

SPEECHES

Nelson Mandela wrote and gave a large number of speeches while he was an active politician and anti-apartheid activist.

This excerpt is from by far the most famous speech by Nelson Mandela. It was his opening statement from the dock on April 20, 1964, in the Rivonia trial in which he was later sentenced to life in prison at Pretoria's Supreme Court on June 11, 1964.

Excerpt from Nelson Mandela's statement from the dock at the opening of the defence case in the Rivonia Trial, 1964

[...] **"AFRICANS WANT TO BE PAID A LIVING WAGE.** Africans want to perform work which they are capable of doing, and not work which the Government declares them to be capable of. Africans want to be allowed to live where they obtain work, and not be endorsed out of an area because they were not born there. Africans want to be allowed to own land in places where they work, and not to be obliged to live in rented houses which they can never call their own. Africans want to be part of the general population, and not confined to living in their own ghettos. African men want to have their wives and children to live with them where they work, and not be forced into an unnatural existence in men's hostels. African women want to be with their menfolk and not be left permanently widowed in the Reserves. Africans want to be allowed out after eleven o'clock at night and not to be confined to their rooms like little children. Africans want to be allowed to travel in their own country and to seek work where they want to and not where the Labour Bureau tells them to. Africans want a just share in the whole of South Africa; they want security and a stake in society."

[...] "During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Nelson Mandela sings with his supporters during the first treason trial in 1956

dock anklagebænk
trial retssag
cherish værne om, sætte højt
capable i stand til
obtain skaffe sig
endorse out sende farvet fra
 byområde ud til et land-
 distrikt
oblige tvinge
be confined to blive holdt
 indespærret
hostel herberg (i South Afri-
 ca meget triste og ubehageli-
 ge levestandarder)
widow enke
Reserve reservat
stake andel



QUESTIONS:

1. Make a list of the living conditions and the future goals of Black Africans based on this speech.
2. What is the predominant form of appeal in this speech?
3. Make a stylistic analysis of the language. What types of words are used?
4. Make an analysis of the use of rhetorical devices. Find examples of e.g. alliteration, lists, repetition, contrasts etc.
5. What is the effect created by the use of rhetorical devices?
6. Discuss in groups how the future conditions and goals may be obtained.

This is an excerpt of the speech given by Mandela's daughter Zindzi on Mandela's behalf on February 10, 1985. The occasion was a UDF Rally to celebrate Archbishop Desmond Tutu receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. It took place at Jabulani Stadium, Soweto, South Africa. This is from the end of the speech.

Excerpt from I am not prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free

[...] "THROUGHOUT OUR STRUGGLE there have been puppets who have claimed to speak for you. They have made this claim, both here and abroad. They are of no consequence. My father and his colleagues will not be like them. My father says:

- 5 I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly fifty years. If there is any one amongst you who cherishes my freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more, and I know that he would give
10 his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine.

I am surprised at the conditions that the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the
15 problems of our country, but that was ignored. When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored. When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This, too, was in vain.

It was only then, when all other forms of resistance were no longer
20 open to us, that we turned to armed struggle. Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence.

Zindzi Mandela reads the refusal of her father, Nelson Mandela, to leave prison on Feb. 10, 1985 in Johannesburg, after South African President P.W. Botha offered him conditional release



UDF United Democratic Front: anti-apartheid organisation 1983-90

puppet marionetdukke
claim hævde

Oliver Tambo (1917-1993)
vigtig figur i ANC og nærvæn af Nelson Mandela.
Han opholdt sig i eksil i mange år.

cherish værne om, sætte højt
condition vilkår

impose pålægge

Malan Daniel Francois Malan, leder af National Party og sydafrikansk premierminister 1948-53

Strijdom Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom, sydafrikansk premierminister 1954-58

Verwoerd Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, sydafrikansk premierminister 1958-66

in vain forgæves

Botha Pieter Willem Botha, sydafrikansk premierminister 1984-89

renounce give afkald på, fornægte

dismantle afvikle
 unban ophæve forbud
 banish forvise
 orphan forældreløs
 grieve sørge
 pass offence pasovertrædelse
 Brandfort lille by på landet
 i Free State, hvor Winnie
 Mandela, Nelson Mandelas
 2. kone, blev beordret til at
 bo for at mindske hendes
 politiske aktiviteter
 Herman Toivo ja Toivo
 (1924-) politisk aktivist og
 politiker, der kæmpede for
 Namibias selvstændighed i
 1960'erne. Han blev anholdt
 i Sydafrika og idømt 20 års
 fængsel i 1968. Han sad
 fængslet på Robben Island i
 18 år inden løsladelse
 undertaking garanti

Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that people may decide who
 5 will govern them.

I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom. I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and to their fathers who have grieved and wept for them.

10 Not only I have suffered during these long, lonely, wasted years. I am not less life-loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organisation, the African National Congress, which was banned.

15 What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence? What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort? What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission
 20 to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?

Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts. Herman Toivo ja Toivo, when freed, never gave any undertaking, nor
 25 was he called upon to do so.

I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free.

Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return."

QUESTIONS

1. In pairs, summarize the speech by going through it paragraph by paragraph, identifying at the same time a key word in each paragraph.
2. Point out words and expressions that indicate the tone of the speech.
3. Explain:
 "I may be arrested on a pass offence" (p. 42, ll. 16-17)
 "I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free ..." (p. 42, l. 11)
4. In what way is it significant that it is Mandela's daughter who is reading her father's statement to the crowd?
5. Account for the use of the rhetorical devices, repetitions and contrasts by giving examples from the speech.

6. Account for the intention of the speech.
7. In pairs, make a list of what we learn about Nelson Mandela and South African politics in this short excerpt.
8. Discuss in groups how the political objectives may be obtained.

The following speech was given at an ANC rally to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 90th birthday. It took place at Loftus Versfeld Stadium, Pretoria, South Africa on Saturday, August 02, 2008.

Nelson Mandela's address to ANC rally, August 2, 2008

"PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, Comrade Jacob Zuma.

President of the Republic of South Africa, Comrade Thabo Mbeki.

Leadership of the ANC and of Government.

Members, Comrades, Compatriots, Friends.

5 I thank the ANC for organising this rally to celebrate our 90th birthday.

I would be nothing without the ANC. The struggle has been my life and the ANC led that struggle.

10 I thank the ANC for having given meaning to my 90 years on this planet, in this country we all love so dearly.

And I ask you today: do not celebrate an individual. Celebrate the achievements and reaffirm the values of a great organisation, one that has led for almost a hundred years.

15 Celebrate and reaffirm the principle of collective leadership and inclusiveness. Let no individual, section, faction or group ever regard itself as greater than the organisation and the common good of all our people.

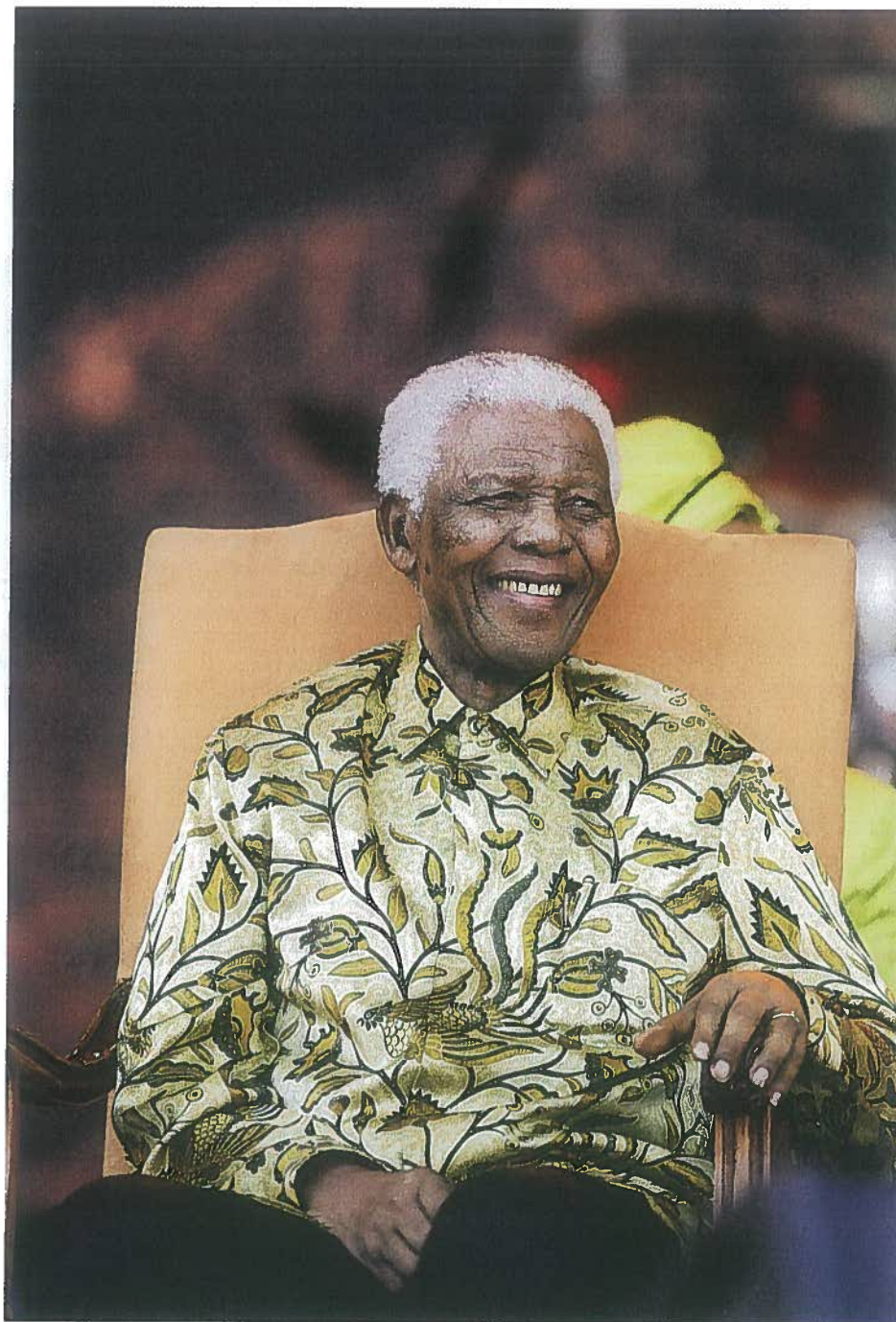
20 Celebrate the promotion of unity – within the organisation, amongst our allies, in the nation at large and amongst all our people. Our nation comes from a history of deep division and strife; let us never through our deeds or words take our people back down that road.

25 Celebrate our tradition of open debate, criticism, discussion and respect for democracy. We fought hard and sacrificed much for this democracy. Protect, defend, consolidate and advance democracy – within the organisation and in national life. Let us give the lead in demonstrating our respect for the institutions of our democracy – both in our actions and words.

Celebrate and reaffirm our fundamental commitment to creating a better life for all, particularly the poor and marginalised. Poverty and

address tale
rally forsamling
compatriot landsmand
reaffirm genbekræfte
inclusiveness rummelighed
strife ufred
deed handling
give the lead indtage fører-
position

*Nelson Mandela listening
to the ANC president's
remarks during his 90th
birthday, August 2, 2008*



poverty fattigdom
deprivation nød, forarmelse
demean nedgøre
scourge landeplage
attendant medfølgende
nobility nobelhed
distinction skelnen
inheritor arvtager

deprivation in our midst demean all of us. Let us mobilise in one great co-operative national effort the enormous energy of our society in order to overcome and eliminate poverty. We came together as a nation to end the scourge of apartheid. Today we are challenged to end poverty and all
5 its attendant suffering.

Celebrate the nobility of our ideals of creating a non-racial and non-sexist society. Let us redouble our efforts to fully realise the ideal of a democratic state and society that secures to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief. Let us live that non-racialism
10 and non-sexism in our every day, deed and word.

You are the inheritors of a great organisation, one that has led for

almost a century. It is now in your hands to uphold the best and the noblest of that history.

Nkosi Sikilel' iAfrika
Herren bevare Afrika

Now – as much as ever in our history – we require disciplined leaders and members with respect for their organisation, who care equally for all South Africans and for all people who live within our borders. Let there be peace and friendship.

I wish you well. I thank you once more.

Nkosi Sikilel' iAfrika.

QUESTION

1. What are the circumstances of the speech?
2. Point out two or three expressions in the speech that you find important and account for your choices.
3. Point out passages that illustrate Nelson Mandela's fear of change in the ANC and its fundamental political ideas.
4. Point out expressions that illustrate his concern for the future of South Africa.
5. What rhetorical devices are used and to what effect?
6. What is the intention of the speech?
7. If you have worked with the previous speech, compare your findings about South African politics in both speeches. Describe and discuss the shift in focus.

COMPARISON OF THE THREE SPEECHES

1. Identify the subjects of each of the three speeches and account for their relevance at the time of the individual speech.
2. What are the similarities and the differences between these subjects?
3. Point out expressions in each of the three speeches which illustrate Mandela's concern for the future of South Africa.
4. In your opinion, which speech impresses you the most – and why?