the secret agreements of January, 1935, provide for this tireless obstruction?

The Ethiopian Government never expected other Governments to shed their soldiers' blood to defend the Covenant when their own immediately personal interests were not at stake. Ethiopian warriors asked only for means to defend themselves. On many occasions I have asked for financial assistance for the purchase of arms. That assistance has been constantly refused me. What,

then, in practice is the meaning of Article 16 of the Covenant and of collective security?

The Ethiopian Government's use of the railway from Djibouti to Addis Ababa was in practice hampered as regards transport of arms intended for the Ethiopian forces. At the present moment this is the chief, if not the only means of supply of the Italian armies of occupation. The rules of neutrality should have prohibited transports intended for Italian forces, but there is not even neutrality since Article 16 lays upon every State Member of the League the duty not to remain a neutral but to come to the aid not of the aggressor but of the victim of aggression. Has the Covenant been respected? Is it today being respected?

Finally a statement has just been made in their Parliaments by the Governments of certain Powers, amongst them the most influential members of the League of Nations, that since the aggressor has succeeded in occupying a large part of Ethiopian territory they propose not to continue the application of any economic and financial measures that may have been decided upon against the Italian Government.

These are the circumstances in which at the request of the Argentine Government, the Assembly of the League of Nations meets to consider the situation created by Italian aggression.

I assert that the problem submitted to the Assembly today is a much wider one. It is not merely a question of the settlement of Italian aggression.

It is collective security: it is the very existence of the League of Nations. It is the confidence that each State is to place in international treaties. It is the value of promises made to small States that their integrity and their independence shall be respected and ensured. It is the principle of the equality of States on the one hand, or otherwise the obligation laid upon small powers to accept the bonds of vassalship. In a word, it is international morality that is at stake. Have the signatures appended to a Treaty value only in so far as the signatory Powers have a personal, direct and immediate interest involved?

No subtlety can change the problems or shift the grounds of the decision. It is in all sincerity that I submit these considerations to the Assembly. At a time when my people are threatened with extermination, when the support of the League may ward off the final blow, may I be allowed to speak with complete frankness, without reticence, in all directness such as is demanded by the rule of equality as between all States Members of the League?

~ Appeal to the League of Nations ~

Apart from the Kingdom of the Lord there is not on this earth any nation that is superior to any other. Should it happen that a strong Government finds it may with impunity destroy a weak people, then the hour strikes for that weak people to appeal to the League of Nations to give its judgement in all freedom. God and history will remember your judgement.

I have heard it asserted that the inadequate sanctions already applied have not achieved their object. At no time and under no circumstances could sanctions that were intentionally inadequate, intentionally badly applied, stop an aggressor. When Ethiopia requested and requests that she should be given financial assistance, was that a measure which it was impossible to apply whereas financial assistance of the League has been granted, even in times of peace, to two countries and exactly to two countries who have refused to apply sanctions against the aggressor?

Faced by numerous violations by the Italian Government of all international treaties that prohibit resort to arms, and the use of barbarous methods of warfare, it is my painful duty to note that the initiative has today been taken with a view to raising sanctions. Does this initiative not mean in practice the abandonment of Ethiopia to the aggressor? On the very eve of the day when I was about to attempt a supreme effort in defence of my people before this Assembly, does not this initiative deprive Ethiopia of one of her last chances to succeed in obtaining the support and guarantee of States Members? Is that the guidance the League of Nations and each of the States Members are entitled to expect from the great Powers when they assert their right and their duty to guide the action of the League? Placed by the aggressor face to face with the accomplished fact, are States going to set up the terrible precedent of bowing before force?

Your Assembly will doubtless have laid before it proposals for the reform of the Covenant and for rendering more effective the guarantee of collective security. Is it the Covenant that needs reform? What undertakings can have any value if the will to keep them is lacking? It is international morality which is at stake and not the Articles of the Covenant.

On behalf of the Ethiopian people, a member of the League of Nations, I request the Assembly to take all measures proper to ensure respect for the Covenant. I renew my protest against the violations of treaties of which the Ethiopian people has been the victim. I declare in the face of the whole world that the Emperor, the Government and the people of Ethiopia will not bow before the force; that they maintain their claims that they will use all means in their power to ensure the triumph of right and the respect of the Covenant.

~ Haile Selassie ~

I ask the fifty two nations, who have given the Ethiopian people a promise to help them in their resistance to the aggressor, what are they willing to do for Ethiopia? And the great Powers who have promised the guarantee of collective security to small States on whom weighs the threat that they may one day suffer the fate of Ethiopia, I ask what measures do you intend to take?

Representatives of the World, I have come to Geneva to discharge in your midst the most painful of the duties of the head of a State. What reply shall I have to take back to my people?



Introduced by Ph.-J Salazar.

Harold Macmillan: The wind of change

When, on 3 February 1960, Hendrik Verwoerd, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, ideologue and architect of apartheid, rose to his feet to move a customary vote of thanks in response to British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's (1894 –1986) speech at a luncheon meeting of the South African Parliament, the tone of his rebuttal was indicative of two schools of oratory on a collision course. Macmillan's speech was carefully written and crafted (as can be seen from the preserved notes) and it had been rehearsed a month earlier in Accra. The tone is sedately grandiloquent, reminiscent of Churchill's psalmody yet in keeping with British, formal parliamentary oratory, but aristocratically delivered as a sort of command to lesser beings. Verwoerd's style, by contrast, is direct (he had no preview of the violence of the indictment), ironically well-timed ("There are two ways in which one can approach a motion of thanks... I will not inflict upon you either") and communicational, progressing rapidly from sound bite to sound bite. If anything, in terms of rhetoric, the difference in styles of delivery says more about the gap opening between the declining colonial power holding forth, and the soon fully sovereign, White republic for which a referendum had been announced two weeks before Macmillan's visit, and meant that South Africa, unlike India, would leave the Commonwealth — while the Black majority, silenced and ostracised, observed that odd joust, and its leadership was left to draw far-fetched conclusions. Indeed, the speech delivered in Cape Town had an impact its antecedent delivery in Accra could not have had. It raised the Liberation movements' hopes for a steadfast support by Britain; it may well have been a precipitating agent for the surge of revolt and the violence of repression that followed shortly after Macmillan spoke (the Sharpeville massacre), ushering in a state of emergency that would last thirty years until F.W. de Klerk's speech, at the same Parliament, in February 1990. When the Truth and Reconciliation Commission settled on 1 March 1960 as terminus a quo for gross violations of human rights and their amnesty, one wonders if the date should not have been that decisive, critical, demarcating speech by Harold Macmillan — a speech that remains, for that reason, an essential if paradoxical moment in Africa's liberatory eloquence.

The version presented here is transcribed from the audio recording in the BBC's archives. It has been checked against the printed, redacted 'souvenir' published by the South African Parliament and against the typescript bearing handwritten corrections made by Macmillan on the typed folios from which he may have read his address, and which was sent to Parliament through the good offices of the High Commissioner on, ironically, 1 March 1960. There is no record of it in Hansard as the speech was not part of the formal proceedings and debates of Parliament but given at an

American style 'luncheon'. It has also been compared with the version given by Macmillan in Pointing the Way (vol. 5 of his Memoirs). Those differences are a matter for historians of political eloquence. The text presented here is the speech South Africans, Black and White, heard or heard about; the one which played a decisive role in individual and national destinies. Puzzlingly "winds of change" (plural) is the expression Macmillan chose for the first volume (1914-1939) of his autobiography. This erroneous expression is also used on the red leather bound cover of the typescript preserved at the South African Parliament — clearly a later addition, once the name had caught on.

Sources

Transcript of the BBC's recording: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/apartheid/7203.shtml> .

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Reference

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Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen. It is a great privilege to be invited to address the members of both Houses of Parliament in the Union of South Africa. It is a unique privilege to do so in 1960, just half a century after the Parliament of the Union came to birth. And I am most grateful to you all for giving me this opportunity, I am especially grateful to your Prime Minister who invited me to visit this country and arranged for me to address you here today. My tour of Africa — certain parts of Africa — the first ever made by a British Prime Minister in office, is now

alas, nearing its end, but it is fitting that it should culminate in the Union Parliament here, in Cape Town, in this historic city, so long Europe's gateway to the Indian Ocean, and to the East.

In the Union, as in all the other countries that I have visited, my stay has been of course all too short. I wish it had been possible for me to see, spend longer time here, see more of your beautiful country and to get to know more of your people, but in the past week I have travelled many hundreds of miles and met many people in all walks of life. I have been able to get at least some idea of the great beauty of your countryside, with its farms and its forests, mountains and rivers, and the clear skies and wide horizons of the veldt. I have also seen some of your great and thriving cities, and I am most grateful to your Government for all the trouble they have taken in making the arrangements which have enabled me to see so much in so short a time. Some of the younger members of my staff have told me that it has been a heavy programme, but I can assure you that my wife and I have enjoyed every moment of it. Moreover, we have been deeply moved by the warmth of our welcome. Wherever we have been, in town or country, we have been received in a spirit of friendship and affection which has warmed our hearts, and we value this the more because we know it is an expression of your goodwill, not just to ourselves but to all the people of Britain.

It is, as I have said, a special privilege for me to be here in 1960 when you are celebrating what I might call the golden wedding of the Union. At such a time it is natural and right that you should pause to take stock of your position, to look back at what you have achieved, to look forward to what lies ahead.

In the fifty years of their nationhood the people of South Africa have built a strong economy founded upon a healthy agriculture and thriving and resilient industries. During my visit I have been able to see something of your mining industry, on which the prosperity of the country is so firmly based. I have seen your Iron and Steel Corporation and visited your Council of Scientific and Industrial Research at Pretoria. These two bodies, in their different ways, are symbols of a lively, forward-looking and expanding economy. I have seen the great city of Durban, with its wonderful port, and the skyscrapers of Johannesburg standing where seventy years ago there was nothing but the open veldt. I have seen, too, the fine cities of Pretoria and Bloemfontein. This afternoon I hope to see something of your wine-growing industry, which so far I have only admired as a consumer.

No one could fail to be impressed with the immense material progress which has been achieved. That all this has been accomplished in so short a time is a striking testimony to the skill, the energy and the initiative of your people.

And we in Britain are proud of the contribution we have made to this remarkable achievement. Much of it has been financed by British capital. According to the recent survey made by the Union Government, nearly two-thirds of the overseas investment outstanding in the Union at the end of 1956 was British. That is after two staggering wars which have bled our economy white.

But that is not all. We have developed trade between us to our common advantage, and our economies are now largely interdependent. You export to us raw materials and food, and of course gold, and we in return send you consumer goods or capital equipment. We take a third of all your exports and we supply a third of all your imports. This broad traditional pattern of investment and trade has been maintained in spite of the changes brought by the development of our two economies, and it gives me great encouragement to reflect that the economies of both our countries, while expanding rapidly, have yet remained interdependent and capable of sustaining one another. If you travel round this country by train you will travel on South African rails made by Iscor. If you prefer to fly you can go in a British Viscount. Here is true partnership, living proof of the interdependence between nations. Britain has always been your best customer and, as your new industries develop, we believe that we can be your best partners too.

In addition to building this strong economy within your own borders, you have also played your part as an independent nation in the world.

As a soldier in the First World War, and as a Minister in Sir Winston Churchill's Government in the Second, I know personally the value the contribution which your forces made to victory in the cause of freedom. I know something too, of the inspiration which General Smuts brought to us in Britain in our darkest hours. Again, in the Korean crisis you played your full part. Thus in the testing times of war or aggression, your statesmen and your soldiers have made their influence felt far beyond the African continent.

In the period of reconstruction, when Dr. Malan was your Prime Minister, your resources greatly assisted the recovery of the sterling area. In the post-war world, now, in the no less difficult tasks of peace, your leaders in industry, commerce and finance continue to be prominent in world affairs. Today your readiness to provide technical assistance to the less well-developed parts of Africa is of immense help to the countries that receive it. It is also a source of strength to your friends in the Commonwealth and elsewhere in the Western World. You are collaborating in the work of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara, and now in the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Your Minister for External Affairs intends to

visit Ghana later this year. All this proves your determination, as the most advanced industrial country of the continent, to play your part in the new Africa of today.

Sir, as I've travelled around the Union I have found everywhere, as I expected, a deep preoccupation with what is happening in the rest of the African continent. I understand and sympathise with your interests in these events and your anxiety about them. Ever since the break-up of the Roman Empire one of the constant facts of political life in Europe has been the emergence of independent nations. They have come into existence over the centuries in different forms, different kinds of government, but all have been inspired by a deep, keen feeling of nationalism, which has grown as the nations have grown.

In the twentieth century, and especially since the end of the war, the processes which gave birth to the nation states of Europe have been repeated all over the world. We have seen the awakening of national consciousness in peoples who have for centuries lived in dependence upon some other power. Fifteen years ago this movement spread through Asia. Many countries there, of different races and civilisations, pressed their claim to an independent national life. Today the same thing is happening in Africa, and the most striking of all the impressions that I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the strength of this African national consciousness. In different places it takes different forms, but it is happening everywhere. The wind of change is blowing through this continent and whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. And we must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it.

Of course you understand this better than anyone, you are sprung from Europe, the home of nationalism, and here in Africa you have yourselves created a free nation. A new nation. Indeed, in the history of our times yours will be recorded as the first of the African nationalists. And this tide of national consciousness which is now rising in Africa, is a fact, for which you and we, and the other nations of the Western world are ultimately responsible. For its causes are to be found in the achievements of Western civilisation, in the pushing forward of the frontiers of knowledge, in the applying of science to the service of human needs, in the expanding of food production, in the speeding and multiplying of the means of communication, and perhaps above all and more than anything else in the spread of education.

As I have said this, the growth of national consciousness in Africa is a political fact, and we must accept it as such. That means, I would judge, that we've got to come to terms with it. I sincerely believe that if we cannot do so, we

may imperil the precarious balance between East and West on which the peace of the world depends.

The world today is divided into three main groups. First what we call the Western Powers. You in South Africa, we in Britain, belong to this group, together with our friends and allies in other parts of the Commonwealth, in the United States of America and in Europe call it the Free World. Secondly there are the Communists — Russia, her satellites in Europe, China whose population will rise by the end of the next ten years to the staggering total of 800 million people. And then thirdly, those parts of the world whose people are at present uncommitted either to Communism or to our Western ideas.

And in this context we think first of Asia and then of Africa. As I see it the great issue in this second half of the twentieth century, is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the East or to the West. Will they be drawn into the Communist camp? Or will the great experiments in self-government that are now being made in Asia and Africa, especially within the Commonwealth, prove so successful, and by their example so compelling, that the balance will come down in favour of freedom and order and justice?

The struggle is joined, and it is a struggle for the minds of men. What is now on trial is much more than our military strength or our diplomatic and administrative skill. It is our way of life. The uncommitted nations want to see before they choose.

What we can show them to help them choose right? Sir, each of the independent members of the Commonwealth must answer that question for itself. It is a basic principle of our modern Commonwealth that we respect each other's sovereignty in matters of internal policy. At the same time we must recognise that in this shrinking world in which we live today the internal policies of one nation may have effects outside it. So we may sometimes be tempted to say 'mind your own business', in these days I would expand the old saying so that it says: 'Mind your own business, but mind how it affects my business, too'.

If I may be very frank with you, my friends. What Governments and Parliaments in the United Kingdom have done since the war in according independence to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya and Ghana, and what they will do for Nigeria and other countries now nearing independence, all this, although we must take and do take full and sole responsibility for it, we do in the belief that it is the only way to establish the future of the Commonwealth and of the Free World on sound foundations. All this of course is of deep and

close concern to you for nothing we do in this small world can be done in a corner and remain hidden.

What we do today in West, Central and East Africa becomes known to everyone in South Africa, whatever his language, colour or traditions. Let me Sir assure you, and all those here assembled, and all who may be listening, in all friendliness, that we are well aware of this, that we have acted and will act with full knowledge of the responsibility we have to you and to all our friends.

Nevertheless I am sure you will agree that in our own areas of responsibility we must each do what we think right. What we British think right derives from a long experience both of failure and success in the management of these affairs. We try to learn and apply the lessons of both. Our judgement of right and wrong and of justice is rooted in the same soil as yours — in Christianity and in the rule of law as the basis of a free society. This experience of our own explains why it has been our aim in the countries for which we have borne responsibility, not only to raise the material standards of life, but to create a society that respects the rights of individuals, a society in which men are given the opportunity to grow to their full stature — and that must in our view include the opportunity of an increasing share in political power and responsibility, a society finally in which individual merit and individual merit alone, is the criterion for a man's advancement, whether political or economic.

Finally, in countries inhabited by several different races, it has been our aim to find means by which the community can become more of a community, and fellowship fostered between its various parts. This problem Sir is by no means confined to Africa. Nor is it always a problem of a European minority. In Malaya for instance, though there are Indian and European minorities, Malays and Chinese make up the great bulk of the population and the Chinese are not much fewer in numbers than the Malays. Yet these two peoples must learn to live together in harmony and unity and the strength of Malaya as a nation will depend on the different contributions which the two races can make.

The attitude of the United Kingdom's Government towards this problem was clearly expressed by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, speaking at the United Nations General Assembly on the seventeenth of September 1959 and these were his words:

In those territories where different races or tribes live side by side the task is to ensure that all the people may enjoy security and freedom and the chance to contribute as individuals to the progress and well

being of these countries. We (that is the British) reject the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another, our policy therefore is non-racial. It offers a future in which Africans, Europeans, Asians, the peoples of the Pacific and others with whom we are concerned, will all play their full part as citizens in the country where they live, and in which feelings of race will be submerged in loyalty to new nations.

I thought you would wish me to state plainly and with full candour the policy for which we in Britain stand. It may well be that in trying to do our duty as we see it we shall sometimes make difficulties for you. If this proves to be so we much regret it. But I know that even so you would not ask us to flinch from doing our duty and you, too, will do your duty as you see it. I am well aware of the peculiar nature of the problems with which you are faced in the Union, I know the differences between your situation and that of most of the other states in Africa. You have here three million people of European origin. This country is their home. It has been their home for hundreds of years. They have no other home. And the same is broadly true of Europeans in Central and East Africa. Of course in most other states those who have come to work from Europe have only come to work, to spend their working lives, to contribute their skills, perhaps to administer and then to go home. That is quite a different problem.

The problems to which you and all members of this Parliament must address yourselves are therefore very different from those which face the Parliaments of countries of homogenous populations. Of course I realise that these are hard, sometimes baffling problems. It would be surprising if your interpretation of your duty did not sometimes produce very different results from ours in terms of Government policies and actions.

As a fellow member of the Commonwealth we always try I think and perhaps succeeded in giving to South Africa our full support and encouragement, but I hope you won't mind my saying frankly that there are some aspects of your policies which make it impossible for us to do this without being false to our own deep convictions about the political destinies of free men to which in our own territories we are trying to give effect. I think therefore that we ought, as friends, to face together, without seeking I trust to apportion credit or blame, the fact that in the world of the day, today, this difference of outlook lies between us.

I said that I was speaking as a friend. I can perhaps almost claim to be speak as a relation, for we Scots can claim family connections with both the great European sections of your people, not only with the English-speaking people but with the Afrikaans-speaking. This is a point which hardly needs emphasis

in Cape Town where you can see every day the statue of that great Scotsman Andrew Murray. His work in the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape, and the work of his son in the Orange Free State, was among the Afrikaans-speaking people. There always has been a very close connection between the Church of Scotland and the Church of the Netherlands. The Synod of Dort plays the same great part in the history of each. And many aspirants to the Ministry of Scotland, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, went to pursue their theological studies in the Netherlands. I think Scotland can claim to have repaid its debt to South Africa. I am thinking particularly of the Scots in the Orange Free State. Not only the younger Andrew Murray, but also the Robertsons, the Frasers, the McDonalds — families which have been called the Free State clans, who became burghers of the old Free State and whose descendants still play their part there.

But though I count myself a Scot, my mother was an American, and the United States provides a valuable illustration of one of the main points which I have been trying to make today. The population of America, like yours, is a blend of many different strains, and over the years most of those who have gone to North America have gone there in order to escape conditions in Europe which they found intolerable. The Pilgrim Fathers were escaping from persecution as Puritans, the Marylanders from persecution as Roman Catholics. And throughout the nineteenth century a stream of immigrants flowed across the Atlantic from the old world to the new to escape from the poverty in their homelands, and now in the twentieth century the United States have provided asylum for the victims of political oppression in Europe.

And so for the majority of its inhabitants America has been a place of refuge, or a place to which people went because they wanted to get away from Europe. It is not surprising, therefore, that for many years the main objective of American statesmen, supported by the American public, was to isolate themselves from Europe, and with their great material strength, and the vast resources open to them, this seemed an attractive and a practicable course. Nevertheless, twice in my lifetime, in the two great wars of this fifty years, they have been unable to stand aside. Twice their manpower in arms has streamed back across the Atlantic to shed its blood in those European struggles from which their ancestors thought they could escape by emigrating to the New World; and when the Second War was over, they were forced to recognise that in the small world of today, isolationism is out of date and more than that, offers no assurance of security.

The fact is that in this modern world no country, not even the greatest, can live for itself alone. Nearly two thousand years ago, at a time when you might say that the whole of the civilised world was comprised within the confines of

the Roman Empire, St. Paul proclaimed one of the great truths of history — we are all members one of another. During this twentieth century that eternal truth has taken on a new and exciting significance. It has always been impossible for the individual man to live in isolation from his fellows, in the home, the tribe, the village, or the city. Today it is impossible for nations to live in isolation from one another. What Dr. John Donne said of individual men three hundred years ago is true today of my country, of your country, and all the countries of the world:

Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankind.
And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.¹

All nations are now interdependent one upon another, and this is generally realised throughout the Western World. I hope in due course the countries of Communism will recognise it too. It was certainly with that thought in mind that I took the decision to visit Moscow about this time last year. Russia has been isolationist in her time and still has tendencies that way, but the fact remains that we must live in the same world with Russia, and we must find a way of doing so. I believe that the initiative which we took last year has had some success, although grave difficulties may lie ahead. Nevertheless I think nothing but good can come out of its extending contacts between individuals, contacts in trade and through the exchange of visitors.

I certainly do not believe in refusing to trade with people because you may happen to dislike the way they manage their internal affairs at home. Boycotts will never get you anywhere, and may I say in parenthesis how I deprecate the attempts that are being made today in Britain to organise a consumer boycott of South African goods. It has never been the practice, so far as I know, of any Government of the United Kingdom of whatever complexion to undertake or support campaigns of this kind designed to influence the internal politics of another Commonwealth country. I and my colleagues in the United Kingdom deplore this proposed boycott and regard it as undesirable from every point of view. It can only have serious effects on Commonwealth relations and trade, and lead to the ultimate detriment of others than those against whom it is aimed.

I said I was speaking of the interdependency of nations. The members of the Commonwealth feel particularly strongly the value of interdependence. They are as independent as any nation in this shrinking world can be, but they have voluntarily agreed to work together. They recognise that there may be and

¹ From *Meditation XVII*, better known as the poem "For whom the bell tolls" (or "No man is an island") (editor's note).

must be differences in their institutions; in their internal policies, and membership does not imply the wish to express a judgement on these matters, or the need to impose a stifling uniformity. It is, I think, a help that there has never been question of any rigid constitution for the Commonwealth. Perhaps this is because we in the United Kingdom have seemed to have got on alright for several hundreds of years without a written constitution and are rather suspicious of such things. But whether that is so or not, it is clear that a rigid constitutional framework for the Commonwealth would not work, its not that kind of thing. That at the first of the stresses and strains which are inevitable in this period of history, cracks would appear in this rigid framework and then the whole structure, in my view, would crumble. It is the flexibility of our Commonwealth institutions which gives them their strength.

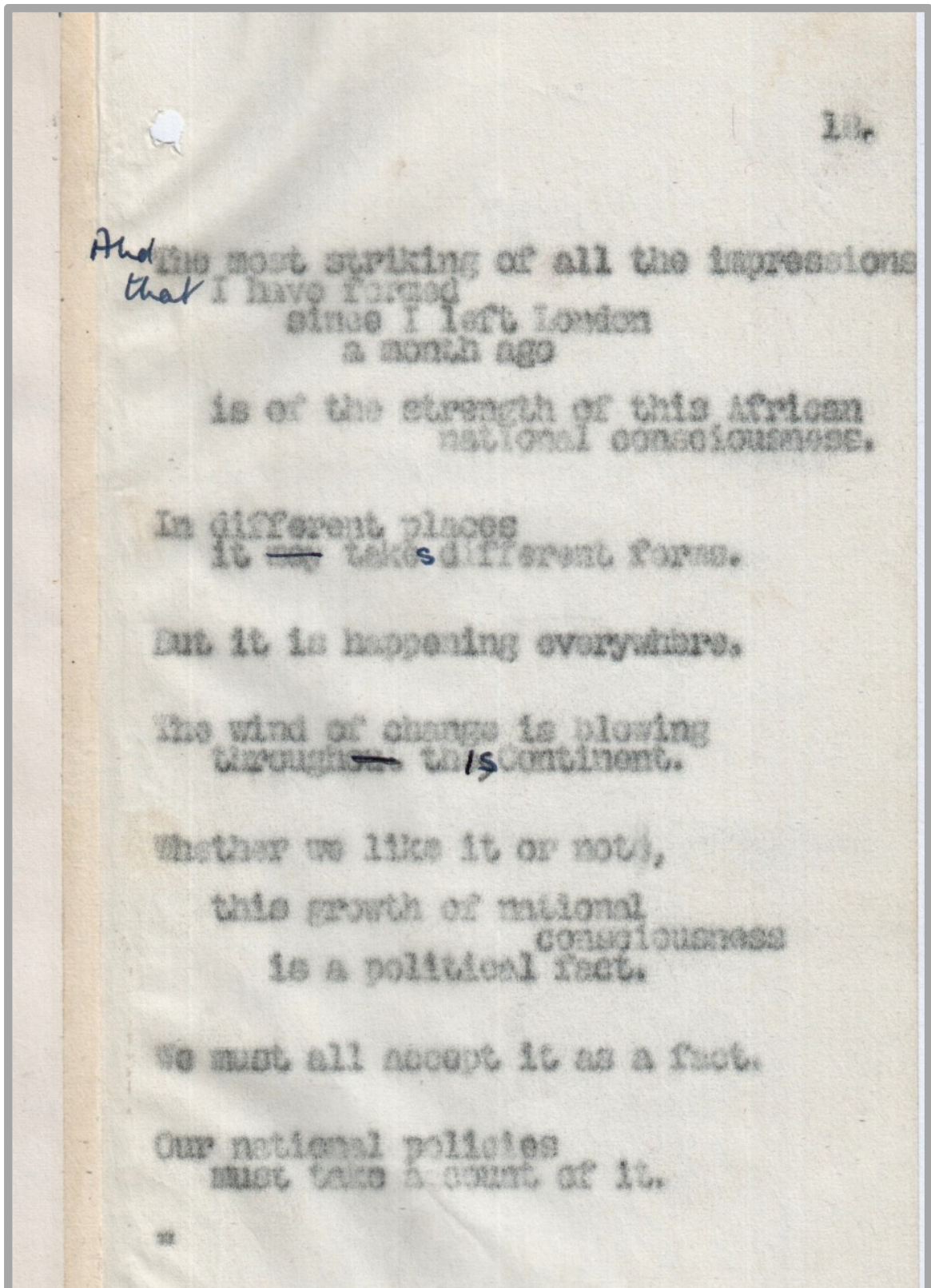
Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Honourable Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen, I fear I have kept you a long time. I much welcome the opportunity to speak to this great audience, this carries such great responsibilities. In conclusion may I just say this? I have spoken frankly about the difficulties between our two countries, the differences between our two countries, in their approach to one of the great current problems with which each has to deal within its own sphere of responsibility. These differences are well-known. They are matters of public knowledge, indeed of public controversy. I would have been less than honest if by remaining silent on them I had seemed to imply that they did not exist. But differences on this subject, or one subject, important as it is, need not and could not, should not, impair our capacity to co-operate with one another in furthering the many practical interests which we share in common. The independent members of the Commonwealth do not always agree on every subject. It is not a condition of their association that they should do so. On the contrary, the strength of our Commonwealth lies largely in the fact that it is a free association of free and independent states, each responsible for ordering its own affairs but co-operating in the pursuit of common aims and purposes in world affairs. Moreover, these differences may be transitory. In time they may be resolved. Our duty is to see them in this perspective, in perspective, against the background of our long association. Of this at any rate I am certain — those of us who by the grace or favour of the electors are temporarily in charge of affairs in your country and in mine, we fleeting transient phantoms of the great stage of history, we have no right to sweep aside on this account the friendship that exists between our countries, that is the legacy of history. It is not ours alone to deal with. To adapt a famous phrase, it belongs to those who are living, it belongs to those who are dead and to those who are yet unborn. We must face the differences, but let us try to see a little beyond them down the long vista of the future. I hope — indeed, I am confident — in another fifty years we shall look back on

~ Harold Macmillan ~

the differences that exist between us now as mere matters of historical interest, for as time passes and one generation yields to another, human problems change and fade. Let us remember these truths. Let us therefore resolve to build and not to destroy, and let us also remember that weakness comes from division, and in words familiar to you, strength from unity.



Introduced by Ph.-J. Salazar and transcribed by Brett Syndercombe.



*Extract of the original notes used by Harold Macmillan
(by permission of the Library of Parliament, Cape Town).*

Patrice Lumumba: The Congo independence speech

This speech is extraordinary on at least three counts that illustrate in the best way possible the three standard regimes of political rhetoric. At face value it formed part of ceremonial proceedings (the 'handing over' of power from Belgium to the Congo, by the king of the Belgians himself) whereby stock-phrases on eternal amity and cooperation and mutual understanding covered up a long history of brutal rule but, also, by observing decorum and dissimulating rancour, made possible to transact future politics between sovereign states. Commonplaces often create common ground. At a second level it performed a truly deliberative function: Lumumba (1925-1961) interrupted the ceremonial delivery with his unscheduled speech and delivered an indictment of colonial supremacy, now flagged down but seemingly assured of perpetuating itself by other means. He created a debate, on the spot, seizing the moment to try and create a momentum different from the rising alliance of old and new potentates, and he meant to reset the agenda for the Congo and for Africa. As is known, that momentum led to his assassination. Finally, in its vibrancy, the speech illustrates also the forensic nature of public address: seemingly extemporising he performs the role of a prosecutor and judge on behalf of the silenced Congolese. He brings Belgium to the tribunal of human rights. It is significant that Jean-Paul Sartre, the French philosopher, prefaced the collected speeches and writings of Patrice Lumumba, sensing that the Congolese leader's scope and vision went beyond speechifying — a scourge of liberatory oratory when repetitive words and bland arguments supersede deliberation and numb public debate into stupefied acquiescence. The other African leader to have received the same attention from philosophy is Nelson Mandela, under the careful watch of Jacques Derrida. Both leaders, through their speeches, had philosophy and politics meet at this point rhetoric studies call 'the use of practical reason', which does not exclude, but includes a near-Machiavellian art of producing rhetorical effects.

The so-called Independence speech was delivered on 30 June 1960 in Léopoldville, now Kinshasa. The version presented here is the exact transcription of the live audio recording by RTBF, the Belgian national broadcaster. Other versions bear the imprint of later eulogising of the murdered leader, for propaganda purposes. They turn this extraordinary speech into a highly ceremonial, pompous pronouncement, Soviet-style, which it was not. Worse, they contain errors and omissions, not to mention additions, that are replicated by translations and disseminated by the Internet, and also through a confusion with the speech delivered, fictitiously, in an otherwise gripping movie. For example, when Lumumba indicts (French version) a "régime d'injustice, d'oppression et d'exploitation" (a regime based

on injustice, oppression and exploitation), a fraught and much quoted version reads, “régime d’une justice d’oppression et d’exploitation” (a regime based on a justice of oppression and exploitation) — a cruel nonsense.

Source

Transcript of RTBF recording: http://telechargement.rfi.fr.edgesuite.net/rfi/francais/audio/modules/actu/201006/INDEPEND_CONGOBELGE_PatriceLUMUMBA30061960_RTBF.mp3 .

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La République du Congo a été proclamée et notre cher pays est maintenant entre les mains de ses propres enfants.

Ensemble, mes frères, mes sœurs, nous allons commencer une nouvelle lutte, une lutte sublime qui va mener notre pays à la paix, à la prospérité et à la grandeur.

Nous allons établir ensemble la justice sociale et assurer que chaque, chacun reçoive la juste rémunération de son travail (*applause*).

Nous avons connu les ironies, les insultes, les coups que nous devons subir matin, midi et soir parce que nous étions des nègres.

Qui oubliera qu’à un Noir on disait “tu”, non certes comme à un ami, mais parce que le “vous” honorable était réservé aux seuls Blancs?

Nous avons connu que nos terres fussent spoliées au nom de textes prétendument légaux qui ne faisaient que reconnaître le droit du plus fort.

Nous avons connu que la loi n’était jamais la même selon qu’il s’agissait d’un Blanc ou d’un Noir, accommodante pour les uns, cruelle et inhumaine pour les autres.

Nous avons connu les souffrances atroces des relégués pour opinions politiques ou croyances religieuses, exilés dans leur propre patrie, leur sort

était vraiment pire que la mort elle-même.

Nous avons connu qu'il y avait dans les villes des maisons magnifiques pour les Blancs et des paillotes croulantes pour les Noirs, que les Noirs n'étaient admis dans les cinémas ni dans les restaurants, ni dans les magasins dits européens, qu'un Noir voyageait à même la coque des péniches, aux pieds du Blanc dans sa cabine de luxe.

Qui oubliera enfin les fusillades où périrent tant de nos frères, les cachots où furent brutalement jetés ceux qui ne voulaient plus se soumettre au régime d'injustice, d'oppression et d'exploitation (*applause*).

Cette indépendance du Congo, si elle est proclamée aujourd'hui dans l'entente avec la Belgique, pays ami avec qui nous traitons d'égal à égal, nul Congolais digne de ce nom ne pourra jamais oublier cependant que c'est par la lutte qu'elle a été conquise (*applause*), une lutte de tous les jours, une lutte ardente et idéaliste, une lutte dans laquelle nous n'avons ménagé ni nos forces, ni nos privations, ni nos souffrances, ni notre sang.

Cette lutte, qui fut de larmes, de feu et de sang, nous en sommes fiers jusqu'au plus profond de nous-mêmes, car ce fut une lutte noble et juste, une lutte indispensable pour mettre fin à l'humiliant esclavage qui nous était imposé par la force.

Ce que fut notre sort en quatre-vingts ans de régime colonialiste, nos blessures sont trop fraîches et trop douloureuses encore pour que nous puissions les chasser de notre mémoire. Car nous avons connu le travail harassant, exigé en échange de salaires qui ne nous permettaient ni de manger à notre faim, ni de nous vêtir ou nous loger décemment, ni d'élever nos enfants comme des êtres chers.

Hommage aux combattants de la liberté nationale! Vive l'indépendance et l'unité africaine! Vive le Congo indépendant et souverain!



Introduced and transcribed by Ph.-J. Salazar.

Eduardo Mondlane: Dissent on Mozambique

Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane (1920-1969) was one of the first black Mozambicans to earn a university degree, as well as the first president of FRELIMO from 1962 until his assassination by the Portuguese. The text printed here is an early statement condemning the Portuguese colonial system that he made in April 1962 — as a private citizen — to a United Nations special committee, two months before FRELIMO was founded in Dar es Salaam and over two years before the armed struggle against the Portuguese began in September 1964.

Mondlane had earned a doctorate from Northwestern University in Chicago, and was fluent in English; he had also spent more than four years working for the United Nations trusteeship division, and was familiar with UN procedures. His text therefore contrasts sharply in its measured, quasi-academic tone and its careful deployment of facts and figures from the confident populism of Machel's improvised speech in Beira, also printed in this volume.

Functionally, this text can be seen as a cautious beginning, a preliminary delineation of what the Mozambican nationalist project might later become. In early 1962, that project would have seemed optimistic — even utopian — to many people, in advancing the claim that Mozambican Africans could drive the Portuguese colonialists from the national territory. When Mondlane spoke at the UN, the three tiny nationalist movements that were soon to unite to form FRELIMO were still unarmed and impotent in neighbouring countries, without even a clandestine presence inside Mozambique. Nonetheless, armed nationalist revolts had already been launched in both Angola, and, a month earlier, in Guinea-Bissau, and Portuguese confidence had been shaken.

Mondlane spends time putting forward arguments against the most absurd assertions of the Portuguese — that Africans are lazy, that they have to be forced to work, that they are unable to benefit from education. His explanatory narrative of the working of migrant labour is tailored to refute the claim of African 'childishness' and completely omits the structural character of the system — he refers to young men seeking 'areas of adventure elsewhere' in the gold and diamond mines of South Africa.

Compared to Machel's vigorous and dramatic oratory, Mondlane's speech constructs an argument for an audience presumably ignorant of Mozambican conditions; he neither requires nor expects participation from his listeners. But FRELIMO's eventual victory depended on garnering support as much among the international community as among the Mozambican masses, and Mondlane's moderate and reasonable voice was an effective instrument right from the beginning.

Source

Statement submitted to the United Nations Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration established under General Assembly Resolution 1699 (XVI). A/AC. 108/11. New York, April 10, 1962, pp 31.

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Early in my life I took advantage of whatever educational facilities were available to the people of my race and culture. However, on finishing the first four years of school it was not possible for me to enter high school because at that time practically no black Africans could go on. Either they could not afford to or they were deemed too old to attend the only official high school then operating in Mozambique.

Consequently, in 1944, I had to go to the Transvaal, South Africa, to continue my studies. On finishing high school, by passing the South African Joint Matriculation Board Examinations in 1947, I entered the Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social Work in Johannesburg, and a year later entered Witwatersrand University, in the Faculty of Social Sciences. However, after the South African Nationalist party was voted into power, it refused to renew my visa. This resulted in my returning to Mozambique in September 1949, before finishing my studies toward the B.A. degree.

At that time the Portuguese government was engaged in a crackdown on all liberal groups in Mozambique, *i.e.*, groups that were in one way or another against Prime Minister Salazar's regime. As I had just returned to Mozambique from South Africa under rather unusual conditions, I became an easy subject for the activities of the state police. I was, therefore, soon arrested and kept incommunicado in prison for investigation for three days. Finally, when they were satisfied that I was not in any way implicated with any

of the White Portuguese whom they had already arrested, they released me. One of the main reasons for detaining me was that I had helped to organize an African students association in the capital city of Lourenço Marques a year before. Although the purpose of this organisation had been cultural and social, its popularity amongst our young African students had aroused the curiosity and fears of the Portuguese political police.

I feel that a few illustrative examples of the kind of questions that the police asked me and other members of the executive committee of the student organisation would be appropriate here, in order to show the basis of the fears felt by the Portuguese government. Even though our organisation was attached to an officially sponsored African organisation, the police kept asking us who was the source of our financial support, with prodding [sic] questions leading to an outside group or nation. Also, even though my studies at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg had been mainly supported by bona fide religious groups, the police tried to insist that my funds might instead be emanating from some overseas country.

By this time, *i.e.* in 1949, rumblings of nationalism were being reported in connection with West African British colonies, especially Nigeria and Ghana, where Namdi Azikiwe and Kwame Nkrumah were already pressing for the independence of their countries. Therefore, the Portuguese police insisted on finding out if there was any relationship between our student association and those West African nationalist leaders.

One of the last questions I was asked before I was released concerned my own conception of the moral, intellectual, and cultural capabilities of people of my own race. The question was phrased generally this way, "Do you think that the Black man has evolved morally, intellectually, and culturally enough to be able to govern himself?" Since my answer was obviously a strong "Yes", while I was shivering in my boots, the gentleman who had been investigating me, after recovering from the unexpected answer, asked further why then only purely African independent states were in his view so backward and primitive. Then he gave me a stern lecture concerning what I had said. After they were satisfied that we had no direct relationship with the White Portuguese political group they were after, they released us from prison.

A few weeks later I received a copy of a summary of the remarks of the Attorney General of Portugal on the investigations. One of the major conclusions arrived at by the Attorney General concerning me and the student organisation I had formed was that we were an embryo African nationalist organisation, and that as such we should be closely watched. In order to do this, the Attorney General counselled the Mozambique

government to give us every facility possible, while encouraging trusted African students to join the group and report on its activities. I was judged to have a “nationalist virus”, which might grow to dangerous proportions unless it was quickly encysted and rendered harmless to the rest of the African population. He then suggested that I be closely watched and, if possible, encouraged to go overseas, preferably to metropolitan Portugal, to continue my studies.

A few days later the Director of Civil Administration of Mozambique asked me to see him in his office. He suggested first that I seek a government scholarship to study in Portugal, and secondly that my student organisation should work more closely with other government-sponsored youth organisations. The first suggestion I declined, in view of the fact that I had already been promised a scholarship by a humanitarian organisation in New York City to study at Lisbon University. With regard to the second suggestion, I told him that I had no power as an individual member to decide what the group should do. Obviously we could not accept subjecting ourselves to government guidance, especially when we knew the intention of the interest it had in our organisation.

While I was in prison, I received several messages from Africans of all persuasions encouraging me to stand for the rights of the African peoples. They took my imprisonment as a token of the determination of the African people to free themselves from colonial control.

In June 1950, I left for Lisbon to continue my studies. Here, for the first time, I met the first group of really educated Africans from Africa under Portuguese colonial control. All my life in Mozambique I had never met a single Black man who had ever finished high school in any Portuguese colony.

At Lisbon University in mid-1950, there were fewer than ten Black African students who were attending university or equivalent institutions; all of them were from the West African Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guiné, Cabo Verde, and the little island of Sao Tomé. Even if one counted those who were attending the other two Portuguese universities of Coimbra and Oporto, one could not arrive at a total of more than twenty Black African students. While I was understandably pleased to meet people of my own race attending a Portuguese university, I was disappointed to find such a small number of them, when even South Africa had at that time more than fifty Black African students at the Witwatersrand University alone. When counting those who were attending Fort Hare University College, Cape Town and Natal, the number of Black African university students (in South Africa) at that time must have been more than five hundred.

I had also read reports of African students from countries that were under British and French colonial control who were studying in the so-called metropole universities. The British universities boasted more than ten thousand African students, while France had more than twenty thousand African students. I shall return to this point when dealing with actual statistical information on education in Mozambique.

During my one year of studies at the Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon, I was harassed by the political police. Twice they came to search my room, probably hoping to find some documents (which they thought I had) that would enable them to arrest me.

Nor was this harassment confined to me alone. Practically all of the other African students lived in fear of being picked up by the political police for one reason or another, but most of all because the Portuguese government, feeling guilty in its relationship with its colonial wards, wished to make sure that those of us who were studying in their midst did not plot to change our people's status.

By the end of my first year, the tension was so great that I could not study. I was afraid that if that situation continued, I might not be able to finish my education. I had already noted that most of the other African students had been dragging in their studies for the same reasons. So I applied for scholarships and admission to American colleges.

In the fall of 1951 I entered Oberlin College, Ohio, where I continued my studies in sociology and anthropology. I obtained the B.A. degree in June 1953 and, in the fall of the same year, registered at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, where I obtained the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in 1956 and 1960, respectively. Before completing my dissertation for the Ph.D. degree, I spent one year at Harvard University as a visiting scholar, studying and preparing the theoretical materials for my research. It was from Harvard that I was invited by the United Nations to join the Trusteeship staff. This was in May 1957. For the following four and one-half years I worked at United Nations Headquarters.

In the fall of 1960, I was sent to the British Cameroons as a member of a United Nations team to observe the preparations for, and the carrying out of, the 1961 plebiscite of that territory. In February of that same year, I flew back to Mozambique on home leave. On returning from Mozambique I tendered my resignation to the United Nations in order to devote my attention to writing and speaking on behalf of my people. At the present time I am teaching anthropology at the Maxwell Graduate School of Syracuse University.

I should like to give a brief outline of the situation in Mozambique as I understand it. In so doing I shall take into account the fact that a previous committee of the United Nations recently presented a report on conditions in the Portuguese colonies of Africa in which it provided this organisation with a great deal of factual information that I would not wish to duplicate.

Therefore, I wish to stress two areas of life about which I believe this Committee would be interested to hear: namely, the economic situation, especially as it affects the freedom of the people of Mozambique in their quest for a decent standard of living; and the educational policies of Portugal as they affect the African peoples of Mozambique.

We Mozambicans are, like all other Bantu south-east Africans, an agricultural people. For centuries our economic activities have centered around the tilling of the land, around raising mainly those crops that are directly related to our staple foods, such as peanuts, African corn, manioc, yams, sorghum, beans, peas, and a large variety of tropical and subtropical fruits. In addition, we are also well-known for our cattle culture. Our whole social structure is organised around an agriculture in which the rearing of cattle, goats, and occasionally sheep, plays an important role. Our family life, for example, is to a large degree based on the land. Land, however, is owned communally, with individual claims to any piece of it as property made on the basis of use only. Livestock is owned by individual families, but the grazing for livestock belongs to the whole community.

Traditionally, the division of labour was based on sex, with women specialising in the lighter chores of cultivating the fields and preparation of foods while men felled the trees, took care of the livestock, hunted, and defended the community against both wild animals and any human invaders. When our country was finally conquered and controlled by the Portuguese about the middle of the last century, many of our younger men were released from their traditional military chores and began to seek new areas of adventure elsewhere. The most important of these were the newly discovered diamond and gold mines of South Africa.

Before the middle of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese had actively participated in the capturing of many of our people to be sold overseas as slaves. When this was finally stopped, either because there were no markets for selling slaves or because the slaves were more economically useful in Mozambique itself, the Portuguese encouraged private companies to use more and more local African slave labour. As the practice of forcing African men to work for local Portuguese planters for unreasonably low wages was intensified, more and more of our young men left the country to work in the

neighboring territories of the Transvaal (in mines), Natal (on sugar cane plantations), and Southern Rhodesia (on White farms).

Most of the publicity that resulted from this kind of slavery hit the world press with reference to Angolan labour only, in connection with the Sao Tomé cocoa plantations. But, in fact, the excesses that aroused the ire of several European cocoa using industrial groups were relevant to Mozambique also, in that several thousand labourers from the East Coast had been sent to São Tomé.

The Portuguese have always argued that Africans are lazy and won't work unless they are forced to do so. Therefore, Portugal, in order to fulfill her so-called 'civilizing mission', decided to establish laws aimed at compelling Africans to work in European institutions. The belief that the African must be forced to work is part of a Portuguese philosophy in which she regards herself as a civilizing force in a continent she considers primitive and inhabited by 'children'. This Portuguese attitude toward Africa and the African peoples is typified by the following statement made by Professor Marcello Caetano, who was for a long time Prime Minister Salazar's theoretician and, until last week, the Chancellor of the University of Lisbon. Professor Caetano once wrote:

The Blacks in Africa have to be directed and indoctrinated by Europeans... The Africans have not learned how to develop alone the territories that they have inhabited for thousands of years; they have not produced one useful invention, made no valuable technical discovery... and have done nothing that can be compared to the accomplishments in the land of Culture and Technics, which is Europe...

A former Portuguese minister of colonial affairs phrased the same idea thus: "It is necessary to inspire in the Black the idea of work and of abandoning his laziness..."

Although it is not my intention to refute these obviously ignorant and prejudiced statements about the African peoples, I should like to mention, albeit in passing, that our willingness to work, in whatever we wish to engage in, has been demonstrated beyond doubt by various groups with which we have been in contact over the years. For example, the tendency of many thousands of Mozambicans to emigrate to neighboring countries to seek work was initiated by our own desire to improve our own standard of living, rather than by what they, the Portuguese, try to claim. Long before our traditional governments were destroyed, we were actively engaged in the development of our own economies and, where these did not suffice to provide outlets or remunerative work for our able-bodied men, we sought

alternative areas of work, sometimes even trekking hundreds of miles on foot to get employment. There was no need for the Portuguese to use the various legal and extra-legal devices they now use to push Africans from their own traditional means of making a livelihood into serving European economic interests.

As the situation stands today, we are probably the most exploited nation in the whole of Africa, in that we have one of the highest proportions of our able-bodied population working hundreds of miles away from our own homes. While the Portuguese government is presenting to the outside world the false picture of a people who it alleges need to be civilized by forcing them to work, the truth is otherwise.

The annual emigration of Mozambicans to South Africa is estimated at five hundred thousand able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five and is governed by a series of agreements between South Africa and Portugal, beginning in the year 1897. In that year an agreement was made between Portugal and what was then the Republic of the Transvaal; it was followed by the *Modus Vivendi* of 1901, the Transvaal – Mozambique Convention of 1909, and the Portuguese – South African Convention of 1928, revised in 1934, 1936, and 1940. All of these agreements between Portugal and South Africa arranged for the gold and diamond mine interests of the Transvaal to be granted large-scale labour-recruiting privileges in at least the southern province of Mozambique in return for guaranteeing that a certain proportion of the sea-borne traffic of the industrial center of South Africa, which includes Pretoria and Johannesburg, must pass through the Port of Lourenço Marques rather than through the South African ports of Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town.

Other benefits accruing to Portugal are direct monetary payments per African recruited, guaranteed repatriation of all clandestine emigrants, maximum contract time, and permission to establish Portuguese Native Affairs inspection and tax-collecting facilities (*Curadorias*) on South African territory.

At the turn of the last century about three-quarters of the total African labour force at the mines of the Transvaal was from Mozambique. According to a Transvaal Labour Commission report, for the first twenty years of the industry's development, the gold mines were almost entirely dependent upon the East Coast for their labour. As another reporter puts it, "The Mozambique boy [sic] may, therefore, be described as the pioneer coloured labourer of the Witwatersrand". Since then the African people of Mozambique have spent the most productive years of their lives helping to develop an economy — a labour for which they themselves received almost nothing — that has, as it is

well-known, enriched and continues to enrich the White people of South Africa and, to a certain extent, has profited and continues to profit the Portuguese government.

Without going into the details of hazards that generations of Mozambicans have undergone and in which thousands of our people have lost their lives, we would like to underline a few points. In the twelve years between 1902 and 1914, over forty-three thousand Mozambicans died as a result of mining accidents and disease while employed by the Chamber of Mines of the Rand. It is quite likely that a greater number of our people died at home from diseases and accidents that resulted from labour at the mines. Remembering my experience in Mozambique, I cannot recall a single family that does not count the loss of at least one man who either died in the mines of South Africa or came home with an illness contracted in the mines and died a few years later. The death toll between 1902 and 1940 stands at 81 166. Even if this great loss of our people were related to the economic development of our own country and for the benefit of our own people, it would be greatly deplored. However, the situation is worse. These thousands of Mozambicans have died to satisfy the economic greed of both the South African Whites and the Portuguese.

Having grown up in the area from which most of the people composing this labour force come, I should like to indicate in a few words some of the consequences this migratory system of labour has for the workers' families in Mozambique. Most of the labourers stay an average of fifteen months in the mining areas, even though the contract allows for a maximum sojourn of eighteen months. During those fifteen months their services are lost to their wives and children. Not only do the men normally help to build the huts and granaries of the family, in addition to clearing the forests and thickets to enable the women to cultivate the land and sow the seeds, but they also provide an important element in the total life of a family. The many emotional problems the wives of these men have to face as a result of their husbands' prolonged absence from home cannot be described in a statement of a few minutes' duration.

Nor is this all. In order to make certain that sufficient men leave their homes to work either in South Africa or in Mozambique — on plantations, in industries, or on government projects — the Portuguese government has, from time to time, passed laws that force Africans to leave. These are the so-called contract labour laws. In order to justify this, of course, the same kind of arguments and rationalisations that we have already pointed out are brought forth. Even as late as the 1940's, a Portuguese governor stated the following:

The problem of native manpower.. is probably the most important preoccupation of European agriculture. Generally speaking, throughout the various seasons of the year there is an insufficient number of workers for the accomplishment of the undertakings that have been planned. The recruiters struggle with great difficulties to engage the needed number of workers... The rendering of work in Africa cannot continue to depend upon the whim of the Black man, who is, by temperament and natural circumstances, inclined to expend only that minimum of effort which corresponds to his minimum necessities...

When I returned to Mozambique last year, I had great hopes of seeing some improvements, which I thought might have resulted from the present political situation in Africa. But, alas, I was disappointed. If anything, the situation is in many ways worse. In the first place, the South African mining interests boast the highest number of Mozambicans workers ever. Secondly, the southern district adjoining Zululand and Swaziland is now so thinly populated that many people fear that unless things change drastically it will be completely emptied of its erstwhile teeming population. Thirdly, the African traditional rulers have become virtual policemen for the local administrators rather than a link between the people and their conquerors. So that even where one might once have expected some rapport between the people and the government, none now exists.

With regard to wages, African workers earn monthly salaries lower in value than those earned by European workers. As I travelled all over the southern province, I heard complaints of inadequate wages, illegal extensions of contracts with the conniving of some of the local government officers, the use of women and minors on government road projects, and many other charges.

One of the most common irregularities in the administration of the labour codes occurs in the actual recruitment of the workers. As happens with most legal provisions of the Portuguese government, there is no concern for impartiality in their application. For example, the local administrative officer is also the highest judicial authority as he is the highest executive authority for any given group of Africans. Except for the very small number of 'assimilated' persons, the vast majority of the African people must depend on the local administrative officer for the interpretation of the law as well as for the adjudication of differences among the people. Therefore, if an employer wished to have a given number of workers on a given date, the administrative officer often breaks his own governmental regulation and orders the local chiefs to bring in the needed people or else. Even though a chief understands

the law and disagrees with the officer, he dares not oppose him, for there is no independent authority to which he may appeal.

One of my major disappointments in Mozambique during last year's visit was to discover that the educational policies and practices of the last twenty years have not changed.

The gap between the Portuguese theory of education in its overseas territories and its actual practice has been a very wide one. Some five hundred years of Portuguese colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique have resulted, not in the creation of millions of full-fledged black Portuguese citizens, but in the evolution of barely thirty-six thousand *assimilados* out of a total population in the two territories of over ten million. Universal education, even at the beginning *adaptagao* level, is still a long way off. Schooling beyond the fourth grade is reserved for a few hundred Africans a year. Moreover, the continuing encouragement of large-scale migration of Portuguese settlers to Angola and Mozambique raises new questions regarding the ultimate intent of Portuguese policy.

Despite the oft-repeated official claim that there is no discrimination along racial lines in the Portuguese territories, the fact is that most African education is both separate from and decidedly inferior to that available to non-Africans in Angola and Mozambique. The official rationalisation for the maintenance of a completely separate system of schools for Africans is that the purpose of these schools is to introduce African children to Portuguese culture and language and that the approach required would be too elementary for children born into that culture. This argument would have more validity if the same measuring stick were applied to children of other non-European cultures as well; but the Asians in Mozambique, most of whom share the Africans' unfamiliarity with the Portuguese language and culture and usually are not Christians, are eligible for entry into government and private schools catering to Europeans. On the other hand, it is quite true that fully assimilated Africans who have already become citizens of Portugal by official act have been accepted with a minimum of color bias in Portuguese schools, although their role in Portuguese society has remained ambiguous.

However sincere the original intent of Portuguese educational policy may have been, educational practice in recent years has clearly been directed toward keeping the lid on African education. This is accomplished by isolating the Africans under Portuguese jurisdiction from the mainstream of African thought and education, discouraging the use of indigenous languages by prohibiting them even at the primary level of education, and educating Africans to a minimal level in a highly controlled, Portuguese-oriented

educational environment.

While I was in Mozambique last year, I had the opportunity of discussing educational problems with two of the highest officials of the Board of Education of the country. One of these was the Director of Education for the whole country and the other was the principal of Salazar High School, the largest government high school. In talking to these two gentlemen, I was interested in finding out, first, the government's plans for expanding African education so that it may take more students and, second, whether the government intends to correct the anomaly existing in high schools, where there is such a paucity of African children in a country in which more than 95 percent of the people are Africans. With regard to the first question, the Director of Education told me that nothing can be done to increase the number of African grade school children until more money is available to expand the whole system. I told him that in talking to Roman Catholic priests, whose church monopolised African education, I was told that the government does not give enough financial support to their work and that, therefore, they are not able to either improve the quality of education given or increase the number of students that they can take. Out of an annual revenue estimated at over \$6 million from the total of individual African headtax collected, only some \$1 050 000 is given to the Roman Catholic missions, which monopolize African education in Mozambique. With a ET capita expenditure of less than \$3 a year per African child of school age, it is not surprising that the rate of illiteracy in Mozambique should remain at over ninety-nine percent.

The priests gave me some pamphlets written by the late Clemente Cardinal Gouveia in which he mildly questioned the government's not giving enough financial support to the Roman Catholic Church to run the African schools. One of the paradoxes here is that he is the Cardinal mainly responsible for the closing of many non-Catholic schools during his twenty years as Archbishop of Lourenço Marques.

During my conversation with the principal of Salazar High School, I had sought to discover how many African students they had in Lourenço Marques government high schools and how they compared with White students in academic performance. The principal of Salazar High School evaded my first question by saying that, although there were not as many as he personally would wish for, there were more than when he began teaching at the same school some years back. As to how these students stood academically in comparison with the Whites, he said that in the physical sciences and mathematics they compared quite favorably with all other students, but that in the Portuguese language and literature, they did not do so well. The reason for this poor performance in Portuguese, he continued, is that Portuguese is a

second language to the African students. They need to be given a special preparatory course that will enable them to meet the standards of their White fellow students. He also suggested that their poor Portuguese affected their performance in other subjects, in that even though the examiners do not know the races of the candidates, they can tell by the poor Portuguese grammar that they are Africans. He would not give me any figures on the number of African students in his school, with the excuse that the government does not allow student registration to mention race. He took me to the school dining hall to show me how the government was making it possible for the less privileged students to have a meal at noon. In spite of the fact that there were no more than twenty Africans in a high school that has more than a thousand pupils, practically all of those who needed a school lunch were Africans. There were also a few Mulattoes and Asians. Of the twenty-odd students who were eating in the dining room, there were about three who looked White. On leaving the school grounds I met a couple of African girls who were students at the high school. They told me that there were six African girls at the Salazar High School during the 1960-61 school year. As for African boys, they estimated their number at twelve.

I later met one of the Roman Catholic priests who was acquainted with the school system and asked him if he could estimate the number of African students at the Salazar High School. After noting proudly that students in Portuguese Africa are not identified by their race, he went on to make an estimate of twenty. When he noticed disappointment in my face, he quickly added that there were more African students at the uptown government high school. However, when I later visited that school I found that the proportion was also heavily in favor of Whites. On talking to some of the African students, I gathered that there must have been no more than forty African students out of an estimated total of eight hundred at that school.

In Beira, the second largest city in Mozambique, the educational situation is even worse. Even though no statistical information on racial distribution in the schools there was available, I was recently able to gather some facts from talking to White and Goan students who came from that city and who are now studying in European universities. They told me that out of an estimated total of five hundred high school students in the official high school at Beira, there cannot be more than five black African students.

In order to understand the educational situation in Mozambique, one must see it as linked to all other aspects of life in that Portuguese colony. But the most central of these is the economic situation. Now let us turn to the economic picture in order to shed more light on why the Portuguese are refusing to develop the peoples of Mozambique toward self-determination.

The economy of Mozambique can be divided into two main parts. The first of these is the export trade, which currently earns an average of \$75 million per year. But since the value of imports is about twice as high as that of exports, the above figure can pay for only fifty percent of the imports. Remittances from the four hundred thousand Africans working in South African and Rhodesian mines compensate for a large portion of the difference. The rest is taken care of by proceeds from the annual influx of sixty thousand White South African tourists. As the whole economy is completely controlled by Lisbon, the largest portion of Mozambicans trade is with Portugal in order to help meet her pressing need for foreign currency resulting from her own annual trade deficit, which runs at about \$150 million.

While prices for raw materials and foodstuffs are officially kept below world levels and some commodities, such as cotton and sugar, are sold exclusively to Portugal, imports into Mozambique are subject to protective policies with the purpose of maintaining the market for continental Portuguese manufacturers by eliminating the necessity for them to compete with foreign manufacturers. Thus, Mozambique uses practically all the foreign exchange left after covering its own trade gap to meet its large deficit in payments to Portugal. It is obvious that this constant need for foreign exchange must leave the Portuguese colonial policies open to diplomatic pressure from South Africa and the Rhodesias, and, furthermore, it creates a situation whereby the burden of economic development, which is subject to exploitation by Lisbon, falls on the substructure of the African workers.

It must be kept in mind that African labour is the main factor behind the production of raw materials and foodstuffs for both the Portuguese industries in Europe and the export trade. The extraordinarily low wages paid to African workers cannot be justified by any arguments based on the capital expenditures and know-how that the Portuguese provide.

A brief analysis of economic policies in Mozambique, as they relate to the production of cotton, will illustrate at least in part what we mean. Most of the cotton is produced in the northern areas. These areas are divided into concessions given to White-owned companies, in most cases companies closely associated with textile companies operating in Portugal. Each African adult is assigned 1.2 acres of land on which to plant cotton, using whatever means of cultivation are available to him. The local government officers, in cooperation with the concessionary companies, provide police to supervise the cultivation, planting, weeding, and harvesting of the cotton. It often happens that all members of a family are driven out of their homes to work in the cotton fields, which are supposed to be their own, even if such labour acts

to the detriment of all other traditional economic activities. From what I have witnessed in the areas in which I have lived, this is the worst of the three methods of human exploitation. In classical slavery, the exploiter owns his slave and, therefore, must invest a certain amount of money to keep him well, physically strong, and happy; with absentee landlords, the squatters farm the land, producing anything they wish as long as they ultimately pay a certain proportion of their produce to the landlord; but in the Portuguese cotton concessions of Mozambique, the concessionary companies assume no economic or moral responsibilities except, probably, for what they spend in lining the pockets of some of the government officers who have direct control of the African cotton farmer.



Introduced by Colin Darch.

Kenneth Kaunda: The dignity of labour

When one considers the efforts made by Kenneth Kaunda (b. 1924) to attain Zambia's independence, one is able to understand the value that he attributed to work in this May Day speech (1972). In 1953 — as a member of the Zambian ANC — as well as in 1961, Kenneth Kaunda not only sought to dismantle colonialism in his country but also to formulate a new framework for growth. This entailed harnessing rhetorical means which served two purposes, the one ethical, the other political. One could argue that his praise for the ethical and political dimensions of work bear the marks of his Church of Scotland education and of the British Labour tradition of oratory. It is the sort of fiery, expansive rhetoric he displayed during the liberation phase, and formalised as a tool of government afterwards. This May Day speech conjoins two levels of argumentation: judicial as well as deliberative. The judicial elements of the speech are evident through the presence of an accusation, as he indicts obliquely Zambians who do not see work as a dignified, liberatory force so as to, “[enhance] their personal worth and dignity”; he “points a condemning finger” to Zambians who do not emulate by working the ethos of fellow Zambians who were involved in the liberation movement. The deliberative elements in the speech are apparent through the fact that Kaunda indirectly advocates for a work ethic, which will benefit the people as it will lead to the economic growth of Zambia. Although the speech appears to be endorsing a particular work ethic as well as praising the dignity of labour in general it actually functions as a tool through which Kaunda wishes to rally support for policies. In the year the speech was made, the Zambian government formed different economic structures that led to the national ownership of organisations previously owned predominantly by the British, while, in the face of political opposition Kaunda imposed one party rule and had his main rival jailed. Some parties had already been banned in 1964. In essence the speech seeks to capture the moral high ground upon which Kaunda could legitimise both an ethical calling (the dignity of labour) and a tactical political move.

Source

Kenneth Kaunda, *The dignity of labour* (Lusaka: The Cabinet Office/The Government Printer, 1972). Printed as being delivered in Lusaka on Saturday 29 April 1972, although it is a May Day speech. Kaunda dictated all his speeches to his trusted secretary Mrs Gloria Sleep.

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“There is a perennial nobleness and even a sacredness in work”,
Thomas Carlyle.¹

May Day is Workers’ Day. It was set aside as a public holiday in Zambia in honour of the workers of this country and other workers the world over, whose sweat and toil have transformed the face of Zambia and the world, and have changed, for the better, man’s environment and his life. It is a day when workers celebrate the success of their efforts to improve the lot of mankind.

This day, therefore, provides the workers with an important opportunity to ponder over the real significance of work in our lives, the very high place which work occupies in the life of our Nation. No man, no nation can exist without work. All growth depends on activity — on work. Even animals have to work to obtain food. In our environment there can be no development, no progress, physical or intellectual, without effort. Effort means work. So work is not a curse; indeed, among human beings it is the most cardinal of the means to manhood and a key factor to the development of our civilisation. The defence of our liberty, freedom and independence means work. The furtherance of the aims of freedom and independence, the realisation of our economic, social and cultural goals, demands hard work.

The greatest asset of any nation is the spirit of its people, its working force; and the greatest danger than can menace any nation is the breakdown of that spirit — the will to work, the will to succeed and the courage and determination to work relentlessly towards greater victories.

No institution, no nation, can be better than the members who comprise it.

It is against this background that we should examine three categories of workers. First, there are those who work primarily for money. In the majority of cases, these people do not care about their contribution to nation-building

¹ From *Past and Present III*, ch. 11 (1843) (editor’s note).

or higher productivity. They attach greater importance to their physical presence in offices or factories and in various other places of employment than to the accomplishment of their tasks. They are eager to leave their places of work promptly, regardless of whether or not their work has been completed; yet they do not care how late they report for work. The most important consideration is not so much the completion of their work, but the pay ticket at the month-end and what they are able to buy with it. Their philosophy is simply minimum effort at work and maximum benefit and leisure time. They are a menace to society. Regrettably, there are many of those people in Zambia. The result is that the greatest burden of the work of bringing about improvement in our economic and social life which the nation enjoys is being shouldered by the few dedicated, courageous and hard-working men, women and youths.

In the second category are people who do not merely or primarily work for money but rather for the improvement of their conditions and those of their fellow men. During the struggle for independence, quite a considerable number of people worked hard and made sacrifices, without regard to returns either for themselves or their families, in support of the national cause. The main objective in the selfless act of participation in the struggle was to help realise the wishes and desires, not only of a few individuals in the leadership, but all the people, who indeed, today, enjoy the benefits of freedom and prosperity in an Independent Zambia. This includes people who opposed the Independence struggle.

Today, there are many men and women in politics, in various branches of the Public Service, commerce and industry and the Church who genuinely believe in hard work and long hours of work, completely out of proportion to the remuneration at the end of the month. They believe that certain tasks have to be performed in order that the Nation can satisfy its needs; work on such tasks has to be done strenuously and successfully. Work done for delight, is done heartily. In whatever case, the success of the workers depends on their spirit and the will to succeed.

Many Church workers, for example, have come out with an unequivocal commitment to join the Party and Government in their efforts to improve our economic and social conditions. This is in realisation of their special responsibility to, and their role in society. These and other workers in many charitable and non-charitable, but productive organisations, are among the most important determinants of the pace of progress in the Nation.

The degree of interdependence among workers demanded by our fast-changing economic life must drive every worker to greater effort to ensure

higher productivity. No worker can succeed alone without the support of others, be they farmers or workers in offices, factories, mines and in many other areas of economic, social and political life. The size of our national cake depends upon the co-operative efforts of all workers in every sphere of life. Miners are vital to our economy, but they need food from farmers, who in turn need fertiliser and other supplies from factory workers, just as they need guidance from trained planners and extension workers. All workers also need guaranteed freedom, peace, and public health and other services to enable them to produce without let or hindrance.

In a Humanist society, conscientious workers must always consider the interests of other fellow workers and members of society in general and the harm done to them through irresponsible behaviour such as laziness, drunkenness at work, or illegal strikes which can bring development to a grinding halt.

There is a third category of workers who do not only consider work as a service to society but also as an instrument for enhancing their personal worth and dignity.

Pope Paul VI, in his encyclical letter "On the development of peoples", has dealt with a very important dimension of work in the context of "the vocation to self-fulfilment". This dimension of work is never fully and seriously given due emphasis by us the workers. Pope Paul has said:

In the design of God, every man is called upon to develop and fulfil himself, for every life is a vocation. At birth, everyone is granted, in germ, a set of aptitudes and qualities for him to bring to fruition. Their coming to maturity, which will be the result of education received from the environment and personal efforts, will allow each man to direct himself toward the destiny intended for him by his Creator. Endowed with intelligence and freedom, he is responsible for his fulfilment as he is for his salvation. He is aided, or sometimes impeded, by those who educate him and those with whom he lives, but each one remains, whatever be these influences affecting him, the principal agent of his own success or failure. By the unaided effort of his own intelligence and his will, each man can grow in humanity, can enhance his personal worth, can become more a person.

This is fundamental in our Humanist philosophy. We must regard work as part of the process of improving man's inherent qualities; we must regard work as the process of man's efforts to become a better man "to enhance his

personal worth, to become more a person". Work is, in this case, both an instrument and part of the process of self-fulfilment. Looking at it from this angle, there is nobleness and a sacredness in work. There is, therefore, reason to derive joy from work. There is reason to do much more than we are required by, say, regulations, even beyond normal working hours, if only to improve our creative powers and our capacity to solve even more difficult problems in life.

Even from an intellectual point of view, one does not mature in intellect and wisdom who does not gain more knowledge and experience through the interaction of ideas and creative efforts which work involves. We should be happy to accept more responsibility and to discharge it efficiently and effectively as a demonstration of our personal worth and usefulness to society.

Every worker is, therefore, at the service of the Nation and must take pride in contributing to national fulfilment through personal success and the success of all the workers of Zambia. Workers must lead a purposeful life. For, a life without a purpose is like that of a tree; it vegetates; it is without a sense of value and direction.

So as we, the workers of Zambia, celebrate May Day, it is opportune also to remember the real meaning and importance of our various institutions of employment and to the Nation as a whole. We must celebrate the success of our efforts and not our failures. A moment's stoppage through a strike, official or unofficial, means a halt in progress either in material welfare, or in the process of self-fulfilment. In the final analysis, the worker is the loser. We must not be a nation of beggars, nor a beggar nation. A beggar is without dignity or self-respect. National decency, national dignity and national respect and prosperity all depend entirely on the success of our creative efforts and hard work to maintain the highest possible level of production of goods and services which constitute our national cake. We must aim at a fair distribution of wealth and not poverty. But there can be no distribution of wealth if no wealth is produced through work. There can be no improvement of economic and social conditions except through increased and continuous production of commodities and services. The attainment of maximum social justice in a Humanist society only takes meaning in the context of higher productivity and fair distribution all round in our national institutions.

We have no choice, as a young Nation landlocked and surrounded by hostile forces, but to work very hard for national survival and national fulfilment. Drunkenness, road accidents, indiscipline, laziness, selfishness, exaggerated feelings of self-importance; ignorance and disease are among the worst

~ *Kenneth Kaunda* ~

enemies of our society. They frustrate the efforts of selfless, dedicated workers. We must fight with a will to win. We cannot afford to lose. Our first victory against the enemy lies in the unity of purpose and action to build a free, strong and prosperous Zambia. This is the call of the Nation and all workers in each and every institution, in all corners of Zambia, must answer it positively and effectively.

We Zambians are all workers, whoever and whatever we are. We are the vanguard of our Revolution. The destiny of this Nation lies in our hands; we must accept full responsibility for shaping today the Zambia of tomorrow which is our children's heritage. Indeed the real success of our democracy rests in our triumph in breaking the chains of economic and social bondage among the majority of the Zambian people. This is a national cause, as important as the struggle for political independence. It is a daily and continuous challenge for every patriotic worker.

This must, therefore, be a day of reflection and rededication to our cause of building a free, strong and prosperous Zambia, through sweat and toil, under our national motto "One Zambia, One Nation".



Introduced, with editorial revisions, by Lethiwe Nkosi.

Samora Machel: The Beira speech

The speech by Samora Machel (1933-1986) printed here in translation was made to a large crowd in a football stadium in Beira on 14 June 1975, a few days before Mozambican independence. The country's second city, Beira had a history as a centre of reaction in the later colonial period and in the war against FRELIMO.

The speech was one of over thirty made in the course of an emblematic and little-studied journey that Samora Machel, soon to become Mozambique's first president, undertook between 24 May and 25 June 1975. He crossed the Rovuma River from Tanzania into Mozambique and moved slowly southwards to the capital, Lourenço Marques, in the extreme south. This 'Triumphal Journey' symbolically set the stage for and culminated in the formal handing over of power by the Portuguese to FRELIMO. It was clearly intended to begin the work of emphasising unity in a country subject to extensive attempts at political division by the Portuguese colonial administration in the preceding decades, and still very much open to the threat of internal and external colonialist initiatives.

The content of the speech is significant for what it represents in the sequence of political transition, and particularly for its relevance in analytically demolishing colonial social structure and presenting telling parts of FRELIMO's vision of the transformation process. The text is interesting as much for its paucity of overt theory as for its rhetorical and theatrical complexity. It adds little in the way of concrete data to our knowledge of the historical events of the period. It does, however, consolidate our knowledge of the intricacy of FRELIMO's approach to race, colonial class structure and internationalism at various levels, subjects that are basic to Machel's line of argument.

The speech has never been published in any language, although a short extract was included in a Mozambican collection of political texts, and quotations appeared in contemporary newspaper accounts of Machel's visit to Beira. These published extracts were heavily 'normalised', as was commonly done with transcripts of speeches when they appeared in print. However, in reconstructing the text for publication from a contemporary audio recording, we have followed minimalist principles, attempting to avoid prescriptive or normative correction of Machel's utterances. The text as presented inevitably represents choices and includes interpretations on our part, but other analysts are free to derive their own readings from this source.

Sources

Samora Machel, *The Beira speech* (14 June 1975), Colin Darch and David Hedges, trans. The recording is available in digitised MP3 format at *Mozambique History Net*: http://www.mozambiquehistory.net/samora_audio/ .

A heavily 'corrected' fragment appears in João Reis and Armando Pedro Muiuane (eds.), *Datas e documentos da história da FRELIMO* (Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1975): 426-7. See also *Notícias da Beira* (15 June 1975): 2.

References

Colin Darch and David Hedges, *Retórica política na transição à independência de Moçambique*, is scheduled to appear in 2012 and will include an analysis in which they attempt to achieve a non-prescriptive reconstruction of the original 'text' as well as a fuller analytical and historical reading in the context of the last few days before independence.



(Watchwords).¹

Come closer so that we can talk better!

(Watchwords).

I should like to introduce here the comrade vice-president of FRELIMO, comrade Marcelino dos Santos, member of the Central Committee of FRELIMO and of the Executive Committee — the former terrorist! *(Applause)*.

(Marcelino speaking: watchwords).

I want to introduce another terrorist. One more 'turra'² *(laughter, applause)*. Here we have the great terrorist *(laughter)* who is responsible for breeding other terrorists — Minister of Education in the Transitional Government. This is why he was charged with breeding more 'turra', more terrorists *(laughter, applause)*.

¹ Translation of the Portuguese *Palavras de ordem*, meaning roughly 'call-and-response political slogans'. A South African example would be *Amandla!* followed by the response *Ngawethu!*

² Portuguese slang abbreviation for *terrorista* or terrorist.

I am introducing the great terrorists to you, (*laughter*) because the centre of terrorism was here. They were swarming in every corner, the true ‘gangsters’, the true bandits and the true brigands. The centre of racial discrimination is here in Beira (*applause*). Here! And this discrimination was deliberately fostered, deliberately, by the fascist, colonial-fascist government of Salazar, and consolidated in rotten structures by Marcelo Caetano, head of the bandit ranks (*applause, jeering*).

Since childhood, we have known Beira, the satellite of apartheid, the satellite of South Africa, of the racism of Rhodesia and South Africa (*applause*). And they chose it during the war as a centre, a centre for the reinforcement of the reactionary forces, of the forces that attacked, assassinated, massacred, killed, raped the Mozambican people. The centre of the forces that humiliated, the centre of the forces that discriminated, the centre of humiliation based on the colour of your skin.

To speak of Beira is to speak of crime. It is to speak of crime against humanity. We lived separated in our country. We lived dominated, discriminated against, treated with contempt as incompetents in our own country. But these elements, all these instruments aimed only at a single objective — to be able to exploit, to be able to suck the blood of the Mozambican people, to be able to pillage the riches of our country.

Employees who didn’t receive any money (*applause, vivas*). Employees who were jailed after six months because they stole (*applause*). Employees who were sacked after twelve months to avoid paying them (*applause*). In Beira — women raped, banditry. The centre of banditry, here. Constant arbitrary imprisonment of women for growing rice, and without payment (*applause*). And this fact, this happening wasn’t only in Beira, it was in the whole colony. It happened to all the Mozambican people. It was all those elements who administered colonialism. This was the real and true face of colonialism, and above all when colonialism was accompanied by fascism.

We were prevented from using legal remedies. We didn’t have freedom of expression. We died with our feelings [bottled up] — we were “animals without feelings, without love”. Everything for the benefit of Portuguese colonialism. To benefit imperialism. To benefit a handful of people. It wasn’t for the Portuguese people, and even less for the Mozambican people. It was for this that FRELIMO directed its struggle against the bandits (*applause, vivas*). Against the real ones, the real ‘turras’, the real terrorists, who shifted the responsibility for the terrorism that they practised onto FRELIMO, the highest expression of the Mozambican people, denied the right to demand freedom, independence. It was because of this, because of this, when there was a coup

in Portugal, some groups here split up their organisations into terrorist organisations with the objective of dividing and weakening the Mozambican people. With the objective of fighting FRELIMO, legitimate representative of the Mozambican people.

How many parties were founded here in Beira? How many? How many? (*Five*). Five? (*Five*). Just in Beira city? (*Yes*). How many? Where are their leaders? Where are their leaders? (*crowd responds*). Where are their leaders? (*Crowd responds again*). First, I want to call attention to these puppets (*laughter, applause*). To these puppets. Marrionettes. Marrionettes. There you are. Marrionettes, they are marrionettes. It wasn't them, they were controlled by somebody else. They were controlled by an external force. They were encouraged by the Rhodesians too, declare a second Rhodesia here in Mozambique. They were encouraged by the Republic of South Africa, because the racists are satellites of the Republic of South Africa. We don't want to say that these gentlemen — because here we have comrades, gentlemen and friends, not everybody is a comrade...

We want to call attention — 'mister' doesn't mean a White person. Not so. 'Reactionary idea' is what 'mister' represents (*applause, vivas*).

But it seems everybody understands Portuguese, right? (*No*). Have I got to speak in Portuguese only? (*No*). Hem? ³ (*No, no*). The people are refusing.

Portuguese culture during five hundred years — well, such a long time wasn't long enough to transmit sufficiently and to turn us into little black-skinned Portuguese? Was it? (*Laughter*). The time wasn't sufficient. It wasn't sufficient, and we can't grasp why. Why is it that they didn't evoke enough, if the mission of Portugal in Mozambique was a civilising mission?

Civilise the savage beast (*laughter, applause*), civilise the savage. But all humans are descended from monkeys, and I'm surprised at why (*laughter*). All humans, all humans of all races, come from monkeys. It was the development of work that produced humanity. The development of work, the role of work formed mankind. Man is a product of work. We started to work unconsciously, and work produced us. Manufactured us. It's work that developed the brain of each one of us. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

But I want to say to the puppets, to the reactionaries, to the agents of imperialism, that we defeated the most organised power, which was the Portu-

³ Interrogative, roughly equivalent to 'Well?', and used when he wants a response from the crowd.

guesse force. We defeated it. We defeated the organised power, the prepared force, the well-oriented force, we defeated it here in Mozambique. First we defeated it politically, second militarily. That's why these little groups (*inaudible. Machel indicates among the audience*), (*laughter*) ...but they're everywhere. They are here. They are here. Isn't it true? Hem?

They are here. They are here. We want to point out that in Mozambique there is no place for you (*laughter, applause*). There is no place for White racism, as there is no place for Black racism, because racism, racism, in its essence, in its essence racism is an organised attitude, a reactionary attitude. We defeated Portuguese power because, first, it practiced racial discrimination. It was isolated, the Portuguese power, all over the world, first in Europe. Do you hear? (*We hear*). First, in Europe. Europe. Europe, there are only Whites. But they isolated Portugal, because they practised racism — racism is a reactionary attitude, racism. First they isolated Portugal.

Racism is intimately connected to fascism. Fascism doesn't respect humanity. Fascism. It's for this that Portugal is so backward in Europe (*applause*). Because they had, because the fascist system was there. Hitler, in 1939, launched — he mobilised the entire force of the German people, saying that the German represented the superior race in the world — he launched a war against Europe. And all those Whites, all of them, were from an inferior race. There was no delay. He was defeated. Mussolini was defeated, in Italy. Because these countries were immediately isolated from the rest of the human community, from the rest of the international community, because of racism. Racism is a reactionary attitude. Beaten, Hitler, because he launched an unjust war against humanity, using racism. The peoples of the entire world united themselves around a single ideal, the single desire to smash fascism.

This is what happened with Portugal. Portugal, why Portugal? Because it practised, in the first place, fascism, and had to practice, immediately, racism, it was isolated in the international community. It was isolated from the rest of the world. Portugal was ignored during the war in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. It didn't exist, Portugal. It was expelled from many international organisations, because it practiced racism. Because it practiced — its system was a fascist system — that is to say, there was no democracy in Portugal. There in Portugal, isolated from the rest of the world, later on isolated within Portugal. The ones who oppressed us were a little group of bandits, of terrorists, despised in Portugal, despised in the international community, and fought against here in Mozambique. All the peoples of the whole world immediately supported our struggle, because our struggle was never against any race. Because there isn't any imperialist race in the world. There

is no race that likes to have its blood sucked. All races, all peoples in the world want liberty, want independence.

Very aggravated, Portuguese fascism, because... its colonial system. Colonialism is a crime against humanity. Colonialism is a crime against humanity. Because of this, with our correct definition of the enemy...

So you are asking, have you already told us what colonialism is? I should say "occupation of a country by another external force, a foreign force". The Portuguese presence here was a foreign force (*applause*). It did nothing here in our country; it was exploitation by a group — a group of scoundrels. Scoundrels. A little group of scoundrels.

The Portuguese people live like you: those huts that you use here are what the Portuguese people live in, in Portugal. It's very backward, in Portugal (*applause, vivas*) they don't have bedrooms, they don't have shoes, the Portuguese people, the Portuguese people (*applause, laughter*). They don't have schools for the people, there is no school for the people. Do you hear? (*We hear*). And so, and so, we say that the Portuguese people are our friends. Our friends, our allies all the time. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

And you say "Aha! But it was the Portuguese who treated us badly here. Here we only saw Portuguese soldiers". Yes or no? (*Yes*). The ones who assassinated us, they were Portuguese soldiers. They were the governors. They were the administrators, the district heads. Right? (*Right. Applause, vivas*).

I would say "If you think it was Marcelo Caetano, then, who gave the Portuguese people" — isn't that true? (*Yes*). There you are, yes. The Portuguese people gave their sons to Marcelo Caetano to come and oppress the Mozambican people. That's it, isn't it? (*Yes*). So then you gave your sons to be OPV [Voluntary Police Organisation], and to be GE [Grupos Especiais] — that's right too? Is it? Is it? (*No!*) It is (*No!*) How is it that your children took part there? In the struggle, on the side of Portuguese colonialism? How is it that they appeared in the Portuguese ranks? Hem? (*Various inaudible replies*). How is it? (*Various inaudible replies*). Okay. So, have you answered me? Have you answered me? Have you answered me? (*No*). Your brothers, your husbands, your sons were prisoners, right? (*Right, right*). To fight against FRELIMO (*Yes*). To fight against the Mozambican people. (*Yes*) For you to fight against yourselves (*Yes*). So they could prevent your liberty (*Yes*). So they could prevent the independence of Mozambique (*Yes*). It's done! (*Applause*).

(*Long silence*).

So, so, the Portuguese people will say “the Mozambican people enjoyed colonialism”. Right? (*No*). The Mozambican people were satisfied with colonialism. (*No. Laughter*). The Mozambican people were already independent for many years, according to the declaration of His Excellency Mr. Oliveira Salazar. Yes or no? (*No*). Yes or no? (*No*). The Portuguese people will say that the Mozambican people don’t want independence; they are satisfied with the Portuguese government. Yes or no? (*No! No!*) No? (*No!*)

(*Silence*).

In the same way that your husbands, your brothers, your sons, your brothers-in-law were drafted into the Portuguese army, it’s the same way that the sons of the Portuguese people came to oppress Angola — the people of Angola, the people of Guinea, and the people of Mozambique. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). They were imprisoned in Portugal in order to come here. The colonial system, do you hear? (*We hear*). The colonial system.

Now, I would ask, “during ten years of war in Mozambique, thirteen years of war in Angola, eleven years of war in Guinea-Bissau, did the sons of the Portuguese people develop a conscience?” They overthrew Marcelo Caetano there in Portugal. Yes or no? (*Yes*). When power was returned to the Portuguese people, the Portuguese people immediately acknowledged the right of the Mozambican people to independence. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

We finished, we liquidated the war together — us and the Portuguese people. Do you hear? That is why we made a declaration, a famous sentence. Do you hear? (*We hear*). International assistance or solidarity with other peoples is not an act of charity, it is not. It is a duty, it is mutual assistance between forces fighting for the same objectives.

I know your difficulty. In Asia, there, there was colonialism. Among the Asians, do you hear? Do you hear? (*We hear*). Among the Asians. In Europe there was also colonialism. Do you know that Portugal, to be born, had to go through war? Yes or no? Yes or no? (*Yes*). To liberate themselves, to create a Portuguese nationality, they struggled. Then the Spaniards came. They occupied Portugal for sixty years. Do you hear? (*We hear*). To destroy the Portuguese personality. To destroy Portuguese liberties. To destroy Portuguese values. Every people had its own values, do you hear? (*We hear*). So the Portuguese took to arms. They fought. Do you hear? (*We hear*). But at the same time that they were fighting there in Europe, against Spanish colonialism, they oppressed the Mozambican people here. The Portuguese people enjoy freedom. (*Pauses for emphasis*). The Portuguese people enjoy freedom.

When they were occupied by the Spanish, they gave up their lives for Portuguese liberation. Because colonialism is a crime. Colonialism is a cancer that destroys humanity, it is a cancer that feeds from blood. Killing, massacring, assassinating, humiliating — it destroys the lives of human beings.

That's why the Portuguese people themselves took up arms and destroyed Spanish colonialism, and at the same time they colonised Africa! And us — when we started to fight, they said it was a terrorist struggle. (*Adopts ironical tone of voice*). It's terrorism. It's terrorism. It's racism. This is racism. This is racism, when we want Mozambican independence? Hem? No, this struggle against the Whites... If this White is a colonialist, yes, it is against him. It is. Why not? A Black as well, when he is a colonialist, there is a war against him. Who is it that is authorised to colonise other people? Who?

It's for this reason that you find it hard to understand the mechanism of colonialism — why it is represented here by White people, and you think that all Whites are colonialists. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*).

No, it's not! This is what I am explaining here and now. Do you hear?

A Black can be a colonialist as well. Hem? (*He can*). Can he or can't he? (*He can*). He can be an exploiter (*He can*). He can be an imperialist agent (*He can*). Yes or no? (*Yes*).

So this is why we say to the misters, I want to get to this point, "There is no place for racism here! There is no place for racism here!" First, there was a class of Whites here in Mozambique, Whites from Portugal. First class Whites, classified, themselves, by Portuguese colonialism — sometimes they didn't know, they weren't the ones who asked for it, but because they came from Portugal they were automatically first class Whites. Continental Portugal. Continental Portugal. They're from the metropolis. Metropolis of what? (*Laughter*). Metropolis of what? (*Laughter*).

Then come the Whites from Mozambique itself. Whites born in Africa, they are automatically the Whites — doesn't matter what social class, doesn't matter — today they are second class Whites. Among themselves. Among themselves. We saw them, they walk together but there is no meeting. They have contradictions, the Whites. Didn't you know? Because of social classification.

Then we also have some Indians, they get in a little way, they enter. We also have Chinese here, they get in a little way, above all here in Beira, especially here. They are also better than Blacks, right? They are superior.

Then come the Coloureds, also a little. (*Laughter, applause*). I ask (*adopts an ironic and imitative tone of voice*). “Oh Coloured, oh Coloured, oh Coloured, isn’t your mother my cousin?” (*Explosion of laughter, vivas and applause*). Hem? Yes or no? (*Yes*). Isn’t he the son of my cousin? Isn’t he the son of my aunt? Isn’t he the son of my sister? (*Yes*). So now he says “Oh, Mr. Black Man, oh Mr. Black Man, how’s it?” (*Explosion of laughter and applause*).

Now, we already saw the Whites from Portugal, right? Did we see them or not? (*We saw them*). We saw the Whites born in Mozambique, didn’t we? (*Yes*). The Indians, right? (*Yes*). Then the Coloureds, right? (*Yes*). The Chinese as well...

They all have associations — associations of Lisbon people, of people from Minho — White regionalists. You see, don’t you? They didn’t have a single organisation, no. They were divided — the Algarve, Coimbra, Porto and Lisbon. “We from Lisbon are better than everybody” (*laughter, applause*). We from Lisbon! We from Lisbon! “Where are you from?” He’s from Porto (*laughter*). You see, don’t you? Colonialism. Fascism. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Amongst themselves, from Lisbon, all of them.

But when they are on the road, under our eyes, we say “Look at the colonialists!” Yes or no? (*Yes*). All of them. We say “Look at the colonialists!” They have deep contradictions, antagonistic contradictions, insoluble, irreducible, in their bosoms. Hem?

And then, and then comes the assimilated little Black as well. Right? (*Yes. Applause*). Because he knows how to pronounce about twenty words in Portuguese. He knows how to put a sentence together. Imitating, he doesn’t think, imitating. He imitates. Imitates. It doesn’t come from his head. He imitates. Certain habits, he imitates. He imitates even a way of thinking. He even imitates the accent, because he is ashamed to use his own accent, because they will say he’s a Black, he’s not civilised yet. Yes or no? (*laughter, applause*). Mental colonialism. Do you hear? There it is, mental colonialism. There it is, mental colonialism.

He goes home with his friends, this *assimilado*. The *assimilado*. We are talking about the *assimilado*. He arrives home. He hasn’t told his mother that he’s bringing friends. He finds vegetables, cooked with peanuts — (*laughter*) and he says (*imitating*) “You know, sometimes I enjoy this food (*laughter*). You know, usually, my usual food is codfish here at home, but see, my mother is late. My father’s maid. My mother’s cousin...”. He doesn’t say “This is my mother here”, he’s an *assimilado*. (*Yes*). Do you hear? (*Yes, we hear*). He’s already ashamed to introduce his father, he’s ashamed to introduce his

mother — he hasn't got a mother. (*Imitating*). "I have no mother. My mother, they say she died when I was a baby". (*Laughter, applause*). And when he needs identity documents, they are going to say, these documents, he's the son of unknown parents, he's happy. He is happy with documents that say "son of unknown parents", he's happy. Ah! Now he is Black, this one.

There is a struggle here in Mozambique, a big struggle. Do you know? Do you hear? (*We hear*). To get all these people to change their way of thinking. To have a personality, to have a Mozambican personality, and to know that the Mozambican personality is valid in any part of the world. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Our personality must never appear behind the Portuguese personality: we are not Portuguese. How is that? We are Mozambicans, and proud to be Mozambicans. This was our battle — to conquer our Mozambican personality. We are not Portuguese!

Do you hear, comrades? (*We hear*).

Only by freeing ourselves from this will we be able to understand the world and understand colonialism. Only, only, only understanding this, are we in a position to make the revolution triumph in Mozambique. First, let's be proud to be Mozambicans — to be what we are. Yes or no? (*Yes*).

There is no inferior race in the world. There is no superior race in the world. All races are equal. All peoples are equal. There is an imbalance in development that is a reality. But if that's how we must classify the superiority of races, then the Portuguese race is the lowest of all the peoples, because it's the most backward, yes or no? (*Yes*). Do you hear, comrades? (*We hear*).

With this, we want to say that we don't want — we don't want — racism here in Mozambique. White racism. Black racism. We don't want it here in Mozambique. We want harmony between peoples. Harmony between races. Because we are all equal. Do you hear, comrades? (*We hear*).

Now I want to invite the Whites, invite them whether they are from Portugal or from Mozambique, the Whites to abandon this attitude. It's a reactionary attitude. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*). It is, it is, it is a racist attitude. It doesn't establish harmony, and even less equality among us, and it makes the development of the country difficult. Racial division. We don't want it here in Mozambique — if to resist we have to take up arms anew, to remove racism. White racism and Black racism, we don't want it in Mozambique, we don't want it here. We don't want reactionaryism here in Mozambique. We don't want it. Do you hear (*We hear*). We don't want it.

First, I want to invite the Whites to abandon this reactionary attitude. Colonialism inculcated in you that the White race was superior. Isn't it true? (*Yes*).

But colonialism has already fallen. Isn't that so? (*Yes*). Why did it fall, if colonialism is a superior race? If it is represented by the White race? Why did it fall, then? It proves that the people are stronger than any other force. Do you hear? (*We hear*). We defeated Portuguese colonialism here. Right? So, Portuguese colonialism was defeated by an inferior race! Yes or no? (*Yes*). We aren't inferior, no. We defeated them because we are equal to them. Do you hear?

No, we are not inferior. You must not think like that. You must not think like that. There is a reality that is equal development, equal what's more... equal to an imbalance in development between societies, nations, countries, entire peoples of the world. There is an imbalance, this is a natural contradiction, universal. This contradiction is a universal contradiction, but it must be resolved by the revolution, by people. It's people who make the revolution.

Whites in Mozambique mustn't think that they are superior. Indians mustn't think that they are superior. Do you hear? Hem, Coloureds, abandon these attitudes. You are from here, from Mozambique. Do you hear? (*Applause*). Coloured women, Coloured men, the Chinese also walk around here, they have an area here in Beira, there. And they are very racist. I know. Yes or no? (*Yes*). No, the Chinese are more racist here in Beira. They must abandon it, we don't want this!

The struggle in Mozambique didn't only free the land, it also freed mentalities, it freed complexes. Our struggle fought against superiority complexes and inferiority complexes and we have already won. We won because we were consistent in our line and now we want to rebuild Mozambique. Mozambique is a very rich country. We just need to use our strength correctly, our strength, our intelligence, our energy. And to use it correctly, it's necessary that we live organised, orientated and guided by FRELIMO. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

It was FRELIMO that guided you all, to win the battle. It was FRELIMO that defined for you who the enemy was, who the enemy was. Because of this, in national reconstruction we need the support of all the peoples. Peoples of all continents, of all races, of all peoples. In the first place, progressive peoples, progressive countries, because it was with them that we defeated colonialism in Mozambique, and we think that it will also be with them that we will rebuild Mozambique. Many countries that supported Portuguese colonialism have already changed, they recognise the government of Mozambique and they

are all ready to recognise the republic that will be proclaimed on 25 June 1975. And we think that this phase is the decisive phase for us to establish correct relations among ourselves, to establish equality among ourselves, to definitively liquidate racial discrimination in our society.

Therefore it's necessary that we liquidate the little associations here in Beira — associations of Whites, associations of Coloureds, associations of Blacks — and that we form Mozambican associations. This is the decisive step to enable us to live together (*applause*), for us to be able to rebuild Mozambique together, because we cannot continue divided, because divided we are weak, and once we are weak we will be liquidated by external forces. Once divided we furnish a fertile terrain for imperialism to penetrate and liquidate us.

We want to create a new Mozambique. New type of relations between people. We know that our country is in ruins. We don't have hospitals. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*). We don't have schools. We don't have factories. We live without blankets in our huts. Yes or no? (*Yes*). But we have a chance to grow cotton. Yes or no? (*Yes*). We live on drinking hot water all the time, to avoid stomach ache and stomach disturbances because we have no rice, because we have no corn at home. The fields are occupied. Yes or no? (*Yes*). They are properties. Here in Mozambique, there is no land for so-and-so, there is no land for the people, here!

So, it's only FRELIMO that will indicate where each one of us will produce. We didn't die to create private farms, private properties here in Mozambique. Above all, the land, the land belongs to mankind, to the people. It isn't anybody's. Do you hear? (*We hear*). And because Mozambique. Above all, the land, the land belongs to mankind, to the people. It isn't anybody's. Do you hear? (*We hear*). And because of this, we need correct orientations.

The Dynamising Groups have a special task, a difficult task, but an exalted task, and it's a glorious task at the same time — to create political consciousness in each Mozambican, so that each Mozambican can trust in his own strength. Do you hear? (*We hear*). It is us who will rebuild Mozambique! It will not be a force that will fall down by a miracle. There are no miracles. Miracles stopped happening many years ago. There are no more miracles! There are no more miracles! If miracles happened, they would have fallen down many years ago and expelled Portuguese colonialism from Mozambique. We fought with weapons in our hands and we beat colonialism. We will rebuild Mozambique with our strength! There won't be some strange power, and even less any miracles. There are no more miracles! Do you hear? (*We hear*).

It's not divine will, the misery in which our people live. It's not. It's not. It's not divine will, this. It was organised, the misery here in Mozambique, and we must organise its liquidation as well. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). No saint descended here to say "the Mozambican people must live poor". No, it wasn't that. It wasn't that. It was the colonial organisation that put us in this miserable situation, a deplorable situation. And we have to get out of it, out of this situation. That we are free means the work begins. Work in freedom. Organise, with well-defined objectives.

What is it that we want with our production? First, we want to eliminate hunger. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Hunger. In the first place, hunger. Many people here return home and won't be eating. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*). Let us fight to eliminate this. There is no miracle in eliminating hunger, there isn't. There's no miracle, there's no divine force to eliminate hunger. There isn't. It depends on our energy, on our intelligence, on our organisation, on our economic policy. It's this that will eliminate hunger in Mozambique. Do you understand? Do you understand? (*We understand*). If you stay here, waiting for some force — I don't know if it will come from that side or this, from above or below, I don't know. Where will it come from? Where will it come from (*clapping*). Where will it come from? (*Clapping*). Show me. I don't see it, myself (*clapping*).

Hands will be ready to do organised work, where? Hem? Here, and this is the instrument that will do it. Yes or no? (*Yes*). So the force comes from here. Yes or no? (*Yes*). It's from here that the force comes that will develop Mozambique, that will make Mozambique go forward, that will make the revolution triumph in Mozambique. Our force. Organised force, not scattered. Right? (*Right*). Right? (*Right*). Right? (*Right*).

Hunger, in the first place. Hunger. The stomach doesn't accept credit. There's no credit. Since today I haven't eaten, I'll eat the day after tomorrow... No (*applause*). It doesn't accept credit, you have to pay three times a day. You have to pay three times a day. In the morning, before starting work, you pay. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Back from work, you pay. Right? (*Right*). Before sleeping, you pay. Right? (*Right*). So there you are (*applause*).

(*Silence*).

In the second place, what's in the second place? What is it? (*Various suggestions from the audience*). No, money, leave money out of it. We made war without money. We won the war without money. Twelve years of the existence of FRELIMO — there were no salaries in FRELIMO. It's not money that

makes revolution. It's not money that builds the nation. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). Leave salaries out of it by a long way, there.

If we had a lot of food, would life be cheap or expensive? Hem? To make life cheap, what is it that is necessary? To work! Yes or no? (*Yes*). To produce. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Clothes. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Shoes. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Blankets at home. Yes or no? (*Yes*). But all this requires work. All this, you need to work. It doesn't descend, there's no miracle to this. There isn't. Yes or no? (*Yes*). I know that you pray, that you have your patron saints... But the great patron saint is work. Do you hear? The great patron saint is work. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). Ah.

We are going to pray after eating, right? Yes or no? (*Yes*). Let's go there well dressed. Yes or no? (*Yes*). If you go there naked, they'll throw you out of church. Yes or no? (*Yes. Applause*). It's a scandal. It's a scandal. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*). Can you appear at church naked? (*No*). Hah. They'll throw you out if you show up there naked. Hungry for thirty days, can you go there? You'll be a gangster because of hunger, you'll be a thief, you'll break into banks, shops. Hunger. Yes or no? (*Yes*). The stomach. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

Third... What else is there? Hem? A nice house. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Who builds the house? Who is it that builds the house? (*We do*).

We need to stress a few more interesting points here, because colonialism also classified professions by colour. Professions had colours. Yes or no? (*Yes*). They had colours, the professions. Salaries had colours as well. Yes or no? (*Yes. Applause*). There were Black builders and White builders, but they were all builders. Yes or no? (*Yes*). There were Black carpenters and White carpenters. Yes or no? (*Yes*). But they were all carpenters. Yes or no? (*Yes*). There were White chauffeurs and Black chauffeurs. Yes or no? (*Yes*). They're all chauffeurs. Black and White engine drivers. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Do professions also have colours nowadays? Do professions also have colours nowadays? Hem? Do professions also have colours nowadays? (*No*). And we want to eliminate this too. Black carpenter, White carpenter, make a chair, paid the same. Yes or no? (*Yes. Applause*).

The problem of production. There was rice grown by Whites and rice grown by Blacks, it had different prices. There were beans of Blacks, there were beans of Whites, they came from the same soil. They made borders on the farms, but the process was different. Yes or no? (*Yes*). I come from a very fertile area, where there's agriculture — I know this system, I know this system well. Beans of Blacks, and beans of Whites, livestock of Blacks, livestock

of Whites. A head of cattle, a head of cattle — of livestock of Blacks cost five hundred or a thousand escudos. 'No brand, no owner', it's not me who brands, it's the buyer (*applause*). It's not me, I who know the value, I who bred the head of livestock, I who grew the beans, I who bred the chicken, I who produced the eggs, I have the right to set the price, it costs so much. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*). But it wasn't like that. That was colonialism.

Colonialism. There they have another system. What is it? It's capitalism, it's the capitalist system. It's not colonialism. Now, White Black, White Black, yes, that's colonialism. It's colonialism. But the prices — capitalism was already there. Do you hear? (*We hear*). It's for this reason that FRELIMO always shouts "Down with capitalism!" It's capitalism that is responsible for crime, for aggressions against peoples. It's capitalism that sacks, pillages the wealth and strength of the people.

They set up phoney trade unions that don't protect anybody. The authorities in the capitalist countries control the trade unions. They are organisations of great capitalists, of great monopolists who control their children who are there. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

The capitalist system is very complicated. System of exploitation. Exploitation of man by man. There it is. Employ a thousand men, spend, go and spend, go, go and say, two thousand contos. Let's say, per year, it costs two thousand contos, but he makes six thousand. He only pays the workers two thousand. All the expenses come at the end of the year — he spent two thousand — but he made six thousand contos. At the people's expense, there. The capitalist system. This system already doesn't have colours. Capitalism doesn't have colours.

Black capitalists will try to emerge here in Mozambique — the so-called national middle class. Those who have a capitalist calling, now with the coming of independence, they are taking off their false beards, right? (*Applause*). Greedy to want to revive the Luis Camoes College — "Luis Camoes. Now it was... the owner died, now it's going to be me. Since I'm Black, the other Blacks won't mind me exploiting, hey?" (*Applause*). It's in the capitalist system, that the doctor when he studies, it's to exploit. The doctor, the doctor doesn't want to do anything if not wish for lots of sick people. With lots of sick people, there will be more money. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). Now, knowledge is an instrument of exploitation in the capitalist system.

The individual's knowledge — he studied a tiny bit, or has a masters. Good, he has his big diploma, right, he's ready, he's licensed to exploit. Do this, follow that, follow... Letters. It's Doctor this, come this way, oh doctor, doctor sir, doctor of exploitation. Do you hear? (*We hear*). It's not the doctor who teaches the people. Doctor from where anyway, with minimal training, very small, weak, feeble, needing others, needing the support of others. He produces nothing but a repetition of what he was taught by capitalism. It's a repetition. He creates absolutely nothing, because he's separated from the people. He's isolated from practice.

The first greed, first greed, to set up colleges. Who will attend these colleges? Is it the people? Who will go there? Who will go there? Who will go there? The school has ceased to be a base for the people to take power. Yes or no? (*Yes*). It's become an instrument of exploitation. Yes or no? (*Yes*). We don't want it in Mozambique. We don't want this in Mozambique. There's no place for exploiters here. Black or White, can't exploit the people. The duty of each one of us [leaders] — is to give everything to the people, to be last when there are benefits to be won and first when there are sacrifices to be made. This is what it means to serve the people. Serve the people. Our knowledge must die in the ground. Our knowledge must be constantly examined by the people. Do you hear comrades? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*).

Some are getting ready to buy ten tractors. They are already exploiting an area where they are going to produce. Isn't it so? There's no individual production in Mozambique. Collective production, so that we can collectively get rid of hunger, get rid of misery in our country. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Because these individualists are instruments of imperialism at the same time, aren't they, aren't they? Where will they find money? All of you here are poor. All of you, poor. Three years from now we'll see somebody putting up a fifteen-storey building. Where did he get the money? Where did he get the money? Hem? No, it's you out there. You there. There. And us here as well. And us also, up here. I'm saying you, and us as well. If I put up a building, please ask me. Do you hear? Ask "so, Comrade Samora, where did you get the money? In three years? (*Laughter, applause*). Three years of independence. Comrade Samora, so where are the people now? Do the people also have lots of buildings?" Are you listening? (*We are*).

We must fight against the exploiters of the people, and if we can, eliminate them in an embryonic state, kill the chick in the egg, *hem?* (*Interpretation difficulties provoke comments and laughter in the audience*) I'm asking if he's having a hard time interpreting because he wants to be an exploiter! (*Laughter, applause*). Do you hear comrades? (*We hear*).

~ *The Beira speech* ~

We believe that it's only in this way that we can make a major contribution to the international revolution. We believe that it's only in this way that we can make our revolutionary contribution to the oppressed peoples, to the peoples who helped us in our moments of difficulty, peoples who never hesitated to declare FRELIMO the legitimate representative of the interests of the people of Mozambique. Do you hear, comrades? (*We hear*). Only thus will we know how to honour our comrades who fell, those who were murdered in prison, those who were massacred by Portuguese soldiers. We must not betray them, because they are our heroes. Do you hear? Do you hear? (*We hear*).

So we must build a strong Mozambique, and prosperous. Do you hear? We must build a free society, a society of good relations amongst us all — we must create a spirit of camaraderie. Brothers aren't enough, no. It's not enough to be brothers. A spirit of camaraderie! Above all, because we have a big task, which is the task of the liberation of Mozambican women. The task of creating a new mentality among the youth, so that they can serve the whole people, so that they can serve the whole world. Do you hear, comrades? (*We hear*).

This is what freedom means. Hem? It's this that freedom means. This is what it means to build a revolutionary society. There is no place in Mozambique for race conflicts. There is no place here. Do you hear, gentlemen? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). Let us build a revolutionary and exemplary society. It's the duty of the Mozambican people, this is.

(*Watchwords*).



Introduced by Colin Darch and transcribed and translated from the Portuguese by Colin Darch and David Hedges.

Joint memorandum to the African Summit Conference of Heads of States by the representatives of African National Liberation Movements in non-independent territories: Addis Ababa, 21 May 1963.

This volume ends on a memorandum not a speech. Yet this segment of written oratory, a preparatory document held in the archives of the Centre for African Studies at the University of Cape Town, could be seen both as the summation of liberatory speeches and the advent of a form of fossilised rhetoric. At some stage indeed in the rhetorical manufacturing of public ideas discursive forms solidify into stock phrases and momentous pronouncements into monumental commonplaces. This process does not necessarily detract from their power to move, inform or elevate (the three standard aims of any speech properly conceived) but it changes the nature of public argument. It opens the door to bureaucratic propaganda and routine speech writing. However the passage from live oratory to the written document as a means to persuade was first noted by Napoleon: in his Instructions given to the newly founded school for cadres (École Polytechnique) he pointed out that “if the Ancients relied on the magic of the spoken word, we, the Moderns, put our trust in written documents” — and so doing he invented, as a tool of government on a large scale, the compulsory administrative report, a rhetorical form that was to become a mainstay of any modern State’s preferred interaction with the governed. This Memorandum is the first bureaucratic shape given to the live, magical, spoken oratory of Africa’s Liberation.



We, the representatives of African national liberation movements in the non-independent territories of our motherland, Africa, humbly submit this joint memorandum to our brothers and fellow freedom-fighters, the Heads of African Independent States meeting here in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

1. All Africa must be liberated now! Empty words and pious resolutions will not suffice. This Summit Conference of African Independent States should issue an ultimatum to all colonial and racist powers in Africa to start immediately the transference of power to the African peoples in the respective non-independent territories or else face the consequences. It should be made absolutely clear that where the ultimatum is not heeded the African Independent States shall intervene directly.

2. No African country or nation is really free until all Africa is free. Accordingly, we urge most strongly that in all African Conferences no forms of discrimination or differentiation of status should ever be entertained among us African peoples. We are all African freedom fighters. The fact that we are not yet free is not due to any lack of the revolutionary spirit in our movements. It is due to the oppressive tactics of the imperialists as well as some historical and political realities in our territories. We urge sincerely that in this Summit Conference we be accorded a status commensurate to our position as brothers and comrades of the other African freedom fighters who have already won their independence. We request that the opportunity be given to us to participate in and address the Summit Conference as associate members.

3. We propose that a body known as the African Liberation Bureau be now set up in an agreed Capital of an African Independent Nation. The functions of the African Liberation Bureau would be the following:

a. To coordinate the struggle for African liberation in all non-independent territories.

b. To receive, distribute and transport funds and other forms of aid, including military equipment and personnel, on behalf of the African National Liberation movements.

c. To administer the Refugees Relief programme for our African brothers and sisters and their children from war-torn and otherwise victimised African territories. These refugees are in desperate need for food, housing, medical attention and schools for the children. We urge that aid to alleviate their hardships be pledged at this conference.

d. To ensure the security and protection of leaders and personnel of African national liberation movements operating outside their respective countries due to harsh conditions at home.

e. To organise the training of personnel for administrative, military and diplomatic services.

f. To coordinate information, propaganda and research for total African liberation.

4. The site of the African Liberation Bureau should be geographically close to the still non-independent territories to facilitate the movement of equipment and personnel to the theatre of liberation operations. The African

Liberation Bureau may organise regional offices as needs for such offices necessitate.

5. We request that every political party in power in an independent African country should pledge a specific sum of money or material aid, including military equipment for specified value, to be delivered at regular intervals to African national liberation movements through the African Liberation Bureau. We believe, of course, that giving such sums of money or material aid through the African Liberation Bureau does not necessarily absolve the African Independent States from giving further aid directly to individual movements as needs arise. We also urge that all African Independent Governments must be prepared to permit the transportation of military equipment through their respective countries to the theatres of liberation operations, and to receive and store such equipment on behalf of the liberation movements should situations so necessitate.

6. We propose that a Committee whose members are drawn from the Independent African States and working through the African Liberation bureau should be set up to confer with the leaders of the African liberation movements of all shades of opinion in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde Islands, St. Tomé and Príncipe, Southern Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, French Somaliland, Comoro Islands, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland with a view to enhancing the formation and strengthening of united liberation fronts in the respective territories for the rapid achievement of the goal of total African liberation.

7. Shortage of manpower is a most serious handicap in the liberation movement and in the struggle against neo-colonialism both in the independent non-independent countries. Training institutes for administration, military personnel and diplomatic services as well as schools for the refugees' children are most desperately needed. We propose that every university, training institute or academy in Africa should also be requested to set aside at least 100 places every year for youths from the non-independent territories.

8. The power of the press and all other forms of information must never be overlooked. At least one nationalist paper printed and published by the political liberation front or movement in each non-independent country is absolutely essential. We urge the African Liberation States to pledge that they shall donate at least one press and after make available information media to the non-independent territories through the proposed African Liberation bureau. We also call for an African Freedom News Agency to be organised by the African Liberation Bureau. At the same time we request the African Inde-

pendent States not to allow dissemination of news and press releases against African liberation.

9. We urge most strongly that all African countries be vigilantly on guard against neo-colonialism which continues to mar the Africans' hard-won independence. To this end we fully support the steps being taken to establish the African Common Market and Payments Union as well as common defence arrangements and the harmonisation of monetary zones. We also welcome the proposal to establish an African Development Bank and propose that another Bank to be known as the All African Central Reserve Bank be established to come to the aid of deserving African Nations that may from time to time find themselves in recurrent Budget difficulties.

10. We would like to remind the delegates to this Summit Conference of the African Heads of States of the resolution passed in 1960 by the Conference of African Heads of State calling for the economic, diplomatic and consular boycott of South Africa as well as the refusal of landing rights and servicing of South Africa's aircrafts and vessels. We urge our brothers to implement the spirit and the letter of that resolution as indeed all the resolutions to be passed at the Summit Conference. We further urge that the terms of this resolution be extended to include the fascist regime of Portugal, the racist settler regime of Southern Rhodesia and the imperialist Britain. We also recommend strongly that African member-nations of the British Commonwealth withdraw from that organisation if the United Kingdom continues to suppress the African people. Also those African nations with bilateral relations with France should sever those relations unless France liberates her remaining colonial areas.

Lastly we wish to call the attention of the Heads of African Independent States to the existence of political organisations sponsored by colonialist powers and functioning within African Independent States. We urge strongly that steps be now taken to eradicate such organisations immediately.



Introduced by Ph.-J. Salazar and transcribed by Tobie Taljaard.

A. Agge A. Oginga Odinga.

1.
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2. *M.E. Jallow* M.E. JALLOW
PROGRESSIVE PEOPLES PARTY OF GAMBIA

3. *B. Gomes*
FRONTE de LUTA PELA INDEPENDENCIA NACIONAL da GUINEA
"Portuguesa" (FLING)

4. *Roberto Holden* - HOLDEN, ROBERTO
FRONT NACIONAL de LIBERATION de L'ANGOLA

5. *Mário de Andrade*
POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

6. *N. Tembo*
UNITED NATIONAL ENDEPENENCY PARTY

7. *Eduardo Mondlane*
MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT

8. *S. M. M. M.*
ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLES UNION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

9. *G. G. G.*
NORTHERN PROVINCE UNITED ASSOCIATION (affiliated to KANU)

10. *M. M. M.*
MOVEMENT de LA LIBERATION NATIONALE des COMORES

11. *M. M. M.*
COMITE de LIBERATION de ST. TOME et PRINCIPE

12. *M. M. M.* (with reserves)
PARTI AFRICAIN de L'INDEPENDENCE de la GUINIE et CAP VERT

13. *Le Jan Nujoma*
SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

14. *M. M. M.* MDENAMO
UNIÃO NACIONAL DEMOCRATICA de MOZAMBIQUE

15. *M. M. M.*
BASUTOLAND CONGRESS PARTY

16. *M. M. M.*
SWAZILAND PROGRESSIVE PARTY

17. *V. S. Make*
PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

18. *M. P. P.*
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

19. *T. T. T.* (Tanganyika Zanzibar Union) (President)
SOUTH WEST AFRICA NATIONAL UNION

20. *S. S. S.*
ZANZIBAR NATIONALIST PARTY

Eduardo Mondlane's copy of the signatures affixed to the memorandum by the representatives of participating African National Liberation Movements:
Addis Ababa, 21 May 1963.

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Memorandum to the African Summit Conference
African National Liberation Movements

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