

African Yearbook of Rhetoric

Vol. 6 No. 2 2015



**Rhetorical Remains:
South Africa / Argentina**

AFRICAN YEARBOOK OF RHETORIC

The *African Yearbook of Rhetoric* is a multi-lingual, peer-reviewed scholarly journal devoted to the development of rhetoric studies on and in Africa.

All correspondence is to be addressed to the Editor.
africanrhetoric@rhetoricafrica.org

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Rhetorical Remains: South Africa/Argentina



Contributors:

*Harold Macmillan, Margaret Ballinger, Juan Domingo Peron,
Maria Eva Duarte de Peron, Leopoldo F. Galtieri
& Raul Alfonsin.*

Editors:

*Philippe-Joseph Salazar, Michael Coombes, Maria Alejandra Vitale,
Ana Maria Corrarello, Ana Laura Maizels, Mariano Dagatti,
& Florencia Magnanego.*

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africarhetoric@rhetoricafrica.org

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Foreword

This volume of the *African Yearbook of Rhetoric* is devoted to key speeches in the history of South Africa and Argentina.

The first section, titled “White Voices”, consists of two speeches: the original typescript of Harold Macmillan’s epochal “Wind of change” and a speech by Margaret Ballinger who represented Black citizens who were otherwise disenfranchised, that is unable to elect their own representatives. She was the last “Black” Member of the Union Parliament, from 1937 to 1960.

The second section, “Argentine Voices”, brings together a careful sample of short speeches that retrace the rhetorical trajectory of national identity formation through the means of oratory – from Peronism to the recovery of democracy, without eschewing the military interlude. This selection has the further merit to bring to English-speaking rhetoricians sources otherwise unintelligible.

The Editor.

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Section 1.

South Africa – White Voices



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The wind of change (the original text)

Harold Macmillan

When, on 3 February 1960, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan (1894 –1986) addressed a supposedly informal gathering of the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town, at a “luncheon”, he delivered a speech he had already given a month earlier in Accra. Barring a few changes. These changes alone catapulted the speech into another rhetorical dimension: it performed politics.

Indeed, the speech delivered in Cape Town had an international impact its antecedent delivery in Accra could not, and did not have. It raised the Liberation movements’ hopes for a steadfast support by Britain. It was a precipitating agent for a surge of revolt, and the repression that followed: the Sharpeville massacre took place shortly afterwards. It was the prologue to thirty years of emergency, until F.W. de Klerk’s speech at the same Parliament in February 1990, and the liberation of Nelson Mandela.

Macmillan’s speech is an essential, if paradoxical moment in South Africa’s rhetorical foundation.

The version presented here is the exact transcription of Macmillan’s own original typescript used by him to deliver his speech, together with hand written notes and corrections. It offers a unique insight in the rhetorical processes of speech delivery, and evinces a care for kairos that should never elude politicians faced with seizing up the moment and performing politics through rhetoric.

Philippe-Joseph Salazar - University of Cape Town

Primary source

Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister’s Speech at the joint meeting of both Houses of Parliament in Cape Town (typescript, first page signed by Macmillan, 56 sheets, 12cm x 14cm, bound and accompanied by a letter from the High Commission to a “colonel Shearer”, dated 1 March 1960, forwarding the typescript at Macmillan’s request).

There is no record of the speech in Hansard (the official, verbatim records of parliamentary debates) as it was not part of formal proceedings, but given at an American style luncheon. However on the typescript title page, bearing Macmillan’s signature, the occasion is correctly termed a “joint meeting of both Houses of Parliament”. This expression caused some confusion afterwards: a joint “meeting” is not a formal, joint “sitting” of Parliament, and for that reason not recorded on Hansard.

The commonly used, yet again erroneous title “Winds (plural) of change” appears on the cover of the booklet. A bookbinder’s error, presumably.

We gratefully acknowledge the kind help provided by Mr Sadeck Casoojee, Librarian, Rare and Historical Information Services Section of the Parliamentary Information Centre, Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, Cape Town. The volume shelf number is: 825.91 MACM.

Secondary sources

Souvenir of visit by the Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to the Houses of Parliament, Cape Town on Wednesday, 3 February, 1960, pp. 5-14 (with Verwoerd's Vote of thanks, pp. 15-17) (Cape Town: Cape Times, 1960).

Transcript of the BBC's recording: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/apartheid/7203.shtml>. Collated in *The African Yearbook of Rhetoric*, 2 (3), 2011.

Harold Macmillan, *Pointing the Way, 1959-1961* (London: Macmillan, 1972): 473-482, Appendix I.

Key

All handwritten changes that Harold Macmillan made to the original typewritten speech are marked with letters in superscript; the letter "p" indicates the use of a pencil, and "f", that of a fountain pen. Italics are used for insertions. The frequent occurrence of the typed "=" symbol is unfortunately a mystery. All numbers which appear are the original page numbers, which oddly only begin to appear at page three.

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.

I am most grateful to you ^{all}^p
for giving me this opportunity.

And I am especially grateful
to your Prime Minister,

who invited me to visit ~~your~~ ^{their} country
and arranged for me to address you
here
today.

=

My tour of Africa ~~certain~~ ^{different} parts^p of^p Africa ~~it~~ ^{it}^{fp}
the first ever made
by a British Prime Minister in
office –
is now, alas,
~~near~~ ^{reaching} 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
I have visited,
my stay has been *of course*^p all too short.

I wish it had been possible
for me to spend longer here,
~~so as~~ ^{to} see more
of your beautiful country
and to get to know more of
your people.

3.

But in the past week
I have travelled

many hundreds of miles
and met many people
in from^p 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.

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.

4.

Moreover,
I *we*^f have been deeply moved
by the warmth of our welcome.

Wherever we have ~~gone~~ *been*^p,
in town or country,
we have been received
with in^f a spirit of friendship

and affection
which has warmed our hearts.
And we value this the more
because we know
that^f is an expression
of your goodwill,
not just^f 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^f*
the golden wedding
of the Union.

5.

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,
and 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 ~~on~~ upon^f 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 ~~your~~ *the*^f country
is so firmly based.

6.

I have seen your Iron and Steel
Corporation
and visited your Council *of*
~~for~~^f 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.

7.

This afternoon
I ~~shall~~ *hope to*^f 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*
by^f 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 ~~initiative~~ skill^f,
energy
and skill^f initiative^f
of your people.

=

We in Britain
are proud of the contribution
we have made
to this remarkable
achievement.

Much of it has been financed
by British capital.

8.

According to a *the*^f 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 long wars
that had bled our economy white.*ⁱ

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
and capital equipment.

We take a third of all your exports
and we supply a third of all your
imports.

=

9.

This broad traditional pattern
of investment and trade
has been maintained
in spite of the changes brought
by the development
of our two economies.

It gives me great encouragement
to reflect
that the economies
of both our countries,
while ~~developing~~ *expanding*^f 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;
but
if you prefer to fly

you can ~~do so~~ go^f
in a British Viscount.

10.

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 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*^f world *affairs*^f.

=

11.

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 *on*
~~and~~^f aggression
your statesmen & your soldiers
have made their influence felt
far beyond
the African continent.

12.

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 ~~today~~^f *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 ~~which~~ ^{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 Cooperation
in Africa
South of the Sahara
and,
now,
in the United Nations
Economic Commission for Africa

Your Minister ~~of~~ ^{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.

14.

As I have travelled ~~through~~ ^{round} 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.

15. and 16.

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 ~~shapes~~ ^{forms}^f,
with different ~~forms~~ ^{kinds}^f of government.

But all have been inspired
with a keen feeling of nationalism,
which has grown
as the nations have grown.

17.

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
~~on~~ ^{upon}^f 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.

18.

And^f that^f The most striking of all the impressions
I have formed
since I left London
a month ago
is of the strength of this African national
consciousness.

In different places
It ~~may~~ takes^f different forms.

But it is happening everywhere.

The wind of change is blowing
through this continent,

Whether we like it or not,
This growth of national
consciousness
is a political fact.

We must all accept it as a fact.

Our national policies
must take account of it.

=

19.

Of course
you understand this
as well as *better than*^f anyone,

you are sprung from Europe,
the home of nationalism.

And here in Africa
you have yourselves
created 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.

20.

For its causes are to be found
in the achievements
of Western civilisation

in *the*^f pushing forward *of*^f
the frontiers of knowledge,

in the^f applying of science *to*^f
~~in~~^f the service of human needs,

in the^f expanding of food production,

in the^f speeding and multiplying
of the means of communication
and,

*perhaps^f above all, and more than anything else
in the^f spread of^f education.*

=

As I have said,
the growth of national consciousness
in Africa
is a political fact
and we must accept it as such.

21.

This means *I would judge^f* that we must come to terms
with it.

I sincerely believe that,
if we cannot do so,
we may imperil the precarious balance
of East and West
on which the peace of the world
depends.

The world today
is divided into three ~~great~~ *main^f* groups.

First,
there are what we call
the Western Powers.

You in South Africa
and we in Britain
belong to this group,
together with our friends and allies
in ~~the^f~~ other parts
of the Commonwealth,
in the United States of America
and in Europe.

22.

We call it the Freeworld.^f

Secondly,

there are the Communists;
Russia and her satellites in Europe,
and China,

whose population
~~over the next decade or so~~
~~will rise to the level~~
~~of one thousand million.~~ *will have risen by the end of*
the next ten years to the
staggering total of 800 million people.^f

Thirdly,

there are those parts of the world
whose people are at present
uncommitted

either to Communism
or to ~~our~~ *the^f* Western ideas.

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.

23.

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.

24.

The uncommitted nations
want to see before they choose.

What we can show them
to help them choose right?

=

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.

25.

We may sometimes be tempted to say
~~to each other~~^f
“Mind your own business”.
But in these days
I would ~~myself~~
expand the old saying
so that it runs
“Mind your own business, ~~of course~~^f
but mind how it affects
my business, too.”

=

~~Let me~~ *If I may*^f be very frank
with you,
my friends.

28.

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,
though we 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.

=

27.

All this,
of course
is ~~as~~^f of deep ~~and close~~^f concern
to you.

For nothing we do
in this small world
can be done in a corner
~~and~~^f remain hidden.

What we do today
in West,
Central
and East Africa
becomes known tomorrow
to everyone in the Union
whatever his language,
colour
or traditions.

28.

Let me *Sir*^f assure you
in all friendliness,
that we are well aware of this,
and 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*^f think right
derives from a long experience
both of failure and success
in the management
of ~~our own~~ *these*^f affairs.

We have tried to learn
and apply
the lessons of both.

29.

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 ~~living~~ ^{life},
but to create a society
which 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*
~~to have~~ ^f an increasing share
in political power
and responsibility;
a society...

30.

a society in which individual merit,
and individual merit alone,
is the criterion
for ~~a~~ ^f 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 ~~can be~~ ^f fostered
between its various parts.

=

This problem, *Sir*^f
is by no means confined to Africa.

31.

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 & *future*^f of Malaya
as a nation
will depend on
the different contributions
which the two races
can make.

32.

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

33.

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*^f 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

34.

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 have 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 ~~shall~~ *much*^f regret it.

35.

But I know that,
even so,
you would not ask us
to flinch from doing our duty.

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 ~~here~~^p
in the Union of South
Africa^p

I know the differences
between your situation
and that of most of the other
states
in Africa.

You have here
~~Some~~ three million people
of European origin.

This country is their home,

36.

It has been their home
For many ~~generations~~ *hundreds of years.*^f

They have no other.

The same true of Europeans
in Central and East Africa.

Furthermore^f in most other African states
those who have come to work from Europe
have only come to work,
to contribute their skills,
perhaps to teach,
but not to make a home.

The problems to which you
as members of the Union Parliament
have to address yourselves
are very different from those
which face the Parliaments
of countries *of*
~~with~~^f homogenous populations.

37.

Of course I realise^f
These are complicated
and 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.

=

38.

As a fellow member
of the Commonwealth
it is our earnest desire
to give South Africa our
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.

38. (a)

I think *that*^f as friends
to face together –

without seeking to apportion ~~credit~~ *power*^f
or blame –

the fact that
 In the world of today
This difference of outlook
 lies between us.

=

I said that I was speaking as a friend.

I can also claim
to be speaking as a relation.

39.

For we Scots
can claim family connections
with both the great
European sections
of your ~~population~~ *people*^f

not only with
the English-speaking people
but with the Afrikaans-speaking
~~as well.~~^f

This is a point
which hardly needs
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*^f Afrikaans-speaking people.

There always has been
a very close connection
between the Church of Scotland
and the Church of the
Netherlands.

40.

The Synod of Dort
plays the same great part
in the history of ~~both~~ *each*^f.

Many aspirants to the Ministry of
Scotland,
especially in the 17th and 18th
centuries,
went to pursue their theological
studies
in the Netherlands.

I think^f Scotland can claim to have repaid ~~the~~ its
debt

~~in~~ *to*^f 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~~ *who*^f have been called
“The Free State Clans”
who became burghers
of the old Free State
and whose descendants
still play their part there.

41.

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
~~In my remarks~~^f today.

However the ~~It~~^f 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.

42.

The Pilgrim Fathers
Were ~~fleeing~~ escaping^f from persecution
as Puritans –
and ~~the~~^f Marylanders from persecution
as Roman Catholics.

Throughout the 19th century
a stream of immigrants
flowed across the Atlantic
from the old world to the new^f
to escape from the poverty

in their homelands.

And in the 20th century
the United States
have provided asylum
for the victims
of political oppression
in Europe.

Thus,

for the majority of ~~its~~ *the*^f inhabitants,
America has been a place of refuge –
a place to which people went
because they wanted to get away
from Europe.

43.

It is not surprising,
therefore,
that for many years
a 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 ~~might have~~^f seemed
an attractive and a practicable
course.

Nevertheless, *Since my lifetime*^f
in the two great wars of this century,
they have found themselves
unable to stand aside.

44.

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 offers no assurance
of security.

The fact is that
in this modern world
no country,
not even the greatest,
can live for itself alone.

45.

Nearly 2,000 years ago, *at a time*^f
when 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 *this*
~~that~~^f 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.

46.

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,
your country,
and ~~all of every~~ ~~the countries~~^f 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”.

All nations ~~now are~~ *are now*^f interdependent
one upon another.

46: 47^p

This is generally recognised
throughout the Western World.

I hope in due course

the countries of ~~the~~ Communist world
may^f 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^f must find a way of doing so.

I believe that the initiative
which we took last year
has had some success.

At any rate I am sure
That nothing but good can come
From extending contacts in trade
and through the exchange
of visitors.

48.48^p

I certainly do not believe
in refusing to trade with people
just because you may happen to dislike the way
they manage their internal
affairs
at home.

Boycotts will never get you anywhere.

Here ~~I would like to say~~ may I^f say,
in parenthesis,

that I deprecate the attempts
which are being made
in Britain today
to organise a consumer boycott
of South African goods.

It has never been the practice *so far with*
Of^f any Government of the United
Kingdom
~~including the Labour Government~~^f
to undertake or support campaigns
of this kind
designed to influence
the internal politics
of another Commonwealth
country.

49.

I and my colleagues
in the United Kingdom Government
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.^f

The members of the Commonwealth
feel particularly strongly
the value of interdependence.

They are as independent
as any ~~countries~~ *nation*^f
in this shrinking world
can be,

but they have voluntarily agreed
to work together.

48.50^p

They recognise that there may be
differences between ~~them~~, *us*^f
in their institutions
or^f in their internal policies,
and membership does not imply
~~either~~^f 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 have got on well enough
in the United Kingdom
without a written constitution
and tend to look suspiciously at them.

51.

Whether that is so or not,
it is clear
that a rigid constitutional
framework
for the Commonwealth
would not work.
At the first of the stresses and strains
which are inevitable
in this period of history

cracks would appear in the framework
and then the whole structure
would crumble.

It is the flexibility
of our Commonwealth institutions
which gives them their strength.

52.

In conclusion,
may I say this.

I have spoken frankly
about 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.

And I should have been less than honest
If,
by remaining silent on them,
I had seemed to imply
that they did not exist.

53.^P

But differences on one subject,
important though it is,
need not and 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.

54.

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 of the electorate
are temporarily in charge of affairs
in my country and yours,
we fleeting transient phantoms in the great stage of history
we^f have no right to sweep aside
on this account
the friendship that exists
between our ~~two~~^f countries,

55.

For that is the legacy of history.
It is not ours alone
to deal with as we wish.

To adapt a famous phrase:
“it belongs to those who are living;
But it also 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 –
that in another 50 years
we shall look back
on the differences
that exist between us now
as mere matters of historical interest.

56.

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,
not to destroy.

And let us remember always
that weakness comes from division,
strength from unity

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In support of a motion of no-confidence in the Prime Minister (9 July 1958)

Margaret Ballinger

The year 1958 marked the ten year anniversary of National Party rule in South Africa, and their overriding policy of racial segregation known as Apartheid. On the day of the speech under discussion, the current Minister of Native Affairs, H.F. Verwoerd, was less than two months away from being sworn in as South Africa's seventh Prime Minister.¹ During his time as the Minister of Native Affairs Verwoerd became known as the "Architect of Apartheid".² As such, his position is diametrically opposed to that of Margaret Ballinger, an elected member of parliament since 1937 in the role of Native Representative.³ The Native Representatives held four parliamentary seats set aside for White representatives and voted for by Black constituents.⁴

Margaret Ballinger had served her constituency of the Eastern Cape for over two decades, but, as much as her international fame, and liberal attitudes towards racial policy were well established, she had not been able to achieve any significant impact in terms of guiding South African politics away from White-minority rule and international disapproval and condemnation.⁵ At this point in time Ballinger had largely lost the support of the leadership of the African National Congress, as the younger members, such as Nelson Mandela, moved the organisation towards a more radical, revolutionary uprising.⁶ Ballinger, who had advocated for peaceful resistance refused to concede that she was largely ineffectual. At the point of presenting this speech Ballinger and her three colleagues were also within two years of Verwoerd scrapping the Native Representative seats in parliament altogether, and with it their political careers.⁷

As a Native Representative, Margaret Ballinger fought tirelessly for the rights of the Black majority, who been increasingly marginalised and subjugated by successive Parliamentary Acts of the White rulers.⁸ After time spent studying at Oxford, Ballinger returned and taught history at both Rhodes University and the University of the Witwatersrand.⁹ A highly gifted speaker, Ballinger was credited by a Time magazine article in 1944 with being perhaps the best speaker in South Africa's parliament apart from Jan Smuts (then current Prime Minister) and perhaps his protégé Jan Hofmeyr.¹⁰

¹ Lawrence Elwin Neame, *The history of Apartheid: The story of the Colour War in South Africa*, (London: Pall Mall Press with Barrie and Rockliff, 1962).

² P. Eric Louw, Thomas M. Leonard (Eds.), "Verwoerd, Hendrik", *Encyclopedia of the Developing World*, 1, (New York: Routledge, 2006): 1661.

³ Meghan Elisabeth Healy, Emmanuel Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Eds.), "Ballinger, Margaret", *Dictionary of African Biography*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012): 362-363.

⁴ Denis Worrall, *South Africa: Government and politics*, (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1975).

⁵ Margaret Ballinger, *From Union to Apartheid: A trek to isolation*, (New York: Praeger, 1969).

⁶ F. Alex Mouton. *Voices in the desert: Margaret and William Ballinger, A Biography*, (Pretoria: Benedic Books, 1997).

⁷ Louw, *Encyclopedia of the Developing World*, 1661.

⁸ Ballinger, *From Union to Apartheid: A Trek to Isolation*.

⁹ Healy, *Dictionary of African Biography*, 362-363.

¹⁰ Staff reporter, "Queen of the Blacks", *Time* 44, 1 (1944): 34.

Ballinger's particular rhetorical style focusses predominantly on the use of logos and extensive substantiation in order to form very powerful arguments and claims. Through comprehensive research, she was able to create arguments that were very difficult to dispute on rational grounds. The choice to steer away from pathos arguments and to avoid ethos claims might initially seem strange, in particular when considered in the light of major ethical questions concerning the ill treatment of Black South Africans. However, the two Nationalist party leaders who had the greatest influence on Apartheid policy (D.F. Malan and H.F. Verwoerd) both held PhDs (in Theology and Psychology respectively) and were very intelligent men, and Ballinger understood they could not be successfully out-manoeuvred using either ethos or pathos due to their superior educational and religious standing. As such, she realised that the audience for her speeches were predominantly conservative, Afrikaner men amongst whom her use of ethos would not stand comparison, and due to the religious aspect, neither would the use of pathos.

The other dominant aspect of Ballinger's speeches is her ability to couch her claims and warrants in terms of the best interests of the White men who formed the governing party. While she would express the importance of greater equality for the Black population she represented by ensuring that the argument always revolved around the benefit that would accrue to the White farmers, businessmen and population in general, should this happen, Ballinger was able to constantly undermine the Apartheid façade. Additionally, newspapers reporting on her speeches meant that it became increasingly difficult to contain the veracity of her arguments, and many Parliamentary rebuttals of her positions were no more than ad hominem attacks designed to detract from her ethos.

The speech that is presented below is one given by Ballinger in support of a motion of no confidence in the Prime Minister of South Africa, J.G. Strijdom, which was brought before the House by the Leader of the Opposition, Sir DeVilliersGraaff of the United Party. Ballinger's speech follows that of J.H. Abraham, the National Party MP for Groblersdal against the motion. Of particular interest in this speech is the manner in which she uses the information supplied by the National Party Government to substantiate her arguments. Unfortunately, the only version of this speech which exists is that of the Hansard transcripts of Parliamentary Debates, which do not clearly record all of the paragraph breaks. I have chosen not to change this, as it could possibly influence the reading of the speech and the interpretation thereof.

Michael Coombes - University of Cape Town

Mr Speaker, as a representative of the Africans in this House I must confess to a certain degree of anxiety when I first heard the terms of the motion moved by the Leader of the Opposition. I listened with great care to the statement of his case which he made yesterday, and I hope that I am right in interpreting his claim for common ground with the Nationalist Party on the subject of Native policy as limited to the necessity for developing the reserves. I myself cannot imagine any other possible ground on which, with our experience of the Nationalist Party, any non-Nationalist could possibly have any common ground with them. On that particular issue I concede that it is a standpoint of some considerable importance. The reserves are, after all, our national asset and the people who live in them are our national responsibility, and I think we are all committed, no matter what our political views and principles are, to the development of our national assets and

the recognition of our national responsibilities. In those circumstances my anxiety is to some extent allayed. I may say in passing that I trust the Leader of the Opposition will reassure us in this regard on the next possible occasion. But having that anxiety to some extent allayed I find myself faced with a new anxiety in the speech of the hon. the Prime Minister in reply to the case of the Leader of the Opposition.

The Prime Minister made two points I wish to deal with. One was that insofar as Native affairs are concerned this Government has a record to be proud of. He was very insistent that this Government has done a great deal more than anyone else has done to rehabilitate the reserves, and that he feels he has a right to be satisfied with the progress that has been made. The second point he made was that, whatever the situation in South Africa between Black and White, we here have less trouble on our hands than any other country in Africa in this regard. I wish to express my regret at the outset that apparently it has not been possible for the Prime Minister to be here to-day. I trust it is not due to any deterioration in his health; but I regret it particularly because I feel that it is important that the head of state should hear debates on these matters, and I am sorry that he cannot hear at first hand what I have to say as a representative of Africans.

I want to deal first of all with the reserves. The Prime Minister's case is that this Government has spent more money on the reserves than anyone else. That may have some justification in the eyes of the Prime Minister but I want to remind him that he assumed certain responsibilities in regard to the reserves which no other section of the community has so far assumed. On terms of the policy of the National Party, the reserves are not only a national asset to be developed but they are the potential national home of the African population whom it is the declared intention of this Government to segregate. Now against that background I can only say that the Prime Minister is seriously misled if he considers that this Government is facing up to its responsibilities in that regard. It is not even facing up to its responsibilities in regard to the case we would make in respect of the reserves. But in regard to its own responsibilities, I want to remind the House that his Government specifically repudiated the conditions upon which it might have been possible to build up the Native reserves to serve the purpose which they postulated for them. They repudiated the recommendations of the Tomlinson Report in three important respects. They repudiated the recommendation of the Commission which is basic to all policies in regard to the reserves, that there must be a reorganisation of the basis of landholding. The Commission told them that it was quite impossible to develop the reserves on the present basis of landholding, that it was essential both to stabilize the people in the reserves and to increase the holdings of those who were potentially good farmers. The Tomlinson Commission also told the Government that in order to begin on the path which was necessary to build up the reserves for the purposes which they assumed, it was absolutely essential to begin at once with a diversification of the economic life in the reserves, and to do that it was absolutely essential to harness all European support that could be given. But the Government repudiated that proposition also. Finally, on the simple question of money, the Commission told the Government in most explicit terms that it was not a case of spending a few million pounds, but that it is essential to spend at least £100 million and to get on with the job at once. On that basis alone the Government has denied its own case

that it has made here. The result is that the only thing that is going on in the reserves is a continuation of an all too slow process of trying to redeem the agricultural deterioration of those areas. The fact is that there is no dynamic change in the condition of the reserves and to-day the reserves are just as little on the way to becoming a national home for the African population as they have ever been. So that the emphasis in this regard is not on what the Government has done but on what it has not done. On the economic side they have failed lamentably, and on the political side the story is no better. Their record there is the establishment of the so-called Bantu authorities, another of the Nationalist Party's great frauds which is becoming more and more revealed as such, a system which pulled up by the roots the whole democratic process which had been developing in the reserves for over 50 years. It is not a restoration of the Bantu tribal authorities but the establishment of Ministerial authority. The Bantu authorities are a very thinly disguised façade for the authority of the Minister of Native Affairs. The Bantu authorities are the people who are prepared to say yes to the Minister of Native Affairs. They are not traditional authorities. The traditional authorities are the chiefs but they can only be chiefs whilst they agree with hon. the Minister. A chief is a chief today but not tomorrow if he does not say what the Minister of Native Affairs wants him to say. The other concession to this so-called political progress of the African population is the old story that the Africans will get self-government in their own areas when they are able to exercise the powers which will be granted to them as they learn to use them. Sir, this sort of story at this stage, in the middle of the twentieth century, is a complete farce. Here we have in South Africa the most highly developed African population on the African continent. Our people have had 300 years of contact with so-called Western Christian civilization. They have had a long history of education. They are educated, they are experienced and they have developed as no other African population on this continent. But on this continent today, while other communities are becoming self-governing nations, we are talking this idle, silly nonsense about conceding to our Africans rights of local self-government, government in their own areas, when they are ready and fit to exercise it. It is against that background that the Prime Minister has told us that we are having less trouble in South Africa than anywhere else in Africa. What I want to tell the Prime Minister is that it is easy for him to say that and believe it, in view of what is going on in South Africa. But before I come to that point I want to put another point to the House.

Here we have a situation in which both on the economic and political front this government has failed to meet any of the obligations of its own policy, to build up the African population to make them independent and self-governing, but at the same time they have whittled away the civil rights of the Africans. They have reduced their rights of movement and their property rights. They have reduced their access to the labour market where they might build up their own reserves to help themselves. They have created new insecurity and instability among the population in the towns upon whom their own livelihood is dependent. They have deprived the African population of any liberties they had in what they call European areas but what is our common economy, on the ground that these people were going to have rights and full development in their own areas. It is against this background that the Prime Minister told this House that we in South Africa are having less trouble in race

relations than any other country in Africa. My answer is that at least the other countries in Africa know what they are up against; they know what troubles they are facing. We in South Africa do not know what troubles we are facing, and why not? For this reason, that when the inevitable pressures of these policies lead to discontentment and unhappiness amongst the African populations, every effort is made to reduce their capacity to make their discontents known to a European electorate which in any case is not interested. This Government has continuously taken every power in its hands to suppress free speech and to reduce the capacity of the African population to reach the White electors and to put before the White electors the burden of its troubles. In the towns, and indeed wherever trouble arises, wherever there is anxiety and distress, they throw a cordon round the Native areas. The new policy of the Minister of Native Affairs is to seal off the African population. His attempt is to seal off the African population from the European population in any case. He is doing his best to reduce every point of contact between European and African in this country; but he is also doing his best to prevent this community from knowing what is going on among the African population. We have the wide use of a banning process to remove people who are likely to be troublesome in Native locations, whether in town or country. We have a ban imposed, at the will of the hon. Minister himself, on meetings of Africans where they are likely to express their discontent, and we have this process whereby the African population itself is kept herded away from the European community. Typical instances of serious cases which this House ought to be investigating very carefully at the present time are Zeerust and Sekukuniland. What the truth of these troubles is nobody really knows, because hon. the Minister, when he finds himself up against difficulties, seals off the area, and not only refuses to allow people to go in to see what is happening, but even refuses to allow the people themselves to come out to tell anybody what is happening. This is a situation in which I feel the hon. the Prime Minister is on dangerous ground if he believes that silence means peace, if he believes that because we have no open and declared and recognised troubles, there are no troubles amongst the African populations. There are troubles amongst the African populations and conflict between Africans and European authority in this country as never before. In my opinion, of course, the hon. the [sic] Prime Minister himself is anxious about this situation. He keeps harping, as do other members of his Cabinet, on the necessity for all Whites to stand together in defence of the White man in South Africa. That was the main theme of the Prime Minister's appeal yesterday: the Whites must stand together in South Africa to protect their position and secure their own safety. The hon. the [sic] Prime Minister talked as if we were a beleaguered camp. I think, Sir, there is the shadow of reality in that attitude. I think the way things are developing, if we are not a beleaguered camp now we will be, and that at no distant date. I am myself convinced – and I am in very good company, increasingly extensive company that it is quite impossible for any government to continue to hold down an African population – any African population, but particularly ours – as this Government and this Minister are endeavouring to do. We will have to face the Nemesis of this situation, and we can only hope that we shall have enough time to reconsider the position and try to save ourselves. The real advice that we can give to the Government is not that White men should stand together to

defend themselves, and to defend White civilization in this country, but that sensible White men should urge and induce the Government to get into co-operative relationship with all the non-Europeans in this country, to establish a system in this country under which there will be consent and mutual respect and mutual safeguarding. It is long past time we stopped talking as if in fact we were a beleaguered community. It is long past time we took the only reasonable means of safeguarding ourselves here in South Africa, and that is to come to an understanding with our fellow citizens and to build up a truly democratic society. The Prime Minister was at great pains to tell us how democratic the Afrikaner is. All I can say is that he has queer ways of showing his democratic tendencies. The record of the Statute Book during the last ten years has been a progressive record of the deterioration of the civil liberties of all sections of the community. There has been a deterioration of the civil liberties of the non-European community, but what we are learning is that you cannot have a deterioration of the civil liberties of one section without getting a deterioration of the civil liberties of all sections. We have had a record of the narrowing field of civil liberties for all people in this country in the last ten years, and a complete denial of the principles of civil liberties and rights of self-determination of our non-European population in South Africa. Sir, we suffer here in South Africa from an over-weening vanity, but we cannot indefinitely stand against the opinion of the world or the forces of our own society. We can only again warn the Government and put on record our view of this situation. In doing this, we are doing the only thing we can do and we shall do it as long as we are allowed to do it. I propose to move as a further amendment; to omit all the words after "That" and to substitute "This".

House views with increasing anxiety:

- i. The continuing failure of the Government to establish any co-operative understanding with the African people; and
- ii. The progressive attempts of the Department of Native Affairs to isolate the African community and to administer it by decree and intimidation.

It therefore calls upon the Government in the interests of internal peace and our standing in the world outside, particularly in Africa, to abandon the practice of arbitrary government now in operation among Africans, to restore the civil liberties and progressively extend the political rights of the African people and thus set the country on the road to true democratic government.



Section 2.

Argentina – Argentine Voices



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Introduction

The four speeches presented as founding in Argentina were selected using two criteria, which are based on the recognition of the performative power of words in a community. On the one hand, it has to do with constructing the audience, endowed with a certain identity and, on the other, about declaring the beginning of a new period in the country's history.

In Juan Domingo Peron's speech of 17 October 1945, we have a construction of the people with the identity of Peronist workers and the emergence of the working class mass in the public space; in Raul Alfonsin's speech of 10 December, 1983, there is a constitution of the people as a citizen and the (re) establishment of democracy after the military dictatorship between 1976 and 1983. The construction of the audience is articulated with images that differ from one another. While both speakers appeal to the same ethos of humility ("this humble man who speaks to you here today", says Peron, and Alfonsin represents himself as "the most humble of Argentines"), other images of self construct Peron as a leader, while Alfonsin is presented as representative of the citizens. Both refer to the situation of enunciation with the metaphor-cliché of the "celebration" in relation to democracy ("this true celebration of democracy" in Peron, and "the celebration of Argentine democracy" in Alfonsin). Nevertheless, in Peron's speech democracy is established in an unmediated relationship between the leader and the working class mass; in Alfonsin's address, democracy starts in liberal political representation.

The speech by de facto president Leopoldo F. Galtieri, declaring the Falklands War on 2 April 1982, precipitated the end of the military rule that had begun in 1976, as Argentina's defeat had led to the discrediting of the armed forces and irreversibly accelerated the democratisation process that had been announced with the Multiparty, a union of the political parties in 1981 that aimed to put pressure on the military to leave power. Raul Alfonsin, who would be elected democratically in 1983, was one of the few politicians who dared to publicly oppose a war that, as evidenced by the joy aroused by Galtieri's speech, had the support of much of the population. The dictator, however, as an indication of the difficulty in building a political bond with his audience, does not address it, he does not name it as such, by omitting the initial vocative that is the (re)creator of identity – unlike Peron, who names it "Workers", and Alfonsin who names it "Compatriots".

Among the founding speeches of Argentina presented here, the minority voice is that of a woman, Eva Peron. In her speech of 23 September 1947, the wife of former President Juan Domingo Peron publicly announced the Law of Women's Suffrage, and thus began a new civic period in the country. While she addressed all women and sought to capture those who were not Peronists – similarly to the speech delivered by Peron on 17 October, which created the people as Peronist workers – Eva Peron created her audience, in this case women, as Peronist women, and recalled that speech by her husband, among using other strategies, in order to reinforce him as a leader.

~ Maria Alejandra Vitale ~

The four founding speeches included of Argentina were delivered at the Plaza de Mayo (Juan Domingo Peron, Eva Peron and Leopoldo F. Galtieri spoke from the balcony of the Casa Rosada, as the Government House is known; Raul Alfonsin did so from the town council). The Plaza de Mayo is in terms of Pierre Nora, a place of memory constitutive for the Argentine nation.

Maria Alejandra Vitale - University of Buenos Aires

This is the suffering people that represent the pain of the motherland

Juan Domingo Peron

Juan Domingo Peron began to gain prominence in Argentina's political scene after the military coup of 4 June 1943, which overthrew the conservative president Ramon Castillo, who had come to power through fraud. In 1945, General Edelmiro Farrell was ruling the country and Colonel Peron was Secretary of Labour, Vice President and Minister of War. Due to the pressure coming from both civilian and military opponents, on 9 October 1945, he was forced to resign from all his posts and on the 12 October he was imprisoned. On 17 October, after a huge mass mobilisation calling for his release, and which according to Alain Rouquie gave the military the understanding that it was best to stand by Peron than to be on the sidelines of his indisputable leadership, he was released. In order to placate the crowd that had gathered in the Plaza de Mayo, at 23:00 Farrell himself presented Peron on the balcony of the Government House (Casa Rosada) to speak publicly. Peron fulfilled this purpose especially because he avoided giving the crowd information about what had happened during his imprisonment, and by asking them to quietly return to their homes and to go on strike on 18 October, as decreed by the General Confederation of Workers, as a public holiday (not as a protest).

But the speech of 17 October, which lasted about half an hour and was broadcast throughout the country by the Official Broadcasting Service, is famous for other reasons. In it, Peron constructed his audience with the identity of the Argentine people. In successive rhetorical moves, Peron brought the workers into existence through expressions such as "the authentic Argentine people" and performs it by saying "This is the people". In various expressions Peron implied that one social sector claimed to be the people but was actually an inauthentic Argentine people, a false people. According to Peron's speech, the true and authentic people were the Peronist workers, so left-wing workers were excluded from it, as well as those of the Communist Party – not co-opted by Peronism – the middle class who were against his policies, and the upper class.

In his 17 October speech there is a "conversion" of the identity of Peron that allows for a "transubstantiation with the people" and the rhetorical construction of its political leadership. Peron explicitly expresses that he is putting the uniform aside and putting on the civilian's coat to blend in with the sweaty masses. But while he mingles with the masses, by means of other rhetorical moves, he climbs up to a higher place in hierarchical terms (he formulates requests, advice and recommendations, positioning himself as an "older brother") until he ends his speech above the crowd, observing it from the balcony of the Government House. The tension between the fusion/division of the constitutive dialectic is manifested in the relationship itself between Peron and the crowd: he merged with it, but at the same time he ends his speech positioned outside of it, physically and symbolically above it as their leader.

In his 17 October speech, Peron used the slang word "vieja" (old lady) to refer to his mother, saying "you have had the same pains and the same thoughts as my poor old lady", thus distancing himself from the conservative and dry language of his political opponents. It also builds the spoken scene rhetorically between Peron and the crowd in a familiar setting and re-semanticises political relations as family relations. Therefore Peron portrays himself as an older brother who gives advice to the mass. This older brother, who is wiser and more powerful, presents himself as a leader who communicates with the people without mediation. Thus, Peron represents his meeting with the workers by means of the expression "this true celebration of democracy", a phrase that separates the notion of celebration of democracy into a true celebration and a false one, which implicitly refers to the

celebration of liberal representative democracy, where raw mediated relations between the representatives and the represented come first.

The 17 October speech is constitutive of an enunciation device that establishes a verbal link between the leader and his audience without mediation, and which situates this crowd in an ambiguous place with regard to their own right to speak. The people ask Peron several times to tell them where he had been, but he says: "With all this new insistence, I request that you do not ask me". In an act of authority, Peron defines himself as sole administrator of his rights and duties as political speaker, and in the same act he defines the rights and duties of his audience, the acts of legitimate and illegitimate enunciation.

My thanks go to Maria Sofia Vasallo, of the National University Institute of Arts, for facilitating the transcription she produced of the original audio of the speech of 17 October, preserved in the General Archive of the Nation, for her (unpublished) thesis for her Masters in Speech Analysis at the University of Buenos Aires. Unlike the written version that mainly circulates and which is archived on the educ.ar website, this audio includes the voice of the speaker who presented Peron and the part of his speech where he refers to his upcoming trip to Chubut. On the other hand, it allows us to notice the interaction between Peron and his audience and how at the end of his speech the people broke into a chant that would be repeated by Peronists at political rallies or demonstrations for the remaining decades of the twentieth century and even until today.

Maria Alejandra Vitale - University of Buenos Aires

Workers, almost two years ago, from this same balcony...
Audience: Silence!

Peron: I said I had three honours in my life: that of being a soldier, being a patriot and being the first Argentine worker.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers (four minutes).*

Peron: Today... Today, this afternoon, the Executive Power signed my request for retirement from active duty in the military.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: With this I have voluntarily given up the most distinguished honour a soldier can aspire to – to bear the laurels and palms of General of the nation.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: This... I have... I have done this because I want to continue to be Colonel Peron.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: And, with this name, to be at the full service of the authentic Argentine people.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* President! President! President! Farrell! Farrell!
(*Isolated cries*).

Peron: I hang the honourable and sacred uniform handed to me by my fatherland, to now wear the civilian coat and join the suffering and sweating masses that produces the work and the greatness of our nation.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* We want Peron! We want Peron!

Peron: With this... With this I give a final embrace to that institution that is the mainstay of our fatherland: the military.

~ *This is the suffering people that represent the pain of the motherland* ~

Audience: *Applause.*

Peron: And I... And I also give...

Audience: The police! (*An isolated cry*).

Peron: my first embrace to this great crowd that represents the synthesis of a feeling that had died in the Republic: the true civility of the Argentine people.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* This is the people! This is the people!

Peron: This is the people. This is the suffering people that represent the pain of our motherland, which we have to defend. And we...

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* Peron! Peron! This is the people of... This is the people of Peron! This is the people of Peron! (*In unison with increasing strength*).

Peron: This... This is the people of the fatherland.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: The same people who in this historic square, before the Congress, demanded that their will and rights be respected.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* Peron! Peron!

Peron: It is... It is the same people that must be immortal, because no human treachery or evil will be able to subdue this great people in feeling or in numbers.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: This... This genuine celebration of democracy, represented by a people marching for hours, to go and demand that their officials fulfil their duty and defend the rights of the authentic people.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* Peron! Peron! Peron! (*30 seconds*)

Peron: Many times... Many times I have attended meetings of workers. I have always felt a great satisfaction, but from today I will feel a real pride of being Argentine, because I interpret this collective movement as the rebirth of a consciousness of the working class.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: Of a consciousness of the working class that is the only thing that can make our fatherland great and immortal.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* Peron! Peron!

Peron: Two years ago I asked for trust. I was told many times that this people, for which I sacrificed many hours, day and night, would betray me.

Audience: Never! Never!

Peron: They must know... Today, those unworthy frauds must know...

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: that this people, today those unworthy frauds must know, that the people does not betray those who do not betray it (*ecstatic*).

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* Peron! Peron!

Peron: So... So, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to take this opportunity, as a simple citizen, part of this sweaty mass, to embrace you deeply and close to my heart, as I would do with my mother.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* *At that moment, someone close to the balcony shouts: a hug for the old lady!* (*According to another version of the speech*)

Peron: From this time... From this time, which will be historic for the Republic, may Colonel Peron be a link, a link of union that makes the bond between the people, the military and the police indestructible.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers. Chant (unintelligible).*

Peron: May... May that union be eternal and infinite so that this people may grow in the spiritual unity of the true and authentic forces of nationality and order; may that unity be indestructible and infinite so that our people may possess not only happiness but that they may also know how to defend it with dignity.

Audience: Like José de San Martín! (*Or similar, Like at Plaza San Martín!*)

Peron: We... We, the true patriots, feel that unity, because when we love our country we will not love its fields or its houses, we will love our brothers and sisters of the nation. That unity, the basis of all future happiness, must be founded on a formidable stratum of this people, who – by showing up here today at this square in numbers that exceed half a million – is showing the world its spiritual and material greatness.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* Where were you? Where were you? Where were you? (*With increasing force, in unison*)

Peron: You ask... You ask me where I was.

Audience: Yes! (*In unison*).

Peron: I was making a sacrifice that I would make a thousand times over for you.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* Don't go! Don't go! Don't go!

Peron: I do not want to end without affectionately and fraternally remembering our inland brothers and sisters, who move and beat in unison with our hearts, from all areas of the fatherland.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: To them... To them, who represent the pain of this land, we send our love, our memories and our promise that in the future we will work from dawn till dusk for them to be less hopeless and be able to enjoy life more.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* Where were you? Where were you? Where were you? (*In unison*). *Murmurs close to the microphone.* Where were you? Where were you? (*Isolated cries*) Where were you? Where were you? Where were you? (*In unison*) (40 seconds).

Peron: And now... And now comes, as always, for your Secretary of Labour and Social Welfare, who has fought and will continue to fight beside you in order to see the culmination of this work that is the ambition of my life, the expression of my desire, for all the working class to be a little happier.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: This time is a time for advice.

Audience: Where were you? Where were you? (*Different individual voices*).

Peron: Which I give with my heart as open as it can be before something one loves so much: the people.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* Where were you? (*Isolated cries*).

Peron: Ladies and gentlemen, with all this new insistence I request, I request (*raising his voice*) that you do not ask me and you do not remind me of matters I have already forgotten.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* *A few cheers close to the microphone.*

Peron: Because... Because those who are not able to forget, do not deserve to be loved and respected by their neighbours (*ecstatic*).

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: And I aspire... And I aspire to be loved by you...

~ This is the suffering people that represent the pain of the motherland ~

Audience: The people with Peron!

Peron: And I do not want to tarnish this act with any bad memory.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: I said, I said it was time for advice. Remember, workers: unite! Be more united in brotherhood today than ever! In this beautiful country the unity of all Argentines will be built on the unity of those who work.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: We will... Every day we will incorporate each of the unruly or unhappy ones into this beautiful mass in movement, so that, among us, they may become like this beautiful and patriotic mass that you are.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* Marry Evita! Marry Evita! Marry Evita!

Peron: (*Lowering his voice and smiling*) It is a lot already.

Audience: Marry Evita! Marry Evita! Marry Evita!

Peron: I also ask that all of you workers, my friends, receive with affection my immense gratitude for the concerns you have had for this humble man who speaks before you here today.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* We want Peron! We want Peron! We want Peron! (*Strongly increasing*) (21 seconds).

Peron: That is why... That is why I said earlier that I would embrace you as I would embrace my mother, because you have probably had the same thoughts and the same pains as my poor old lady has suffered these days.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* Peron! Peron! We want Peron!

Peron: (*cut in the recording*) Let us trust that the coming days will be of peace and of building for the nation. Let us wait, with the ease with which you have always waited for future improvements that would never come. Let us have faith in the future and let us hope that the new authorities steer the ship of the State towards the destinies to which we – simple citizens at your service – all aspire.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers (unintelligible).*

Peron: I know... I know that labour movements have been announced. Now, at this time, there is no reason for it.

Audience: *Individual cry (Unintelligible).*

Peron: This is why... This is why I ask you, as an older brother, to return peacefully to work. And think...

Audience: *outburst of cries.* (30 seconds)

Peron: And today...

Audience: Peron celebration! Peron celebration! Peron celebration! (*With increasing force, the clamour becomes deafening.*) (35 seconds)

Peron: I ask you to return peacefully to your homes. And... And, just this one time, because I could never say it as Secretary of Labour and Social Welfare, I ask that you go on that strike in celebration...

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Peron: I ask... I ask that you hold this day of strike by celebrating the glory of this gathering of good working men, who are the purest and dearest hope of the country.

Audience: *Cries and cheers. Applause.*

Peron: And I have left... And I have left...

Audience: *Cries (unintelligible).*

Peron: And I have deliberately left for last, to advise you that as you leave this great assembly, you do so very carefully. Remember that among you there are many women workers, female workers that must be protected here and in life by the male workers themselves.

Audience: *Cries (unintelligible).*

Peron: And... And finally, I ask you to bear in mind that I need some rest, which I will take in Chubut, in order to regain strength and return to fight alongside you, till exhaustion, if necessary.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.* This is the people of Peron! This is the people of Peron! This is the people of Peron!

Announcer: And so Colonel Juan Peron has spoken to this magnificent gathering at the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires and through State Radio and the Argentine Broadcasting Network, to workers nationwide.

Peron: Attention! Attention! I ask that we all stay at least another fifteen minutes here together, because I want to stand here and watch this spectacle that pulls me out of the sadness in which I have lived these last days.

Audience: *outburst of cries and cheers.*

Announcer: From the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires, a rare spectacle has also played out in front of the whole audience of the capital. State Radio has broadcast together with all the members of Argentine Broadcasting Network. At Colonel Peron's request for the people to remain another fifteen minutes here in the square we are seeing scenes of inexpressible joy. From each throat, a cry of joy ascends to heaven, celebrating the return of Colonel Peron. The Square is dotted with torches made of the evening newspapers. Choruses that are already popular throughout the city of Buenos Aires sing Colonel Peron's name.

Audience: I will give you/ I will give you one thing/ I'll give you, beautiful fatherland/ something that starts with P/ Peron! (*in unison*).

Translated from Spanish (Argentina) by Clara Tilve.

A long history of struggles, setbacks and hopes

Maria Eva Duarte de Peron

Eva Peron (1919-1952) is one of the most important female political figures in the history of Argentina and is an essential reference when studying Peronism, on the one hand, and women's political leadership, on the other.

As is widely known, Eva Peron (Evita) was the wife of Juan Domingo Peron, president of Argentina three times, 1946-1952, 1952-1958 (government interrupted by the military coup of 1955) and 1973-1974 (interrupted by his passing in 1974). Eva Peron played an active role as First Lady, as President of the Women's Peronist Party, President of the Eva Peron Foundation and "Spiritual Leader of the Nation". Her political action was specifically focused on achieving labour and social rights. Part of these achievements is the law of women's suffrage.

During the period prior to the enactment of Law 13, 010, which established women's suffrage, Eva Peron's public participation was intense, through radio and print, in order to promote and defend it. The law was approved by the National Congress on 9 September, but its enactment was postponed until 23 September. Its text, only seven articles long, would allow women – four years later, in the 1952 presidential elections – to vote for the first time. The speech presented here was delivered on the balcony of the Casa Rosada, on 23 September 1947, immediately after the enactment of the law, which had been signed that day by President Juan Domingo Peron and Interior Minister Angel Borlenghi, within the framework of a popular celebration held in the Plaza de Mayo.

In Argentina, the claim for equal civil rights for women, including women's suffrage, has its origin in the socialist and anarchist militants of the early twentieth century, among whom are Elvira Ramson de Dellepiane, Cecilia Grierson and Alicia Moreau de Justo. On the other hand, women's sectors of the national oligarchy were also in favour of voting rights for women, but with a marked selectivity that did not question the injustice of an established social order that held women back, a questioning that was at the core of Evita's messages. Part of that sector are Victoria Ocampo, Susana Larguía and María Rosa Oliver, who in 1936 founded the Argentine Women's Union. Earlier, in 1932, Carmela Horne had founded the Argentine Association for Women's Suffrage.

In the decades leading up to 1947, over thirty more projects were started to promote women's voting rights, but none of them came to be discussed in the parliamentary bodies. The first one dates from 1911, driven by socialist MP Alfredo Palacios, and even predates the Saenz Peña Law of 1912, by which the electoral methods in Argentina are democratised, when the secret, compulsory and universal vote is instituted for male Argentine citizens over the age of eighteen years. However, with the Saenz Peña Law, political fraud could not be avoided, and this allowed conservative sectors to take power during the "Infamous Decade" until the military coup of 1943, an event that would facilitate the rise to power of Juan Domingo Peron three years later through institutional means. Eva Peron's campaign to achieve women's suffrage law is framed within this context and is projected towards the 1952 elections, in which women vote for the first time.

While Eva Peron was driving a shared claim, both with liberal leftist leaders and those of the oligarchy, her speech is "founding" because it establishes, for the first time, a new recipient: it politically calls on women, all women, building a civic consciousness while maintaining the suitable indispensable condition as the "basic pillar of the home". That is, the symbolic space that is gener-

ated incorporates women into the political scene but without losing sight of the spiritual values or traditionally assigned gender roles.

Eva Peron's speech announcing women's voting rights establishes women in a politically meaningful place, on a par with the place held during Peronism. In this sense, it builds a national future in tension with the political model of the oligarchic past and puts not only the role of the Peronist woman, but of all women as citizens, at stake. This differentiates it from previous speeches that promoted women's right to vote but were directed, in their claim, only at men or women who had "political awareness".

Ana Maria Corrarello - University of Buenos Aires

Ana Laura Maizels - University of Buenos Aires

Women of my country; I receive at this very moment, from the government of the Nation, the law that enshrines our civil rights. And I receive it, before you, knowing that I do so, on behalf of and as representative of all Argentine women. Feeling, with joy, that my hands are trembling as I touch the laurel wreath that proclaims our victory.

Here it is, my sisters, summarised in the small print of a few articles, is a long history of struggles, setbacks and hopes. That is why there is in it the tension of indignation, threatening shadows of declines, but also the joyful awakenings of triumphal beginnings! And the latter, which translates the victory of women over the lack of understanding, denials and vested interests of the castes, condemned by our national awakening, has only been possible in an environment of justice, recovery and restructuring of the country, which stimulates and inspires the work of the government of General Peron, leader of the Argentine people.

My dear comrades; we have reached the goal we had set for ourselves, after a burning struggle. We faced the falsehood, slander and defamation. Our eternal enemies, the enemies of the people with their demands, put into play all the resources of the oligarchy to prevent this victory. This legion of women who accompany me was ignored by one sector of the press at the service of anti-Argentine interests; from a tiny sector of Parliament, there was an attempt to set back the enactment of this law. This manoeuvre was defeated by the determined and courageous approach of our MP Eduardo Colom. From the public platforms, the men condemned by the people on 24 February, raised their puppet voices, responding to orders not in line with the interests of the nation. But they could do nothing against the decision, the tenacity, the firm resolve of a people like ours, who on 17 October, with Colonel Peron at the head, outlined its historical destiny. Then, as at the birth of our political independence, the women of Argentina played their part in the struggle. We have broken the old prejudices of the defeated oligarchy. We have reached, I repeat, the objective we had set, which we have lovingly cherished throughout the effort. The road has been long and painful. But for the glory of women, tireless defenders of their essential rights, the obstacles against them did not deter them. On the contrary, they provided the push and encouragement to continue the struggle. As these obstacles multiplied, our enthusiasm grew. The more they grew, the greater was our will to

triumph. And in the end, at the very gates of success, the tricks of a falsely progressive opposition, attempted its last blow in order to delay the enactment of the law.

This move against the people, against women, increased our faith. It was and is faith in God, in the future of the Nation, in General Peron and our rights. That is how the mask of the false apostles was torn off, putting an end to the anti-democratic comedy.

But... blessed be the struggle that we were forced to undertake due to a lack of understanding and the lies of the enemies of the fatherland! Blessed be the obstacles with which the leaders of the false democracy of oligarchic privileges and national denial wanted to block our path! Negative factors that ignore the people, look down on the work and traffic in it, unable to understand its militant reserves. Those lies, those obstacles, the lack of understanding, cheered up our spirits. And today, victorious, we emerge aware and emancipated, strengthened and filled with faith in our own strength. Today, we add our civic will to the national will in order to follow the dignifying restorative teachings of our leader, General Peron. We marched at the vanguard of the people that at the polls will bring about the future of the fatherland, with the desire for a greater, happier, more prosperous, more righteous and more effectively Argentine nation; a nation of the Argentines.

I have visited the old countries of Europe, some ravaged by war. There, in direct contact with the people, I learned another lesson in life. The exemplary lesson of the devoted working women who are alongside the men fighting for recovery and for peace. Women who add the contribution of their will, ability and determination. Women who forged weapons for their brothers, who fought beside them, equal in courage and heroism.

My dear comrades: may we be inspired by their example! This triumph represents a duty, the highest duty of the people and to the fatherland. The vote, which offers us participation in the nation's future, throws over our shoulders a great responsibility. It is the responsibility of choice. Or rather, of knowing how to choose; for our cooperation to push nationality towards higher stages of its destiny, sweeping away in its march the vices of those who are opposed to the happiness and wellbeing of the Nation.

With our victory we have accepted this responsibility and we must not give it up! The experience of these last few years, in which we faced the repressed national vocations of economic, political and social justice of the old tyrants, deniers of people's rights, should serve as an example. In moments of significance, Argentine men knew they had to choose the leader of their destiny and identified in General Peron all their yearnings that had been denied, reviled and mocked by the oligarchy that served foreign interests. Can we, Argentine women, do anything other than consolidate this historical conquest? I say no! I proclaim no! And I swear, no, to all the comrades of my country.

The vote we have won is a new tool in our hands. But our hands are not new in the struggles, at work and in the repeated miracle of creation. We embroider the colours of the fatherland on the liberation flags of half a continent! We sharpen the tips of the heroic spears that imposed national sovereignty on the invaders!

We fertilise the land with the sweat from our brow and dignify factories and workshops with our work. And we will vote with the consciousness and dignity of being women, who have come of age under the restorative government of our chief and leader, General Peron.

We, sisters of mine, have a high mission to fulfil in the years ahead. To fight for peace. But the fight for peace is also a war. A declared war to death against the privileges of the parasites that seek to renegotiate our Argentine heritage. A war to death against those who, in the recent past, shamed our national condition. A war to death against those who want to throw injustice and restraint on our people again. In this battle for the future, in dignity and justice, the fatherland shows us a place we will occupy with honour. With honour and conscience. With dignity and pride. With our right to work and our civic right.

We are women, missionaries of peace. The sacrifices and struggles have only managed, so far, to multiply our faith.

Let us raise that faith, all together, and let us illuminate the path of our destiny with it. It is a great, passionate and happy destiny. We have, to conquer and deserve it, three incorruptible, unshakeable foundations: an unlimited confidence in God and in His infinite justice; an incomparable fatherland to love with passion, and a leader shaped by fate to victoriously confront the problems of this time: General Peron.

With him and with our vote, we will contribute to the perfection of democracy in Argentina. That is all.

Translated from Spanish (Argentina) by Clara Tilve.¹

¹ Eva Perón, *Discursos* (Selección), Compilación del Instituto Nacional de Investigaciones Históricas Eva Perón, Biblioteca del Congreso de la Nación, Buenos Aires, (2012).

All we have done is interpret the sentiment of the Argentine people

Leopoldo F. Galtieri

*“In late 1982, hardly any other country in the world was in a more alarming and unfortunate situation”.¹ This statement by David Rock, in his book *Argentina 1516-1987*, although it does not lack the pathos of hyperbole, concisely describes the political, social and economic crisis in Argentina after seven years of military dictatorship.*

*On 2 April, 1982, General Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri, third de facto president of the self-styled “National Reorganisation Process”, from the balcony of the Government House addresses a cheering crowd celebrating the momentary recovery of the Falkland Islands, after almost 150 years under British rule. National papers titled the news somewhere between verifying and celebrating it: “Argentine troops land on the Falklands” (*Clarín*), “Argentina lands on the archipelago of the Falklands” (*La Nación*), “Today is a glorious day for our country. Argentina rules in the Falklands” (*La Razón*), and, “Argentina strikes: the Falklands have been recovered” (*Crónica*).*

Two days earlier, on 30 March, 1982, the repression of a mass mobilisation to Plaza de Mayo in front of the Government House, hosted by leading Argentine unions under the slogan “Bread and Work”, had revealed the decay of the living conditions in Argentine society and the decline of a dictatorship that had ruled cruelly and brutally since 24 March 1976, when it overthrew the constitutional president María Estela Martínez de Perón and closed all the fundamental institutions of democracy.

*In the early Eighties, the word “Malvinas” (Falklands) had multiple meanings in the collective memory of the Argentines: the colonial usurpation, the anti-imperialist struggle, sovereignty. From 1833 onward, that territory in the hands of Great Britain functioned in Argentina’s culture and politics as one of the many metaphors of the Nation. The positions in favour of the recovery of the archipelago covered the most diverse political banners and were a constant in the national profiles outlined by national politics. Diplomatic and legal action was interrupted only during the Seventy-four-day war in 1982. After 1982, as suggested by Julieta Vitullo in *Islas imaginadas*, we say “Falklands” rather than “war”.²*

*Between late December 1981 and early January 1982, the military junta had begun to outline plans to recover the islands. The purpose was to generate a stream of popular fervour to divert attention from current problems, as well as to regain lost credibility among large sectors of the country that would be sensitive to an action of patriotic interest such as this. The Falklands War sought to remember, as Leon Rozitchner indicates in *Las Malvinas: De la guerrasucia a la guerralimpia*, “old lost glories: the British invasions and the boiling oil, the Mendoza ladies weaving flags”.³ The Falklands would become a strong mobilising driver of English anti-imperialism, which indelibly fuelled the collective Argentine nationalist imagination and its irredentism.*

The discourse of the beginning of the war was one of the last attempts by Galtieri, and the junta in

¹ David Rock, *Argentina 1516-1987. Desde la colonización española hasta Raúl Alfonsín*, (Buenos Aires: Alianza Singular, 1991): 19.

² Eduardo Rinesi, “La ‘cuestión’ Malvinas”, *Página 12* (2012): <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-200938-2012-08-13.html>.

³ Leon Rozitchner, “Recordando”, *Revista Lote* 11 (1998): <http://fernandopeirone.com.ar/Lote/nro011/rozitch.htm>

general, to gain the people's support. Foreign affairs gained importance as the public image of the armed forces declined nationally. In statements to the EFE agency on 29 April 1982, writer Julio Cortázar had declared with regard to the matter: "What the Argentine people needed right now was not for the military and navy to go to the Falklands but to the ranks".⁴ The dictator's nationalist interpellation sought to dissolve internal conflicts in the fervour of external conflict.

In late January 1982, the junta organised a new campaign against Chile for the Beagle Channel, which remained suspended after the mediation of Pope John Paul II in February 1978. He advocated for military involvement in Central America. The apparent convenience of a war with Great Britain over the Falklands gained consensus at the core of the armed forces, because if the regime increased tension with Chile there was the risk of a prolonged war that could spread to other parts of the continent, perhaps finally triggering an invasion by Brazil. And if Argentina got too entangled in Central America, internal dissidents would accuse the government of acting as a mercenary of imperialism, creating perhaps the union of Peronism and the left-wing sectors. Action in the Falklands seemed "the easiest of all wars".⁵ Some time later Galtieri himself would say: "Although it is believed that Britain would react, we did not think there would be a mobilisation for the Falklands".⁶ The idea was to win without fighting; after all, it was the only chance of success for a country that did not have troops involved in open conflict with foreigners since the War of the Triple Alliance against Paraguay in the late 1860s.

"The exceptional political density of the Falklands issue – as stated by Marco Novaro and Vicente Palermo in *La dictaduramilitar 1976-1983* – rests primarily on its vast popularity: it was deeply rooted as a national cause in Argentine society".⁷ In this sense, the use of the Falklands cause as a sign of national unity against British colonialism does not oppose the evidence. The declaration of war was scheduled to celebrate the national holidays of the May Revolution (25 May) or National Independence (9 July), and even the Falklands matter was spoken of – in 1983 it had been 150 years since British usurpation. But the operation was brought forward when popular pressure on the junta became untenable: "The times of 2 April were not those of the Falklands, but those of the national process";⁸ say Novaro and Palermo. The temporal proximity shows that the Falklands War was, for the military, as Rozitchner notes, the continuation of the "dirty war" against "subversive elements" through a "clean war"⁹ against a power of heavy symbolism but a very weak imperial present.

Argentina's defeat began with the battles of Puerto Darwin on 27 and 28 May, and those deployed between 10 and 14 June in the hills surrounding Puerto Argentino, which concluded with the signing of the final surrender. The defeat in the Falklands War was the beginning of the end of the military dictatorship. Galtieri lost everything in the game. On 15 June he delivered his final address to the Argentine people. He blamed the defeat on foreign treachery and cited the "overwhelming superiority of a power supported by the military technology of the United States, surprising enemies of Argentina and its people".¹⁰ While Galtieri spoke, popular disillusionment erupted in a wave of violent clashes with police in the Plaza de Mayo in front of the Government

⁴ Marcos Novaro & Vicente Palermo, *La dictadura militar 1976-1983: del golpe de Estado a la restauración democrática*, (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2011): 411.

⁵ Rock, *Argentina 1976-1982*, 462.

⁶ *Ibid.* 464.

⁷ Novaro, *La dictadura militar 1976-1983*, 411.

⁸ *Ibid.* 426.

⁹ Leon Rozitchner, *Las Malvinas: de la guerra sucia a la guerra limpia*, (Buenos Aires: CEAL, 1985).

¹⁰ Rock, *Argentina 1976-1982*, 468.

House. The final balance of the war in human lives was 649 Argentine military, 255 British and three island civilians.

Mariano Dagatti - University of Buenos Aires / CONICET

I know this day, 2 April 1982, marks a very important milestone in Argentina's history in the century we're living in.

At present, thousands of citizens, men and women across the country, in every town, on small farms, in cities and in this historic Plaza de Mayo that has marked directions through national history, you, the Argentines are publicly expressing the feeling and emotion held for one hundred and fifty years through a plunder that today we have washed clean.

(Applause and cheers: Argentina! Argentina! Argentina!)

The noble Argentine people, I repeat, the noble Argentine nation stretches out its hands to the adversary but accepts no argument when it comes to its rights, which we have patiently and prudently tried to claim through diplomatic channels.

The three commanders in chief, Commander of the Argentine Air Force, Commander in Chief of the Navy and myself, *(Applause)* all we have done is interpret the sentiment of the Argentine people *(Applause and cheers)* present here and throughout the republic.

I'm sure *(Cheers: Long live the Fatherland! Long live! Long live Lieutenant General Galtieri! Long live.)* I'm sure every one of you, men, women, the great youth of Argentina and the children *(Applause and cheers)* is feeling, like I am, a tremendous joy and excitement for this Argentine act. *(Applause and cheers: Argentina! Argentina! Argentina!)*

Today, 2 April, we have just begun with our approach *(Applause and cheers against the English)* Today, 2 April, we have just begun with our approach to recovering the Falklands and its whole area of influence, and already the Argentine flag waves on our islands *(Applause and cheers: Argentina! Argentina! Argentina!)*

May the international community and our circumstantial adversaries of today understand what Argentina's will is. We will accept a dialogue after this act of force *(Applause and cheers)*

But convinced that national dignity and pride must be maintained at all costs and at any price *(Applause and cheers: we will blow it up! we will blow it up! we will blow it up!)*

I thank you on behalf of the three Commanders and of the Armed Forces that are yours, not ours, the Armed Forces of Argentina belong to the people of the nation. *(Applause and cheers)* This display of emotion and joy that the whole Argentine people shares today after one hundred and fifty years of a shameful backing down.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. *(Applause and cheers: Argentina! Argentina! Argentina!)*

Translated from Spanish (Argentina) by Clara Tilve.¹¹

¹¹ <http://constitucionweb.blogspot.com.ar/2012/02/discurso-del-gral-galtieri-del-2-de.html>

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Ensuring today and for all times, democracy and respect for human dignity in Argentina

Raul Alfonsín

On 10 December 1983, Raul Alfonsín takes up the presidency of Argentina after seven years of military dictatorship. Forty days earlier he had been elected in the polls with almost 52% of the votes, in elections comparable to the plebiscite victories of Juan Domingo Peron or Hipólito Yrigoyen, undisputed leaders of the Peronist Party and the Radical Civic Union, respectively.

Alfonsín decided to deliver his first speech to the Argentine people since the return of democracy on a particular day and place. International Human Rights Day is commemorated on 10 December, and the president, whose campaign speech contrasted with the dominant repressive discourse and had placed emphasis on the restoration of democratic values and on overcoming the authoritarian mentality, chose this date to start a new cycle. The choice of the town council, on the other hand, indicates a difference with the political tradition of speaking from the balcony of the Casa Rosada (Government House) and it restores the historical significance of that building, linked to the founding of the Argentine nation and the significant role of the people.

Just as the date and space indicate the beginning of a political era of re-founding, Alfonsín's trajectory itself is linked to the shaping of a new subjectivity. In 1972 he led the renewal of radicalism through the creation of the Movement for Renewal and Change, a division closer to European social democracy, and during the dictatorship he distinguished himself from other politicians when he publicly confronted the military, took up the defence of political prisoners and the claims for the missing persons, and criticised the occupation of the Falkland Islands by the de facto government.

Alfonsín's speech at the town council is part of Argentina's rhetorical history. It is a founding speech, or rather, one of re-founding, as it invokes the desire to form a national union, expressed for the first time in the 1853 Constitution, to which he makes explicit reference. Over and above conflicting interests, Alfonsín, before a multiparty and diverse popular demonstration, defines democracy as a collective construction. Through rhetoric, he constitutes a heterogeneous audience, composed of diverse political and ideological affiliations, into a homogeneous democratic subject, united around a civic ethic.

The return of democracy in Argentina generated expectations beyond the country's borders, as evidenced by the presence of numerous foreign authorities at its resumption and of representations of organisations defending human rights in Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, where there were still military governments. South African newspapers reflected this international interest in their publications around those days. The Cape Times, for example, announced on 31 October, the day after the presidential elections: "Argentine military rule ends", and announced the radical victory a day later: "Alfonsín claims win in Argentina". Meanwhile, the Cape Argus gave it more coverage. For example, the headline on 31 October read, "Radicals set to win Argentine poll", and expressed its surprise the following day at the Peronist defeat: "Crushing defeat for Peronists – after 40 years". On its cover on 10 December, 1983, the headline is "Argentina's new president sworn in today".

However, from the town council, Alfonsín specifically addresses his countrymen and calls on them for a common task: to consolidate the rules of democratic coexistence and recognise themselves as part of Argentina's Rule of Law. In a political context of residual tension with the

armed forces and with the unions, the president intends to strengthen the bond with the public, who brought him to power, and “channel” to that expectant crowd that is eager to participate but which has little experience in the civic exercise. In this sense, the evocation of the constitutional Preamble acquires a double meaning. On the one hand, it establishes an affiliation with the founding fathers of the nation; on the other, it confirms our commitment to the Republican institutional norms in a context of the transition towards democracy.

Hours earlier, the President had inaugurated the sessions of the Legislative Assembly. That speech sets a counterpoint with regard to the town council: before Congress, Alfonsín prepares his government proposal and defines the ethical foundations of his programme; before the people he makes a collective call to unity and defines the bases for an effective dialogue with the citizens who are “waking up” to democracy. The seven years of dictatorship had imposed a repressive regime, which left more than 30000 missing persons. This legacy of terror was compounded by an economic crisis marked by inflation and a growing foreign debt. The discontent resulting from such a scenario is skilfully channelled by Alfonsín, who simultaneously associates the recovered democracy with the values of public freedom and social rights. The historic phrase, pronounced by Alfonsín before Congress, “With democracy we not only vote, we also eat, educate and heal”, condenses popular demands.

Minutes before Alfonsín appeared on the balcony of the town council, the waiting crowd gathered at the Plaza de Mayo was singing, “Ole le, Ola la, if this is not the people, where is the people?”, and they did not stop when he showed up and this forced the new president to start his speech over and over again. The collective voice of the audience and that of Alfonsín, overlap in those first interruptions. The active and vociferous crowd determines with their expectations and demands the speech that Alfonsín dialogically shapes in a strategic way. With his first reflections, the crowd responds with an ovation. In a reciprocal interpellation, the audience cries the slogan, “the people united will never be defeated” and Alfonsín repeats it as a maxim that guarantees the future of democracy. The end is one expected by all. Alfonsín’s campaign had been constructed around the Preamble to the Constitution of Argentina, recited, as the president himself says, as a “secular creed”. His first speech as president before the Argentines closes with the Preamble being chanted by the crowd. The voices of the president and those of the people merge: the democratic bond between representatives and the represented, broken by years of repression, starts to be stitched back together.

In the epilogue to his extensive inaugural speech to the Legislative Assembly that day, Alfonsín appeared to resort to omission in order to excuse himself from “overabundant words” due to the evidence of a “shared and unanimous... civic emotion”. “The circumstance”, he said immediately “is not conducive to rhetoric”, as it is “time for action – fruitful, determined, committed and immediate action. It is time to do, to do well, to do what the Republic demands and what the people expect”. If, on the one hand, the first steps of the radical government, days later, in practice underpinned the course set out through discourse: a repeal of the military Self-Amnesty Law, an order to prosecute the leaders of the guerrilla organisations and the members of the three military juntas, and the creation of the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (CONADEP), the fact remains that, in a climate of huge social expectation, the new president began to paraphrase Austin; to make democracy with words.

Florencia Magnanego - University of Buenos Aires

Mariano Dagatti - University of Buenos Aires / CONICET

Compatriots: today we all start a new era in Argentina. We begin a period that will undoubtedly be difficult, because we all have the enormous responsibility of ensuring, today and for all times, democracy and respect for human dignity in Argentina. (*Ovation*)

(“The people united will never be defeated”, *chanted by the audience*).

We know these are hard and difficult times, but we do not have a single doubt that we Argentines will take off, we will succeed and we will create the country we deserve. And we will be able to do so not by the grace of enlightened rulers but by what is being sung in this square, because the people united will never be defeated.

A happy circumstance would have it that today, when the Argentines are starting this stage of a hundred years of freedom, peace and democracy, it is Human Rights Day. (*Applause*) And therefore we want to make a commitment once again: we will work categorically and decisively for the dignity of man, to whom we must give freedom, but also justice, because the defence of human rights does not end with the preservation of life, but includes the battle we are absolutely determined to wage against misery and poverty in our nation.

This is just a salute, and the celebration of Argentine democracy would not have been complete – at least not for me – had I not had the opportunity to meet with you again to confirm with you once again that I am the servant of all of you, the most humble of Argentines. (*Ovation*)

And to commit again to work together with all of you in order to achieve the objectives we have preached about throughout the whole of Argentina, and for all of us to manifest those objectives that the men who gave us nationality present to us as a mandate, and which we now know is at our fingertips.

Because together we will form national unity, consolidate national peace, guarantee justice, provide for common defence, promote general welfare and secure the benefits of freedom for ourselves, our posterity and for all those in the world who wish to dwell on Argentine soil. (*Chanted by the audience*)

Translated from Spanish (Argentina) by Clara Tilve.¹

¹ Transcription by Florencia Magnanego, from the audio of the video available on <http://www.radionacional.com.ar/?p=38695>.

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THE ELEPHANT AND THE OBELISK

A Special Series and Imprint of the African Yearbook of Rhetoric

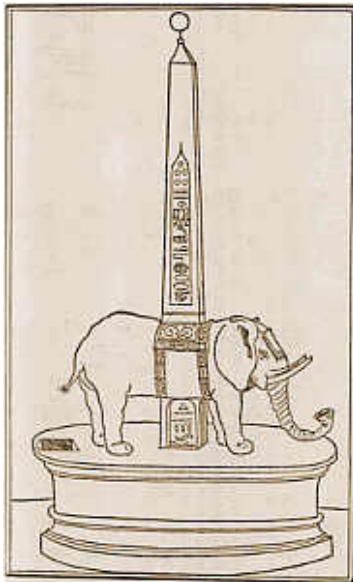
In the fantastical imagination Europe has of Africa and the South, the elephant and the obelisk enjoy a lasting presence. During the Renaissance the Elephant meant the energy of memory in heeding lessons of the past while the needle of the Obelisk emblematised the probing penetration of reason – the Elephant carrying an Obelisk was an evocation of lost orrecondite virtues & European high culture, at the very time of Portuguese descobrimentos, attributed to Africa or to the South, which in turn provoked a sharper investigation into Europe's place in a newly expanded humanity.



Vol. I: UNDER THE BAOBAB: *Essays to Honour Stuart Saunders on his Eightieth Birthday*, 2011 (original edition de luxe and numbered 1 to 80).

Vol. II: NEW BEGINNINGS: ARGENTINA & SOUTH AFRICA, 2012.

VOL. III: RHETORIC IN SOUTH AMERICA, 2013 (ebook).



The wind of change (the original text)

Harold Macmillan

[*Philippe-Joseph Salazar*]

In support of a motion of no-confidence in the Prime Minister (9 July 1958)

Margaret Ballinger

[*Michael Coombes*]

This is the suffering people that represent the pain of the motherland

Juan Domingo Peron

[*Maria Alejandra Vitale*]

A long history of struggles, setbacks and hopes

Maria Eva Duarte de Peron

[*Ana Maria Corraello & Ana Laura Maizels*]

All we have done is interpret the sentiment of the Argentine people

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Ensuring today and for all times, democracy and respect
for human dignity in Argentina

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[*Florencia Magnanego & Mariano Dagatti*]

EDITOR: Philippe-Joseph Salazar

Cover illustration “*Staring into voices*”
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