

## Foreword

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*The Editor.*