

**A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN UNIFICATION ORATORY**

by

CATHERINE WAITHERA MWANGI

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**Approval**

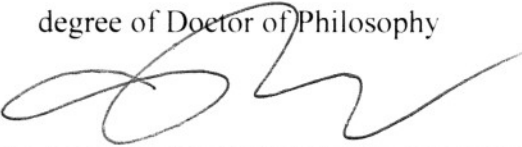
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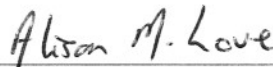
This thesis has been examined and accepted in fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Main Supervisor:



Prof Chris Dunton, Department of English

Co-Supervisor:



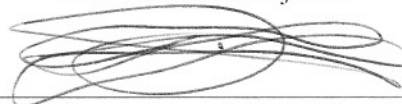
Prof Alison Love, Department of English

Head, Department of English:



Dr Beatrice Ekanjume

Dean, Faculty of Humanities:



Dr Francis Rakotsoane


NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF LESOTHO

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## **Declaration**

This thesis is my own original work and it has not been submitted previously at any university or other higher education institution for the award of a degree or diploma.

Information derived from the published and unpublished work of others has been acknowledged.

Signature:  \_\_\_\_\_  
Catherine Waithera Mwangi

## **Abstract**

### **A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN UNIFICATION ORATORY**

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Main Supervisor: Prof Chris Dunton

Co-Supervisor: Prof Alison Love

This study investigates how leaders aligned with the Monrovia and Casablanca blocs attempted, between the years 1957 and 1963, to secure adherence to their views on how to achieve African unity. It analyzes the published speeches that Kwame Nkrumah, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Julius Nyerere delivered at the Conference of African Heads of States and Governments held in Ethiopia in May 1963 and the published speech that Robert Sobukwe delivered at the Basutoland African Congress Conference held in Basutoland in December 1957.

The study utilizes elements of selected classical and modern rhetorical theories to examine the speeches. It examines the context of these speeches, the appeals in each speech, the organization of each speech and the style of each speech. It also compares and contrasts the appeals, organization and style in these speeches.

The study finds that these speeches rely on logical, pathetic and ethical proof for persuasiveness as well as on style and organization. The study also finds that these speeches are inspired by earlier Pan-Africanist literature as well as by English Literature.

## **Acknowledgements**

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## **Dedication**

To my brother, Oscar, whose love for academics continues to inspire true scholars

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## **List of Acronyms**

AAPC	All-African Peoples Conference
ACS	American Colonization Society
AME	African Methodist Episcopal Church
AMEZ	African Methodist and Episcopal Zion Church
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
ARPS	Aborigines Rights Protection Society
BAC	Basutoland African Congress
CDRN	Comité de Défense de la Race Nègre
CPP	Convention People's Party
LUDRN	Ligue Universelle pour la Défense de la Race Noire
NCBWA	National Congress of British West Africa
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NUL	National University of Lesotho
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PAF	Pan-African Federation
UN	United Nations
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association
WASU	West African Students' Union

## Chapter One

### Introduction

#### 1.0 Background to the Research

Rhetorical analysis is the study of how speakers and writers attempt to persuade their audiences. In their description of the term, Paula Gunder and Randall Sadler begin by defining ‘rhetoric’ as “the art of persuasion,” and ‘analysis’ as “the breaking down of some thing into its parts and interpreting how those parts fit together.” They go on to explain: “In rhetorical analysis, then, we examine how authors attempt to persuade their audiences by looking at the various components that make up the art of persuasion.”<sup>1</sup>

Despite a long history of modern political speechmaking in Africa and the recording of several of these speeches, the speeches have not been subjected to rigorous study from a rhetorical perspective. The corpus of African political oratory includes speeches made in the period 1957 to 1963 in which African leaders advocate strategies for achieving African unity. During this time, there were the leaders, on the one hand, who were in favour of rapid political union. These leaders felt that African unity should be realized through the immediate union of all independent African countries into one nation under a central government. Kwame Nkrumah and Robert Sobukwe were representative of this school of thought. There were, on the other hand, the leaders who argued for gradual political union. These leaders felt that African unity should be realized through regional integration based on economic, cultural, and scientific relations. Julius Nyerere and Abubakar Tafawa Balewa were representative of this school of thought. In other words, discourse on African unification during the period 1957 to 1963 was not unitary but accommodated two quite distinct trends; a commonly shared goal was articulated with two different approaches to its possible realization. Agyeman describes it thus: “The difference in approach ramified itself variously in terms of “union government now” versus regionalism, the militant versus the gradualist, the all-out pan-Africanist versus the pan-African nationalist; in short, the *Osagyefo* versus the *Mwalimu*” (Agyeman 1975, 657). The problem then that this study addresses is:

*How did leaders from each of these two schools attempt to secure adherence to their view?*

### **1.1 Purpose and Objectives of the Research**

The study carried out a rhetorical analysis of speeches in which Nkrumah, Sobukwe, Nyerere, and Tafawa Balewa advocate strategies for achieving African unity with the aim of revealing the persuasive strategies and techniques that were employed in the African unification debate during the period 1957 to 1963. Its particular objectives were to:

1. Examine the context of the speeches.
2. Examine the appeals in each speech.
3. Examine the organization of each speech.
4. Examine the style of each speech.
5. Compare and contrast the appeals, organization, and style used by leaders arguing for immediate political unification with those used by leaders arguing for gradual political unification.

### **1.2 Justification and Significance of the Research**

The study contributes to an understanding of how rhetors persuade their audiences. Such knowledge will enhance the reader's critical listening and reading skills, while making him or her aware of how he or she can influence others. It also contributes to an understanding of the role of context in argumentation.

The study draws academic attention to modern African political oratory. African oratory has almost completely evaded academic interest and analysis, yet it is an important part of African literature. Lalage Bown, editor of the anthology *Two Centuries of African English* (1973) explains:

There have been Africans writing in English since certainly the early eighteenth century, and they have built up solid conventions of style, diction and craftsmanship in such fields as the making of speeches and the composing of political propaganda. It would be a great pity to ignore the quality of these writings and limit an African student's idea of his heritage

in English to a fistful of plays, novels and poems, all of which have appeared in recent decades (Bown 1973, 210).

Very few studies have been conducted that subject African political oratory to rigorous study from a rhetorical perspective. These include those by Azaveli Lwaitama, Chris Dunton, Lelimo Mosito and Philippe-Joseph Salazar. Lwaitama examines Nyerere's political oratorical style. He analyses the content, style and delivery of Nyerere's political speeches during the period 1962 to 1992. The study concluded that Nyerere was 'bookish' and 'bombastic' as well as "the foremost 'ideology builder'" in Tanzania during the period 1960 to 1980. It also concluded that he relied on humor:

...Nyerere tended to use laughter and other prosodic features to humour his structures against fellow political leaders whom he tended to 'harangue' more than 'lecture'. He, however, tended to adopt the 'lecture' style of deploying speaker 'detachment' markers like the use of exclusive 'we', the third person pronouns, and existential and passive constructions whenever he wished to explain to the 'masses' the nature of a given political crisis within the view to resolving it through the psychotherapy of his oratory.<sup>2</sup>

Dunton analyses Pixley Kalsaka Seme's 1906 Columbia University oration, 'The regeneration of Africa' which he conceptualises historically, as a contribution to African Renaissance discourse. He examines "the relationship between the discursive strategies Seme employs and the ideological contradictions that appear to characterize his thesis" (Dunton 2003, 557). Specifically, he examines "the disjunction that appears, throughout the text, between, on the one hand, Seme's argument that each race enjoys its own specific and incomparable characteristics and, on the other, his unitary, universalist definition of societal growth and human development" (*ibid.*). The study is text-based and qualitative in nature, draws on both classical and neo-classical theory, and focuses on the three categories of analysis, invention, arrangement and style. It is seen as a means of illuminating the "nature, structure and implications of certain arguments in the current African Renaissance debate" (Dunton 2003, 556) and as an example that verifies the conclusion that arguments forwarded in African renaissance literature, particularly "models for social and economic renewal" (Dunton 2003, 555), are incoherent and impractical. There is in some of this literature, the analysis shows, a contradiction "between its organicist and idealist tendencies and in its often uncritical approach to

Western commercial and technological models and to global capital” (Dunton 2003, 573). Seme’s contribution to the African Renaissance debate, the study concluded, is “flawed on account of the ahistorical, idealist and organicist assumptions that underlie its argument” (Dunton 2003, 557), underscoring the need to critically examine current contributions to the African Renaissance debate.

Mosito examines the persuasive strategies and techniques employed by contestants for student government at the National University of Lesotho (NUL) during the 2001/2 academic year. In particular, he examines the use of Rogerian and Pavlovian strategies in the campaign speeches. The study found that the Pavlovian Strategy was used more extensively than the Rogerian Strategy.

Salazar focuses on the role of rhetoric in transforming South Africa from apartheid to democracy. His study, like that of Dunton, is text-based, qualitative in nature, and draws on both classical and neo-classical theory. He examines Desmond Tutu’s speeches, which he maintains have shaped the democratic and secular rhetoric on nation-building in South Africa. These speeches include the the speech delivered at the funeral of Steve Biko on 25<sup>th</sup> September 1977, the speech delivered before the Eloff Commission in 1982, the Nobel Prize acceptance speech delivered in December 1984 in Oslo, the “Sermon of Transfiguration”, the speech delivered at the funeral of Chris Hani on 19<sup>th</sup> April 1993 and the speech delivered at the graduation ceremony held at the University of Cape Town in December 1993. He finds that Tutu uses biblical quotations, anaphoric clauses, allegory, examples and narratives. Salazar also examines Nelson Mandela’s speeches, among them, the speech delivered at the opening of Parliament in Cape Town on 24<sup>th</sup> May 1994. This speech is selected as “a test case for the analysis of [Mandela’s] oratory and the role that it played in shaping South African public rhetoric” (Salazar 2002, 20). Salazar finds that it employs *pathos*, *logos* and *ethos*. It is marked by amplification, example, quotation as well as phrasing that is framed by the commonplaces of time and place. Other of Mandela’s speeches that Salazar examines include the farewell address to the African National Congress (ANC) which was delivered on 20<sup>th</sup> December 1997, the New Year Message delivered on 31<sup>st</sup> December 1998 and the farewell speeches delivered at the opening of Parliament on 5<sup>th</sup> February 1999 and at the last sitting of this Parliament on 26<sup>th</sup> March 1999. He also examines the

inauguration speech delivered by Thabo Mbeki in Pretoria on 16<sup>th</sup> June 1999, which he finds makes “extensive use of the first person singular and the plural disguise *we*, emotive quotes, unusual words, similes, hyperboles, allegories, repetitions of certain words and clauses, and rhythmic collocation” for effectiveness (Salazar 2002, 50).

The current study enables for a better understanding of the speeches examined. It reveals their content and form, knowledge that will be useful in the development of African rhetorical theory.

Currently, “unification has become the leading priority in African politics”<sup>3</sup>; it was only in March 2004 that the Pan-African Parliament was inaugurated. Nkrumah, Sobukwe, Nyerere, and Tafawa Balewa were all leaders with genuine commitment to the cause of African unity. They were also celebrated orators of the twentieth century. The persuasive strategies and techniques they employed should perhaps be adopted in the present times.

### **1.3 Research Delimitation**

In line with the researcher’s field and for the sake of accurate observations, only speeches by English-speaking African leaders were analysed. To clear the study of further biases however, the leaders selected were from the western, eastern, and southern regions of the continent.

The study selected two representatives from each of the schools of thought on African unity. It was felt that two case studies would be a more adequate index of the rhetorical strategies employed by a school than would one case. For manageability and given the researcher’s time limitation, however, it was decided not to study more than two leaders from each school.

The study restricted itself to published speeches. While it is recognized that recordings of the actual speeches themselves are more complete and accurate given they capture both nonverbal elements (gestures, postures, facial expressions, voice modulation) and elements of the physical environment (room decor, time of the event, seating arrangement), their unavailability compelled the researcher to rely on the written speeches.

## **1.4 Theoretical Framework**

The study utilized elements of selected classical and modern rhetorical theories to examine the selected speeches. It utilized the classical rhetorical conventions of *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio*. As Roberts notes:

...three of the five canons of classical rhetoric – invention, arrangement, and style – help the interpreter today even as they guided the oratory of antiquity by causing each to attend to thought (the ‘matter’ of the discourse, including, from Aristotle’s perspective, logical, ethical, and emotional proof), then to sequence in expressing that thought, and finally to choices in diction, grammar, and syntax that help a discourse, whether spoken or written, to fulfill its creator’s purposes. These canons provide general topics that can organize the act of analytical reading and identify features to which a thorough reading should attend (Roberts 2002, 15).

### **1.4.1 *Inventio***

The investigation of the *inventio* of the selected speeches was guided by Aristotelian theory. The study examined the employment of three modes of persuasion that Aristotle describes in his *Rhetoric*, namely, ethical proof (*ethos*), pathetic proof (*pathos*) and logical proof (*logos*). The investigation of *inventio* was also guided by the concept ‘motivation’.

#### **1.4.1.1 Ethical Proof**

Ethical proof, otherwise known as *ethos*, deals with the image of a speaker. Aristotle maintains that the image of a speaker, as it emerges in the speech, influences the persuasiveness of the speech. According to him, a speaker who is deemed trustworthy by the audience stands a better chance of persuading them than the speaker who is not. This is to say that Aristotle perceives trustworthiness as an important factor in persuasion. He maintains that to be perceived as trustworthy, a speaker should display these three qualities: practical wisdom (good sense), good character (virtue) and goodwill. Stephen Lucas combines these three qualities into two: competence and character. He defines competence as “how an audience regards a speaker’s intelligence, expertise, and

knowledge of the subject” and character as “how an audience regards a speaker’s sincerity, trustworthiness, and concern for the well-being of the audience” (Lucas 2001, 401).

Kenneth Burke also tackles the issue of the impact of a communicator’s image on persuasion in his *Rhetoric of Motives* (1969). He maintains that perceived speaker-audience similarity influences the effectiveness of a speech. According to him, when audience members perceive themselves as sharing something in common with the speaker, they become more receptive to the arguments in the speech. He claims: “You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his” (Burke 1969, 55). In an earlier part of the book, he explains: “A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is *identified* with B. Or he may *identify himself* with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes they are, or is persuaded to believe so” (Burke 1969, 20). He adds: “In being identified with B, A is ‘substantially one’ with a person other than himself...To identify A with B is to make A ‘consubstantial’ with B”. Defending the term ‘substance’ against elimination, Burke explains: “A doctrine of *consobstantiality*, either explicit or implicit, may be necessary to any way of life. For substance, in the old philosophies, was an *act*; and a way of life is an *acting-together*; and in acting together, men have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes that make them *consobstantial*” (Burke 1969, 21). The issue of source-receiver similarity is addressed by psychologist C. Boeree, who maintains: “If the source is similar to you, you will like him more and believe him more.”<sup>4</sup>

#### **1.4.1.2 Pathetic Proof**

Both classical and modern rhetorical theories maintain that logical and ethical proofs are insufficient to induce belief or action because people’s decisions are also influenced by their emotions. Observes Lucas: “Few people are moved to change their attitudes or take action when they are complacent or bored” (Lucas 2001, 421). Aristotle observes: “...the judgements we deliver are not the same when we are influenced by joy or sorrow, love or hate” (Aristotle 1926, 17). And according to Cicero, “men decide far

more problems by hate, or love, or lust, or rage, or sorrow, or joy, or hope, or fear, or illusion, or some other inward emotion, than by reality, or authority, or any legal standard, or judicial precedent, or statute” (Cicero 1967, 325).

*Pathos* then is that proof that is “designed to put the listeners in a frame of mind to react favorably and conformably to the speaker’s purpose” (Thonssen and Baird 1948, 359). It includes “all those materials and devices calculated to put the audience in a frame of mind suitable for the reception of the speaker’s ideas” (Thonssen and Baird 1948, 358). Lucas notes that speakers most commonly try to evoke fear, compassion, pride, anger, guilt and reverence while Cicero, in his *De Oratore* (1967), notes that they most commonly try to evoke “love, hate, wrath, jealousy, compassion, hope, joy, fear or vexation” (Cicero 1967, 349).

### **1.4.1.3 Logical Proof**

Logical proof appeals to an audience’s intellect. A rhetor who employs this means of persuasion uses arguments to secure adherence to his or her viewpoint. It is “the strategic use of logic, claims, and evidence to convince an audience of a certain point.”<sup>5</sup>

A model that allows for detailed, critical analysis of arguments in whichever field is that designed by Stephen Toulmin in his *Uses of Argument* (1958). As Schroeder explains,

Instead of being applicable to an entire text, this system works best to analyze any single argument within the text itself. Most texts are comprised of a series of interrelated and sometimes, tangential arguments that build upon one another. As a result, Toulmin’s system functions better to explain ‘a chain of arguments’ or ‘any single argumentative move’ (Schroeder 1997, n.p.)

The model, categorized as modern rhetorical theory, has been used since 1959 by scholars of rhetoric and argumentation to analyze arguments that deal with the problems that people face in ordinary life. Laurel Nesbitt observes that using the Toulminian method “allows us to understand the argument more fully, summarize it more accurately,

and discuss its effectiveness or ineffectiveness more intelligently than we would have otherwise.”<sup>6</sup>

According to this model, an argument has three major parts: claim, data and warrant. A claim is an assertion that the speaker wants his audience to accept. As described in *An Introduction to Reasoning*, claims are “assertions put forward publicly for general acceptance” (Toulmin, Rieke and Janik 1984, 29). Claims are controversial and can be explicitly stated or implied.

Data is the information that the speaker presents to justify a claim. As Lucas explains, “good speeches are not composed of hot air and unfounded assertions. They need strong supporting materials to bolster the speaker’s point of view” (Lucas 2001, 187). He points out that these materials, which he refers to as ‘evidence’, can enhance a speaker’s credibility, increase both the immediate and long-term persuasiveness of the message, and help inoculate the audience against counterpersuasion. Alan Monroe defines supporting materials as “the types of speech material which are used to amplify, clarify, or prove a statement, in order to make it more illuminating or convincing to an audience” (Monroe 1939, 156). These materials include reasons. As Toulmin, Rieke and Janik explain, claims “contain the implications that there are underlying ‘reasons’ that could show them to be ‘well-founded’ and therefore entitled to be generally accepted” (Toulmin, Rieke and Janik 1984, 29). Other supporting materials include facts, observations, stories, explanations, examples (specific instances and factual extended examples), statistics, testimony, literal analogy and details.

Warrants are the assumptions that underline a given argument. James McCroskey defines a warrant as “that part of an argument which states or implies an inference and authorizes a mental leap from data to claim.”<sup>7</sup> A warrant can be thought of as that which a rhetor has appealed to (such as a value, belief, custom, principle, law, procedure) to have made the connection between the data and the claim. Warrants derive from a rhetor’s background (racial, ethnic, religious, educational, social, occupational), ideological leanings (theoretical, political), general readings, personal experiences and observations. These assumptions could be shared by the audience, in which case they would be part of the common ground between the rhetor and the audience. Like claims,

warrants can be explicitly stated or implied. Warrants can be inferred by asking: Where is the rhetor coming from?

It is important to note that a statement can act as data and warrant. Toulmin explains: "...the same English sentence may serve a double function: it may be uttered, that is, in one situation to convey a piece of information, in another to authorise a step in an argument, and even perhaps in some contexts to do both things at once" (Toulmin 1958, 99). The warrant that a rhetor chooses to rely on influences the argument significantly. Toulmin, Rieke and Janik explain:

...given the same set of grounds, one can generate different claims depending upon the warrant chosen. This is important both to the critic and to the creator of arguments. There is no single 'correct' warrant to be attached to any set of grounds. Choice of warrant is a matter of the process of argumentation and is governed by the type and strength of claim sought as well as the audience—readers or listeners—to whom the argument is addressed (Toulmin, Rieke and Janik 1984, 214).

#### **1.4.1.4 Motivation**

Rhetoricians maintain that human behavior is also influenced by desires and needs. Monroe notes that "nearly everything we do or think or feel is based upon some fundamental motive or urge or drive within us that has been set in motion by some event or condition in our immediate experience" (Monroe 1939, 129). Gronbeck et al. argue:

To persuade audiences successfully, you must make them *want* to believe or act. When people are forced to accept beliefs, they may soon abandon them. So, two subsidiary purposes of persuasive speaking must be kept in mind: (a) to provide the audience with motives for believing, by appealing to their basic needs or desires and (b) to convince them that your recommendation will satisfy these desires (Gronbeck et al. 1995, 237).

Gronbeck et al. refer to listeners' needs and desires as 'motive needs'. They describe this concept in their *Principles of Speech Communication* (1995):

A **motive need** is an impulse to satisfy a psychological-social want or a biological urge. Such needs may arise from physiological considerations— pain, lack of food, or surroundings that are too hot or cold—or they may come about for sociocultural reasons, such as when you feel left out of a group or wonder whether your peers like you. If you feel the need deeply, your feelings may compel you to do something about

your situation. You might eat, adjust the thermostat, or join a group. In each situation, you will have been motivated to act (*ibid.*).

### **1.4.2 *Dispositio***

*Dispositio* concerns the arrangement of a speech. Classical orations had two parts at the very least and six at most. The two essential parts, as per Aristotle's theory, are statement of the case and proof. To these may be added, he says, *exordium* and epilogue. While he feels that further additions are absurd, other classical models accommodate six parts: *exordium*, *narratio*, *partitio*, *confirmatio*, *refutatio* and *peroratio*. A modern model of arrangement is Alan Monroe's Motivated Sequence, which includes five steps: attention, need, satisfaction, visualization and action. These parts are described below.

#### **1.4.2.1 Classical Model**

The *exordium*, *narratio* and *partitio* constitute what is commonly known as the introduction. The *exordium* is the opening or first few paragraphs of a speech. According to Aristotle, "the most essential and special function of the *exordium* is to make clear what is the end or purpose of the speech; wherefore it should not be employed, if the subject is quite clear or unimportant" (Aristotle 1926, 431). Equipping the audience with this knowledge from the outset, Aristotle explains, helps a speaker hold their attention as they thereafter try to follow the speech. He notes, however, that in deliberative speeches the audience already knows this so an *exordium* is unnecessary "except for the orator's own sake, or on account of his adversaries, or if the hearers attach too much or too little importance to the question according to his idea" (Aristotle 1926, 437). He explains further: "Wherefore he must either excite or remove prejudice, and magnify or minimize the importance of the subject. Such are the reasons for exordia; or else they merely serve the purpose of ornament, since their absence makes the speech appear offhand" (*ibid.*).

The *narratio*, Aristotle observes, is rare in deliberative speeches. It normally contains the thesis statement. It outlines the context of the subject addressed and

establishes a skeletal structure within which the speaker's argument is placed. This is intended to facilitate understanding of the argument.

In the *partitio*, the speaker makes clear the matters that are agreed upon and those that are contested, states the purpose of the speech, and announces the points that he or she will take up.<sup>8</sup> This orients the audience to the purpose of the speech and prepares them to listen out for the various points. At times, a speaker will also make clear what he or she is not going to cover.

The *confirmatio* and *refutatio* constitute what is commonly known as the body. The *confirmatio* is the part of the speech that contains supportive arguments, that is, arguments in defense of the speaker's position. In one of his essays on Roman rhetoric, M. Piscinus explains that, "the *confirmatio* argues your viewpoint, gives your reasoning."<sup>9</sup> It is, in other words, "the presentation of our arguments, together with their corroboration."<sup>10</sup> A speaker can use various techniques to help support what he or she is saying. He or she can validate evidence from authorities by arguing that the authority has made a study, is trained in research, is free from prejudice, is free from exaggeration, or is consistent in his or her thinking. The speaker can also validate statistics by arguing that the unit of statistics has been carefully defined, that the statistics are an accurate index of what people want to know, that the statistical units are comparable, or that other studies of the same nature verify the given facts (Huber 1964).

The *refutatio* is that part of the speech where a speaker responds to variant or opposing arguments. The speaker attempts to devalue views that are different from those he or she is advocating. The refutation of a classical oration was "devoted to answering the counterarguments of one's opponent."<sup>11</sup> It is "a refutation of your opponent's perspective and the arguments he or she has made, or is likely to make."<sup>12</sup> A speaker can use several techniques to refute the arguments of the opposing side. He or she can invalidate evidence from authorities by arguing that the authority did not make a study, is not trained in research, is prejudiced, has exaggerated, or is inconsistent in his or her thinking. The speaker can also refute statistics by arguing that the unit of statistics has not been carefully defined, that the statistics are not an index of what people want to know, that the statistical units are not comparable, or that other studies of the same nature do not verify the given facts (Huber 1964). In addition to developing the speaker's

position, responding to opposing arguments enhances his or her credibility. In sum, the body of a classical arrangement is devoted largely to logical proof.

The final part of the classical scheme of organization—*peroratio*—is what is commonly known as the conclusion of the speech. It is designed to leave the listener wanting to know more, do something, or think about the implications of the speech (Cagle and LaBaugh 1998). It is also calculated to incite ill-will against or critical scepticism of one's opponents, arouse sympathy for one's position and boost one's *ethos*. The closing of a classical arrangement is, thus, largely devoted to pathetic proof. It also summarizes the key arguments that the speaker has presented and makes general remarks on possible consequences of accepting or rejecting his or her proposition.

#### **1.4.2.2 Motivated Sequence**

The attention step constitutes what is commonly known as the introduction. It seeks to capture the attention of the audience. Some of the rhetorical devices that can be employed to do this are found in the glossary. Other means include establishing common ground, humour and quotations.

The need, satisfaction and visualization steps constitute what is commonly known as the body. The need step involves showing the audience that there is need for change (a problem that needs to be solved) or that they have a need that must be satisfied. The satisfaction step centres on the solution. Here, a speaker presents his or her proposal and explains how it will work. The visualization step involves painting a scenario of how things will be if the proposal is adopted or rejected. Imagery comes into play here.

The action step parallels what is commonly known as the conclusion. Here, the speaker makes his or her call for action.

#### **1.4.3 Elocutio**

Style is “the manner in which something is said or written.”<sup>13</sup> Burton describes in more detail: “Style concerns the artful expression of ideas. If invention addresses what is to be said; style addresses how this will be said. From a rhetorical perspective style is

not incidental, superficial, or supplementary: style names how ideas are embodied in language and customized to communicative contexts...”.<sup>14</sup> An effective style makes the speech clear (understandable), emotional, memorable, interesting, vivid and emphatic.

Comparative devices such as similes, analogies and metaphors can be employed to express ideas clearly; each of these is described in the glossary. Allusion is also useful for clarification as is narration (apologue, parable, incident).

To produce emotionalism, a speaker can employ emotive terms, epithets, association (simile, figurative analogy, metaphor, personification). A speaker has used emotive language if the speech includes connotative meanings (connotation), loaded words (slanting), hypothetical questions and situations (visualization), pronouns (personalization), broad-based generalizations (abstraction), clichés and slogans. The associative techniques listed above are described in the glossary. The following is a description of how association is employed as a rhetorical strategy:

Association is the process of linking an idea or product with other ideas, events or products which the audience either likes and respects, or hates and fears, depending on the aim of the association. Politicians may use association by directly asserting, for example, their connection with certain groups and communities with which the audience identifies or respects. They may also use indirect language to establish associations, for example, metaphors or allusions. Association may be established with images, music, colours, flags, choice of location and timing for a speech, etc., as well as words. Association may take the form of literary, historical or religious references or allusions.<sup>15</sup>

Strategies and techniques that can be used to emphasize ideas include labeling, positioning of words and phrases (end/beginning of utterance), and reiterative rhetorical devices. Several reiterative devices are presented in the glossary. Other rhetorical devices used for emphasis include *polysyndeton*, *asyndeton*, expletives and *erotesis*; all these are described in the glossary.

## **1.5 Definition of Terms**

Rhetorical Theory: A theory that describes rhetoric

Rhetor: The source of a message

Discourse: “any coherent literary production, whether spoken or written” (Genung 1901, 1).

African Literature: oral and written literature produced by Africans.

Vindicationist Literature: literature that refutes the idea that Africans are mentally and culturally inferior.

Canon: “an accepted rule or principle”.<sup>16</sup>

*Inventio*: “the discovery of ideas about which someone speaks. Thinking of topic, focusing your thoughts, and deciding how to prove your ideas are all elements of invention”.<sup>17</sup>

*Dispositio*: organizational format of a text

*Elocutio*: style

Reasoning: “the process of drawing conclusions from facts or premises” (Huber 1964, 3).

Intertextuality: references to prior texts.

## **1.6 Brief Outline of the Remainder of the Thesis**

This chapter forms the introduction. It has made known the context and purpose of the research, and justified the study. Further, the chapter has addressed the scope of the research and presented the theories that were used. It has also defined some terms that are employed in the study.

The second chapter discusses the methodology that was employed. The third and fourth chapters examine the historical context of speeches dealing with the issue of African unity. The fifth and sixth chapters analyse the speeches of the ‘radical school’ of African unity while the seventh and eighth analyse those of the ‘moderate school’. Chapter nine is a summary of the findings while chapter ten presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Methodology**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

The purpose of this study was to establish how leaders aligned with the Monrovia and Casablanca blocs attempted, between the years 1957 and 1963, to secure adherence to their views on how to achieve African unity. This chapter discusses the methodology that was employed.

The chapter begins with a section titled ‘Sampling’. This section presents the rationale behind the selection of the period 1957 to 1963, the four figures whose speeches were examined and the speeches that were analysed. It is followed by a section titled ‘Data Collection’, which explains how these speeches were collected. A third section is titled ‘*Ethos* and *Pathos*’. It focuses on specific aspects of these two appeals which were examined in the speeches. The chapter ends with a section titled ‘Motivational Appeals’, which focuses on strategies and techniques used to arouse an audiences’ needs and desires.

#### **2.1 Sampling**

The period 1957 to 1963 is significant in the history of the African unification debate. It was from 1957 that leaders in Africa started to focus on the issue of the continent’s political unification, and in 1963 the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was formed, an act considered as the first step towards realization of unity. The study thus focuses on the period from when intense advocacy of unification began to the time that the first step towards realizing this unification was taken.

Sobukwe and Nkrumah were selected as representative of those aligned with the Casablanca Bloc while Nyerere and Tafawa Balewa were selected as representative of those aligned with the Monrovia Bloc. All four are not only leaders with genuine

commitment to the cause of African unity but are also celebrated orators of the twentieth century.

Sobukwe was the first president of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). His thoughts on African unification parallel those of Heads of States and Governments aligned with the Casablanca Bloc. In his address at the inaugural convention of the PAC on 4<sup>th</sup> April 1959 in Johannesburg, he proclaimed:

We regard it as the sacred duty of every African state to strive ceaselessly and energetically for the creation of a United States of Afrika, stretching from Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Madagascar.

The days of small, independent countries are gone....

Beside the sense of a common historical fate that we share with the other countries of Afrika, it is imperative, for purely practical reasons that the whole of Afrika be united into a single unit, centrally controlled. Only in that way can we solve the immense problems that face the continent (Sobukwe 1977, 3:513).

He was of the view that the formation of a United States of Africa should follow immediately after African colonies gained their independence. In his article “One Central Government in Africa” dated March 1960, he announced that he was certain that every part of Africa would be free by 1973. The *hypophora* that follows this announcement reveals his stand on political unification:

But the question is: AFTER FREEDOM THEN WHAT?

...The ready answer of all Pan-Africanists, and this includes all genuine African nationalist organisations on the continent, is: the creation of a United States of Africa and the advent of a new era...[sic] an era of freedom, creative production and abundance (Sobukwe 1977, 3:562).

He also announced: “...it is a unitary constitution that the Pan Africanist Congress envisages for the United States of Africa, with all power vested in a central government, freely elected by the whole continent on the basis of universal adult-suffrage” (Sobukwe 1977, 3:563).

His reasons for advocating the formation of a United States of Africa are outlined in various texts. Among the political reasons are that any political party formed in such a context would be committed to a programme of economic and social development that cuts across sectional ties and interests, whether of a tribal or of a religious nature. It would also become possible, in such a context, to re-establish

socialism in Africa. The geo-political entity would have enough strength, given its size and population, for the African personality to make its impact internationally. Such unification would guard against neo-colonialism and balkanisation of the continent. Social reasons include that the entity would be a concrete expression of the African peoples desire for unity. It would eliminate racialism as colour would count for nothing; all within the entity who owe their loyalty to Africa and accept the democratic rule of an African majority would be regarded as Africans. The economic reasons are that continental unification would allow for systematic planning where mineral and human resources are exploited for the benefit of every part of the nation. In addition, union would facilitate the establishment of a substantial internal market for locally produced agricultural and industrial products.

In “One Central Government in Africa” Sobukwe explains why he was opposed to the idea of a regional approach to unification: “...federations...entail compromise, sometimes on vital issues. Federations tend to kill effective unity, because inherent in them is the idea of ‘trial for a period’ and the threat of ultimate secession by one State or another” (Sobukwe 1977, 3:563). According to him, the Heads of States and Governments who were advocating a gradual approach to continental unification were motivated by personal ambition. Some of these were ‘great’ leaders simply because the press had portrayed them thus or simply because they were “one-eyed dwarfs in a land of blind dwarfs”. These leaders did not want to lose this ‘greatness’ while some wanted to remain in the public eye (*ibid.*).

Nkrumah was the first president of Ghana. His devotion to the formation of a United States of Africa is well-known. Commenting on this, Agyeman claims: “...on balance, his energies were devoted more to pan-African pursuits than to Ghanaian nation-building – and this to a degree that was simply unmatched by any other African leader, with the possible exception of Ben Bella” (Agyeman 1975, 666). On 1<sup>st</sup> July 1960, which is the day that Ghana became a republic, Nkrumah declared:

We shall not relax in our efforts to foster the concept of African Unity and the creation of real political union of African states and I feel confident that in time our African compatriots will come to see our line and know that Africa’s salvation lies only in a political union of African States (Nkrumah 1997, 1:89).

He explains why he advocated rapid unification in a parliamentary speech that he delivered on 6<sup>th</sup> August 1960 in Accra:

The African struggle for independence and unity must begin with political union. A loose confederation of economic co-operation is deceptively time delaying. It is only a political union that will ensure a uniformity in our foreign policy projecting the African personality and presenting Africa as a force important to be reckoned with. I repeat, a loose economic co-operation means a screen behind which detractors, imperialist and colonialist protagonists and African puppet leaders hide to operate and weaken the concept of any effort to realise African unity and independence. A political union envisages a common foreign and defence policy, and rapid, social, economic and industrial developments (Nkrumah 1997, 1:128).

Nyerere was the first president of Tanzania. He has been described as “the most eloquent exponent of the gradualist approach” (Agyeman 1975, 654). In an article published in the first issue of *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, which was just four months before the formation of the OAU, Nyerere urged:

Our goal must remain firm, and nothing short of a United States of Africa should be accepted as our ultimate destiny. This does not mean that we must—or that we could—achieve this goal tomorrow, in one step. We must progress towards it as and when we can, either by All-African decisions or by steps towards unity in different areas of Africa. Although the goal must be clear, it would, however, be wrong to think in terms of the shape of Government in a United Africa. This will be affected by the road we have to travel to get there, as well as by the demands made on a State by world affairs at the relevant time (Nyerere 1966, 190).

Tafawa Balewa was the first prime minister of Nigeria. In his speech of Nigeria’s acceptance to United Nations (UN) membership, which he delivered on 8<sup>th</sup> October 1960 in New York, he said:

...I must say that I do not think myself that ideas of political union are practicable in the immediate future. I do not rule out the possibility of eventual union, but for the present it is unrealistic to expect countries to give up the sovereignty which they have so recently acquired; and I am quite sure that it is wrong to imagine that political union could of itself bring the countries together: on the contrary it will follow as the natural consequence of co-operation in other fields....In the fullness of time as political relations develop and there is more and more consultation between the states of a regional grouping, then political union may well be

the natural result; but it would be wrong either to impose it or to seek to hasten the process unduly (Tafawa Balewa 1964, 68).

And in a parliamentary debate on foreign policy in January 1961, he said:

...to talk of a political union first before the necessary understanding has been gained, and before knowing exactly what our problems are, is too premature at this time. So, although I will not rule out the possibility of a political union of some sort, sometime in the future—only God knows the future—I still cannot see my way clear now to any easy and stable political union between different African countries, however small they are now, which are already independent.

I had occasion to speak to a very important politician from one of the countries of West Africa in 1957. He came to speak to me about the importance of political union between separate states, and he said that his country and another would merge and federate. I told this gentleman that he should go carefully, for it is all too easy to cherish this idea, which, when the time came to put it into effect, could run into difficulties raised mainly by the personal ambition of individuals. I spoke to the gentleman in a very frank manner, and I must say that my warning was not heeded. The two countries had their independence and they federated. But what happened? The federation lasted only a short time. Therefore before we federate or before we have a political union it is most important that we understand one another and we make absolutely sure of what we really want. But because of the personal ambitions of individuals in two or three states, we think it unnecessary and unwise for separate countries to federate (Tafawa Balewa 1964, 81-2).

The study analysed four speeches in total, one by each leader. In the cases of Nkrumah, Nyerere and Tafawa Balewa these are the speeches that they presented at the Conference of African Heads of States and Governments held in Addis Ababa in May 1963. It was at this conference, which brought together the representatives of 32 States, that the OAU Charter was signed. While Nkrumah, Nyerere and Tafawa Balewa had the opportunity to speak at this conference, Sobukwe never did. In his case, it is the opening speech that he delivered at the fifth annual conference of the Basutoland African Congress (BAC), which was held in December 1957, that was analysed. This speech deals with African unification in the context of the liberation struggle. It was selected as the researcher was unable to access a speech where Sobukwe deals at length with how to achieve political unification of African states. The persuasive strategies and techniques identified in this speech were sought in two of his other published speeches that briefly

tackle the issue of forming a United States of Africa: the opening address that he delivered at the inaugural convention of the PAC in April 1959 and the speech that he delivered at the PAC Conference held in August 1959. The strategies and techniques that were located in these three speeches are believed to be the ones that he would have employed in a speech where the main purpose was to persuade an audience to immediately form a political union of their States.

## **2.2 Data Collection**

Nyerere and Tafawa Balewa's speeches were collected from the Economic Commission for Africa website. Nkrumah's speech was collected from the fifth volume of the series *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, which is compiled by Samuel Obeng. Sobukwe's speech to the BAC was collected from *The Commentator* dated August 1968 while the one that he delivered at the inaugural convention of the PAC and the one that he delivered at the PAC Conference were both collected from the third in a series of four volumes titled *From Protest to Challenge*, which is edited by Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter.

## **2.3 Ethos and Pathos**

The discussion in this section focuses on specific aspects of *ethos* and *pathos* that were examined in the speeches.<sup>18</sup>

### **2.3.1 Ethical Proof: The Demonstration of Trustworthiness and Similarity**

As was seen in Chapter One of this thesis, ethical proof focuses on the image of the speaker. It was seen that a speaker cannot persuade an audience unless that audience perceives him or her to be trustworthy and like them. It was further seen that a speaker is perceived as trustworthy if, during the speech, he or she displays practical wisdom, good character and goodwill.

Speakers employ various techniques in the attempt to demonstrate these qualities. The discussion below focuses on the techniques that were examined in the speeches.

### **2.3.1.1 Practical Wisdom (Good Sense)**

The attempt to demonstrate practical wisdom involves all efforts to appear knowledgeable and experienced with regard to the subject matter that one is addressing. This involves informing the audience about one's expertise. The speaker announces any investigation of the topic that he or she has conducted and the experience that he or she has that equips him or her with special knowledge and insight (Lucas 2001). Ayres and Miller note that "highlighting personal experiences, as long as it is not boastful, tends to increase perceived trustworthiness and dynamism" (Ayres and Miller 1994, 8). Similarly, Monroe notes that the soundness of a speaker's thinking as well as his or her seemingly grasp of the facts about the subject being discussed contributes to the image of competence. He points out: "If you have occasion to call attention to your own accomplishments in a pertinent connection, do so in a matter-of-fact, unassuming way" (Monroe 1939, 122). Joseph DeVito advises speakers to tell the audience of any training that qualifies them to speak on the given topic. He says: "Let the audience know that you have earned the right to speak. Let them know what you have to say is based on a firm grasp of the material" (DeVito 2003, 115).

A speaker also increases his or her chances of appearing competent by incorporating in the speech the views of someone else who has special knowledge or who has expertise on the subject matter. The views of those with special knowledge is commonly referred to as 'expert testimony' while views of ordinary people with first hand experience or insight is referred to as 'peer testimony'. Ayres and Miller point out: "A quotation from an expert in the field will add to the audience's perception of you as a credible speaker; the quotation suggests that this speaker must have done some homework or she or he wouldn't have known about this supporting statement" (Ayres and Miller 1994, 124). Expert testimony is especially useful when a speaker is addressing a subject that he or she is not an expert in or a subject that is controversial. It

is also useful when the audience is sceptical about the speaker's point of view (Lucas 2001). Peer testimony, explains Lucas, is particularly useful for the authenticity and emotional impact that it introduces: "...it gives a more personal viewpoint on issues than can be gained from expert testimony. It conveys the feelings, the knowledge, the insight of people who speak with the voice of genuine experience" (Lucas 2001, 180).

Testimony can be introduced into the speech through direct quotation or paraphrase. The former involves presenting the individual's ideas word for word while the latter involves expressing the individual's ideas in one's own words. Direct quotes are preferable in the following situations: when both the idea and original wording are important to the speech; when the speaker wants to refute the idea in question; when the original wording adds flair to the speech. Paraphrasing is preferable when the idea is important but not the wording. In the case where the individual cited and the work in which he or she expresses the idea are unknown to the audience, both are named for effectiveness. DeVito explains that this helps the audience see that the sources have been chosen carefully and with a view towards providing the most authoritative sources possible (DeVito 2003). Speakers also explain how their citations are relevant to the speech and inform the audience of the rhetorical situation of the cited text.

### **2.3.1.2 Good Character**

Good character, Aristotle argues in his *'Art' of Rhetoric*, is concerned with virtue. To convince audiences that they are good individuals, speakers underscore their virtue by calling attention to virtues that are valued by the audience. These virtues include bravery, liberality, magnanimity, gentleness and justice. A definition of each of these virtues and how the virtue is demonstrated in a speech is provided in Table 2.0 below. Speakers also demonstrate good character by comparing themselves to other people, at all times showing how they are better and, thus, superior to those people. Lester Thonssen and A. Baird maintain that a speaker displays good character when he or she:

- (1) associates either himself or his message with what is virtuous and elevated;
- (2) bestows, with propriety, tempered praise upon himself, his client, and his cause;
- (3) links the opponent or the opponent's cause with what is not virtuous;
- (4) removes or minimizes unfavorable

impressions of himself or his cause previously established by his opponent; (5) relies upon authority derived from his personal experience; and (6) creates the impression of being completely sincere in his undertaking (Thonssen and Baird 1948, 387).

**Table 2.0 How to Obtain a Reputation for Good Character**

<b>Virtue</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Demonstration</b>
Bravery	Mean between rashness and cowardice	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fearlessness with regard to things that cause pain and destruction such as death, disgrace, poverty, disease, war, loneliness and loss of property.</li> <li>2. Endure formidable things not out of ignorance, passion or pleasure but as reason dictates and because it is honourable to do so.</li> </ol>
Liberality	The mean in receiving and giving property	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Happiness when giving your property to those you ought and for that matter the amount that they need and when they need it.</li> <li>2. Receive when you ought and as much as you ought.</li> </ol>
Magnanimity	The mean between pusillanimity and vanity	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Pleased by honour of the noble kind, this being that conferred on you by great persons and for great things, for you are deserving of these. Despise honour bestowed on you by insignificant persons and for little things, for you are undeserving of these.</li> <li>2. Despise dishonour, for it cannot be justly applied to you.</li> </ol>
Gentleness	The mean between manliness and meekness	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Be roused to anger by just causes.</li> <li>2. Directs anger at the right people, in the right degree and manner and for the proper amount of time.</li> </ol>
Justice	What is legal and equal	Gives each person what is due them.

### **2.3.1.3 Goodwill and Similarity**

Goodwill, as conceptualized by Lucas, is “the audience’s perception of whether the speaker has the best interests of the audience in mind” (Lucas 2001, GL3). Cicero maintains that a speaker who gets the audience members to think that he or she has their best interests at heart wins their love (Cicero 1967).

There is a relationship between goodwill and perceived speaker-audience similarity. When a speaker is perceived by the audience to be like them, he or she is also perceived to have their best interests at heart. Such a speaker is considered by these members as part of the 'in-group', part of their community one may say, which makes them less hostile and more receptive to the ideas that he or she presents. Observes Boeree, a psychologist:

If someone is seen as sharing our national, economic, racial, or religious background, or is the same age or sex, or appears in any way to share our values or perspectives, their arguments will tend to be taken as our arguments. It is not for nothing that politicians say things like 'my fellow Americans...' or 'friends, Romans, countrymen....'.<sup>19</sup>

Ayres and Miller argue: "By minimizing distracting differences and establishing a common ground, you can develop a bond of goodwill between you and your audience when you speak" (Ayres and Miller 1994, 142). A speaker establishes common ground when he or she: (a) points out or implies as many similarities as possible between himself or herself and the audience, especially their common interest in the topic of the speech; (b) shows how his or her purposes connect with those of the audience; (c) says things that the audience knows to be true, which involves connecting his or her ideas with the currently held beliefs of the audience (Ayres and Miller 1994). Lucas notes that a speaker identifies with the audience when he or she connects himself or herself with the values, attitudes, or experiences of the audience and stresses common perceptions of the problem at hand (Lucas 2001). Thonssen and Baird maintain that goodwill is established when the speaker identifies with the listeners and their problems (Thonssen and Baird 1948). Burke holds that perceived similarity develops when the speaker is seen to share the same concepts, images, ideas and attitudes.

DeVito notes that identification is a useful strategy for the speaker faced with an unfavorably disposed audience: "When an audience sees similarity or 'common ground' between itself and you, it becomes more favorable to both you and your speech." He advises: "Stress what you and the audience share as people, as interested citizens, as fellow students" (DeVito 2003, 113). He notes similarities that are foregrounded: attitudes, beliefs, values, cultural background, educational background and social

background. Monroe notes that a speaker will tactfully compliment the audience's abilities, accomplishments and friends (Monroe 1939).

Common ground is also established through codeswitching. A speaker switches from the main language that he or she is using in the speech to another language (or several other languages) that he or she and the audience share in common. In the case that a speaker shares a mother-tongue with the audience, a switch to this language is employed to express shared ethnic identity. In other words, when a speaker switches to the first language of his or her audience, the members identify with him or her as a member of their ethnic group. A switch to languages other than the mother-tongue of the audience can be employed to draw attention to another shared identity apart from ethnicity.

### **2.3.2 Pathetic Proof: Moulding the Frame of Mind of the Audiences**

As was seen in Chapter One of this thesis, pathetic proof includes all that which contributes to producing an emotional state that is conducive for the acceptance of a speaker's views. It was also seen that among the most influential emotions in decision-making are fear, compassion, anger, love, hate, joy, sorrow and hope. Speakers employ various techniques in the attempt to evoke emotions. The discussion below focuses on techniques that were examined in the speeches.

#### **2.3.2.1 Appeal to Fear**

Cicero says that fear is excited by highlighting "either the perils of individuals or those shared by all: that of private origin goes deeper, but universal fear also is to be traced to a similar source" (Cicero 1967, 351). Aristotle notes that fear is accompanied by the expectation that one is going to suffer some fatal misfortune. It is therefore stirred by making an audience think they are likely to suffer. He notes that fearful things include: evils that bring about destruction or pain; people whom one has made to suffer for these are likely to revenge; enemies and rivals; unjust people; those capable of injuring and ill-treating one. He adds that the prosperous, this being a lot that imagines

itself unlikely to suffer, can be made to fear by bringing to their attention individuals more or equally prosperous who suffered at the hands of people they never expected and in a fashion as well as at a time that they never thought likely (Aristotle 1926).

### **2.3.2.2 Appeal to Love**

Cicero notes strategies and techniques that win an audience's love: (a) appearing to have their best interests at heart; (b) appearing to be working for that which they regard as good and beneficial to them; (c) appearing to be working for good people; (d) avoiding been seen as one motivated by personal gains. Cicero also argues that doing the opposite of the above evokes the hatred of the audience and therefore the opposite should be deliberately done to instigate hatred and ill-will against others (Cicero 1967).

### **2.3.2.3 Appeal to Pity**

According to Aristotle, pity is "a kind of pain excited by the sight of evil, deadly or painful, which befalls one who does not deserve it..." (Aristotle 1926, 225). He explains: "...a man is moved to pity when he is so affected that he remembers that such evils have happened, or expects that they may happen, either to himself or to one of his friends" (Aristotle 1926, 227). Pity can also be evoked by, as Cicero explains, comparing the prosperity that the speaker and the audience once enjoyed with their present adversity or by showing that they have always, or for a long time been, in adverse circumstances (Cicero 1964).

## **2.4 Motivational Appeals**

Chapter One of this thesis argues speakers can motivate audience members to believe or act as they wish by arousing their needs and desires. These needs and desires are aroused through motivational appeals: "A **motivational appeal** is either (a) a visualization of a desire and a method for satisfying it or (b) an assertion that an entity, idea, or course of action holds the key to fulfilling a particular motive need" (Gronbeck et

al. 1995, 237). Motivational appeals can be grouped into three motive clusters, a motive cluster being “a group of individual appeals that are grounded in the same fundamental human motivation” (Gronbeck et al. 1995, 238). The first cluster is comprised of appeals to the listeners’ desire for *affiliation*: “Affiliation motives are dominated by a desire for acceptance or approval” (Gronbeck et al. 1995, 239). The second cluster is comprised of appeals to the listeners’ desire for *achievement*: “Achievement motives concern an individual’s desire to attain goals, to excel in certain behaviors or activities, or to obtain prestige or success” (*ibid.*). The third cluster is comprised of appeals to the listeners’ desire for *power*: “**Power motives** concern primarily the desire to exert influence over others” (Gronbeck et al. 1995, 238). The following table shows the individual motivational appeals under each cluster:<sup>20</sup>

**Table 2.1 Motive Clusters**

<i>Affiliation</i>	<i>Achievement</i>	<i>Power</i>
Companionship	Acquisition/saving	Aggression
Conformity	Success/display	Authority/dominance
Deference/dependence	Prestige	Defense
Sympathy/generosity	Pride	Fear
Loyalty	Adventure/change	Autonomy/independence
Tradition	Perseverance	
Reverence/worship	Creativity	
Sexual attraction	Curiosity	
	Personal enjoyment	

## 2.5 Conclusion

This chapter presents the rationale behind the selection of the period 1957 to 1963, the four figures whose speeches were examined and the speeches that were analysed. It also explains how these speeches were collected. The chapter also discusses

specific aspects of ethical and pathetic proofs that were examined in the speeches as well as strategies and techniques used to arouse an audience's needs and desires.

The next two chapters examine the context of African unification oratory.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Historical Context of African Unification Oratory: Part I**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

In a paper presented at the Conference on African Literature held at the University of Ife in 1968, Bown highlighted the need to have a knowledge of the past if one is to make sense of modern African literature, literature that she pointed out is no longer marginal (Heywood 1971). In the case of oratory on African unity, a clear and detailed understanding of the political speeches made between 1957 and 1963 is promoted by an investigation of previous Pan-Africanist literature.<sup>21</sup> This is the literature that the third and fourth chapters of this thesis survey.

Prior to the idea of African unity, Pan-Africanist discourse focused on the ideas of African racial equality, African identity, and African self-government and independence. This is to say that discourse on these issues forms the ideological bedrock of the concept African unity. The current chapter investigates discourse on African racial equality and African identity. It examines literature produced by Africans on the continent and in the diaspora from the late eighteenth to mid-twentieth centuries in response to European racial theories that were used to rationalize imperialism. It also surveys the literature that they produced in an attempt to quell ambivalence about, and develop a sense of, African identity and purpose. This literature inculcated a historical, racial and cultural consciousness amongst Africans worldwide, which in turn not only strengthened unity amongst them but also developed in them the self-esteem required to fight slavery and colonialism.

### 3.1 Discourse on African Racial Equality

*We must remember that the shape of the nose, or of the lips, or even the length of the hair, the colour of the skin are not in any way the external expressions of anything directly linked with and influencing man's intellectual abilities - Ntsu Mokhehle, speech to the graduating class at the University of Fort Hare, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1949.<sup>22</sup>*

*...the voice of Science, Religion and practical Politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of super races or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior... – (“The London Manifesto” 1979, 749).*

This section surveys texts that sought to show that the African race is equal to other races. It looks at texts produced by Africans from the continent as well as texts produced by Africans from the diaspora. It is divided into two parts, the first of which looks at texts that emerged during the slave era while the second surveys texts that emerged after the abolition of slavery.

#### 3.1.1 The Period 1787 to 1864

The era of slavery witnessed a mushrooming of texts that sought to refute the notion of African inferiority, which was being used to rationalize the enslavement of blacks in North America and Europe. These vindicationist texts exposed the inaccuracy of the dominant contention that Africa was a ‘dark continent’ that lacked a history and culture until such time that European explorers and traders landed on its western coast, a continent that was insignificant in history, “an ahistorical continent whose present and future destinies were inextricably bound up with the ‘civilizing influences’ of the white world” (Uya 1982, 71). These texts also sought to create a positive picture of the colour black which “in the minds of whites and many blacks had become associated with that which is evil, dirty, and diabolical” (Weisbord 1973, 33). Africans were then seen as ‘inferior’ ‘savages’, ‘cannibals’, ‘barbarians’, ‘heathen, and ‘evil’. These stereotyped conceptions were partly shaped by mid-seventeenth century British artists portrayal of black boys as slaves, menials or lechers, by the history lectures that the German philosopher G.W.F Hegel gave in Berlin between 1830 and 1831 (Shyllon 1982)<sup>23</sup> as well as by the claim, based on a distorted reading of the Bible, that Africans were ‘cursed’ and meant to be servants to the whites. Okon Uya explains:

[the white society] needed the so-called darkness of Africa to rationalize slavery. Blacks were enslaved, the argument went, partly because slavery was the ‘best kind of school for those kinds of people.’ In this view, slavery emerged as a benevolent act designed to free the black man from his age-old benightedness. Thus, very early, and continuing up to now, the image of Africa concocted by the whites has been used to rationalize whatever status the white man in the Western Hemisphere has reserved for the black (Uya 1982, 70).

The images were also designed “to weaken the resistance of the slaves by lowering their conception of their worth and abilities and by raising the spectre of the invincibility of the enemy” (Ngugi 1993, 130).

By contrast, the authors of the texts in question presented a positive and partly romanticized image of Africa, and especially of its past. They used both biblical and historical evidence to prove the equality of Africans to other races. The African past was cited as proof that Africans were capable of producing an advanced culture. The authors attributed a Negroid character and world civilization to Egypt or to ancient Ethiopia (Abyssinia), which has always been presented as a symbol of African pride owing to its political independence and successful resistance of attempted colonial conquest by Italy. Robert Weisbord observes that “assertions about Africa’s ‘glorious’ history were not rarities in pre-Civil War black writing and oratory. Egyptian, Greek, and Roman achievements in antiquity were credited to African ‘blood and mind.’ African accomplishments in arts and sciences were said to have outshone those of Anglo-Saxons” (Weisbord 1973, 6).

Stephen Howe cites Ivan Van Sertima’s observations on Afro-Americans’ views of ancient history as they appear in *Egypt Revisted* (1989), to show that vindicationist literature relied on historical claims, emotive language and racial categorizations to advance its views:

Egypt was the node and center of a vast web linking the strands of Africa’s main cultures and languages; the light that crystallized at the center of this early world had been energized by the cultural electricity streaming from the heartland of Africa; the creators of classical Egyptian civilization, therefore, were not the brown Mediterranean Caucasoids invented by Sergi, nor the equally mythical Hamites, nor Asiatic nomads and invaders, but indigenous, black-skinned, woolly-haired Africans; Greece, mother of the best in European civilization, was once a child

suckled at the breast of Egypt even as Egypt had been suckled at the breast of Ethiopia which itself evolved from the complex interior womb of the African motherland (Howe 1998, 32).

These observations begin to point towards the rhetorical significance of Afro-American discourse. As will be seen in later sections of this as well as in other chapters, historical claims, emotion-laden words and appeal to race were to become recurrent rhetorical strategies in later Pan-Africanist discourse. African Renaissance literature, for example, adopts vocabulary that is maternal in nature, an observation that Dunton makes in his paper “Pixley Kalsaka Seme and the African Renaissance Debate”. He cites Pitika Ntuli’s use of the phrase “we strive to be midwives of the rebirth of Africa” in a paper presented at a conference in Johannesburg in September 1998 (Dunton 2003).

Among the written vindicationist texts is Quobna Ottobah Cugoano’s antislavery tract, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species*, published in London in 1787. Cugoano was a Fanti who was kidnapped while still a child and taken to be a slave in the West Indies. Later his master, under whom he learnt to read, write and to adopt Christianity, moved with him to Britain where he became a leader of the black community in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Cugoano has been described as “the most radical African British voice in the eighteenth century” (Carretta 2005, 209). Robert July makes the following observations of Cugoano’s text:

Writing in the baroque style of the England of his day, invoking a Christian God and summoning biblical evidence to support his argument, appealing to the humanitarianism of eighteenth century Europe, he used his western training and experience to pronounce the equality of all men before God and to assert the right of the African to pursue his own destiny in freedom and with human dignity (July 1968, 21).

Another text by a West African that condemned slave trade and slavery was Olaudah Equiano’s autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa* (1789). Equiano was born in 1745 in Nigeria. Like Cugoano, he was kidnapped while still a child and taken to be a slave in the West Indies. He also served as a slave in the US. It was while a slave that he was renamed Gustavus Vassa. When he obtained his freedom, he went and settled in Britain where, like Cugoano, he became a

leader of the black community. Equiano joined the Methodist Church in 1774 and from the late 1780s spent much of his time advocating abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of black slaves in British colonies. His autobiography tells of his varied life and is the first book to be published in England by an Ibo (Fyfe 1972). Writing with an authoritative African voice for an audience that knew very little about Igbos and Igbo culture, Equiano attempted to show that Africans and Britons were equally human (Carretta 2005)<sup>24</sup>. He explained how African systems of servitude differed from the chattel slavery of the Europeans (Agatucci 2005). He challenges the idea of black slavery through a rhetorical question that places his audience in an awkward dilemma, given the discussion that precedes it:

Let the polished and haughty European recollect that his ancestors were once, like the Africans, uncivilized and even barbarous. Did nature make them inferior to their sons, and should they too have been slaves? Every rational mind answers, No. Let such reflections as these melt the pride of their superiority into sympathy for the wants and miseries of their noble brethren and compel them to acknowledge that understanding is not confined to features or colour (Skinner 1982, 20).

Prior to the publication of his autobiography, in 1787 and 1788 in particular, Equiano attacked the transatlantic slave trade and slavery through newspaper articles, among them, those in the *Public Advertiser* and the *Morning Chronicle*. In these articles as well as in other writings that appeared before his autobiography, Equiano identified himself as a ‘native of Africa’, ‘son of Africa’, an ‘African’, an ‘Ethiopian’, terms that had symbolic value (Carretta 2005). Ethiopia was a *synecdoche* that stood for Africa, or people of African descent wherever they resided. ‘Scattered Ethiopia’ was also used to refer to diasporan Africans, as when Marcus Garvey acclaimed Booker T. Washington “the greatest hero sprung from the stock of scattered Ethiopia” (White 1990, 82). Ezekiel Mphahlele points out that the fact that Ethiopia evolved from an ancient empire made it a symbol of black pride (Mphahlele 1974).

Regarding the identification of oneself as ‘son of Africa’ among diasporan Africans, Carretta rightly observes that it revealed the belief that one was as much as ‘Son of Africa’ by descent as by birth. He points out: “At the end of the eighteenth century one could be African without ever having set foot in Africa. Consequently, a

diasporan African identity was as authentic as a native one” (Carretta 2005, 257)<sup>25</sup>. On this same point, Abiola Irele notes:

The early communities of Africans transported across the Atlantic had already begun to perceive the mother continent as an entity, due to their detachment under the pressure of slavery from their immediate primary bonds, on the one hand, and on the other, their differentiation in terms of race and social status from their oppressors. Thus Africa emerged in their minds as a unified image of their racial and spiritual antecedents, as is borne out by the qualifying adjective ‘African’ which was regularly attached to the early Negro churches. The term ‘African’ in this context thus referred to the black race, not only in its separated differentiated existence in America, but also in its original bonds with the ancestral continent<sup>26</sup> (Irele 1981, 90).

In Edward Blyden’s words, the black in the diaspora was entitled to Africa by virtue of “his constitution and antecedents” (Blyden “Ethiopia Stretching Out Her Hands Unto God”, 247).

Equiano wanted to be perceived as speaking for the whole black race, hence his public identity ‘the African’ rather than merely a Nigerian or Igbo. By identifying himself as ‘the African’ Equiano “was very aware that his readers would assess him not just as an individual but as the representative of his race, as a type as well as a person” (Carretta 2005, 291). He referred to Afro-West Indians as his ‘African countrymen’ (Carretta 2005). All these terms are significant in that they signalled the growth of the Pan-African concept, a move away from identification at the tribal level (an impediment to African unity) and towards identification at the continental level (a catalyst of African unity).

Most vindicationist texts or literature in support of African capacity and the African past was produced by Afro-Americans. Examples include the antislavery tract *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829) by David Walker, which called for slave rebellion. Walker, a free-born and prominent intellectual, began writing and lecturing on the abolition of slavery in 1827. In his tract, he provided evidence of Africa’s cultural leadership in ancient times, and argued for the similarity between Afro-Americans and ancient Egyptians based on their race (Howe 1998). According to Howe, Hosea Easton’s *Treatise on the Intellectual Character and the Political Condition of the Colored People* (1837) was “like Walker’s, primarily an antislavery tract, invoking the

African past to refute assertions of black inferiority” (Howe 1998, 36). The tract cited Egypt, Ethiopia and Carthage as proof of African achievements, arguing that civilization had spread from Africa to other regions. Easton argued, in Howe’s words, that “the Egyptians had taught the Greeks, who had beforehand been a “race of savages”, as had other Europeans before African-derived wisdom was passed on to them via Greece and Rome” (Howe 1998, 36), an argument derived from the historian Niebuhr (Geiss 1974).

James Pennington, author of the book *Text Book of the Origin and History of the Colored People* (1841) argued that slavery could not be justified on grounds of the character of Africans. He argued that Africans are intellectually as strong as any other race, giving the ancient achievements of Egypt and Ethiopia as well as the fact that the arts and sciences originated in Africa, as evidence. Further evidence was the outstanding personalities, Cugoana, Anton William Amo and Jacobus Capitein whom he singled out to avoid opponents from the Jefferson school arguing that the individuals cited were either whites or intermixed as to have the benefit of the white intellect (Geiss 1974)<sup>27</sup>. As Howe observes, Pennington was of the view that “the American “prejudice against color” was entirely irrational as well as irreligious, tending to breed injustice, cruelty, hypocrisy and heathenism in the entire nation” (Howe 1998, 37). He refuted the view that blacks were the children of Cain, arguing instead that they were the descendants of Cush (Howe 1998). “Since he took literally the statements in the Bible about the origin of Egypt and Ethiopia, the first-generation Egyptians and Ethiopians were in his view cousins who had at first been ruled in common” (Geiss 1974, 101). Henry Garnet delivered a lecture in 1848 issued in print as the *Past and Present Condition, and the Destiny of the Colored Race*. Like other vindicationist texts, the lecture drew on a mixture of biblical and historical arguments to proclaim past African glories. Howe explains:

[It] declared African descent from Ham, while rejecting allegations that this ancestry placed black people under a curse legitimating slavery; lauded the achievements of the ancient Egyptians and other noteworthy Africans such as Hannibal and St. Augustine; and anticipated a theme which was later often to be elaborated by pointing out that when ancient Africans were scaling the peaks of civilization, “the ancestors of the now proud and boasting Anglo-Saxons were among the most degraded in the human family (Howe 1998, 37).

In 1853, Alexander Crummell gave a sermon titled *Hope for Africa – A Sermon on Behalf of the Ladies' Negro Education Society*. Among other things, the sermon addressed “the familiar theme of Africans who had achieved fame and celebrity like Anton William Amo, Ignatius Sancho, Job Ben Solomon, and, above all, Toussaint L'Ouverture of Haiti, the only successful black revolutionary” (Langley 1973, 23). This theme was also addressed by Williams Wells Brown in *The Black Man: his Antecedents and Achievements* (1863), which contained mini-biographies of Benjamin Banneker, Garnet, Alexander Crummell, Nat Turner, Touissant L'Ouverture, and Phillis Wheatley (Howe 1998). Brown highlighted the African contribution to world history in *The Rising Son; or the Antecedents and Advancement of the Coloured Race* (1876) where he contrasted early African greatness with the primitive savagery of the early Anglo-Saxons. In it, he argued that culture had migrated from Ethiopia to modern man by way of Egypt, Greece and Rome (Geiss 1974).

Rhetoric dealing with the issue of African equality during the slave era initiated a mental emancipation of the African, which was necessary if he was to fight for his freedom. As has been seen, a negative self-image was used to weaken his resistance to slavery, and was later also to be used to weaken his resistance to colonialism in Africa. Through talking about Africa's glorious past and its outstanding personalities, the literature began to instil self-esteem in Africans. The literature, especially that by those that had been taken from Africa to the diaspora, impacted on intellectuals, writers and nationalists in Africa during the colonial period. Irele explains:

...in the writings of men like Equiano, alias Gustavus Vassa, Ignatius Sancho and others, we find for the first time that deep grain of the sentiment of historical and spiritual conflict between Europe and Africa which has always formed part of the process of the assimilation of European culture by the African in the colonial context. This phenomenon does not at this period acquire the intensity that came to be associated with later writing, particularly of the Négritude movement; nonetheless, we do find the definite expression of a feeling of duality, for example in *Equiano's Travels*, of a sense of otherness with respect to Europe, which was to gather force into the psychological drama of later literature. When it is considered that Equiano's origin was in present day Eastern Nigeria and possibly Igbo, and that the essential thrust of his work was to present a retrospective view of his African background in such a way as to justify it and affirm its human value in the face of European denial, it may be thought that there is a profound sense in which this work is a significant

forerunner of Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, written some two centuries later.

Moreover, this literature of the eighteenth century began to move towards a more rounded view of the human situation embracing European as well as African values, towards an effort to relate them within a single frame of reference. The eighteenth century African writers were in a sense freshly acculturated individuals, who had an acute consciousness of themselves as points of contact between two civilizations, and who were conscious of the movement of the mind implied by their integration into western civilization. They were thus the first generation of Africans to feel that dissociation of the mind of the westernized African from its ancestral universe, the cleavage out of which the African idea was to emerge (Irele 1981, 92-3).

Much of the literature produced by blacks till about the end of 1945 built on this tradition.

### **3.1.2 The Period 1865 to 1945**

Victimization of blacks, especially in the southern part of United States, continued even after slavery had been abolished in 1865. Between 1877 and 1919, it was characterized by both their legal disfranchisement and segregation, by white violence and lynching. In Britain where the transatlantic slave trade was outlawed in 1807 and emancipation effected in 1833, racism against blacks also took the form of legal, economic and social deprivation. Back in Africa, colonialism was under way, tagging along problems for the inhabitants like those being experienced by their brethren in the diaspora.

The discrimination against emancipated blacks can be attributed to the very same myth that had been used to justify slavery, a myth that had by 1865 become a 'truth' in the minds of many: the myth that Africans were mentally and culturally inferior to whites. Hollis Lynch notes:

...perhaps the greatest wrong inflicted on the Negro race in the nineteenth century was the successful building up of a myth that the Negro was inherently inferior to other races – a myth that had been originally elaborated in an attempt to justify Negro slavery, and later, European imperialism in Africa....

...the...campaign for the abolition of slavery...spurred slave-holders and their supporters to defend the institution by asserting that the Negro was an inferior being, and that slavery was actually for him an

elevating process. By its repetition, the myth-makers and their descendants came actually to believe that the myth was true (Lynch 1967, 2-3).

This myth was further entrenched by European and American philosophers, physical anthropologists, sociologists, biologists, and psychologists by whom it was claimed that “African mental development ceased with the onset of puberty...” (July 1968, 115). One such text whose intention was to convince people that Africans suffered from ‘stunted growth’ was Hall’s *Adolescence* (1904). The idea that Africa had not contributed to world civilization was still dominant at this time despite the rhetorical efforts of blacks to prove otherwise. It was advanced by the famous historian Toynbee in his *A Study of History* (1934).

Ideas of black inferiority and white supremacy were further advocated through the racist fiction of the period. This fiction includes Olive Schreiner’s *The Story of an African Farm* (1883), H. Rider Haggard’s novels *King Solomon’s Mines* (1885) and *Nada the Lily* (1892)<sup>28</sup>, J. Fitzpatrick’s *The Outspan* (1898) and Thomas Dixon’s novels *The Leopard’s Spots* (1902) and *The Clansman* (1905). Dixon’s two novels formed the literary basis for the racist film *The Birth of A Nation* released in 1915, which portrayed blacks as ‘endearing inferiors duped into rising above their accustomed station by misinformed abolitionists and vindictive reconstruction congressmen who had betrayed Lincoln’s benign plans for the defeated South.’<sup>29</sup> Other racist literature that appeared in the early 1900s includes Robert Shufeldt’s *The Negro: A Menace to American Civilization* (1907) and Sarah Millin’s *Gods Stepchildren* (1925).

Eddie Becker points out that “writing (on the history of slavery) in the first half of the twentieth century was that blacks were inferior to whites, that races should be separated, and that therefore slavery was not so bad after all.”<sup>30</sup> He singles out *American Negro Slavery* (1918) as a text that propagates this view. According to Becker, *American Negro Slavery*, written by Ulrich B. Phillips, dominated the interpretation of southern history for the next thirty years:

Phillips depicted a plantation system in which slaves were generally contented with their lot and unlikely to resist. Those rare occasions in which resistance did occur were more likely the result of slaves having lazy or criminal characters rather than any legitimate complaint about their

conditions. Indeed, Phillips saw slavery as a system which was economically unprofitable but socially desirable--a civilizing institution necessitated by the racial inferiority of African Americans.<sup>31</sup>

Meanwhile, imperialist literature that justified African colonization as a duty of civilization mushroomed. It supported the idea that it was the right and moral duty of the superior races to extend their civilization to the inferior races. Imperialist texts include Friedrich Fabri's book *Does Germany Need Colonies?* (1879), John Seeley's historical essay *The Expansion of England* (1883), Frederick Lugard's partly autobiographical text *The Rise of Our East African Empire, 1893: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda* (1893) and Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden", which was first published in 1899. Ngugi wa Thiong'o observes the following of colonialist literature, which he points out was built on the tradition of the literature inspired by the slave system:

The literature that carried images of Africa and the African ranged from that depicting the self-effacing African as the real human being, or the fun-loving, always smiling type as the more sympathetic being, to that which showed the African resistance fighter as the very reincarnation of cruelty, cowardice, ignorance, stupidity, envy, and even cannibalism. The collaborationist African was glorified. The one who opposed colonialism was vilified. Of course it was not always so directly stated. It was simply the way an author guided the emotions of readers to make them identify with the African who saw no contradictions between himself and colonialism and to distance themselves from the African who argued back, the one who demanded his rightful dues, or the one who, in the banana plantations, plotted against the master (Ngugi 1993, 130-31).

Positive images of blacks and Africa were needed if the political inequality, economic oppression, and social discrimination that continued to characterize the life of blacks was to end. They were needed also for colonization to end. As had happened during the era of slavery, there emerged a literature providing a positive and partly romanticized image of Africa. Like the earlier texts, these texts glorified the African past and highlighted individuals of African descent who had made great achievements. Authors, some of whom were eminent anthropologists themselves, made use of the works of renowned anthropologists and historians such as Franz Boas and Herodotus. They also drew upon works by European abolitionists such as: Granville Sharpe's *Just Limitation of*

*Slavery* (1776), *The Law of Liberty* (1776), and *The Law of Passive Obedience* (1776); James Ramsay's *Essays on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (1784); Anthony Benezet's *Some Historical Account of Guinea* (1771); and Abbé Grégoire's *An enquiry concerning the intellectual and moral faculties and literature of negroes: followed with an account of the life and work of fifteen negroes and mulattoes, distinguished in science, literature and the arts* (1810) (Geiss 1974). Other commonly cited authorities include: French antiquarian Constantin Volney who, having travelled in Egypt, suggested in *Ruins of Empires* (1794) that ancient Egyptians were black, they had created the pyramids, and civilization originated in Africa (Howe 1998); Wilson Armistead's *A Tribute for the Negro: being a vindication of the moral, intellectual, and religious capabilities of the coloured portion of Mankind; with particular reference to the African race* (1848)<sup>32</sup>; and A. Heeren's *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Carthagians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians* (1854) (Geiss 1974). The literature in question also quoted black American leaders such as W.E.B. DuBois, and used the Bible in defence of the arguments presented.

James Africanus Horton from Sierra Leone was the first West African on the continent to systematically challenge the idea that Africans are inferior to the Europeans. This was in his book *West African Countries and Peoples, British and Native, with the Requirements Necessary for Establishing that Self-Government Recommended by the Committee of the House of Commons; and a Vindication of the African Race* (1868) in which he stressed the non-existence of scientific evidence of physiological and mental differences based upon race. Horton, a doctor who studied Medicine at Edinburgh, maintained:

I claim the existence of the attribute of a common humanity in the African or negro race...there exist no radical distinctions between him and his more civilised *confrère*...the amount of moral and intellectual endowments exhibited by him, as originally conferred by nature, is the same, or nearly so, as that found amongst the European nations (Horton 1968, 115-6).

He refuted the view that the existing social and cultural distinctions between Africans and Anglo-Saxons were a function of race, arguing instead that they were a function of upbringing and environment. He emphasized that there were political kingdoms in Africa before the advent of Europeans, an important fact for African liberation discourse in

terms of pointing to the capability of Africans to govern themselves. At the same time, he contrasted the early African achievement of learning and literature with the primitive savagery of early Britons. He prophesied that Africa would rise again to greatness, a prophecy that was to become a feature of African nationalist discourse:

The proudest kingdom in Europe was once in a state of barbarism perhaps worse than now exists amongst the tribes chiefly inhabiting the West Coast of Africa; and it is an incontrovertible axiom that what has been done can again be done. If Europe...has been raised to her present pitch of civilization by progressive advancement, Africa too, with a guarantee of the civilization of the north, will rise into equal importance....We may well say that the present state of Western Africa is, in fact, the history of the world repeating itself (Horton 1968, 116).

As in the slave era, most of the vindicationist literature that appeared between 1865 and 1945 was by Afro-Americans. William Ferris' two-volume text *The African Abroad, or his Evolution in Western Civilization, Tracing his Development under Caucasian Milieu* (1913) was written from a Pan-African viewpoint. The first volume surveyed the deeds, achievements, and progress of blacks, both on the continent and in the diaspora. It described the Negroid character of ancient Ethiopians, arguing that they transmitted civilization to the ancient Egyptians, and publicized African nationalists on the continent such as Casely Hayford and Mojola Agbebi. The second volume described the historical position of Haiti and enumerated the most important Afro-Americans (Geiss 1974).

John Norris, a Baltimorean clergyman, wrote the tract *The Ethiopian's Place in History and His Contribution to the World's Civilization* (1916). Like many other writers before him, he singled out the Egyptian pyramids as marks of African achievement, arguing that they were proof that "the Negro had attained to a very high mark of civilization three thousand years before the birth of Christ" (Norris 1998, 43). He also claimed that "Greece, the first civilized European nation, rose only a thousand years later, and under African tutelage" (*ibid.*). He further argued: "The white man never conceived civilization. He has tried to improve on it; or on Hamitic conception...The white man claims superiority in all civilizations, but there is no evidence of it" (Norris 1998, 43-4). He urged Afro-American youth to restore African civilization, a theme that was to surface in West Africa in the late nineteenth century. Norris posed to them a rhetorical

question aimed at refuting the view that this civilization could not be re-established: “Your foundation, boys, is the civilization that produced the Pyramids. But, says the young black man, that is too far back. Is it? Well there is where you will build. God left the Pyramids as a mark of your rock base” (Norris 1998, 44).

The reformer and scholar, Carter Woodson, “carried on a constant campaign of vindication that included popularization of African history” (Drake 1982, 383). He complained in *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933) that the American educational system failed to give a true account of black history and that the misrepresentation of the black past had produced subservience or even self-hatred among Afro-Americans (Howe 1998). Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915 through which he hoped to refashion the perspectives of the Afro-Americans and, by so doing, instil in them the confidence to lay the foundations of a secure future (Thompson 1969). The Association founded the *Journal of Negro History* in 1916 and soon after, the Associated Publishers that henceforth published the *Negro History Bulletin* which contained materials drawn from the annual observance of Negro History Week.

The central themes of DuBois’ thoughts and writings were Africa, the ancestry and culture of Afro-Americans, and the deliverance of the African from colonizing powers (White 1990). He wrote several books and essays, among them, *Souls of Black Folk* (1903) which deals with the concept of ‘double-consciousness’, that is, the racial and national identity of Afro-Americans and *The Negro* (1915) published later as *Black Folk, Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race* (1939). In *Black Folk* he attempts to correct the misconception that black people have no history, that Africa’s story begins with the arrival of the white man. He focuses on the cultural achievements of the ancient Ethiopians and Egyptians (Geiss 1974). Howe observes that, “in his imaginative writing, Du Bois sometimes reached for symbols of civilizational, or even biological, priority of Africans over Europeans” (Howe 1998, 52).

John Bruce, president of the Negro Society for Historical Research that he helped found in 1911, was one of the earliest black nationalists. He was a militant journalist who regularly contributed to the black press under the pen name ‘Bruce Grit’. In his articles, he extolled the virtues and beauty of the black race and its heritage,

demanded full equality with whites and urged blacks to avoid integration with whites (Kellner 1990). He joined the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1919 and wrote a regular column for the *Negro World*. Bruce was a close friend of Blyden and corresponded with other nationalists in Africa such as Hayford, Agbebi and Kobina Sekyi, all of whose perspectives on the African past he influenced. Blyden and Hayford were among the original honorary presidents, vice-presidents and members of the Negro Society for Historical Research as was Lewanika of Barotseland and Mohamed Duse (Hanna 1964).

An Afro-West Indian author is the Jamaican doctor Theophilus Scholes who was based in Britain. After completing his studies, he went to work as a missionary in the Congo after which he joined the African Training Institute in Colwyn Bay, Wales which sent him to head the Alfred Jones Institute in New Calabar. Scholes then returned to settle in England where he became a freelance writer. He wrote the two volume *Glimpses of the Ages: or, the 'Superior' and 'Inferior' Races, so called, Discussed in the Light of Science and History* (1905, 1908). In the first volume, he attempted to create a positive image of blacks by emphasizing the following: it was yet to be proven that the different races have different brain sizes; the lag in civilization over the greater part of Africa does not show they are incapable of civilization; the importance of cultural contact in enhancing civilization, a view that was adopted by some African nationalists of the late-nineteenth century; whites had not always been progressive and blacks backward; European 'savages' had been much more primitive than African ones; ancient Egyptians were black, they built the great pyramids, and the Greeks adopted the sciences and arts from them; Europe had produced no indigenous civilization having drawn everything from Africa; the progressive nature of African peoples at the time; the achievements of black American and African leaders; Africans led in moral progress which was more important than material progress (Scholes 1974).

Another Afro-West Indian author is Garvey. Like many other vindicationist texts, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (1967) which has influenced African leaders relies on historical arguments to arouse black pride:

...our race gave the first great civilization to the world; and, for centuries Africa, our ancestral home, was the seat of learning; and when blackmen, who were only fit then for the company of the gods, were philosophers,

artists, scientists and men of vision and leadership, the people of other races were groping in savagery, darkness and continental barbarism.... (Garvey 1967, Part I:82).

It also attempts to stir hope in blacks through emotive abstraction. In the following paragraph, for example, Garvey uses the abstract concept power, which has a positive connotation, to inspire hope in Africa's future. He uses 'prejudice', which has a negative connotation, with the intention of creating negative feelings towards the European race. He identifies with his target audience by using 'our' and 'we': "Negroes, teach your children that they are direct descendants of the greatest and proudest race who ever peopled the earth; and it is because of the fear of our return to power, in a civilization of our own, that may outshine others, why we are hated and kept down by a jealous and prejudiced contemporary world" (*ibid.*). Through his newspaper the *Negro World*, Garvey "proclaimed the abilities and talents of the Negro race, their glorious past and promising future, and urged them to throw off their inferiority complex and create their own distinctive society" (Woronoff 1970, 13). In an article titled "Who and what is a Negro" that he wrote on 16<sup>th</sup> January 1923, Garvey anticipated:

The power and sway we once held passed away, but now in the twentieth century we are about to see a return of it in the rebuilding of Africa; yes, a new civilization, a new culture, shall spring up from among our people, and the Nile shall once more flow through the land of science, of art, and of literature, wherein will live black men of the highest learning and highest accomplishments (Garvey 1967, Part I:19).

The survey of vindicationist literature should not end without a mention of the resolution on racial equality that was reached by the second Pan-African Congress in 1921.<sup>33</sup> The Congress, initiated by DuBois, observed not only a parallel relationship between racial equality and development but also that racial equality does not deny anyone his individual liberty:

The absolute equality of races, physical, political, and social, is the founding stone of World Peace and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of Science, Religion and practical Politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of super races or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior.

That in the vast range of time, one group should in its industrial technique or social organisation or spiritual vision lag a few hundred years

behind another or forge fitfully ahead or come to differ decidedly in thought, deed and ideal is proof of the essential richness and variety of human nature, rather than proof of the co-existence of demi-gods and apes in human form. The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty, - rather fulfills it ("The London Manifesto" 1979, 749).

By highlighting the ancient civilizations of Africa, vindicationist literature contributed to the restoration of the historical past of blacks. This led to a historical consciousness and cultural awakening among Africans, which promoted unity amongst them worldwide. Those from the continent who went to study abroad, particularly in the US, were exposed to the ideas in this literature and they spread them when they returned home. The literature is significant in that it led to a better understanding of Africa's historical past, including its original structures, which became grounds for later arguments in favour of an African renaissance.

### **3.2 Discourse on African Identity between 1890 and 1945**

This section surveys literature whose aim was to preserve the African identity. The section is divided into four parts. The first part surveys African Renaissance literature. The second part surveys Harlem Renaissance literature. The third part surveys Négritude literature. The last part looks at texts that discuss the concept of an African personality.

#### **3.2.1 The Idea of an African Renaissance: Traditional Customs and Institutions**

*In determining our future out of the lessons of our present and past, we shall be working out a new synthesis, a way of life that draws from Europe as well as Africa, from Islam as well as Christianity, from communalism and individualism. No blueprint can be drawn up, and no one can accurately foretell how all the different pressures will reveal themselves in the Africa of the year 2000 - From an article written by Nyerere in June 1961.<sup>34</sup>*

Much of the nationalist discourse that has emerged in Africa has been a response to the European culture introduced through colonialism. This is the case with discourse propagating African regeneration. Beginning in the late-nineteenth century, African nationalists began to push for the revival of African traditional civilization. They

believed that the European ways and conceptions that came with colonialism were eroding the African identity and that the only way to resist this erosion and maintain a national consciousness was by restoring traditional political, judicial, economic and educational systems, which they argued were valid. These nationalists had the added advantage of their familiarity with the vindicationist literature examined in the foregoing section, hence they had a strong understanding and appreciation of the African past. At the same time, they had exposure to western civilization during their stay in Britain and the US. These nationalists tended to see colonialism for what it was:

...colonialism was something more than a system of political and economic control. It was no less than a system of social and cultural subordination of Africans to the standards of Europe and the prejudices of the colonial power. As such it represented, to one degree or another, a form of denial of African social and cultural systems (Emerson and Kilson 1965, 19).

They were of the view that African laws, customs, and all that was good in native institutions should be restored to a privileged position as the vehicles of development with only the most appropriate features from western culture being assimilated, a view that lingers in contemporary discourse. Dunton observes that “current debate in South Africa on the nature of, and prospects for, the African renaissance, [is characterized by an] emphasis on the reclamation of antiquity, with the former achievements of Africans seen as being exemplary and as providing a stimulus for current initiative...” (Dunton 2003, 569). Significant among these nationalists is Blyden who studied in Liberia in the nineteenth century and the lawyers Hayford, Attoh Ahuma, and Mensah Sarbah who all studied in Britain during the same period. Sekyi, also a lawyer who studied in Britain in the early twentieth century, is part of this category. Also significant is Nnamdi Azikiwe who studied in the US from 1925 to 1934 and Orishatuké Faduma who pursued studies in both Britain and US. Their literature disproved the belief that African traditional institutions were inferior by showing that most of the institutions were at least equal to, if not better, than the European ones.

Blyden has been described as “the leading statesman-philosopher of Africa in his generation” (July 1968, 211). He was born in St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies. His parents were pure Africans of Ibo descent. Under the auspices of the American

Colonization Society (ACS), Blyden moved to Liberia in 1850 to study theology, where he became Secretary of State from 1864 to 1866. He eventually became a Liberian citizen but was forced to flee to Sierra Leone in 1871 where he began the newspaper *The Negro* in 1873.

Blyden's books include *A Voice from Bleeding Africa on Behalf of Her Exiled Children* (1856) and *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (1887). Lynch observes:

Basically, his writings were designed to vindicate the Negro race. His major themes were: that the Negro race did have past achievements of which it could be proud; that it had special inherent attributes which it should strive to project in a distinctive 'African Personality'; that African culture - its customs and institutions - were basically wholesome and should be preserved; and finally, that Christianity had a retarding influence upon the Negro, while that of Islam had been salutary - his most controversial theme and one on which he wrote at length (Lynch 1967, 54-55).

He presented most of his ideas in speeches, the first of which was published in 1857 with the title "Liberia as She Is: and the Present Duty of Her Citizens." Bown describes the nature and influence of these speeches, many of which were delivered in West Africa:

Blyden's addresses illustrate the second main influence (after the Bible) which affected many nineteenth-century African writers...the Greek and Latin classics. Compared to English Victorian prose, his English has often an archaic, eighteenth-century flavour, with balanced sentences and rounded paragraphs. At the same time, he would put in little practical illustrations, such as a canoe upsetting in a storm, to drive home points and make a vigorous contrast to his generally orotund style. His talks have their place in history because of the influence he had on his hearers' thinking.... But apart from their historical importance, they had literary importance as well; the more so since they were published and widely diffused and had an impact on the style of a later generation. There was Henry Carr in Lagos, and Casely Hayford in Ghana; and both followed up some of Blyden's stylistic tricks (Bown 1971, 41-2).<sup>35</sup>

In a later text, Bown notes:

...he prepared his lectures and addresses with great care; ...the general structure of his prose is planned and effective. He was given to a classical balancing of phrases; he realized the need for repetition and the use of pairs of words of similar meaning in public speech; and he knew how to build up to a neat climax. The climax might be a biblical

quotation...which would strike home to his audiences, who were mostly the Christian bourgeoisie of the West African coast. Blyden also had the type of mind which can make effective use of everyday illustrations – the fact that railway tickets were not transferable appears in his Lagos lecture on an African Church, to demonstrate the impossibility of transferring foreign modes of organization (Bown 1973, 8-9).

Blyden singled out white missionaries and philanthropists as the greatest threat to African culture given their constant efforts at assimilating the African. In his text *West Africa before Europe* (1905), he emphasized that the uniqueness of a race manifested itself in its institutions, thus destroying these institutions would be tantamount to destroying the uniqueness of the race in question. He argued that traditional African social organization, with its characteristics of the family setting, communal property ownership, communal social life and tribal chiefs, was preferable to the western form of organization that is based on individualism, materialism and technology. Blyden also defended the social, industrial and economic arrangements of African traditional society in his *African Life and Customs* (1908). In the second chapter of the book, he declared:

There is no question now as to the human unity, but each section has developed for itself such a system or code of life as its environments have suggested - to be improved, not changed by larger knowledge. The African has developed and organized a system useful to him for all the needs of life (Blyden 1979, 80).

In the eighth chapter he declared: “The communistic order of African life is not the result of accident. It is born of centuries of experience and is the outcome of a philosophical and faultless logic” (Blyden 1979, 85).

Blyden pushed for the creation of local educational institutions that would offer courses that were more appropriate for blacks than those being taught in the institutions founded and managed by whites. These institutions were to elevate African cultural values, venerate African personalities such as Toussaint L’Ouverture, incorporate Arabic and African languages in their syllabuses, and prioritise the art and literature of Africans over that of Europeans. In particular, he pushed for the creation of a West African university where ‘race feeling’ and ‘national idiosyncrasies’ could be developed in the students. July explains:

The major reason for a university in Africa...was to avoid the necessity of Africans studying abroad, for when they did so, invariably they imbibed foreign ideas which ill equipped them for leadership within Africa....the African student was taught that Africans were heathens and fools and that only Europeans exhibited the proper standards of personal and civic virtue. Africans learned to turn their back on the accomplishments of the great African nations, and to allow the history of Africa to be written by others. The inevitable result was a thin and disappointing stream of poorly educated Africans untrained in self-respect, unqualified to deal with the problems of their own society, and lacking the necessary instinctive, sympathetic response to the rhythmic pulse of Africa (July 1968, 228).

Hayford, a keen follower of Blyden, was educated at Wesleyan Boys High School and Fourah Bay College in Freetown after which he went to study law at the University of Cambridge and the Inns of Court. He returned home to Gold Coast<sup>36</sup> in 1896 and became a leading figure in the protest against the inequities of British rule. Hayford was the editor of *The Gold Coast Leader*. In 1897, he became a founding member and legal adviser of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS) in Gold Coast and the body's leader in 1910. The body endeavoured to protect traditional land rights and customs against encroachment by colonial authorities. He served on the Gold Coast Legislative Council between 1916 and 1930. Hayford is best known for his National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), an incipient pan-African nationalist body embracing members of the intelligentsia in all of British West Africa, which he founded in 1920 (Emerson and Kilson 1965).

Like Blyden again, Hayford made several speeches. Bown explains:

...the lawyer-scholar-politician, developed far beyond Blyden in the range of speeches for which he had a flair, and was adept at some of the more casual (and hence more difficult) types of speaking. He was, for instance, a good after-dinner speaker....He was clever too at using such informal social occasions to make an important political point. He made, for example, a very polite and flowery speech of welcome to a new Governor, praising his wife for the novels she wrote, but, in the middle of it, hinting that what they wanted from the Governor was a solution to the land question. Such sly digs, as well as Casely Hayford's generally sinewy style, ensured that his speeches were quite widely read by politicians and intellectuals when they appeared in the 1950s, edited by Sir Magnus Sampson...(Bown 1971, 42).

He also wrote several texts, among them, *Gold Coast Native Institutions* (1903), *Ethiopia Unbound* (1911), *The Truth About the West African Land Question* (1913) and *The Future of West Africa* (1919). The first defended traditional institutions, bringing out that the indigenous state system was just as democratic as the British one. J. Langley describes the text in the introduction of his *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa 1856-1970: Documents on modern African political thought from colonial times to the present*:

Casely Hayford's description and analysis of the Akan-Fanti state is detailed and clear, and includes not only the office and powers of the king, chiefs and councillors, but relations between king and army, between king and subject and the conditions attached to the destoolment or overthrow of a monarch. More importantly, the difficult problems (later dealt with by Sekyi) of paramountcy and allegiance in customary practice are discussed in the book, and there are also fascinating glimpses of socio-political rites... (Langley 1979, 42-3).

*Ethiopia Unbound* (1911), described by Bown as "part tract, part autobiography, and part fiction" (Bown 1971, 46), reiterated the argument that Africans would become truly free, and win the white man's respect, when they learnt to be themselves:

The African, it seemed to say, had to learn to be himself, not to be content with a role as counterfeit white. It was permissible for him to pursue his university study and professional training in Europe, but it was not satisfactory for him to turn into a black European. Aware of his own identity, he could take from Europe that which was useful and reject that which was inappropriate, employing the essential African soul as touchstone (July 1968, 433).

*The Truth About the West African Land Question* (1913) dealt with the issue of Africa's communal method of property holding.

Regarding education, Hayford, like Blyden, pushed for the creation of more educational institutions including a West African university geared at developing the unique traits of the African character. He stressed the need for an educational system that would take into account African national and racial heritage, African social instincts and African thought patterns, arguing that the people would never realize their potential by studying alien cultures. "The time has gone past when our curriculum may follow any type. We should study science with particular application to the needs of West Africa. In

history we should seek for tests to promote the healthy evolution of the people” he declared in *The Future of West Africa* (Hayford 1979, 208).

Hayford addressed the problem of duality, a theme that had surfaced in 1903 in DuBois’ *Souls of Black Folk*, and that was to be taken up in the 1920s by Harlem Renaissance writers and, yet, later by Négritude writers. But while *Souls of Black Folk* and Harlem Renaissance literature deal with struggle between the racial and national identities of Afro-Americans, and Négritude literature with the sense of otherness experienced by Afro-West Indians and blacks in Europe, *The Future of West Africa* deals with the challenge of duality faced by the West African elite in West Africa. The author attempts to persuade West Africans to prioritize their African identity. In doing so, he uses several rhetorical strategies. In the paragraph quoted below, the *anaphora* -- I would...in you -- which Hayford interpolates with transitive verbs not only helps to hold the attention of the readers, but also helps them easily remember the principles he enunciates. The paragraph is also marked by an emotional appeal whereby Hayford stirs their feelings of patriotism and appeals to their religiousness. Particularly interesting is the author’s use of *logos* whereby he appeals to tradition when he urges West Africans to observe the tried and tested ways of their ancestors. This, at the same time, builds Hayford’s credibility as it reveals him to be one himself who still strongly believes in African traditional authority inasmuch as he is in a modern society, which prioritizes knowledge, science and the western. He refers to de-Africanization as a wasting disease that is eating away one’s body, a metaphor that is easily comprehensible, hence enhances his argument. Hayford argued:

The future is with you. It demands that you should be up and doing. I would quicken in you thought. I would inspire in you the love of country above all things. I would deepen in you reverence for the old. I would dispel the tendency to forsake the tried way of life of our forbears. The death premium in West Africa to-day is very high. The most promising are cut off in the prime of life. There is a wasting disease which eats away the vitals of your promising sons. It is the canker of care which is bred of forcing ourselves into alien ways of life. It is that which will prevent us from giving a good account of ourselves unto God and man (Hayford 1979, 209).

In the second paragraph after the above, Hayford quotes the well-known advice that Polonius, in William Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, gave his son Laertes regarding character, and alludes to Matt. 6:24 where Jesus advised his disciples that they could not serve two masters—God and mammon (material wealth)—at the same time as this would dilute their love for God.<sup>37</sup> In addition to using these texts of famous characters to build his argument, Hayford singles out well-known personalities who had good moral character with the hope that they would become role models for his audience:

You cannot think great thoughts in Africa by adopting wholesale the hurry and the bustle and the way of life of the European. Nature did not intend it. Those who attempt it end in trouble. Nay, worse. It means death. For even the dual man cannot serve both God and Mammon. And no worse burden could be imposed by civilisation on African nationality than the burden of the double life, the arch-enemy of Truth.

Shakespeare has said:

“This above all, to thine own self be true,  
And it must follow as the night the day,  
Thou canst not then be false to any man.”

And the universal conscience of man must endorse this testimony. *Nonconformity* is a great thing. It requires a man of character to be true unto himself. Anyone can conform. It needed a Martin Luther to lead the spirit of revolt. John Wesley was certainly greater than the uninteresting Oxford dons of his day. The spirit of protest sets thinking men upon enquiry. Jesus Christ was the greatest *nonconformist* the world has seen. We want badly in West Africa the spirit of honest protest. We want personalities who will dare to lead the people back to real life (Hayford 1979, 209-10).

Reverend Ahuma, stepfather to Sekyi, completed his secondary education at Cape Coast, went to Britain for theological training, and then returned to Cape Coast in 1888. He taught and preached under the African Methodist and Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ) before he became editor of the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* in the mid 1890s. He was also the editor of the *Gold Coast Nation*. Ahuma was the secretary of the Gold Coast ARPS.

Ahuma wrote a series of mini-biographies of eighteenth century Africans whom he considered intellectual giants, which were published in 1905 under the title *Memoirs*

*of West African Celebrities*. The book opens with an open letter to the rising generation titled “Reveille”, in which he tries to persuade West African youth to stick to their African identity by appealing to their emotions. He stirs a feeling of seriousness by vividly describing the intricate situation in which they are caught, that of having to choose between going Western or remaining African. Added to the visual images are several slogans, some drawn from well-known literature and others that were the teachings of the wise men of Greece, that also emphasize how important one’s identity should be to the individual. They include: “We think we were not made to die” from Lord Alfred Tennyson’s “In Memoriam”;<sup>38</sup> “Who steals...poor indeed” from Shakespeare’s *Othello*; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s dying words “More light! more light!”; “Know thyself” by Solon of Athens; and “Consider the end” by Chilo of Sparta. The emotional appeal is also created through an allusion to 2 Cor. 3:6 to show that paying heed to European ways and customs can only lead to the African’s death, the termination of his personality, for as Hayford explained in *The Future of West Africa* “nature did not intend it” (Hayford 1979, 209):

...Dangerous pitfalls abound wherever we turn. There is a restlessness rampant in the hearts of many; there are suppressed emotions everywhere, and these may break out for weal or woe. There is a spirit in man - a restless, irrepressible, unconquerable spirit - that craves for expansion and for larger spheres of influence. There is something in us that is ever echoing the dying words of Goethe - “More light! more light!” We break our wings against all bars that would imprison our souls. “We think we were not made to die.” There is a royalty in us that is panting for installation and coronation.

We need to think for ourselves, to find out the eternal principles that underlie every thought and idea indigenous to the nation. And since the Letter is killing our individuality inch by inch, it becomes our duty, one and all, to strive for the Spirit that giveth life, and giveth it abundantly.

We have fought valiantly for what we deemed were our Ancestral Rights in the past, and would fight again, if those rights were menaced tomorrow - but the greatest calamity of West Africa that must be combated tooth and nail, we feel, is the imminent Loss of Ourselves.

Who steals my purse steals trash

.....

But he that filches from me my good name  
 Robs me of that which not enriches him  
 And makes me poor indeed.

Rather let men rob our lands if possible, but let us see that they do not rob us of ourselves. They do so when we are taught to despise our own Names, Institutions, Customs and Laws, even when these do not in any way conflict with the Christian faith and European civilization. The days are coming, however, when not to stand by the nation and its true life shall mean the eternal forfeiture of all claim to respect and reverence. To you, therefore, let us sound the loud Bugle-Call to wake up and prepare for the fray; and the best of all preparation must ever be that of the soul: for “The soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul.”

“Know thyself.” While we are moving heaven and earth to acquire knowledge and information, it is a crowing shame that we know so little of our own country. We must exploit ourselves if we would win in the end. The objective is the progress and advancement, the success and prosperity of West Africa. Ever keep that in view, ever “Consider the end.” (Ahuma 1979, 433-34).

From the above, it can be seen that Ahuma, like many other nationalists after him, perceived West Africa as a nation. But his concept of nationality shifted, within and across texts, from the broad continental level to the narrow territorial level. In his *The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness* (1911), he talked of Gold Coast as a nation. In it he argued, as in *Memoirs of West African Celebrities*, that a return to traditional ways was synonymous with the highest conception of progress and advancement: “...the easiest way to become civilized, refined and enlightened is to endeavour at all times, in all places and circumstances, to remain a true-born West African - nothing more, nothing less” (Ahuma 1971, 9). He pleaded: “Our highest ambition must be to...collect together whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report in the systems, customs, laws, methods, processes, and general economy of things that obtain on our soil, and to strive in unity and in the bond of peace to encompass the redemption and regeneration of our nation” (Ahuma 1971, 12).

Sarbah was a Ghanaian who studied law in Britain and was called to the bar in 1887. He returned to Gold Coast in the late 1880s and became one of the founders of the ARPS and a member of the Gold Coast Legislative Council in 1901. Like his fellow nationalists, Sarbah strongly believed that the Gold Coast had well-established cultural, legal, and political institutions that should play a significant role in the development process. Like Ahuma, he was involved in the ARPS’s opposition to British interference with the traditional system of land holding. He believed that traditional society had well-

developed concepts of representation and delegation, rights and obligations. In addition to starting the newspapers *The Gold Coast People* and the *Gold Coast Weekly* in 1891 and 1901 respectively, Sarbah wrote the books *Fanti Customary Laws* (1897) and *Fanti National Constitution* (1906) which both deal, like Hayford's *Gold Coast Native Institutions*, with customary law. Sarbah was particularly impressed by the continuity of the laws and customs of the Fanti and argued that only when these were incorporated would there be any meaningful colonial administration in the Gold Coast (Edsman 1979).

Sarbah argued that traditional society was democratic; chiefs were elected by the people and could be destooled. Furthermore, institutions such as the elders and the state council fulfilled functions which could be understood and appreciated by the British, that is, from a western point of view (Edsman 1979). In *Fanti National Constitution*, he admonished: "To smash up or gradually undermine aboriginal authority, to degrade or belittle African rulers, although professing to govern through them, can only end in the failure of European rule and the demoralization of Africans" (Sarbah 1969, 280).

Sekyi completed secondary school education at Mfantshipim School in Cape Coast then joined the University of London in 1910. He graduated from there three years later with an honours in philosophy. He returned to Cape Coast for two years during which he was engaged in the study of African traditional society then went to London again in 1915 where he qualified as a barrister. In 1918, he joined University College to study for the Masters degree in Philosophy. Sekyi, a member of the Aristotelian Society from 1918 to 1956, was also a leader of the Gold Coast branch of NCBWA in the 1920s. He "wrote several political poems and articles on topics ranging from customary law to principles of literary criticism, and was a popular guest speaker at youth and literary clubs" (Langley 1979, 242).

Some of his articles appeared in the *African Times and Orient Review* in 1917 under the title "The Future of Subject Peoples". These articles argued for the retention of the barter trade, respect, conservatism and communalism that characterised African traditional society. Sekyi emphasized:

Africans, Asiatics, Europeans, Americans, each group of peoples has its natural and normal environment, and within each large group there are smaller groups with distinct characteristics, and therefore different modes of life. Let each social group develop along the lines marked out for them

by their unwesternised and therefore undemoralised ancestors, accepting from the West only such institutions as can be adapted to, and not such as cannot but alter, their national life (Sekyi 1979, 250).

Adopting a vindicationist tone, Sekyi argued, like Blyden, that the African's contribution to human civilization was basically moral:

...I wish to speak to the African....Let him be proud of his African soul, his black soul, the soul that evolved all that has tamed a good deal of the aggressiveness that has heretofore characterized the lighter peoples. Let him seek always to remain African, for that which makes him African that which for convenience I will call Africanity, always has been, and always will be, the leaven with which the crude meal of humanity can be leavened....Africa was old when Europe was young: reflection therefore is African, whilst impulse is European. Let us, the children of Africa, by remaining true to our Africanity, help to raise the children of Europe, our juniors, in the art of living socially, above the impulses of their unreflective social youth (Sekyi 1979, 251).

Sekyi's position on traditional legal institutions is outlined by Langley:

[He] restated the political and moral supremacy of customary law over colonial statute law, seeing the latter as a principal instrument in the usurpation of Akan-Fanti sovereignty, in the destruction of traditional social institutions, and in the erosion of the rights the individual enjoyed in customary law. Indeed, Sekyi tended to view the development of English law in Africa as a catalogue of mistakes caused by ignorance or deliberate sabotage of customary law...he took a nationalistic view of customary law (Langley 1979, 50).

Popularly known as 'Zik of Africa', Azikiwe, an Ibo, was to become the first President of Nigeria. He attended mission schools in Onitsha, Lagos and Calabar. In 1925, he went to the US for further studies where he registered at Storer College before transferring to Lincoln University, and subsequently, Howard University in Washington, D.C. where he attained his first degree. He then began teaching political science at Lincoln University, a time during which he obtained postgraduate degrees from Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania. He worked as a reporter for the *Baltimore Afro-American* as well as *Philadelphia Tribune* and with the Associated Negro Press in Chicago before he left the US at the end of 1934.

From the US, Azikiwe returned to Nigeria but shortly after moved to Gold Coast where he became the editor of the *Accra African Morning Post* in 1935. In 1938, he

returned to Nigeria and began a chain of newspapers that he used to attack racism in the African colonies while promoting nationalist fervour. According to Coleman,

Azikiwe centered his journalism on the theme of racial inequalities and injustices and the need for positive action to right historic wrongs. His combative and provocative journalism was the principal source of his fame and power, and the most crucial single precipitant of the Nigerian awakening (Coleman 1965, 223).

The most popular of Azikiwe's newspapers was the *West African Pilot* (Azikiwe 1961). Wauthier attributes this popularity to Zik's column, "Inside Stuff" (Wauthier 1966).

Azikiwe also authored *Renasant Africa*, a text claimed to have been "the bible of young Nigerians in the forties and fifties" (Bown 1973, 13). Bown observes: "Its language is apocalyptic, its style grandiose and its thought often diffuse" (Bown 1973, 13). In this book which censures colonialism, Azikiwe, like his contemporaries, spelled out the dangers that came with *imitating* western culture:

...the crystallization of an inferiority complex is certain because there is a process of Europeanization and de-Africanization. In case of the Europeanized Native, he or she has contempt for the Native culture-complex, and the resultant experience is a disintegration of Native social institutions (Azikiwe 1968, 66).

It was acceptable, however, to *emulate* western culture, which forms the essence of the rhetoric surveyed in this section:

In this case, what seems to be the best of the imperialist's culture-complex is assimilated and, with the amalgam, there is an adaptive process which makes the Native to use his reasoning faculty to effect.

When the Native questions the inconsistency of the Imperialist State, or challenges the dogma of racial superiority, or criticises any religious organization from abroad, or refuses to agree in principle or in practice with any policy of the imperialist State, it is an indication that the emulative processes are at work (*ibid.*).

Azikiwe also outlined his philosophy of a New Africa. According to him, the following five things are preconditions for the renaissance of Africans and the reformation of African society. First, the people must learn to respect the views of others; in other words, they must cultivate a spiritual balance. Second, the society must become democratic—devoid of racial, national, societal, religious, political, economic, and ethical

prejudices, and even more so, tribal prejudice which has hitherto impeded the social unity of the African peoples. Africans need to recognize one another for just that—Africans’—irrespective of where the person was born. In other words, there is need for social regeneration in the African society. Third, Africa needs to work towards economic self-sufficiency. Wealth should be more equally distributed in society, the profit motive should no longer guide and control the aims in life of the African, and labour should become a more dignified thing. Fourth, mental emancipation must take place. In this, we not only see arguments similar to those in the vindicationist literature that had appeared earlier, but also echoes of Blyden’s philosophy of education:

Tell [the African] that he has made definite contributions to history. Educate him to appreciate the fact that iron was discovered by Africans; that the conception of one God was initiated by Africans; that Africans ruled the world from 763 to 713 B.C.; that while Europe slumbered during ‘the dark ages’ a great civilization flourished on the banks of the Niger, extending from the salt mines of Terghazza in Morocco to Lake Chad, right to the Atlantic. Narrate to him the lore of Ethiopia, of Ghana, Melle, Mellestine, Songhay.

Let him relish with the rest of the world that while Oxford and Cambridge were in their inchoate stages, the University of Sankore in Timbuctoo welcomed ‘scholars and learned men from all the over the Moslem world’, as Sir Percy puts it.

The Renascent African will be better off with men and women who are trained to appreciate these facts of African history, than with those who spend a lifetime in Europe or America, for purposes of mis-education and devaluation of African culture and civilization (Azikiwe 1968, 9-10).

Azikiwe returns to this issue of mental emancipation in a later section of the book where he asserts:

Let the African know that he had a glorious past and that he has a glorious future. Teach the African to know his capabilities and his rôle in the scheme of things. Let the African realize that Burns was right when he said, ‘A man’s a man for a’ that.’

Rid the African of all complexes which would retard his growth towards manhood on the theatre of nations. Let him follow Socrates: *Gnothi seauton* (know thyself), and like a sleeping giant let him awake and harness his power for his own good and for the good of mankind. This will create mental emancipation, for mental slavery is worse than physical slavery (Azikiwe 1968, 25).

The fifth prerequisite for the renaissance of Africans and the reformation of African society was political resurgence.

Of rhetorical significance in the above is the quotation of Robert Burns' poem "A man's a man for a' that". This poem is also quoted by Ahuma in *The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness* as well as by Hayford in *The Future of West Africa*. Also significant is Azikiwe's use of the slogan 'know thyself', which is attributed to wise men of Greece, among them, Solon of Athens, Socrates, and Chilo of Sparta. As was seen earlier, the slogan had been used in 1905 by Ahuma in *Memoirs of West African Celebrities*. It is thus emerging that lines from the poem "A man's a man for a' that", and the Greek slogan 'know thyself', are characteristic features of African renaissance rhetoric.

Yet another significant rhetorical device in Azikiwe's text is the simile "like a sleeping giant let him awake...". Dunton observes that vocabulary that is militaristic or quasi-militaristic in nature is a major feature of African Renaissance literature. He gives the example of the statement "the rising in the Congo is a sign of the awakening of the African lion" which Felix Moumié made in a speech that he delivered on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1959 (Moumié' 2003).<sup>39</sup> The following year, Nkrumah told students at Ghana College in Tamale: "We have had for several centuries the impact of the outside world on the ancient cultural traditions of Africa. Now the African personality is awakening and like a giant refreshed after a long sleep, to assert the place of Africa in the world and in the destiny of mankind" (Nkrumah 1997, 1:195). Many texts devoted to the nationalist cause tended to use the concept of a sleeping giant to represent the African personality whose impact has been suppressed. Azikiwe did so in the early stages of the political nationalist movement when he remarked in his goodwill message in George Padmore's *Colonial and Coloured Unity: History of the Pan-African Congress* (1963): "The erstwhile sleeping giant is gradually rising from the stupor and debris of the past..." (Azikiwe 1963, ii). This representation of the African personality as the 'sleeping king of the jungle', was intended to instil pride and confidence in the Africans while alerting the colonialists to the kind of challenge that lay ahead once Africa had attained her independence.

Faduma was from Sierra Leone. Like Hayford, he was educated at Wesleyan Boys High School where he too came under the influence of Blyden's ideas. Thereafter,

he joined University of London and later Yale University where he studied divinity at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. He taught in several Afro-American schools between 1895 and 1913. During this time, Faduma was a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, the American Negro Academy which was established by Crummell, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME). He returned to Sierra Leone in 1915 where he lived until 1935 when he went to settle in the US.

In an article titled “African Negro Education” which appeared in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* in August 1918, Faduma propagated an eclectic education for Africans, emphasizing like the foregoing nationalists, the need to guard against slavishly imitating Europeans:

The African should have the advantage of all that is best in the educational methods of the twentieth century. *He should not slavishly imitate but should carefully adopt and adapt* what has been found good for the Englishman so that in addition to being a native he may have the doggedness and love of justice of the typical Englishman. To these qualities he needs the ruggedness of character and the breadth and depth of thought of the Scotchman, the practicalness and many sidedness of the American, the concentration, organization and scientific precision of the German, the esthetics, politeness and good manners of the French (Faduma 1979, 191).

He described the effect that such an education would have on its students:

The effect of such an education will be the production of an African Negro of a superior type, an African still, a lover of his people and other peoples, free from narrow race prejudice, an imitator and conservator of all that is excellent in the foreigner, and a retainer of all that is best in his own people (Faduma 1979, 191-2).

The ideas of the above West African nationalists were well known in Ghana. They were highlighted in E. Brown’s *The Gold Coast and Ashanti Reader* (1929), which was used as a school-book in Ghana. Bown describes the book and its impact:

...the illustrations are unexpected; they are of traditional African scenes and of notable political events, such as the founding of the Congress of West Africa. The work itself is based on three pillars: material about customs written by himself; proverbs; and quotations from African authors. The proverbs are fully interpreted and explained and are neatly aligned with English parallels. For instance: “The sudden growth of a tree

is due to the support of an existing stump” is compared with the English proverb “Kissing goes by favour”. The quotations are from Reindorf, from the ardent nationalist S.R.B. Attoh-Ahuma and from contemporary newspapers. This book was in Ghanaian schools for a generation, and is one explanation why many Ghanaians growing up in the 1930s (such as Dr Nkrumah) were familiar with past African writers. Without knowledge of such a reader, one might underestimate the degree of familiarity with past African authors which existed in the 1930s and 1940s (Bown 1971, 47-8).

The foregoing West Africans were, however, not the only ones to defend African civilization. Others Reverend Samuel Johnson in *A History of the Yorubas* (1921) and J. Danquah in *The Akan Doctrine of God* (1944). Both texts focus on indigenous religious systems, seeking to show that like the Europeans the Yorubas and the Akan believed in God. Legal institutions are the focus of A. Ajisafe’s *The Laws and Customs of the Yoruba People* (1924) and Danquah’s *Akan Laws and Customs* (1928). In East Africa, Kenyatta defends the institutions of the Gikuyu in *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938) as does Parmenas Mockerie who particularly elevates their political institutions in *An African Speaks for his Own People* (1934) by arguing that those institutions were democratic.

African renaissance literature, like that which was used to vindicate the black man and his culture during the slave era and following emancipation, provided a good understanding of the nature of African traditional institutions and customs.

### **3.2.2 The Harlem Renaissance**

Much Afro-American literature has been characterized by a spiritual identification with Africa. This was the case with the slave songs where Africa—‘Jordan over the river’—was conceptualised as the place of freedom:

These often couched their protest against slavery in the figurative language of the Old Testament. The slaves compared themselves to the people of Israel in Egyptian bondage; ‘Heav’n’, ‘Jerusalem’ or ‘Zion’ stood for an Africa which had receded into a mythical past. The widespread concept that the slaves would return to Africa after their death was expressed in the idea of going to ‘Heav’n’ or ‘Jerusalem’ after crossing the Atlantic called, the ‘River Jordan’ (Geiss 1974, 28).

It was also the case with Harlem Renaissance literature. This literature, which emerged during the 1920s, intended to establish a positive Afro-American identity that would in turn boost race solidarity. Alain Locke's *New Negro* (1925), an anthology of black writers, poets and artists, announced that a new spirit of self-awareness, artistic consciousness, and racial pride existed among the young American Negroes (Kellner 1984, 266). A year later, Langston Hughes declared in his essay "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain":

...it is the duty of the younger Negro artist...to change through the force of his art that old whispering 'I want to be white,' hidden in the aspirations of his people, to 'Why should I want to be white? I am a Negro—and beautiful!...We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame....We know we are beautiful. And ugly too. The tom-tom cries and the tom-tom laughs....We build our temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand on top of the mountain, free within ourselves (Hughes 1984, xxiv).

Hughes, who made several trips to Africa and had detailed knowledge of emerging African literatures (Howe 1998), expresses his African consciousness and pride in the African heritage in the poem "The Negro Speaks of Rivers". Darryl Pinckney observes that this poem's purpose is "to make the black known" (Pinckney 1998, 601). It has also been observed that the poem links together "ancestral 'memories' of the Euphrates, the Congo, the Nile and the Mississippi" (Gates and McKay 1998, 105). Janheinz Jahn observes that it reflects "the spiritual bond between all black people (in the vein of Garvey)" (Jahn 1968, 194). Referring to the poem "The Negro" Pinckney notes:

The use of 'black' and the invocation of Africa were defiant gestures back in the days when many blacks described themselves as brown. When Hughes answered Sandburg's 'Nigger' ('I am the nigger,/Singer of Songs...') with 'I am a Negro,/Black as the night is black,/ Black like the depths of my Africa' ('Negro') he challenged the black middle class with his absorption in slave heritage (Pinckney 1998, 601).

One sees in Hughes' poems, an underlying belief similar to the one held by Equiano and his colleagues when they identified themselves as 'Sons of Africa'—that one was as much as native of Africa by descent as by birth.

The theme of black identity also emerges in the novels *Home to Harlem* (1928) and *Banjo* (1929) by Claude McKay, which are summarized by Kellner:

*Home to Harlem* details the adventures of the elemental, hedonistic Jake, who has recently returned to Harlem after deserting the war in France, and the efforts of the West Indian Ray to make intellectual and moral sense of the world. Although each character represents a separate mode of existence, each is dependent on the other as they work together on the railroad; enjoy the cabarets, house parties, bars, and women of Harlem; and confront the power and exploitation of the larger white society. Thus, ‘instinct’ and ‘intellect’ are meant to be joined, complementary elements in Claude McKay’s search for an authentic and viable black identity (Kellner 1984, 173).

Set on the waterfront of Marseilles (Vieux Port) among a band of beach boys from the West Indies, Africa, and America (a microcosm of the black diaspora), Claude McKay’s *Banjo* is the immediate extension of the themes and issues he first presented in *Home to Harlem* (1928). Again, the same symbolic protagonists (Ray – intellect; Banjo – instinct) act and articulate McKay’s analysis of the black identity. Only now McKay’s canvas is international and his criticism of French racism and moral decadence extends to Western capitalism and the political and cultural imperialism of the West (Kellner 1984, 23).

The endurance of black people is also captured by Harlem Renaissance literature. Hughes’ poem ‘I, Too’ “indicts white America, even taunts it with the steady belief that blacks will overcome simply by ‘keeping on’” (Pinckney 1998, 601). The African consciousness that characterized Harlem Renaissance literature was also to become a feature of Négritude literature. As will be seen below, the Afro-West Indian and black intellectuals from Francophone Africa who produced Négritude literature were familiar with Harlem Renaissance literature.

### **3.2.3 The Négritude Movement**

Négritude is mainly associated with Francophone African Literature. Irele explains that Négritude can be taken to refer to “the writings of the French-speaking black intellectuals in their affirmation of a black personality, and to designate the complex of ideas associated with their effort to define a new set of references for the collective experience and awareness of black people” (Irele 1981, 68). In these writings, Irele observes, “the preoccupation with the black experience which has provided a common ground base for the imaginative expression of black writers develops into a

passionate exaltation of the black race, associated with a romantic myth of Africa” (Irele 1981, 68).

Négritude has its roots in the Indigenist movement of Haiti, which in its early years mainly glorified native Afro-Haitian folk culture and in later years dealt mainly with the social aspect of Afro-American life. The Indigenist movement was initiated by intellectuals who had studied in Paris where they embraced the anti-bourgeois exoticist movements. These intellectuals were also influenced by Jean Price-Mars, author of *Ainsi parla l'oncle (Thus Spoke the Uncle)* (1928), a text that “affirmed both the basic cultural unity of black Africa and the strength of its persisting cultural influence in Haiti” (Howe 1998, 83). Price-Mars was concerned with the cultural identity of Africans and with preserving what was unique and universally valuable in this identity against American cultural encroachment following Haiti’s occupation by US marines in 1915. Geiss explains:

Price-Mars found traces of this heritage, greatly transformed, among the peasants and smallholders, most of whom were Black, and especially in the Voodoo cult...he gave a lead to his disoriented fellow-countrymen by extolling this African heritage. He elevated to the rank of an independent and valuable culture the customs, hitherto despised as semi-heathen, practised by the rural population, which in their complexion and way of life were closer to their original African homeland. Under the obvious influence of Du Bois, whose two small but very important works *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) and *The Negro* (1915) appear in his bibliography, he introduced for the first time (apart from the Frenchman Delafosse) a historical dimension into the thinking of francophone pan-Africans, by referring to the early African kingdoms in western Sudan, Ghana, Mali and Songhai (Geiss 1974, 317).

A further influence on the Haitian intellectuals was the Harlem Renaissance.

The group that initiated the Négritude movement included Afro-West Indian and black intellectuals from Francophone Africa residing in Paris. Like the indigenists, they were influenced by the literary works that emerged from the Harlem Renaissance. These include the poems that appeared in the *La Revue du Monde Noir*, the literary journal of the Comité Universel de l’Institut Nègre de Paris. This journal, which emerged in 1931 and was edited by Paulette Nardal from Martinique, was published in both French and English (Geiss 1974). Contributors included René Maran, Price-Mars and McKay

(Wauthier 1966). *Les Continents*, the journal of the Ligue Universelle pour la Défense de la Race Noire (LUDRN), a political group founded in 1924 in Paris by the Beninese Kojo Houénou<sup>40</sup>, also published poems by the Harlem poets. On the prose side, the novel *Banjo* had significant impact.

Maran's novel *Batouala* (1922) also had significant impact on the Négritude writers. Maran was born in Martinique in 1887 but moved with his parents to Africa in 1890 then to France in 1891. He studied in France, where he was also involved in the various pan-African movements in Paris. He then got a job in the French colonial administration in Central Africa. *Batouala* was first translated from French to English in 1922. Irele observes that unlike all previous imaginative writing in Martinique, the novel presented Africa with symbolic power and revealed a new feeling of passionate communion with the African scene, people and lifestyle. He further observes:

...The...stylistic traits...participate in its African atmosphere. In his dialogue, he recasts...French...to make it capture the...tone and...feel of speech of his African characters. Thus half a century before Achebe, the African proverb had made its appearance in a novel written in a European language.

...the...structure and movement...capture...those elements in the oral tradition of Africa which give it its distinctive flavour....a style full of...insistent repetitions of words and sonal values weaving a pattern of refrains and of alliterations...

We have then, in *Batouala*, something far in advance of exotism, something more than a mere outside representation of a foreign atmosphere...an evocation that goes a long way towards restituting the inner quality of life in a specific human universe. Maran not only portrayed Africa...but by integrating into the whole design of the work such elements as would break through the confines of an externally contrived representation, takes his readers further into the intimate recesses of African experience.

This, more than the explicit anti-colonial passages, makes Maran an innovator in modern African literature...the creator of the modern African novel. He pointed the way...to...African writers in French who came after him, by achieving a reconversion of the European language to render immediate the atmosphere of Africa...Maran also created an African, for the first time in French literary history, as a true tragic figure, endowed with an authentic imaginative life. Maran impresses his hero upon our feelings and...our intelligence. The African...comes alive as a hero...a man with feeling...passions...his own manner of apprehending the world (Irele 1981, 131-32).

Those who initiated the Négritude movement include the Senegalese Léopold Senghor, Aimé Césaire from Martinique and Leon-Gontran Damas from French Guiana who, together, started the journal *L'Étudiant Noir* in 1934. In it, “for the first time they set out their own literary conception of Négritude – the stress on all African elements, especially the cult of Black womanhood, the rejection of modern civilization, and the glorification of the wild African landscape” (Geiss 1974, 319). It was not until 1939 however that the term Négritude, coined by Césaire, first appeared in a text, which was Césaire’s poem *Cahier d’un retour au pays natal*, translated under the title *Return to My Native Land* in 1969 (Irele 1981). Césaire has been described as a poet of the black consciousness, whose literary work is geared towards formulating for the West Indian a new form of historical existence. *Return to My Native Land*, in particular, is an account of self-discovery:

...*Cahier* recounts a quest – it reveals itself indeed as the epic of a singular consciousness. It retraces for us the exploration of the tortured landscape of the West Indian mind in an exceptional act of introspection, as well as its movement towards a sense of direction and purpose, its tormented groping towards a sense of fulfilment (Irele 1981, 134-5).

Césaire conceived négritude as a way of being: “...the simple recognition of the fact of being black, and the acceptance of this fact, of our destiny as black people, of our history, and our culture.”<sup>41</sup> Senghor was later to define Négritude as “the cultural heritage, the values, and above all the *spirit* of Negro-African civilization” (Senghor 1968, 252).

The Négritude movement explained and defended African traditions and customs. It glorified African culture and cultural achievements, the African landscape and the colour black, and exposed the decline of white civilisation with the hope of recovering the lost cultural identity of colonized black societies. Further, it emphasized and popularised the cultural unity of Africa. Many of the ideas were aired in the journal *Présence Africaine* which was launched in 1947 by Alioune Diop, an intellectual from Senegal. This journal is described by Mercer Cook and Stephen Henderson in their book *The Militant Black Writer in Africa and the United States* (1969):

...this magazine provided a vehicle for the dialogue between whites and blacks; for a defense of the black man’s cultural values, negritude, African personality, unity, and independence. Transcending differences of ideology, nationality, creed, and language, it ardently sought in negritude a

common denominator for English-speaker and French-speaker, revolutionary and moderate (Cook and Henderson 1969, 16-17).

In his paper “Concepts of Diaspora and Alienation as Privileged Themes in Négritude Literature” Racine notes that “most of the Negritude poets believe that slavery, colonization and the attempt at assimilation have exiled them culturally by imposition of Western values” (Racine 1982, 101). Ngara observes that the poetry is “preoccupied with the problem of colour: the beauty of the Negro race, the courage of black people, the warmth and humanity of the black race and so on and so forth” (Ngara 1990, 24). Yet another observation is by Mphahlele who notes that the Négritude poet “extols his ancestors, ancestral masks, African wood carvings and bronze art and tries to recover the moorings of his oral literature” (Bown 1973, 39), while Cora Agatucci observes that the poetry presents Africa metaphorically as a woman and idealizes pre-colonial Africa as a pastoral utopia harmonizing humankind and nature (Agatucci 2005). Jahn notes that in the process of introducing African elements into poetic art, Senghor, Césaire and Damas took a decisive step forward because they achieved a reversal of values, and saw Africa no longer as only exotic and ‘primitive’ but as a specific culture which they must search for and rediscover (Jahn 1968).

By highlighting that which was both unique and valuable in African culture, Négritude literature disproved the notion of African inferiority, which crumbled the justification used by the colonisers and hastened decolonisation. It contributed to a positive self-image among Africans, which was a prerequisite for them to fight colonialism. Négritude literature highlighted the cultural unity of Africans, which later became a basis for advocating African unity.

### **3.2.4 The Idea of an African Personality**

The main aim of those who discuss the concept of African Personality, which was first formulated by Blyden, has been the preservation and development of African individuality. Blyden used the phrase ‘African Personality’ for the first time in 1893 in a lecture titled “Study and Race” which he delivered before the Young Men’s Literary Association of Sierra Leone in Freetown (Lynch 1967). The idea of an African

personality was perceived by later nationalists to be a more solid basis for African unity than that of Négritude. This is because the concept of African Personality accommodates the entire continent, that is, it accommodates both blacks from sub-Saharan Africa as well as the Arabs north of the Sahara.

Blyden argued that all races are equal; at the same time, each has certain inherent traits which members should develop for the ultimate good of humanity (Lynch 1971). In *West Africa before Europe*, he acknowledged that environmental factors had indeed caused differences among the races with regard to their physical characteristics and cultural traits but these differences do not imply that any of the races is superior or inferior to the other. Rather, the different races are complementary, each having its own culture to contribute to the totality of human civilization (July 1968). His position on the equality and uniqueness of each race is cited by Irele from the book *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*:

The [African and European] races are not moving in the same groove, with an immeasurable distance between them, but on parallel lines. They will never meet in the plane of their activities so as to coincide in capacity or performance. They are not identical, as some think, but unequal; they are distinct but equal... (Blyden 1981, 98)<sup>42</sup>.

Blyden argued that the African race was unique in terms of its traditions, instincts and geographical position. He highlighted the following as the shared characteristics of Africans on the continent. They are all religious, evident in the way they treat 'outsiders' as though they were part of community. This is also evident in that Egypt had not only been the stronghold of Christianity after Jerusalem fell but was also the source of the noblest and greatest of the Fathers of the Christian Church. In line with this, it was Africa to regenerate the world. In his words:

Africa may yet prove to be the spiritual conservatory of the world...when the civilised nations, in consequence of their wonderful material development, shall have had their spiritual perceptions darkened and their spiritual susceptibilities blunted through the agency of a captivating and absorbing materialism, it may be, that they may have to resort to Africa to recover some of the simple elements of faith; for the promise of that land is that she shall stretch forth her hands unto God (Blyden "Ethiopia Stretching Out Her Hands Unto God, 246).<sup>43</sup>

Africans are also great in their vitality, in their power of endurance, and in their prospect of perpetuity, he proclaimed in his lecture “Study and Race” (Blyden 1971).<sup>44</sup> Blyden also maintained that Africans are neither revengeful nor arrogant.

### 3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has traced the relationship between imperialism on the one hand and the emergence of Pan-Africanist rhetoric on the other. It is a survey of the key intellectual and cultural themes that were addressed by Pan-Africanist discourse prior to the issues of African liberation and unification. The chapter has examined various forms of prose and public speaking as well as verse that were produced by black scholars, writers and nationalists in the diaspora and on the continent between 1787 and 1945 in response to the ideological formations underlying slavery and colonialism<sup>45</sup>. In particular, these texts refuted the European claim of African inferiority and proclaimed pride in the black race and its culture. They elevated African civilization, comparing and contrasting it with European civilization. These were done with the aim of ending slavery and discrimination, boosting black pride, and salvaging the African identity. The literature helped instil an African consciousness, which in turn strengthened the determination to end colonial rule.

The survey has found that Pan-Africanist literature that deals with intellectual and cultural themes is marked by figurative language. Common is the use of the *synecdoche* ‘Ethiopia(n)’. In his review of *Memoirs of West African Celebrities* which appeared in the *Gold Coast Leader* dated 7<sup>th</sup> April 1906, Hayford pointed out that blacks had rightfully been known as Ethiopians since the days of Herodotus and Homer.<sup>46</sup> This *synecdoche* is found in several vindicationist texts written by Afro-Americans as well as in African renaissance literature produced by Africans in Africa.<sup>47</sup> Another common trope is metaphor. Négritude poetry presents Africa metaphorically as a woman while African renaissance literature presents the African Personality as a ‘sleeping giant/lion’. In *The Future of West Africa*, Hayford presents de-Africanization as a ‘wasting disease’. A third trope is personification. Hayford’s personification of mammon in a text that has a moral and social goal indicates an influence of English literary tradition.<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile,

his plea to West Africans not to become over materialistic reveals an influence of Blyden's philosophy.<sup>49</sup>

The survey has found that vindicationist literature employs logical proof to convince audiences that the African and his culture are not inferior. It cites Egypt and Ethiopia as examples of the highest achievement of civilization. It cites outstanding black personalities such as Cugoano, Anton William Amo, Jacobus Capitein, Hannibal, St. Augustine, Ignatius Sancho, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Banneker, Garnet and Nat Turner who have achieved equally to outstanding white personalities. This literature also cites the testimony of experts on the history of world civilization who maintain that civilization began in Africa. It also employs facts. In *West African Countries and Peoples* for example, Horton provides scientific data that shows there are no physiological and mental differences based upon race while Scholes provides data that shows that the different races have the same brain sizes in his *Glimpses of the Ages*.

The survey has also found that African renaissance literature employs pathetic proof to persuade Africans to retain their African identity. This proof includes allusions to the Bible. In *Memoirs of West African Celebrities* Ahuma alludes to 2 Cor. 3:6 in an attempt to show that paying heed to European ways and customs will result in the extinction of the African personality. This is the same message that Hayford attempts to pass in *The Future of West Africa* when he alludes to Matt. 6:24 where Jesus warned his disciples that they could not serve two masters at the same time. Similarly, Africans cannot be Africans and Europeans at the same time; racial identity is an either/or situation. Biblical allusion is a persuasive technique that has been adopted in African unification discourse.

The next chapter surveys literature dealing with the issues of self-government and political independence in Africa.

## Chapter Four

### Historical Context of African Unification Oratory: Part II

#### 4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the intellectual and cultural themes of Pan-Africanist discourse. This chapter focuses on the political themes. Between 1946 and 1963, there was a heightened struggle for African liberation from colonial rule. This struggle was fanned by several factors, the most important perhaps being the presence of a western-educated elite that was familiar with the values of western civilization. William Hanna explains:

The ideas of freedom, equality, and popular sovereignty, learned in a European context (reflecting the democratization of Europe), were applied to Africa and used to justify nationalism. Modern intellectuals (including such men as Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah, and Julius Nyerere) emerged and became the vanguard of nationalism (Hanna 1964, 5).

Those who studied in the US became exposed to a Pan-Africanist discourse that articulated the doctrine of ‘Africa for the Africans’. They were also exposed to the vindicationist literature surveyed in the previous chapter, which made them ever more aware of the fact that the Africans and their culture were not inferior and thus Africans need not remain colonized. The defeat of Britain and France in the Second World War was to further reveal that there was nothing superior about those nations. The Atlantic Charter, created by Roosevelt and Churchill, had in 1941 reiterated President Wilson’s 1919 principle of self-determination, that is, the right of all peoples in the world to choose the governments under which they would live, a principle that was included in the UN Charter in 1945. Yet another factor that motivated African nationalist movements was Ghana’s attainment of independence in 1957. Within the next four years, 18 other African countries achieved their independence.

Much of the Pan-Africanist rhetoric that emerged between 1946 and 1963 thus expressed the desire for Africans to control their own affairs and it is this literature that the current chapter largely focuses on. There were however Pan-Africanist texts that

emerged at an earlier period, between the 1840s and 1945, which also articulated the objectives of self-government and independence. They include those devoted to the 'Back-to-Africa' Movement, the Pan-African Congress Movement, and the African Nationalist Movement of the early twentieth-century. These are surveyed in the first section of the chapter.

#### **4.1 Discourse on African Self-Government and Independence during the Period 1840 to 1945**

*...we are reminded of our close linkages with the part of the world within which you reside. Indeed the stirrings and fermentation of the notions of decolonisation and freedom on the African continent were significantly inspired by the courageous pioneers of African freedom in the Diaspora. It was in the year 1900 when the Trinidadian barrister Henry Sylvester Williams initiated the first Pan-African conference, in London. That conference was seminal to the political and philosophical movement of Pan-Africanism throughout the world, the catalyst that has ultimately led to the formation of the African Union, at the beginning of the 21st century.*

*The 1945 5th Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England which featured anti-colonial thinkers and activists such as George Padmore and W.E.B. Du Bois, again impacted on the young African freedom fighters and intellectuals such as Kwame Nkrumah, and gave sustenance to the struggles which finally saw the realisation of the process of African independence and freedom that started with the liberation of Ghana.*

*African freedom from the bondage of colonialism, together with the freedom of Africans in the western hemisphere evoke names such as Marcus Garvey, Theophilus Sholes, Paul Bogle, Norman Washington Manley, Alexander Bustamante, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, C.L.R James, and many more. This unity of the founding fathers, even as they had to traverse the seas, was born of the realisation that as one people with one history we are bound by the same future. It was the realisation that unless closer links were forged to work towards our betterment, we would be failing African posterity on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, in an unpardonable manner - From an address by Mbeki.<sup>50</sup>*

##### **4.1.1 The 'Back to Africa' Movement**

The 'Back-to-Africa' movement initiated the formation of nations in Africa and the acquisition of an African nationality for the settlers. In England, the movement was triggered by the need to resettle the Black Poor in their original home.<sup>51</sup> In 1783, Henry Smeathman conceived of the idea of resettling the Black Poor in Sierra Leone where he had spent four years in the previous decade. He presented his idea in *Plan of a Settlement to Be Made near Sierra Leona* (1786) in response to which Granville Sharpe wrote the tract *Memorandum on a Late Proposal for a New Settlement to Be Made on the Coast of Africa* and outlined the political constitution of this self-governing democratic settlement

in *Short Sketch of Temporary Regulations (Until Better Shall Be Proposed) for the Intended Settlement on the Grain Coast of Africa, near Sierra Leona*. In 1787, three ships set sail for and arrived in Sierra Leone (Carretta 2005).

In the US, a similar idea emerged in 1816 with the founding of the ACS, a white-dominated organization whose sole purpose was repatriating free Afro-Americans to Africa. The organization maintained that “the freedman lived in a wretched state of poverty, immorality, and ignorance and that he would be better off in Africa...It also argued that whites would only take advantage of the Afro-American, and that the separation of the two races was the only solution.”<sup>52</sup> Following the model of Sierra Leone, the ACS established Liberia in 1821, which it ruled until 1847 when the country became independent. Huberich declares: “The great object of forming these Colonies, being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent, None but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this Republic” (Huberich 1969, 71). Liberia’s independence was to acquire rhetorical significance. Henceforth, the country became one of the key symbols of black sovereignty, the others being Haiti and Ethiopia. As the oldest republic in Africa, and, subsequently, the country with the longest political experience, Liberia was usually singled out as the nation that should take up the leadership of Africa.

Many of the early black advocates of emigration were merely supporters of the ACS scheme. Among these are Paul Cuffee, Daniel Coker, Lott Cary, Newport Gardner and John Russwurm. Black initiated emigration began in the 1840s. Underlying the latter’s idea of returning to Africa was the belief that Afro-Americans constituted a nation within a nation. They argued that by breaking away from the US and establishing a Pan-African state in Africa, Afro-Americans would be able to enjoy political independence. Such a black state would win the respect of other countries. If blacks came together in such a way, they would be able to develop the natural and physical resources of their motherland and within no time, Africa would become a nation powerful enough to influence world affairs. A Pan-African state in Africa would also enhance the development of the African Personality, which was important if the African’s contribution to human civilization was to continue being felt.

One such advocate was Martin Delany, a freeborn black from Virginia who asserted the cultural distinctiveness and African heritage of black Americans. In the appendix of his treatise *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (1852), he declared: “We are a nation within a nation;—as the Poles in Russia, the Hungarians in Austria, the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch in the British dominions” (Delany 1852, n.p). This nation, he urged, should be transplanted from the US to eastern Africa. He undertook an exploratory expedition to the Niger Valley in 1858 with the goal of finding “a haven for black people where they could develop their faculties” (Weisbord 1973, 23). The prospects were published as the *Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party* in 1861. In this report, he formulated an argument that forms the core of African renaissance literature, that Africa’s development was pegged to her ability to maintain her traditional identity. In making his argument, he personified Africa as ‘she’: “Africa, to become regenerated, must have a national character, and her position among the existing nations of the earth will depend mainly upon the high standard she may gain compared with them in all her relations, morally, religiously, politically and commercially” (Delany 1974, 165). He further declared: “Our policy must be...Africa for the African race and black men to rule them.” He then defined what he meant by black men: “By black men I mean, men of African descent who claim an identity with the race” (*ibid.*). Bishop Henry Turner, a Pan-Africanist born in South Carolina, became a bishop in the AME in America in 1880. He had affiliated himself with the ACS in 1874. During the 1890s he became the principal agitator and leading spirit of the back-to-Africa idea (Weisbord 1973). His policy was that of Delany: ‘Africa for the Africans’. In 1883, he advocated the need for a Pan-African state ‘that the world will respect and [whose] glory and influence will tell upon the destinies of the race from pole to pole; our children’s children can rest securely under [its] aegis, whether in Africa, Europe, Asia, America or upon the high seas’ (Redkey 1970, 46-7). In an address delivered in December 1895 in Atlanta at the Congress on Africa sponsored by the Gammon Theological Seminary, he declared:

There is no manhood future in the United States for the Negro....two or three million of us should return to the land of our ancestors and establish our own nations, civilization, laws, customs, styles of manufacture, and

not only give up the world...the benefit of our individuality, but build up social conditions peculiarly our own...(Turner 1982, 23).

Henry Turner believed the area of settlement should be Liberia. Under his inspiration, the International Migration Society established in Alabama in 1894 sent over 500 emigrants to Liberia by 1896 (Weisbord 1973).

Another significant personality who supported the idea of emigrating to Africa is Blyden. He felt that by forming an independent united nation, blacks would be able to retain their race integrity and individuality, a point he emphasized in his address “Ethiopia Stretching Out Her Hands Unto God: or Africa’s Service to the World”, which he delivered to the ACS in May 1880. Africa was to him the real home of black peoples:

The exiled Negro, then, has a home in Africa. Africa is his, if he will. He may ignore it. He may consider that he is divested of any right to it; but this will not alter his relations to that country, or impair the integrity of his title. He may be content to fight against the fearful odds in this country; but he is the proprietor of a vast domain. He is entitled to a whole continent by his constitution and antecedents (Blyden “Ethiopia Stretching Out Her Hands Unto God”, 247).

In his speech “The African Must Advance By Methods of His Own” which he delivered to the Liberia College in 1881<sup>53</sup>, Blyden proclaimed that it was only in Africa where the black man “may, with less interruption from surrounding influences, find out his place and his work, develop his peculiar gifts and powers” and where black youth would be educated “upon the basis of their own idiosyncrasies, with a sense of race individuality, self-respect, and liberty” (Blyden 1973, 48). In his paper “A Comparative Approach to the Study of the African Diaspora” Harris notes that Blyden made several trips to India to encourage Africans to return to the continent (Harris 1982).

In particular, Blyden advocated resettlement in Liberia. He claimed that God had taken settlers to Liberia so that they may lay the foundation of future empire in Africa. He made the claim in his speech “Liberia as She Is” that he delivered before the Common Council and Citizens of Monrovia in 1857. In it, he observed: “[Liberia] is the scene of a struggle; a race, down-trodden and oppressed, struggles for a name and for a place among the nations of the earth” (Blyden “Liberia as She Is”, 84). Blyden believed that only

when the races were separated would they be able to maximize their genius, therefore, only pureblooded Negroes, the Southerners in the case of the US, ought to emigrate to Liberia. He declared in *Liberia's Offering* (1862): "I believe nationality to be an ordinance of nature; and no people can rise to an influential position among the nations without a distinct and efficient nationality. Cosmopolitanism has never effected anything" (Blyden 1968, 211). Having Europeans in Liberia "would be the victory of the gross and material over the pure and ideal; the triumph of commercial greed over national tastes and predilections" he declared in an article published in *African Repository* in 1872 (Blyden "Africa for the African", 236). He explained:

The idea of developing a respectable negro state in Africa is with Liberians the fundamental idea of their nationality....It is something moral we are seeking. We want here to elaborate and express the idea which God has given to us: to contribute our stone also to the great temple of human history....

The introduction of Europeans among us just now would retard this great work, expose our institutions to the dangers and decay of mongrelism, confuse our instincts, and postpone the assertion of our individuality as a distinct group in the family of nations...(Blyden "Africa for the African", 238).

Furthermore, he observed in 1893, "no pure race has ever yet been destroyed" (Blyden 1971, 203).

The Back-to-Africa campaign in the US reached its peak with the intervention of the radical Jamaican, Garvey. Garvey was by the 1920s referred to as the 'Black Moses'.<sup>54</sup> E. U. Essien-Udom describes him as follows in the introduction to the second edition of *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*:

Garvey was a pan-African nationalist. Undoubtedly, his basic commitment and dedication was the total liberation of Africa from alien rule, and the eventual establishment of a united, virile and powerful African state. He was aware that 'all of us may not live to see the higher accomplishment of an African empire - so strong and powerful as to compel respect of mankind, but we in our life time can so work and act as to make the dream a possibility within another generation.' Every other activity of Garvey was either secondary or instrumental to this basic goal: the acquisition of political power in Africa by 'Africans abroad and at home.' He tended to analogize...the problem of New World Negroes with colonialism....He believed firmly that until Africa was liberated, there was no real hope for black people anywhere (Essien-Udom 1967, xvi).

Garvey founded the UNIA in 1914 in Jamaica. In 1916, he established a branch in New York when he moved there from the West Indies. The organization, whose anthem was titled ‘The Ode to Ethiopia’, soon had branches worldwide. Martin, in his paper “Garvey and Scattered Africa”, rightly argues:

Garvey proved by building this organization that black people no matter where they lived, were susceptible to a common ideology. They could be organized around a common political program....there are peculiarities and local differences among black communities in different places, but Garvey proved that despite these differences there was an underlying unity—historical, racial and to some extent cultural—among African peoples (Martin 1982, 245).

Like Blyden, Garvey advocated racial purity:

The Universal Negro Improvement Association...believes in, and teaches the pride and purity of race. We believe that the white race should uphold its racial pride and perpetuate itself, and that the black race should do likewise. We believe that there is room enough in the world for the various race groups to grow and develop by themselves without seeking to destroy the Creator’s plan by the constant introduction of mongrel types (Garvey 1924, n.p.)

The UNIA’s objectives were:

To establish a Universal Confraternity among the race; to promote the spirit of pride and love; to reclaim the fallen; to administer to and to assist the needy; to assist in civilizing the backward tribes of Africa; to assist in the development of Independent Negro Nations and Communities; to establish a central nation for the race, where they will be given the opportunity to develop themselves; to establish Commissaries or Agencies in the principal countries and cities of the world for the representation of all Negroes; to promote a conscientious Spiritual worship among the native tribes of Africa; to establish Universities, Colleges, Academies and Schools for the racial education and culture of the people; to work for better conditions among Negroes everywhere (Garvey 1924, n.p.).

Garvey appealed to a future black state. He believed that re-emigration was the starting point of an eventual re-unification of the black race: “What we want is an independent African nationality,” he declared (Garvey 1967, 52). Like Delany and Henry Turner, he advocated ‘Africa for the Africans’. He explained: “...the Negro peoples of the world should concentrate upon the object of building up for themselves a great nation

in Africa” (*ibid.*). Garvey believed that a strong and united African nation, a ‘United States of Africa’ embracing all Africa from Cape to Cairo is what would work best for the black race. In 1921, he declared an Empire of Africa in New York and appointed himself the provisional president of its continental government. The Empire was characterised by a purely ‘black religion’—a black God, an African Orthodox Church, black angels, and a white devil. Other characteristics of the Empire included a “Black government with its President in a Black House, Negro newspapers, an African Legion, and a Black Cross nursing corps” (Woronoff 1970, 13). Garvey’s nationalist and separatist sentiments appealed to the disillusioned blacks in the newly formed ghettos that had emerged following the South-North migration—the black working class.

Garvey, like DuBois, played a significant role in the liberation of Africa, a fact acknowledged by Nkrumah in his speech at the All-African Peoples Conference (AAPC) held in Ghana in 1958. Nkrumah’s speech is quoted by Drake in his paper “Diaspora Studies and Pan-Africanism”:

We take their presence here as a manifestation of their keen interest in our struggle for a free Africa. We must never forget that they are part of us. These sons and daughters of Africa were taken away from our shores and despite all centuries which have separated us they have not forgotten their ancestral links. ...Many of them have made no small contribution to the cause of African freedom. Names which spring immediately to mind in this connection are Marcus Garvey and Dr. W.E.B DuBois (Nkrumah 1982, 350).

Garvey was by early 1920s making an impassioned call for an independent Africa. Weisbord has noted that “much of Garvey’s sulfurous rhetoric was directed at the need for African redemption” (Weisbord 1973, 55). He cites a speech that Garvey delivered in Liberty Hall where Garvey declared: “Modern Germany fell and England is about to fall, as she must fall, and after the fall of Europe, a new power shall rise up. Tonight I say unto scattered Ethiopia: Acquit yourselves like men and women and prepare for that day” (Public Record Office 1973, 55). He also cites a cable that Garvey sent in 1922 to Lloyd George who was then prime minister in Britain: “We are for the freedom of India and the complete liberation of African colonies, including the Nigerias, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Southwest and East Africa. We wish your nation all that is good, but not at the expense of the darker and weaker peoples of the earth” (Public Record Office 1973, 61).

Garvey disseminated his ideas through various channels. Among these were his annual international Conferences from 1920-onwards through which he aired Africans' grievances, rallied downtrodden Africans, and deliberated what he considered to be practical policies for achieving his goal of African unity in the African homeland. On the opening day of the Pan-African congress which he organized in New York in 1920, blacks paraded the streets carrying flags that displayed their hopes: "One God, One Aim, One Destiny"; 'Africa Must Be Free'; 'Africa a Nation, One and Indivisible'" (Kaké 1982, 203). In his speech that day, Garvey declared: 'The time has come when the entire African continent will be claimed as the motherland of black peoples' (*ibid.*). He wrote the "Declaration of Black Peoples' Rights in the World", a document that contained 12 commandments, 54 articles, and a hymn in honour of Ethiopia. The document was widely circulated among blacks in Belgian, French, and British colonies (Kaké 1982). Garvey also disseminated his ideas through two of his newspapers, the daily *The Negro Times* and the weekly *Negro World*, which was UNIA's newspaper. The *Negro World* had as its masthead, 'A Newspaper Devoted Solely to the Interests of the Negro Race'. The newspaper, which lasted until 1933, had a weekly circulation of about 200,000 (White 1990). It was published in English, French, and Spanish and sold in Trinidad, British Guiana, Barbados, and all French, Italian, Portuguese, Belgian and some British colonies in Africa as well as in Sierra Leone. In South Africa, the ANC newspapers *African World* and *Abantu Batho* were the major vehicles for the dissemination of his thoughts (Martin 1982).

Garveyism inspired many nationalists and nationalist movements in Africa, including that led by Nkrumah. In *Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (1957), Nkrumah acknowledges that of all the literature that he studied while a student in the US, it was the *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* that aroused his enthusiasm most (Nkrumah 1973). According to Weisbord, "Garveyite ideas deeply impressed Nigerians who were involved in proto-nationalistic organizations such as the Nigerian Youth Movement and the National Congress of British West Africa" (Weisbord 1973, 77-8). He notes that Azikiwe described Garvey as 'one of the most farsighted persons of African descent to walk upon God's earth' (Azikiwe 1973, 78). In his book *The Black Jacobins* (1963), C.L.R. James says that Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of Kenya, told him that

in 1921 Kenya (*sic*) nationalists, unable to read, would gather around a reader of Garvey's newspaper, the Negro World (*sic*), and listen to an article two or three times. They would run various ways through the forest, carefully to repeat the whole, which they had memorized, to Africans hungry for some doctrine which lifted them from the servile consciousness in which Africans lived (James 1973, 77).

Kenyatta was himself influenced by Garvey, as were Lamine Senghor, Tiémoho Garan-Kouyate and Hayford. Garvey's ideas also impacted on West African students in Britain through the West African Students' Union (WASU).

Meanwhile, black intellectuals and nationalists from France's West Indian and African colonies residing in Paris also discovered that they would not be treated equally with the Europeans. They too began to advocate for the formation of a Pan-African state. "We want a country of our own, a country where we can develop as a national power" they appealed in *Les Continents*, the newspaper of LUDRN.<sup>55</sup> Houénou, an ardent supporter of Garveyism, declared in an article appearing in the issue dated 1<sup>st</sup> July 1924: "We have shed our blood for France...we continue to fulfil the citizen's supreme duty of military service...We demand to be citizens...and...if France rejects us, we call for autonomy...".<sup>56</sup>

In 1926 LUDRN was succeeded by the Comité de Défense de la Race Nègre (CDRN) under the leadership of the Senegalese Lamine Senghor. It published the newspaper *La Race Nègre* (first called *La Voix des Nègres*). The newspaper's coverage included the Garvey movement, the Negro Welfare Association and the WASU (Geiss 1974). Langley provides further insight into the coverage:

There were reprints of Garvey's poem 'Africa for the Africans' taken from his *The Tragedy of White Injustice*; colonialism was condemned as the negation of the principle of self determination; the equality of all races was asserted, and there were sympathetic accounts of Garvey's activities after his imprisonment in 1925. The activities of the N.A.A.C.P., the Equal Rights League of Boston, and the John Brown Memorial Association of Philadelphia were also reported in *La Race Nègre*, but in the opinion of the C.D.R.N., Marcus Garvey's U.N.I.A. was "the best known in Africa" (Langley 1973, 306).

In the editorial of the issue dated 1<sup>st</sup> July 1935, CDRN called for the creation of a Pan-African state that was to be comprised of sub-Saharan and North Africans as well as

Afro-West Indians. The state was conceived as a step towards an African renaissance. As will be noted from the quotation below, the editorial contains claims similar to those in the Anglophone African renaissance literature surveyed in Chapter Three of this thesis. The use of contrast is pronounced:

We wish to regain our political independence and to revive, by that means, our ancient Negro civilization. The return to the customs, philosophy, and social organization of our ancestors is a vital necessity....Our race is the champion of a human system, for which soon a great need will be felt....

We demand a single Negro State, encompassing the whole of black Africa and the Caribbean, and within this State we shall make of the racial question what it used to be: a matter of diversity, mutual approval, and enjoyable competition...The North Africans, too...may accede to this State.<sup>57</sup>

The historical significance of ‘Back-to-Africa’ discourse cannot be overemphasized. The discourse raised the awareness of an African identity, especially among the African diaspora. This is a consciousness that has been and continues to be a major uniting force of Africans. In Roi Ottley’s words: “[Emigrationism] set in motion what was to become the most compelling force in Negro life—race and color consciousness which is today that ephemeral thing that inspires ‘race loyalty’; the banner to which Negroes rally; the chain that binds them together” (Skinner 1982, 24).

The rhetorical significance of the discourse is also evident. The policy of ‘Africa for the Africans’ that was first aired by Delany in 1861 and propagated by Henry Turner and Garvey, was adopted, as will be seen, by African nationalists in their campaign for independence from colonial rule. Among those who adhered to the doctrine are Sobukwe and Nkrumah.

‘Back to Africa’ rhetoric appealed to the values of the audiences in making its argument. The proposed Pan-African nation was portrayed as one that would promote African liberation and facilitate unity among blacks as well as facilitate the reactivation of traditional African values, which the discourse extolled. As was seen in the survey of African renaissance literature, and will be seen in the rest of this chapter and the next, the extolling of and appealing to traditional African values was to become a distinct feature of Pan-Africanist discourse during the colonial era.

The emigrationists appealed to their audiences' needs in the attempt to motivate them to migrate from US and found an independent nation in Africa. In particular, they were appealing to their need for roots when they talked about creating a territorial domain for black people and preserving the African personality. They were appealing to their sense of power when they talked about Africa competing on a par with other nations. They were appealing to their esteem needs when they said a Pan-African state would win respect for the black race. They were appealing to their self-actualisation needs when they talked of the Pan-African state enhancing the development of the African Personality and the African continent. The use of this contemporary persuasive appeal became characteristic of African unification discourse, whereby it was claimed that African unity would lead to a better and securer future for the present and future generations and that it would facilitate the continent's development.

#### **4.1.2 The Pan-African Congress Movement**

The Pan-African Conferences that were held in Europe between 1900 and 1945 drew attention to the issue of political independence in Africa and the rest of the Third World. The first of these was held in London in 1900. It was convened by Henry Sylvester-Williams who was a lawyer from Trinidad and Bishop Alexander Walters of the AMEZ. The Conference was attended by 30 black delegates drawn mostly from England and the West Indies and the rest from the US. Among the problems that the Conference discussed was that of freedom for the African colonies. Alluding to well-known British abolitionists to accentuate African freedom as a value of the British, the delegates appealed to Britain, in a paragraph that employs *polysyndeton*, to grant independence to her colonies:

Let the British nation, the first modern champion of Negro Freedom, hasten to crown the work of Wilberforce, and Clarkson, and Buxton, and Sharpe, Bishop Colenso, and Livingstone, and give, as soon as practicable, the rights of responsible government to the black colonies of Africa and the West Indies (Walters et al. 1979, 739).

The delegates also appealed to the nations of the world to respect the integrity and independence of Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti.

The 1900 Pan-African Conference was followed by a series of Pan-African Congresses organized by Dubois between 1919 and 1927. Dubois' ultimate goal was African self-government, to achieve self-rule by Africans for Africans. He believed that until such time that total African liberation had been achieved, the descendants of Africa all over the world would remain slaves. The first of his congresses took place in Paris. It was attended by delegates from Africa, the US and the West Indians who demanded African self-government in the shortest possible time. They resolved:

The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the Government as fast as their development permits...They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government...and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceed, to the higher offices of states; to the end that, in time, Africa is ruled by consent of the Africans... ("The Pan-African Congress" 1979, 740).

DuBois' second Pan-African Congress met successively in 1921 in London, Paris and Brussels. It was attended by delegates from Africa, the US, Europe and the West Indies. The delegates expressed their belief in the divine right of suppressed and backward peoples to be free. They maintained:

The world must face two eventualities; either the complete assimilation of Africa with two or three of the great world states, with political, civil and social power and privileges absolutely equal for its black and white citizens, or the rise of a great black African State...autonomous and sovereign in its internal policy, but from its beginning a part of a great society of peoples in which it takes its place with others as co-rulers of the world ("The London Manifesto" 1979, 749).

They appealed to the world to respect the independent black nations:

...Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti and San Domingo...have earned the right to be free, they deserve the recognition of the world. Notwithstanding all their faults and mistakes and the fact that they are in many respects behind the most advanced civilization of the day, nevertheless they compare favourably with the past and even recent history of most European nations... ("The London Manifesto" 1979, 748).

They demanded for African self-government, justifying: "...the attempts at autonomous government in Haiti and Liberia are not proofs of the impossibility of self-government among black men..." ("The London Manifesto" 1979, 750). Self-government was to begin with local self-government and rise "as experience and knowledge grow to

complete self-government under the limitations of a self-governed world” (“The London Manifesto” 1979, 748-9). They argued:

The beginning of Wisdom in inter-racial contact is the establishment of political institutions among suppressed Peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the earth....no habit is more natural and more widely spread among primitive peoples or more easily capable of development among wide masses. Local self-government with a minimum of help and oversight can be established tomorrow in Asia, Africa, America and the Isles of the Sea. It will in many instances need general control and guidance but it will fail only when that guidance seeks ignorantly and consciously its own selfish ends and not the people’s liberty and good (“The London Manifesto” 1979, 750).

They acknowledged France’s efforts to place black citizens on a plane of absolute legal and social equality with her whites, to allow black citizens representation in her highest legislature, and to offer state education in her colonies. Nevertheless, France needed to allow the African a greater voice in government:

This splendid beginning must be completed by widening the political bases of her native government, by restoring to her indigenes the ownership of the soil, by protecting native labour against the aggression of established capital, and by compelling no man, white or black, to be a soldier unless the country gives him a voice in his own government (“The London Manifesto” 1979, 748).

The third Pan-African Congress that DuBois organized took place in 1923 in London and Lisbon. At Lisbon, 11 countries were represented, mainly from Portuguese-speaking Africa. Like previous conferences, the delegates demanded that Africans be granted a voice in their own government. This demand was to be made again four years later at DuBois’ fourth Pan-African Congress, which was held in New York. The few delegates from Africa who attended were from Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Nigeria.

Africa’s quest for independence acquired a militant tone at the Fifth Pan-African Congress, which was held from 15<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> October 1945. Explains Padmore: “The war years had brought a new kind of awareness to many old and young African leaders of the indignities suffered by the black man, everywhere and especially in his own home in Africa. The time was ripe for positive action” (Padmore 1963, i). The idea of convening the Congress arose in February of that year during an informal meeting in Manchester of

the representatives to the World Trade Union Conference that had just ended in London. It received backing and a Pan-African Federation (PAF) was formed. This organization immediately began preparations for the Congress, including drawing up the agenda.

Chaired by DuBois, the Manchester Congress was significant not only for the high number of delegates from Africa (26 out of 200) but also for the fact that most of them were workers, trade unionists, farmers and students, unlike in previous Congresses where attendants were mostly middle-class intellectuals and bourgeois reformists. It was at this Congress, whose co-secretaries were Nkrumah and Kenyatta, that continental Africans took over leadership of the Pan-African movement.

The discussions at the Manchester Congress centred on the common grievances of the delegates, which were attributed to European imperialism. The delegates demanded the immediate implementation of the principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter (“The Pan-African Congress” 1979, 759). They declared their determination to be free:

We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible in this One World for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation (“The Pan-African Congress” 1979, 760).

They declared that they would use every possible means, including force, to achieve freedom and democracy: “...if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world” (*ibid.*). They also issued the “Declaration to the Colonial Workers, Farmers and Intellectuals” which announced:

The delegates...believe in the right of all peoples to govern themselves. We affirm the right of all Colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All Colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic. The peoples of the Colonies must have the right to elect their own governments, without restrictions from foreign powers....the peoples of the Colonies...must fight for these ends by all the means at their disposal (Nkrumah “Declaration”, 6).

They went on to explain: "...the struggle for political power by Colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to, complete social, economic and political emancipation" (*ibid.*). They told the workers to resort to strikes and boycotts in the fight against imperialism while the intellectuals and professionals were called upon to fight for "trade union rights, the right to form cooperatives, freedom of the press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses" (Nkrumah "Declaration", 7).

The Manchester Conference made several observations with respect to the political, economic and social situation in West Africa. Regarding the political it declared:

- (a) That since the advent of British, French, Belgian and other Europeans in West Africa, there has been regression instead of progress as a result of systematic exploitation by these alien imperialist Powers. The claims of 'partnership', 'Trusteeship', 'guardianship', and the 'mandate system', do not serve the political wishes of the people of West Africa.
- (b) That the democratic nature of the indigenous institutions of the peoples of West Africa has been crushed by obnoxious and oppressive laws and regulations, and replaced by autocratic systems of government which are inimical to the wishes of the people of West Africa.
- (c) That the introduction of pretentious constitutional reforms in West African territories are nothing but spurious attempts on the part of alien imperialist Powers to continue the political enslavement of the peoples.
- (d) That the introduction of Indirect Rule is not only an instrument of oppression but also an encroachment on the right of the West African natural rulers.
- (e) That the artificial divisions and territorial boundaries created by the imperialist Powers are deliberate steps to obstruct the political unity of the West African peoples ("The Pan-African Congress" 1979, 758).

Regarding the social situation, the delegates declared:

That the democratic organisations and institutions of the West African peoples have been interfered with, that alien rule has not improved education, health or the nutrition of the West African peoples, but on the contrary tolerates mass illiteracy, ill-health, malnutrition, prostitution, and many other social evils ("The Pan-African Congress" 1979, 759).

The foregoing Congresses helped intensify cooperation between Africans in the diaspora and on the continent. They also began to call attention to the need for African liberation.

#### **4.1.3 The African Nationalist Movement**

The anti-colonial political movements that emerged in Africa after the Second World War were preceded by a generalized movement for African independence which received backing both from the continent and the diaspora. Among the literature devoted to this earlier movement was Bishop James Holly's *A Vindication of the Capacity of the Negro Race for Self-Government, and Civilized Progress, as Demonstrated by Historical Events of the Haitian Revolution; and the Subsequent Act of the People since their National Independence* (1857). Holly, a Haitian, argued that the level of organization in independent Haiti was a demonstration of the capacity of the Negro for self-government and civilized existence (Holly 1973). About 60 years later Hubert Harrison, founder of the Liberty League of Negro Americans, wrote *When Africa Awakes: the 'inside story' of the stirrings and strivings of the new Negro in the western world* (1920), which announced:

We look for a free India and an independent Egypt; *for nationalities in Africa flying their own flags and dictating their own internal and foreign policies*. This is what we understand by 'making the world safe for democracy'. Anything less than this will fail to establish 'peace on earth and good will toward men'. For the majority of races cannot be eternally coerced into accepting the sovereignty of the white race....when you read of the Mullah, of Saïd Zaghloul Pasha...Marcus Garvey...Casely Hayford; when you hear of Egyptian and Indian nationalist uprisings...Black Star Lines...West Indian 'seditions' - ...remember...that these fruits spring from the seeds of your own sowing (Harrison 1973, 36).

Meanwhile, Hayford used his *Gold Coast Native Institutions* to push for self-government for the Gold Coast. The traditional institutions were, he argued, evidence of the preparedness of the Gold Coast for self-government:

...on the Gold Coast, you are not dealing with a savage people without a past, who are merely striving to copy or imitate foreign Institutions.... you find here already a system of self-government as perfect and efficient as the most forward nations of the earth to-day can possibly conceive. A

people who could, indigenously, and without a literature, evolve the orderly representative government which obtained in Ashanti and the Gold Coast before the advent of the foreign interloper, are a people to be respected and shown consideration when they proceed to discuss questions of self government (Hayford 1903, 128-129).

In *The Future of West Africa*, Hayford vividly described how West Africa had respectably treated the British but received no respect in return. He did this with the intention of creating a feeling of betrayal, which was important if he was to convince West Africans that it was time to fight for their rights:

...West Africa cannot continue for ever watering the feet of the Empire without her own feet being watered. It would be against the law of Nature. You cannot be a blessing to others without you yourself being blessed. That does not depend upon the will of man. And the first substantial reward will be the enjoyment of free institutions....some substantial sort of effective control must we have in the passing of laws and in expenditure (Hayford 1979, 211-12).

He reiterated the message above when he addressed the NCBWA in January 1923. The passage below is characterized by ethical proof, whereby he appeals to race. At the same time, Hayford appeals to the reasoning of the listeners when he compares human and national development:

Among world problems to-day is the appeal...of the African to be accorded certain rights which are common to humanity...

...we have the right to our opinion and to the expression of it....much as we appreciate the concern of our guardians, the time has come for us to take an intelligent, active part in the guiding of our own national destiny...

...We claim, in common with the rest of mankind, that taxation without representation is a bad thing, and we are pledged, as all free peoples have had to do, that...the African shall have that common weapon for the protection and safe-guarding of his rights and interests, namely, the franchise. It is desirable...that by our vote we shall determine by what laws we shall be governed and how the revenues which we help to put together shall be utilised.

Equally do we hold with others that there should be free scope for the members of the community, irrespective of creed or colour, to hold any office under the crown or flag to which a person's merits entitle him or her. We hardly think that...there are any...who can seriously quarrel with that proposition, indeed the time is past when the African can be expected to continue the burden-bearer of the world (Hayford 1974, 17-18).

Hayford, like DuBois, persuaded his audiences to adopt constitutional methods in the struggle for the right to self-determination. In a speech to the Legislative Council in March 1923, he emphasized: "...in seeking our rights we shall do so firmly and yet constitutionally...we...believe that...in the end we shall gain our rights by constitutional persistence and insistence" (Hayford 1974, 18).

Much as he was an adamant advocate of the right to self-determination for Africans, Hayford believed that African nations should retain allegiance to the British Empire. He stressed in *The Future of West Africa*: "He is no lover of his country, he is no guide to his people, who does not realise that West Africa's salvation entirely depends upon a clear conception of her place within the British Empire" (Hayford 1979, 208). His speech to the Legislative Council in March 1923 emphasized:

...the policy of the National Congress 'is to maintain strictly and inviolate the connection of the British West African Dependencies with the British Empire, and to maintain unreservedly all and every right of free citizenship of the Empire...'...the heart of British West Africa to-day beats true in loyalty and devotion to the throne and the person of His Majesty the King-Emperor (Hayford 1974, 18).

The Gambian John Kuyé, a graduate of Wesleyan Boys' High School, was a member of the Gambia branch of the NCBWA. He presented a paper titled "Right of the People to Self-Determination (With Special Reference to British West Africa)" at the third Biennial Session of the NCBWA, which was held in Bathurst in 1926. In this paper, he describes what is meant by self-determination: "...that every people has the right to determine its own destiny by choosing its own institutions and forms of government best suited to its own peculiar circumstances (and I may add, with a view to satisfying the needs of all concerned)" (Kuyé 1979, 214). He notes that the quest for self-determination was the norm and emphasizes its validity through parallelism:

The spirit of self-determination is world-wide in its embrace. It has brooded over almost the whole of our Continent - East, South and West. And everywhere its captivating power has been felt with a keenness and exhibited to a degree which has astonished the outside world...every people, every race, every nation has a right to choose for itself its own forms of government and institutions (Kuyé 1979, 214-15).

Kuyé discusses the benefits of self-determination. He claims that it was only through self-determination that Africans can preserve their personality and nationality, a

claim that he defends by alluding to the 1865 report of a Select Committee of the British House of Commons:

Although we have become British by alliance, yet, not un-African in aspiration....we want...to preserve our race individuality....

...[the oft-quoted proclamation of 1865] suggests that...the preservation of African Nationalism...can only be done by Africans, in no other way than by self-determination; by the exercise of the right to choose institutions and forms of Government best suited to African circumstances and ideals (Kuyé 1979, 215-16).

The rhetorical significance of Blyden's discourses becomes evident a few paragraphs after where Kuyé discusses the question of African individuality using phrases that Blyden himself used:

On this question of African Nationalism no argument is necessary or effective. Argument may be effective in discussing methods or course of procedure for the preservation of African integrity or the development of African efficiency, but not as to the necessity of such preservation and development. If it be realised that "every race has something special to give to the world that no other race possesses", I believe no reasonable mind need be convinced by argument about the propriety or necessity for its preservation and development. But if there be he in whose heart this feeling does not rise with spontaneous and inspiring power, he needs only be left unconvinced and regarded in the light of Scott's description in the famous stanza beginning with:-

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead..." (Kuyé 1979, 216-17).<sup>58</sup>

Also of rhetorical significance is Kuyé's allusion to *Lay of the Last Minstrel: A Poem* (1805) by the British poet Sir Walter Scott. The stanza that he refers to is from the first verse of Canto 6. In this stanza, Scott describes he who has never taken pride in his own heritage as a wretch, a spiritually dead person whose physical death, regardless of the titles, power, and wealth that the person has, should be regretted by none.

According to Kuyé, there would have to be sacrifice, struggle, loyalty to and constancy of purpose on the part of West Africans, like there had been on the part of Europeans, if they were to enjoy the benefits of self-determination. Fond of employing analogies and allusions to clarify his arguments, Kuyé employs them in the following passage to move his listeners to action:

...if the Right is natural and God-given, then there are duties attached to it. The owl must perform the duty of vigilance to avoid the approaches of the

enemy just as the fish must perform persistently the duty of activity if it must subsist. Similarly, so must we perform the duty of Sacrifice, Effort, Loyalty to and Constancy of purpose if we would realize the benefits of and establish our fitness for the exercise of the Right to Self-determination...The Magna Charta was wrested from John not in circumstances pleasant to either Sovereign or Subjects nor the Petition of Right obtained from Charles I in a sudden and spasmodic feat during a caprice of Parliament. So in these modern times we can only will our destiny by willing to fight for our Rights - not by physical force but morally compelling the respect, esteem and admiration of the outside world (Kuyé 1979, 218).

#### **4.2 Discourse on African Self-Government and Independence during the Period 1946 to 1963**

Several of the texts advocating African self-government and independence that emerged between 1946 and 1963 were authored by Nkrumah. Among these is the newspaper *Accra Evening News*, which he started in 1948. Its motto was “we prefer self government with danger to servitude in tranquillity” (Nkrumah 1961, 10). Through it, he campaigned for self-government now and independence. Nkrumah’s call for immediate self-government marks a divergence from the position of the Pan-African Protest Conference of 1900 where delegates had appealed to Britain to grant the rights of responsible government to its African and the West Indian colonies as soon would be practicable. In a speech delivered at a rally in Accra in January 1948, he demanded: “Let the government of the Gold Coast pass as quickly as possible into the hands of the Gold Coast people themselves” (Nkrumah 1961, 4). Nkrumah never attempted to prove Gold Coast’s preparedness for self-government maintaining that “the right of the people to decide their own destiny was not to be measured by the yardstick of colour or degree of social development” (Nkrumah 1961, 31). His speech “Motion of Destiny” that he delivered in Ghana’s National Assembly on 10<sup>th</sup> July 1953 proclaimed: “If there is to be a criterion of a people’s preparedness for self-government, then I say it is their readiness to assume the responsibility of ruling themselves. For who but a people themselves can say when they are prepared?” (Nkrumah 1961, 31). Nkrumah believed that self-government was a prerequisite to the type of liberty enjoyed in England: “Only by attaining self-government can the people of this country think freely, talk freely and say whatever they

want to say. There is nothing to fear but fear itself,” he told an audience in Accra (Nkrumah 1961, 12).

Nkrumah’s texts in the early part of 1949 were devoted to the theme of independence. In March 1949, he created a political programme he called Positive Action. He described the programme in his pamphlet “What I Mean by Positive Action”:

By Positive Action we mean the adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we can cripple the forces of imperialism in this country. The Weapons of Positive Action are:

- (1) Legitimate political agitation:
- (2) Newspaper and educational campaigns and
- (3) as a last resort, the constitutional application of strikes, boycotts, and non-co-operation based on the principle of absolute non-violence (Nkrumah 1973, 7).

He also observed:

What we all want is Self-government so that we can govern ourselves in our own country. We have the natural, legitimate and inalienable right to decide for ourselves the sort of government we want and we cannot be forced against our will in accepting or perpetuating anything that will be detrimental to the true interests of the people of this country and their chiefs (Nkrumah 1973, 8).

Several ideological influences are seen to underlie this programme. The first comes from an Asian, Mahatma Gandhi and his policy of passive resistance. India had successfully acquired independence in 1947 through non-violent methods. The second influence that comes through is from North America, the Afro-American DuBois and the dedication of his Pan-African Congresses to constitutional methods in the fight against imperialism. On the same note of constitutional means but this time from his own continent is the influence of Hayford who was, alongside DuBois’ Congresses, advocating constitutional persistence and insistence in the Gold Coast. There is fourthly, the influence of the Manchester Conference of 1945 of which Nkrumah was a co-secretary. The Conference indicated that demonstrations, boycotts and strikes were some of the major means to be adopted in the fight against imperialism.

The year 1949 ended with Nkrumah’s rejection of the Coussey Report on Constitutional Advancement of Gold Coast. His use of the words ‘pretensions’, ‘half-baked’, ‘bogus’ and ‘detractors’, and the phrases ‘only worthy of an improved colonial

status' and 'forced down our throats', reveal that behind this rejection was the attitude that the proposed reforms were nothing but sheer trickery to get Africans to falsely believe that the imperialists were interested in justice and fair play, which would in turn stall the struggle for independence. This was the same attitude at the 1945 Manchester Congress where it was resolved that "the introduction of pretentious constitutional reforms in West African territories are nothing but spurious attempts on the part of alien imperialist Powers to continue the political enslavement of the peoples" ("The Pan-African Congress" 1979, 758).

In place of the proposed constitution, Nkrumah demanded a 'Dominion-status' constitution which would see Ghana attain full self-government within the British Commonwealth, a position that reverberates with that of Hayford. His argument, partly quoted below, relies on pathetic proof whereby he attempts to evoke patriotism and fear. The message appeared in the *Accra Evening News* dated 14<sup>th</sup> November 1949:

The destiny of the Gold Coast is at stake, and we are to consider whether this country is only worthy of an improved colonial status or is entitled to a free political existence....

We shall not tolerate any half-baked constitution nor allow any bogus one which deprives us of the right to govern ourselves to be forced down our throats.... (*sic*)

Let every citizen who loves his country come together for this august and momentous assembly....Let us show our detractors that we mean to manage our own affairs. Ghana shall be free (Nkrumah 1961, 20).

His speech "Motion of Destiny" "called on the British Government to give Gold Coast its independence as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made" (Nkrumah 1961, 30). And in a national broadcast on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1954, he raised the hope of Ghanaians when he vividly described how close they were to achieving full self-government: "Full self-government is only one step away; we must be very sure that we do not stumble at this final step in our journey to reach the end of the road" (Nkrumah 1961, 37).

Nkrumah's *Towards Colonial Freedom*, which was first published in 1945, was reprinted in 1962. In it, he tried to show that paternalism was a stumbling block to Africa's development, an impediment to both economic progress and the spirit and

indigenous enterprise of the peoples themselves. Colonial powers, he argued, had no true intention of developing their colonies for self-government and independence. What they were doing in reality, is to exploit the colonies by not only taking their raw materials and using the people as cheap labour, but also by selling to them overpriced sub-standard products. He voiced the political wishes of the colonized Africans: “The peoples of the colonies...wish to be free and independent, to be able to feel themselves...equal with all other peoples, and to work out their own destiny without outside interference, and to be unrestricted to attain an advancement that will put them on a par with other technically advanced nations of the world” (Nkrumah 1974, 23). With regard to the Gold Coast citizens themselves, he declared in a message issued to members of his Convention People’s Party (CPP) in February 1951: “What the people of this country want is real political power to manage their own affairs without leaving power in the hands of a single person appointed by an alien power, however paternalistic or kind” (Nkrumah 1961, 23).

Nkrumah’s rejection of paternalism was a response to the hard line modernists. These strongly believed that Western civilization was the ideal, an ideal that was to be pursued by Africans under the guardianship of the colonial authorities until such time that they were deemed ready for self-rule. Their best representative in Africa is Horton, who claimed in *West African Countries and Peoples*: “It is impossible for a nation to civilize itself; civilization must come from abroad. As was the case with the civilized continents of Europe and America, so it must be with Africa” (Horton 1972, 80). His paternalistic bias emerges in his letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Granville, which is dated 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1870:

On this Coast the English element is unquestionably the best civilizing agency. Their liberality in matters of Christianity, their sound and healthy judgement in colonization, their profound legislative ability, exhibited frequently in adopting proper means to suit the wishes and desires of the colonists, and their commercial policy, all greatly tend to foster the growth of civilization in a young colony.

...in the government of a semi-barbarous race, where the aim is to bring up the governed rapidly to advancement in industrial pursuits, education, and general social condition, *a little despotism is absolutely necessary*. But...this despotism must not be used for the exertion of uncalled-for arbitrary power, which an intelligent race might think, simply from its superior intelligence, it ought to exact over the other as being less

informed. But it should be more on principles of equity, having this object in view - *the material advancement of the people* (Horton 1974, 15).

It also emerges in his vivid description of the westernised Creoles:

Fancy a lot of slaves - unlettered, rude, naked, possessing no knowledge of the useful arts - thrown into a wild country, to cut down the woods and build towns; fancy these ragged wild natives under British, and consequently, civilized influences, after a lapse of a few years becoming large landowners, possessing large mercantile establishments and money, claiming a voice in the legislative government, and giving their offspring proper English and foreign education... (Horton 1972, 71).

In the diaspora, the idea of paternalism had been upheld by the DuBoisian Congresses. As was seen earlier in this chapter, these pushed for immediate local self-government but gradual full self-government.

The impact of Hayford and the 1945 Manchester Conference on Nkrumah's thinking becomes evident yet again. It has already been seen that Nkrumah believed that Ghana should retain its bonds with the British Crown, which is in line with Hayford's belief that West African nations should retain an allegiance to the British Empire. Similarly, Hayford rejected paternalism. It has been seen that he proclaimed in January 1923: "...much as we appreciate the concern of our guardians, the time has come for us to take an intelligent, active part in the guiding of our own national destiny..." (Hayford 1974, 18). The Manchester Conference also felt, as has already been seen, that "the claims of 'partnership', 'Trusteeship', 'guardianship', and the 'mandate system', do not serve the political wishes of the people of West Africa" ("The Pan-African Congress" 1979, 758).

Pan-Africanist texts advocating African self-government and independence that emerged between 1946 and 1963 which were not authored by Nkrumah include "The Freedom Charter" and *The African Nations and World Solidarity* (1961). The "Freedom Charter" contained the demands of South Africans for the things that would make them free. It was adopted at the Congress of the People, a conference held in Kliptown from 25<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> June 1955 (Karis and Carter 1977). The Charter maintained that South Africa belongs to both black and white, and that no government could justly claim authority unless these people had elected it. It also maintained that only a democratic state, this

being the one elected by the people, could secure for South Africans their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief. “The People Shall Govern!” it declared, and for this to be so, the following had to be met: first, all people are extended the right to vote, or to stand as candidates, for all law-making bodies; second, all people are permitted to participate in the administration of the country; third, people are accorded equal rights regardless of race, colour or sex; and fourth, all bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities are replaced with democratic organs of self-government. The Charter demanded that the protectorates *viz.* Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland be let to decide for themselves their own future, a position also taken by the PAF in its publication *Hands off the Protectorates (Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland)*. At the same time, it demanded that “the right of all peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.” It ended with a vow from the delegates, and a call to all other South Africans, to unite in the fight for the freedoms outlined therein<sup>59</sup>.

*The African Nations and World Solidarity* was written by Mamadou Dia. It defended African political nationalism in terms of, first, an existing national consciousness among the peoples, second, the need for African countries to develop both economically and technically, and third, the desire to win international respect. These reasons, Dia explained, justified the nationalist movement in context of the misrepresentations of Africa’s past and the denigration of its culture. The censure against Africa is conveyed in clauses marked by *anaphora*, to emphasize these claims that have been used to deny African countries their independence. These clauses are interposed with a parenthetical one that has the effect of enforcing the falsity of the claim of Africa’s insignificant past without digressing from the main argument:

...while no nation is valid without morality, it certainly cannot be valid without economic and technical efficiency...The nationalism of colonial and former colonial territories, if it is to attain the desired result, owes it to itself to be an active, constructive nationalism, determined to transform a state of revolt into an effective revolution. In this light, the concept of ‘African nations’ finds theoretical and practical justification, even in the absence of an impressive past (and we know that this is not the case), even in the absence of perfectly organized institutions. What matters primarily is the consciousness of being, the will to be born, to

participate in world growth, and to require justice of other nations (Dia 1974, 47).

Dia's position that African countries need to develop economically and technically reveals an influence of Afro-American emigrationist discourse. It was seen in the survey of this discourse that Delany was of the view that Africa's position in the world would depend on her ability to compete with the rest of the world, morally, religiously, politically and commercially.

### **4.3 Conclusion**

The survey of Pan-Africanist literature advocating self-government and independence conducted in this chapter reveals several important ideas that have some bearing on the understanding of arguments in Pan-Africanist discourse. One of these ideas is that a politically independent Pan-African state would bring about the respect of other nations in the world. This idea is seen to originate in emigrationist rhetoric. It is an idea that became pronounced in African liberation rhetoric.

The idea that political independence would enable Africans to develop their continent's resources to the extent that Africa became powerful enough to influence international affairs is also seen to originate in emigrationist rhetoric. This idea appeared as early as 1861 in Delany's *Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party*, and in the year after in Blyden's *Liberia's Offering*. It was adopted and articulated by Nkrumah in *Towards Colonial Freedom*.

Closely related to the idea of developing resources is that of developing the African personality. The emigrationists maintained that a Pan-African state would provide the needed environment for the development of the African personality, whose impact would thereafter be more forcefully felt in international affairs. This idea was expressed by Blyden in "Ethiopia Stretching Out Her Hands Unto God" and in "The African Must Advance By Methods of His Own." It was also expressed by Henry Turner at the Congress on Africa in Atlanta in 1895. In "Right of the People to Self-Determination (With Special Reference to British West Africa)" Kuyé argues that it is only by choosing their institutions and governments that Africans would guarantee

themselves the preservation of their personality and nationality. The idea that Africa's development is pegged to her ability to maintain her traditional identity, which basically characterises early African renaissance literature, is also expressed in some of the emigrationist texts.

With regard to the issue of the self-government, some Pan-Africanists support full self-government in the shortest possible time while others support immediate full self-government. Those in the former category include Horton, the delegates who attended the Sylvester-Williams' Pan-African Conference held in 1900 and the delegates who attended DuBois' Pan-African Congresses held in 1919 and 1921. Those in the latter category include Hayford, Nkrumah and the delegates who attended the 1945 Manchester Congress.

The preference for constitutional and legitimate non-violent methods to achieve self-government as opposed to armed might is also rooted in Afro-American literature. The Pan-African Congresses convened by DuBois between 1919 and 1927 pushed for the adoption of constitutional methods. This position was to be taken up by nationalists in Africa.

Another idea rooted in emigrationist discourse is that of 'Africa for the Africans'. For the emigrationists, 'Africa for the Africans' meant that the continent was to be inhabited by the black race only. They influenced South African nationalists, among them, Anton Lembede and his disciples in the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) (Sobukwe, A. P. Mda, T. T. Letlaka, P.K. Leballo) who being against multi-racialism, broke away from the ANC in 1959 to form the PAC. 'Africa for the Africans' was also adopted by Nkrumah in his independence campaigns, but he used it in a sense slightly different from that of the emigrationists. He explains what he understood by the phrase in a speech delivered in 1953 at a garden party hosted by President and Mrs. Tubman:

The concept 'Africa for the Africans' does not mean that other races are excluded from it. No! It only means that Africans shall and must govern themselves in their own countries without imperialist and foreign impositions; but that people of other races can remain on African soil, carry on their legitimate avocations and live on terms of peace, friendship and equality with Africans on their own soil (Nkrumah 1961, 30).<sup>60</sup>

The survey has revealed that there is a tendency for Pan-Africanists dealing with political themes to define key terms and concepts contained in their texts. These definitions have an implication for the effectiveness of their texts. Delany, for example, defines black men as men of African descent who claim an identity with the race in his *Report*. Kuyé defines self determination as the right of all to determine their destiny by choosing their own institutions and forms of government that are suitable to their peculiar circumstances and that satisfy their needs in his “Right of the People to Self-Determination.” Nkrumah’s definition of ‘Africa for the Africans’, a concept that he employed even in speeches that he made in the 1960s, is quoted above.

Pan-Africanist literature that deals with self-government and independence also includes quotations from well-known creative works. Some of the works that it quotes are “In Memoriam”, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, “A man’s a man for a’ that”, *Othello* and *Hamlet*. This indicates that English Literature, especially that written by novelists and poets who are considered giants of the literary world, has influenced Pan-Africanists. Pan-Africanist literature dealing with self-government and independence also contains quotations from non-creative works, especially texts authored by Pan-Africanists who are citizens of an African country. Among these Pan-Africanists are Aggrey, Seme and Blyden.

As in the case of Pan-Africanist literature that deals with intellectual and cultural themes, Pan-Africanist literature that tackles self-government and independence employs figurative language. It employs *synecdoche*, personification, analogy and allusion. The use of ‘Ethiopia’ to represent Africa and ‘Ethiopian’ to represent African was explained at length in the previous chapter. Personification is found in texts devoted to the African Nationalist Movement as well as in texts devoted to the ‘Back to Africa’ Movement. Some of the analogies in the literature surveyed in this chapter are drawn from nature and some from home life. Allusions are usually to famous people that have influenced world politics, to political events or to political literature. The document “Address to the Nations of the World”, which was drafted at the 1900 Pan-African Conference, alludes to well-known British abolitionists to accentuate African freedom as a long-standing value of the British. The claim that only Africans themselves can preserve the African personality through self-determination is found to be usually supported by alluding to the

1865 report of a Select Committee of the British House of Commons whereas the argument in favour of constitutional and legitimate non-violent methods to achieve self-government is defended by an allusion to the Magna Charta.

The survey has also found that imagery is employed to arouse emotions. Garvey, for example, “used the idea of a black God to arouse the Negro to a sense of deep appreciation for his race...to stimulate him to work to improve his social and economic conditions” (White 1985, 92). In *The Future of West Africa* imagery is employed to arouse a feeling of betrayal in the African, a feeling that is expected to stimulate him to fight for self-government and independence. In Nkrumah’s national broadcast of 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1954, parts of which he recalls in *I Speak of Freedom*, imagery is also employed to arouse the hope that self-government and independence would soon be the African’s, a feeling that is expected to encourage him keep on fighting.

There is also an attempt to arouse emotions through abstract concepts with strong positive or negative connotations. Concepts with negative connotations are employed to highlight the unpleasant shared experiences of Africans with the intention of creating negative feelings towards Europeans. Blyden, a racial purist, underscored that Africans were ‘downtrodden’ and ‘oppressed’ in his speech to the Common Council and Citizens of Monrovia in 1857. Garvey, also a racial purist, declared that Africans are ‘hated’ and kept down by a jealous and ‘prejudiced’ contemporary world in *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*.

Concepts with positive connotations are employed in the attempt to inspire hope in Africa’s future, a feeling that is expected to motivate Africans to direct their energies to restoring their continent’s glorious past. Hope in Africa’s future is inspired through the prophecy that the continent is going to return to ‘power’. The previous chapter of this thesis revealed that Garvey used ‘power’ in this manner in *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*; in this chapter, he is seen to use it this way in a speech. The previous chapter revealed that Ahuma, in a bid to get West Africans to retain their African identity, appealed to them to restore all that was ‘true’, ‘honest’ and ‘just’. A second way in which concepts with positive connotations are employed is to highlight the common aspirations of Africans, which are at times shown to be in conflict with those of Europeans. This is the manner in which delegates at the Pan-African Congress of 1921

used 'justice' and 'mercy': "To our aid we call all men of the earth who love Justice and Mercy. Out of the depths we have cried unto the deaf and dumb masters of the world, - out of the depths we cry to our own sleeping souls" ("The London Manifesto" 1979, 749). DuBois' second Pan-African Congress in London prophesied the rise of a great black African State founded in 'peace'. A positive image of Africa emerges when it is portrayed as a nation founded on concepts that have positive connotations.

As will become evident in the following chapters, several of the persuasive strategies and techniques found in the literature surveyed in this and the previous chapter are employed in African unification oratory.

## Chapter Five

### Analysis of Robert Sobukwe's Speech

#### 5.0 Introduction

While Nkrumah, Nyerere and Tafawa Balewa had the opportunity to speak at the Addis Ababa Conference of May 1963 (and an analysis of these speeches constitutes the next three chapters), Sobukwe never did. What is analysed then is the speech that he delivered at the fifth conference of the BAC held in December 1957. In this speech, delivered at a time when the majority of African countries were still colonized, he calls for African unity in the liberation struggle. The persuasive strategies and techniques found here are sought in the opening speech that he gave at the inaugural convention of the PAC, which was held from 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> April 1959 in Johannesburg, and in the speech that he delivered at the PAC Conference held on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1959, also in Johannesburg. Both of these speeches address political unification in brief. The strategies and techniques identified in all these speeches are believed to be more or less the ones that he would have employed in a speech where the main purpose was to persuade the listeners to immediately form a political union of their States. The analysis begins with a note on the rhetorical situation of the speech, then proceeds to examine the content, organization and style of the speech. It ends with a summary of the main findings.

#### 5.1 Rhetorical Situation

*Our colour causes us to suffer common oppression. Why should not that colour bring us together, so that we fight together as a united family, which we are!* - From the current speech

The speech analysed in this chapter was the opening speech of the fifth conference of the BAC that took place in 1957. The analysis is based on the version of the speech that appears in *The Commentator* dated August 1968.<sup>61</sup> The purpose of the speech was to persuade the Basotho to unite in the struggle for liberation.

The formation of the BAC in 1952 can partly be traced to the ANC Conference that met in Bloemfontein in 1949. This conference resolved that Congress organisations were to be established in all Southern African countries so that the struggle for freedom from white domination and white rule could be pursued at a regional level. Mphanya explains that “the founding of the BAC was carried out by persons who came from different parts of Southern Africa because it was part of a larger struggle by the people of the region to free themselves from colonialism” (Mphanya 2004, 11). He further explains: “The main thrust of the BAC’s struggle was to demand independence for Lesotho; to resist Lesotho’s incorporation into South Africa; and to fight colonial oppression and discrimination” (Mphanya 2004, 12). It demanded ‘*self-government in Basutoland by the Basotho NOW!*’ (Mphanya 2004, 13).<sup>62</sup> The BAC brought together “chiefs and commoners, the educated and uneducated, the farmers and traders, and people of different denominational backgrounds...” (*ibid.*). Weisfelder (2002) notes that delegations from the party’s branches in the Transvaal, Cape and Free State played major roles in its annual conferences.

The BAC, which became the Basutoland Congress Party in 1959, had a radical Pan-Africanist orientation. This can largely be explained in respect of the people that Ntsu Mokhehle, who became its leader upon its formation, associated with prior to and after the formation of the party. Between 1942 and 1944 he was a member of the *Lekhotla la Bafu* (Commoners League), a political movement which Weisfelder says was an “authentic progenitor of radical ideology and militant political organization in Basutoland” (Weisfelder 1974, 400).<sup>63</sup> While he was pursuing an MSc in Zoology at Fort Hare University between 1944 and 1950, Mokhehle was active in the ANCYL and became the deputy leader of its Fort Hare branch, which was under the leadership of Sobukwe, in 1948 (Mphanya 2004). His membership in this League gave him the opportunity to work closely not only with Sobukwe but also Lembede, Mandela and Joe Matthews (Weisfelder 2002).<sup>64</sup> He became President of the Basutoland National Teachers’ Association in 1952, five years after it was formed and the same year that he founded the BAC. That Mokhehle subscribed to Nkrumah’s thinking is evident from the remarks that he made when he was in Britain in November 1958 for constitutional talks. He said that the main objective of independence was to allow the Basotho to control the

economy of their country (Mphanya 2004), which echoes Nkrumah's argument that political independence had to precede economic independence. Mokhehle said that Basutoland would accumulate capital once the economy came under the control of the Basotho, a line of argument that exists in Nkrumah's speech delivered at the Conference of African Heads of States and Governments held in Addis Ababa in May 1963. Following Mokhehle's participation in, and election to, the steering committee of the AAPC of December 1958, the BAC began close association with the Pan-Africanist forces led by Nkrumah (Weisfelder 2002). Come 1961, it "declared its manifesto to consolidate its struggle alongside other PanAfricanist organisations and to fight on until the unity of African countries under an African parliament is realised" (Mphanya 2004, 132-33).

## ***5.2 Inventio, Dispositio and Elocutio***

Sobukwe's speech contains 51 paragraphs and is divided into three main parts: introduction, body and conclusion. The introduction contains 430 words (13% of the total in the speech) and is spread across nine paragraphs. The body contains 2795 words (84% of the total in the speech), spread across 41 paragraphs. The conclusion of the speech is made up of one paragraph that has 84 words in total (3% of the total in the speech). Figure 5.0 shows the number of words in each paragraph. The speech is organized according to Monroe's motivated sequence pattern of arrangement.

### **5.2.1 Attention Step**

The introduction of this speech occupies the first nine paragraphs. It begins with a quotation from the monthly newspaper *Mohlabani* (The Warrior). This newspaper, written in both Sesotho and English, was started in September 1954 by Mokhehle and three others: Bennett Khaketla and Zeph Mothopeng, both of whom were his colleagues at Basutoland High School, and Maile Maema who was a BPA member. It supported the BAC until 1960 when Khaketla, who was its editor and also the General Secretary of the party, became president of the Marema-Tlou Freedom Party. The newspaper dealt

mainly with the issue of political independence. Weisfelder describes it as “the legitimate voice of national aspirations” (Weisfelder 2002, 7) that provided “militant challenges to the *status-quo*” (Weisfelder 2002, 11). He also notes its impact:

...*Mohlabani* had a profound impact upon British administrators, expatriate clergy, and politically conscious Basotho. Under the editorship of Khaketla, an articulate writer with a B.A degree in politics and linguistics, the new paper shattered forever the colonial image of the Basotho as a servile people, who were content with their lot and immune from the anti-colonial forces sweeping the African continent. In espousing the BAC perspective and seeking to emulate Nkrumah’s *Accra Evening News*, Khaketla and his colleagues criticized the colonial bar, the dubious professional qualifications of many colonial officials, the good life led by the colonial elite at Basotho expense, and the Moore Report (Weisfelder 2002, 7).

According to Mphanya, *Mohlabani* was “the first paper that showed determination to fight colonialism and oppression” (Mphanya 2004, 16). He explains: “All other newspapers that existed before like *Mochochonono* and (*sic*) *Mphatlalatsane* did not fight discrimination and oppression, they were concerned with the advancement of Basotho within the colonial system” (Mphanya 2004, 16).

Sobukwe directly quotes from this newspaper which BAC supporters consider to be an authority in political matters to add weight to his view that the liberation struggle in Basutoland is aimed at securing the land for the Basotho, its rightful owners. He explains that the quotation clearly captures why the liberation struggle is on. This quotation, clearly also intended to capture the attention of the audience, arouse their emotions and intensify Sobukwe’s image as an African nationalist committed to the overthrow of the status quo, calls upon the Basotho to defend their fatherland against white domination:

“Tsoara thebe e tiee oa Rasenate  
Oa bona fatse leno le ea.”  
(Hold fast thy shield, son of Resenate,  
Thou seest thy fatherland is being taken away).

This quotation allows Sobukwe to switch from English to Sesotho, the mother tongue of the majority of his audience<sup>65</sup>. It has already been indicated that this switch is partly intended to capture the attention of the audience and arouse their emotions. But the switch is also intended to encourage the audience to identify with him as an African

in general and a Mosotho in particular. By using Sesotho, Sobukwe hopes to emerge as one that still identifies with his own people (including those that are not highly educated) and their culture, despite his western education. By using Sesotho in particular, he foregrounds his identity as a Mosotho, his father having being a Mosotho from Basutoland. The occurrence of this switch right at the beginning of the speech is an indicator of how crucial he considers his images as an African and a Mosotho to be for the success of his speech; both images allow him to align with the struggle. The switch is important for yet another reason. He is expressing his view on the liberation struggle in Basutoland, so one may ask, “What better way to discuss this struggle than in the language of the very people engaged in it?” The translation of the quotation into English allows him to reiterate that the struggle is for the land, and to switch back into English.

It can be argued that the inclusion of ‘our’ in the opening sentence of the speech -- “Mr. Speaker, Sir, sons and daughters of the soil, I wish...to quote the caption which appears in ‘Mohlabani’ since it expresses so clearly the reason for our sustained struggle” -- shows that Sobukwe’s target audience in the first paragraph is those that already support the BAC. But it can also be argued that the word is intended to boost solidarity among all members of the audience by creating the impression that they are all part of a team that is working towards a common goal, and that the speaker is their spokesperson. This team is not just any ordinary group but a family, hence Sobukwe’s use of the emotive phrase ‘sons and daughters of the soil’ where soil is a *synecdoche* representing Africa. By constructing a family image, Sobukwe hopes to boost love among the audience members and to trigger their African consciousness, both of which increase chances of their uniting in the struggle.

In the second paragraph, Sobukwe singles out the BAC as evidence to support his claim that “there still are people in Africa who prefer suffering and privation to the ‘flesh pots of Egypt’”. This statement is intended to portray BAC supporters as courageous and patriotic given that they have chosen deprivation as they determinedly struggle for the political independence of their country, rather than comfort under British tutelage and the prolonged domination that comes with it. One notes the employment of the phrase “flesh pots of Egypt”, which originates from the Bible (Exod. 16:3), to express the idea of comfort; the phrase is, to put it in other words, used symbolically.

A second attempt to make his introduction arresting is seen in the third paragraph. This time he employs narration. In particular, he uses an apologue that is based on an extended metaphor drawn from the animal world. The apologue distinguishes the BAC leaders and the collaborators in terms of their attitudes towards freedom. The BAC leaders are associated with a wolf that has chosen hunger to a full belly for the sake of freedom while the collaborators are associated with a dog that has chosen “chains and a full belly”. He clarifies this at the end of the apologue where he says that the hungry, independent wolves are the leaders of the BAC while the sleek, well fed dogs are the “‘good boys’ on whom the British Government has always relied to carry on its exploitation of colonial peoples.” The connotative element in the words wolf and dog is obvious; the violence associated with a wolf, and for some, the revulsion triggered by the thought of a dog.<sup>66</sup>

Both wolf and the dog are personified; they engage in dialogue. This helps to make the narrative interesting as the listeners see themselves in these characters. While the wolf acknowledges the dog as a ‘brother’, he also realizes that something about them sets them far apart: “Brother, how comes it that **you are so sleek and happy** when **I am so lean and discontented**. (*sic*)”, he asks the dog. By the end of their dialogue, the wolf has been able to establish that what sets them apart is their attitude towards freedom. The dog is least bothered about the fact that he cannot roam freely at night, as should be naturally the case. He has in fact willingly sacrificed this freedom for the comfort that makes him so sleek. That he is happy with the choice that he has made is evident in his invitation to the wolf to join him. He also openly admits that he is happy with this choice: “...at night I am chained. But that doesn’t (*sic*) worry me (*sic*)...“because I am well fed and cared for? (*sic*)””. The wolf, on the other hand, is alarmed at this thought. Turning down the invitation, he tells the dog: “I am accustomed to roaming about the forest free at night. I cannot accept chains for anything. I prefer **freedom and hunger** to **chains and a full belly**.” The antithetical phrases (identified in bold) in this dialogue are employed to emphasize the contrast between the nationalists and the collaborators. One notes that while the choice of the nationalists is described using relatively neutral words -- freedom, hunger -- that of the collaborators is described using highly negative words -- chains, a full belly.<sup>67</sup> This is deliberately done to reveal his respect for the nationalists

and contempt for the collaborators. The choices, considered in light of the colonial context, portray the BAC leaders as brave, thus virtuous, and the collaborators as cowardly, thus vicious.

This apologue, he announces, is told in “the starving, depleted and deserted villages of our motherland.” He is saying, in other words, that it is told in the homes of the freedom fighters, the nationalists. ‘Depleted’ is a decorative epithet, which he employs to impress upon the listeners the condition of these homes. It creates an image of scruffiness, which is how the wolf in the apologue looks. ‘Starving’ is a phrasal (packed) epithet, which he employs to impress the hunger of the owners of these homes. The image created here is one of thin people, thin as the wolf. ‘Deserted’ is decorative and phrasal; decorative to the extent that it impresses upon the mind the conditions of these homes, and phrasal to the extent that it implies the courage of their owners, people whom he has claimed prefer suffering and privation to the flesh pots of Egypt. They have left their homes to go fight for freedom. This image of the freedom fighters as brave people is intended to boost pride in them.

The freedom fighters, he notes, include both educated youth and old men of the past. He identifies their struggle with that of earlier Basotho nationalists and nationalists in the rest of Africa. This is in the tenth paragraph, which forms the opening of the body of the speech:

*If we want to understand the meaning of our present struggle, the reason why the whole continent of Africa, **from Egypt and Algeria in the North, to Basutoland and South Africa in the South**, is in ferment; if we want to know why it is that the educated youth of Basutoland is fighting hand in hand with the old men of the past, if we want to know why it is that Ntsu Mokhehle and Josiel Lefela are speaking the same language as Moshoeshoe and Lerotholi spoke many years ago, we must go back a little in history and see the events unfold.*

Note the *anaphora* (identified in italics) and parallelism (identified in bold), the effect of which will be discussed shortly. Before that however, some few comments on the individuals mentioned in the paragraph.

Mokhehle has already been commented on in earlier parts of this chapter. Lefela formed the earlier mentioned *Lekhotla la Bafo*, which became active in 1919. He was a politician who “spoke for change and a restoration of the idealized past, a past

when Paramount Chief and people consulted together at the great pitso of the Nation and no foreign officials and missionaries of conflicting views brought in alien laws and ideas and confused the forces of unity and tradition” (Haliburton 1975, 111).<sup>68</sup> He defended the custom of praying directly to the Founder of the Nation, Moshoeshoe, who was perceived as the appropriate mediator with God. He also defended the circumcision schools and traditional dress (Haliburton 1975). This concern with a revival of traditional structures, and subsequently the preservation of African identity, a concern that was addressed by earlier African nationalists including Blyden, Hayford, Ahuma, Sarbah, Sekyi, Azikiwe and Faduma<sup>69</sup>, explains why Sobukwe, in the introduction of his speech, describes Basotho freedom fighters as “people who have taken it upon themselves to ‘rebuild the destroyed shrines.’” This direct quotation is taken from the dedication in Kenyatta’s *Facing Mount Kenya*, a text that defends the traditional institutions of the Gikuyu.<sup>70</sup> It is calculated to show the good that these freedom fighters are engaged in. When considered in its immediate context – “the Basutoland African Congress...has made the Basotho realize that there still are people in Africa who prefer suffering and privation to the ‘flesh pots of Egypt’; people who have taken it upon themselves to ‘rebuild the destroyed shrines.’”, it becomes obvious that the quotation contributes to the image of these freedom fighters as courageous.

Lefela formed the *Lekhotla la Bafo* in response to the National Council that came into being in 1903. The National Council, proposed by the British Resident Commissioner as an alternative to the national *pitso*, was comprised of chiefs and their advisers, which Lefela maintained was not in the best interests and good government of Basutoland. As Haliburton explains,

In Lefela’s mind the chiefs had become hirelings of the foreigner, had helped him subvert the traditional democratic institutions of the country, and had forfeited the trust of the Common Man. This was why he formed an association to work for the recovery of lost freedoms and the restoration of political responsibility to the Basotho under the name of *Lekhotla la Bafo* or the ‘Council of Commons’ (*sic*) (Haliburton 1975, 124).

The association “wanted a return to the good old days of the pre-colonial chieftainship, when the chiefs, it believed, paid more attention to the wishes and rights of their subjects. Above all it wanted a chieftainship free from the control and interference of the colonial

government” (Murray and Sanders 2000, 58). Further, the association fought racial discrimination as well as Britain’s attempt to change Basutoland from a protectorate to a colony and to incorporate it into South Africa (Mphanya 2004). As with other African nationalists Lefela was motivated by President Wilson’s 1919 principle of self-determination, that is, the right of all peoples in the world to choose the governments under which they would live. He identified with Garvey, which is evident from the following letter dated 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1927 to President Calvin Coolidge from E. Moshesh:

We, the peoples of Basutoland in South Africa assembled in our congress known as ‘Lekhotla la Bafo’ (Commons’ Association) have the great honour and respect to have to put this prayer of ours before your consideration for the release of Honourable Marcus Garvey from Atlanta Prison without deportation.

We the African Negroes regard Honourable Marcus Garvey in the same light as Jacob did to his son Joseph who was sold as a slave and served as such in Egypt after Jacob found out that he was still alive and the same Joseph had the claim of share in his father’s patrimony. In the same manner we regard Honourable Marcus Garvey doing well with his movement to rouse the negroes of the world to a race consciousness and nationalism to build a Government of their own in Africa their motherland....

We pray your Excellency to exercise your executive clemency on Marcus Garvey and release him from the prison cell because he committed no crime in rousing the negro peoples of the world to race consciousness (Moshesh n.d, 163-64).

Similarly, Moshoeshoe (1786-1870) resisted white occupation and rule of his nation, which he founded largely from uniting refugees from clans scattered by the Lifaqane.<sup>71</sup> By bringing these tribes together, Moshoeshoe was attempting to promote African unity, which he believed to be the most effective weapon against the colonizers. Gerhart points out that “beginning as early as the mid-nineteenth-century wars of white conquest, perceptive African leaders like Moshesh of the Basuto realized that the failure of African ethnic groups to unite would mean victory for the invaders” (Gerhart 1978, 11-12). In *Political Africa: A Who’s Who of Personalities and Parties* it is noted that the “concepts of Southern African unity and of democratic consultation date back to the time of Basuto Chief Moshoeshoe who -- in the late nineteenth century -- sent ambassadors to the Zulu, Xhosa, Bechuana and to Adam Kok of the Griqua, to propose African unity

against the common European enemy” (Segal, Hoskyns and Ainslie 1961, 304). And according to Sobukwe:

When Moshoeshoe brought together the scattered remnants of various African tribes and moulded them into a patriotic Sotho tribe, he was engaged in nation-building. Similarly Chaka’s wars whereby he sought to establish a single authority in place of the many tribal authorities of Natal, were, we say, steps in the direction of nation-building. In the Cape the House of Gcaleka was recognised as the Paramount authority. There is no doubt that the pressure of social and economic conditions would in time have given rise to the Union of these territories (Sobukwe 1977, 3:506).

The *anaphora* ‘if we want to’ that appears in paragraph ten serves to preface, hence emphasize, the thought that an understanding of the past is a precondition for an understanding of the on-going struggle for freedom, a struggle whose reach is continental: “If we want to understand the meaning of our present struggle, the reason why the whole continent of Africa, **from Egypt and Algeria in the North, to Basutoland and South Africa in the South**, is in ferment... we must go back a little in history and see the events unfold.” Through this statement, Sobukwe attempts to portray Basutoland as part of the wider continent of Africa by aligning its demands with those of the other countries in the continent.<sup>72</sup> There is a skilful attempt therefore to create commonality amongst African countries, whereby they are united by their struggle for a common goal, freedom. He hopes that this shared sense of identity would provide fertile ground for African unity. One notes his employment of parallelism (identified in bold) to attach equal importance to the different countries in the different regions in Africa. As will be seen in later chapters, other key figures examined in this thesis not only employ this technique, but also echo the words in Sobukwe’s structure.

### **5.2.2 Need Step: The Source and Effect of Colonization**

Sobukwe attempts to make his audience realize the need for unity in the liberation struggle by attributing Southern Africa’s colonization to African disunity. Southern Africa, which he calls a ‘country’, was conquered and remains colonized, he attempts to show, because the Africans were and continue to be divided by the white man. It is because some tribal factions teamed up with the white man in wars against

rival factions while some tribes teamed up with the white man in wars against other tribes, that resistance to colonial rule in the past failed. It is because many have been de-Africanized that the African race is too weak to overcome white domination. It is because some have been persuaded that the liberation struggle is not in their best interest while others believe in white supremacy, that they have refrained from joining the nationalist movements, which denies these movements the strength required to remove the colonial rulers. Sobukwe also tries to impress upon his audience that were it not for the colonizers they would not be suffering the discrimination that they are now. These arguments, which he presents between the tenth and forty-fifth paragraphs of his speech, are analysed below.

#### **5.2.2.1 The Source of Colonization: Tribal Warfare**

*All provincial and tribal differences should be broken down completely. By operating on tribal differences and colonial provincialism, the colonial powers' age-long policy of "divide and rule" has been enhanced, while the colonial national independence movement has been obstructed and bamboozled - From Towards Colonial Freedom<sup>73</sup>*

Sobukwe argues that it is because some tribal factions teamed up with the white man in wars against rival factions while some tribes teamed up with the white man in wars against other tribes, that resistance to colonial rule in the past failed. He claims: “[The white man, particularly the Englishman] has always managed to get some Africans on his side to fight against other Africans.” He supports this claim that he makes in the eleventh paragraph with reference to three historical events, all which are also intended to appeal to the emotions of the audience.

The first historical event took place between 1817 and 1818 among the Xhosa. In 1817 Chief Ndlambe, working together with his prophet Makana and paramount chief Hintsa, routed Chief Ngqika, his nephew. The British colonial government intervened in 1818 on the pretext of aiding Ngqika, their ally. Ngqika had become an ally when he was persuaded by missionaries to accept the friendship and protection of the British Governor. While the colonial government made this arrangement with the aim of recruiting his faction in their fight against Ndlambe, Ngqika's acceptance of the deal was motivated by revenge for the humiliating defeats that he had suffered in several battles with his uncle. In return for the Governor's friendship and protection, Ngqika allowed the missionaries

to establish missions in his territory. The British and Ngqika forces combined were able to defeat those of Ndlambe. The crops and cattle that Ndlambe's faction depended on for existence were destroyed and raided. Having achieved his mission, the Governor soon after seized Ngqika's land between the Fish River and the Keiskama River and it came to be known as Ceded Territory.

The second event involves the Zulu nation, which was divided in the 1830s by the Boers who had trekked from the Eastern Cape and settled in Natal. When they defeated King Dingane in the Battle of Blood River on 16<sup>th</sup> December 1838, the Voortrekkers led by Andries Pretorius assisted Mpande (his half-brother) and his followers to overthrow him, which led to Mpande becoming king of the AmaZulu from 1840 until his death in 1872. The Voortrekkers New Republic annexed much of his land.

While the first two events involve intra-tribal division, the third involves inter-tribal division. It involves in other words, the setting of one tribe against another. Sobukwe draws attention to the first Sekukuni war, which took place in 1876. The war was fought between the Bapedi (they originated from the Sotho) whose chief was Sekukuni and the Boers who had encroached on their land. A strong force of Swazis, a rival ethnic group, fought on the Boer side.

These events are described emotively. Sobukwe notes that the first event involved "a nephew set against his uncle". This parallel structure, which comes after the parallel structure "Ngqika set against Ndlambe", enables him to clarify the relationship between these two individuals. He notes that the second event involved "brother set against brother". This diacopic parallel structure is employed partly for, as in the previous case, clarification purposes. It follows the parallel structure "Mpande set against Dingaan" and serves to clarify the relationship between these two individuals. He describes both events symbolically as "blood against blood". The diacopic parallel structures "brother set against brother" and "blood against blood" also enable him to emphasize the emotive terms 'brother' and 'blood', the latter representing relative. Sobukwe notes that the third event involved "one black tribe set against another", which echoes the previous parallel structures. These four parallel structures, which he uses as a refrain, allow him to impress that all Africans—those from one's extended family and immediate family as well as those from different tribes—are equally important, a

perception that is vital for the materialization of unity. At the same time, the structures allow him to draw attention to the breadth of African disunity.<sup>74</sup> Further, they provide a means of making his thought memorable. The repeated use of “set against” enables him to emphasize the white man’s role in creating this disunity. Says Sobukwe:

In the Cape, for instance, we had Ngqika set against Ndlambe, and when the latter was defeated with the ‘assistance’ of British forces, Ngqika was compelled to cede land to the British. Here we had a nephew set against his uncle. Blood against blood.

In Natal we had Mpande set against Dingaan and with the defeat of the latter the Zulus lost Natal. Here again we had brother set against brother; blood against blood.

When the Boers found that they could not defeat Sekukuni, they got the Swazis on their side and defeated Sekukuni. We had here one black tribe set against another.

In the seventeenth paragraph Sobukwe claims that tribal warfare is a source of African disunity in contemporary Africa. To support this, he appeals to what the Zulus, Basotho and Xhosas currently believe about one other:

...the whites...keep on reminding us that this one is a Zulu, the proud descendant of Chaka, with a glorious military history and should have nothing to do with the cunning Basotho; that one is told he is a Mosotho, a proud descendant of the wise Moshoeshoe, and the only tribe that was never conquered by either black or white, and he should not associate with the wild, savage Zulus nor with the treacherous, thieving Xhosas.

*And yet they call us all ‘Kaffirs’.* (emphasis mine).

The warrant here is that there is no reason why the different tribes in Africa should not become united.

The discussion here would best conclude with a note of the prophecy that in post-colonial Africa, national loyalties would be a stumbling block to African unification. In an interview conducted by Matthew Nkoana while the two were in jail together, Sobukwe said that a union of African states was necessary because “just as the oppressor set tribe against tribe in the earlier struggle for Africa, he will most likely set country against country in an attempt to maintain foothold on the continent”.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, in his address during the inauguration of the University of Zambia on 13<sup>th</sup> July 1966, Nyerere warned:

...although national pride does not automatically preclude the development of pride in Africa, it is very easily twisted to have that effect. And certainly it will be deliberately bolstered by those who are anxious to keep Africa weak by her division, or those anxious to keep Africa divided because they would rather be important people in a small state than less important people in a bigger one. Kenyans and Zambians will be told—indeed, are already being told!—that Tanzania is communist and under Chinese control, or that it is so weak that it is the unwilling and unwitting base for Chinese subversion. Tanzanians, on the other hand, are told that Kenya is under American control, and Zambia hostile to it because of its policy on Rhodesia. And so on. Everything will be done and said which can sow suspicion and disunity between us until finally our people, and our leaders, say—“Let us carry on alone, let us forget this mirage of unity and freedom for the whole of Africa” (Nyerere 1968, 211).

### 5.2.2.2 The Source of Colonization: De-Africanization and Europeanization

*Africans are one. Out of the heterogeneous tribes, there must emerge a homogenous nation. The basis of national unity is the nationalistic feeling of the Africans, the feeling of being Africans irrespective of tribal connection, social status, educational attainment or economic class - From “Policy of the Congress Youth League.”<sup>76</sup>*

Sobukwe draws attention to those in the past who abandoned their African identity for that of the colonizers. He attributes this disavowal to Christianity and education. He claims that no sooner had African tribes finished welcoming the missionaries, than the missionaries got down to dividing them. He gives two factual specific instances in the fourteenth paragraph to support this claim. The missionaries identified Africans as, first, ‘Christian’ or ‘heathen’, and, second, educated or uneducated. The ‘Christian’ and the educated despised everything African, he says.<sup>77</sup>

The sentences that Sobukwe uses to convey that missionaries were welcomed only for them to set the Africans against one another are noteworthy for they are constructed to evoke a feeling of betrayal in the listeners as well as to impress upon them how hypocritical and disloyal the white man is, impressions that are important if he is to convince them, as he attempts to, that the British are an untrustworthy lot.<sup>78</sup> These sentences come in the fourteenth paragraph and read:

But there was also a subtler division introduced and the people who fostered that division were the servants of God, those whom the Xhosa called **oonyawo-ntle** (those with beautiful feet). and (*sic*) the Basotho called them **baruti** (teachers), those who brought light. These names show how gladly these people were welcomed by the African tribes. But

they immediately created divisions in the tribes, setting up the so-called 'Christian' Africans against the so-called 'heathens'; the educated against the uneducated. And (*sic*) everything African was frowned upon by the 'Christians' and the educated.

In the sixteenth paragraph Sobukwe claims that western education remains a source of African disunity in contemporary Africa. He observes that it is causing family squabbles: "The educated "Native" is still being told that he is better than the uneducated raw "kaffir" (*sic*) And many believe it and act accordingly, thereby insulting their fathers and mothers, because many of us have been educated by these same raw, blanketed "kaffirs" who are neither Christians nor educated natives."<sup>79</sup> The change from third person plural to first person plural is intended to draw a contrast between nationalists and those that have been de-Africanized.<sup>80</sup> While some nationalists and the de-Africanized are similar to the extent that they are educated, the former, unlike the latter, do not insult their parents.

The language employed is strikingly attracting. Just as Sobukwe imparts that whether one is a Zulu, Mosotho or Xhosa, a black remains a 'kaffir' in the white man's eye (and note the emphasis given to this thought by placing the statement 'And yet they call us all 'Kaffirs' at the beginning of the eighteenth paragraph), so does he impart that educated or uneducated, an African remains a victim of insult in as far as the European is concerned. The use of 'native' and other reference terms with negative connotation had sparked protest from as early as the eighteenth century. In a letter dated July 1776 to Laurence Sterne, Sancho remarked: "I am one of those people whom the vulgar and illiberal call 'Negurs'" (Sancho 1974, 99). Hayford and Sarbah began their campaign in 1906. In his review of *Memoirs of West African Celebrities* which appeared in the *Gold Coast Leader* dated 7<sup>th</sup> April 1906 Hayford, citing Sancho, protested against the "new vile importation in terms of 'Negro' and 'nigger'" arguing that "no race that is self-respecting ought to suffer itself to be called by approbrious (*sic*) names...We are Ethiopians – Africans. As such we have been known from the days of Herodotus and Homer" (Geiss 1974, 203). Geiss points out that a plea against the word 'Native' and for 'African' appeared in the *Gold Coast Nation* in 1914 (Geiss 1974). In his speech titled "Nationalism as a West African Ideal" which he delivered to the WASU in November

1926, Hayford urged the members, in their capacity as the future leaders of Africa, to work at eradicating erroneous ideas about Africans that were widespread at the time, which included that ‘negro’ and ‘native’ are suitable references for them (Hayford 1969).

The derogatory term ‘kaffir’, which is found mainly in Southern Africa colonial discourse, has a more negative connotation than ‘native’ and the interchange of the two in the description above is meant to convey the difference in the European’s attitude towards Africans whose African soul has died and Africans whose African soul is immortal, an immortality that manifests in his dressing in African garb in contemporary times. While both are scorned, there is more appreciation for he that leans towards western thinking. This difference is emphasized by placing the phrase ‘the educated Native’ at the beginning of the sentence and ‘the uneducated raw kaffir’ at the end. Meanwhile, the phrasal epithet ‘raw’ reveals an intention to allude to the idea of ‘white man’s burden’ which, as seen in Chapter Two of this thesis, had been elaborated in colonialist literature that emerged as early as the late nineteenth century.

### **5.2.2.3 The Source of Colonization: Negative Images of the African Nationalist Movement**

Some Basotho, Sobukwe observes in the nineteenth paragraph, have been persuaded that the leaders of the country’s nationalist movement are untrustworthy individuals. These leaders, he notes, are being depicted as power-hungry individuals bent on destroying the chieftainship so that they become the rulers, after which they would exploit the masses. He introduces this view through references to hear-say, whereby he singles out the phrasal epithets (identified in bold in the quotation below) that the sources use to describe nationalists. He attempts to make these characteristics memorable by employing, first, antithesis whereby he also notes the image of collaborators and, second, *asyndeton*:

I have come to learn that even here in Basutoland you have your ‘**good boys**,’ **the tried and tested collaborators**; the ‘**responsible natives**’ whose mouths are ever watering for the flesh pots of Egypt. You also have, I learn, your agitators, your rebels and schemers, the ‘**dirty bastards**’ who want to destroy the Chieftainship and take power into their own hands, and make slaves of you all.

One notes the other words that he says are used to refer to the nationalists -- agitators, rebels, schemers. These are all highly negative. By listing them here, he is able to convey how deeply hated these individuals are by the authors of these texts, whom he maintains can only be the British or the African collaborators. Also of significance is the fact that the phrases 'I have come to learn' and 'you also have, I learn', both of which assert observation, occupy emphatic positions in the paragraph. Meanwhile, the phrase 'even here in Basutoland' conveys that he has also noted these images elsewhere (most likely South Africa).

Sobukwe attempts to vindicate the leaders by refuting the implication that they are power-hungry individuals whose ultimate goal is to dominate the masses. He refutes this by providing logical, pathetic and ethical proof. He claims that these leaders are for and with the masses, a claim that he supports with facts and opinion. The first fact is that these leaders have suffered, which he presents in form of *erotesis* in the twenty-first paragraph: "Why should you trust the white official or the white 'liberal' more than your own leaders who have proved through personal suffering, of which you all are witnesses, that they are with you?" Sobukwe's intent to emphasize this fact becomes obvious when he repeats it in the forty-fourth paragraph: "Mokhehle and Lefela have shown you what it means to be a leader. They have suffered as you all know, and they are still suffering." It is noteworthy that he suppresses alternative views with respect to the suffering of the BAC leaders through the devices "you all are witnesses" and "you all know".<sup>81</sup> This fact is, other than proving the truth of his claim, calculated to portray these leaders as brave, a quality that should boost their *ethos* as virtuous people. The second fact also appears in the twenty-first paragraph: "They live with you, eat with you." This statement employs both parallelism and *asyndeton*. The *asyndeton* is intended to make the thought appear spontaneous thus giving it a touch of sincerity while the parallelism is intended to emphasize that receiving food and receiving shelter are equally significant. The third fact appears in the forty-fifth paragraph: "They have exposed corruption (*sic*) in the Administration...". The fourth fact, which is provided in the twenty-seventh paragraph, is that these leaders rejected the Moore Report just like every other Mosotho:

It was your vigilance that made you study so carefully the beautifully phrased Moore Report, and you discovered that the recommendations of the Moore Commission amounted to handing over Basutoland to the white officials here. And you rejected that report in every village and town throughout the country. And it was your Congress that led the opposition to the Moore Report, this same Congress that is said to be anxious to dominate you.<sup>82</sup>

The fifth fact, which stretches across the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth paragraphs, is that these leaders also opposed the appointment of Chaplin as Resident Commissioner in the country. He employs the cliché originally from *Hamlet* (identified in bold) to enhance the discussion. It conveys that the Basotho discovered that there was something dubious about the Government:

It was your vigilance that made you note the steady infiltration of white Union Nationals into the Basutoland Administration and when you investigated their activities you discovered that there was ‘**something rotten in the state of Denmark.**’ But the British Government has forced Chaplin on you....The Chiefs, leaders, (*sic*) of Congress and the masses opposed Chaplin’s appointment, but those who are interested in the incorporation of Basutoland into the Union welcomed Chaplin.

Sobukwe also supports the claim that the BAC leaders are for and with the masses, through the following opinion which he provides in paragraph forty-five: “They...have fought relentlessly for the improvement of the lot of the Basotho in their own land (*sic*)”.

The *pathos* in this argument is obvious. By repeating the statement “it was your vigilance”, Sobukwe emphasizes a positive character trait, which is a compliment to the Basotho. This compliment is intended to make his listeners proud, hence more receptive to his arguments. One notes that in the twenty-seventh paragraph, the ‘your’ refers to the masses while in the twenty-eighth paragraph, it refers to the chiefs, the BAC leaders and the masses.

Remaining on this point, one further notes that he particularly emphasizes the vigilance of the leaders. This emphasis is achieved not only through the contrast introduced by suddenly altering the statement “it was your vigilance” to “it was the vigilance of your leaders” but also placing the latter at the beginning of the paragraph in which it appears, which is thirty.<sup>83</sup>

Sobukwe attempts to show that the colonialist image of African nationalists that he reconstructs in the nineteenth paragraph is, in reality, the character of the British administration. He tries to impress upon his audience, in other words, that it is the British administration that is untrustworthy. He does this by portraying this administration as one that is made up of dishonest people who have no regard for African chiefs and thrive on exploiting the commoners. This image is created mainly through *logos*.

The British administration, Sobukwe claims, does not value African chieftainship, a claim that he presents in form of a question in the twentieth paragraph: “...do you think [the white men] care two hoots for your Chiefs or your Paramounts (*sic*) Chief?” This question is made emphatic by being placed in a paragraph constituted of *erotesis*. It is also made emphatic, as are the other questions in the paragraph, by including the pronoun ‘you’ in the statement that opens the paragraph. This ‘you’ is also particularly significant in that it reveals that the audience consists of, among others, Basotho that had not yet identified with the BAC. By addressing this part of the audience directly, Sobukwe hopes to involve them in the speech, thus holding their attention while lessening the gap between them and him and the listeners that already identify with the BAC.

To support his claim, Sobukwe gives four specific instances. Two of these appear in the twentieth paragraph. The first of them is the exile of Seretse Khama from Botswana to Britain in 1950 while the second is the hanging of Chiefs Bereng and Gabasheane, both senior chiefs in Basutoland, on 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1949. Khama was exiled by the British administration following protests from the white community in Southern Africa at his being proclaimed chief of the Bangwato while his white wife, Ruth Williams, was proclaimed queen. At the time, interracial marriages were prohibited in South Africa and the then Rhodesia. Bereng and Gabasheane were hanged in Maseru for allegedly orchestrating the medicine murder of ‘Meleke Ntai in March 1948. This event attracted worldwide attention. According to Colin Murray and Peter Sanders, it marked a decisive moment in the history of colonial rule in the country. It reinforced the belief that the British were bent on destroying the chieftainship (Murray and Sanders 2000).

The other two specific instances appear in the thirtieth paragraph. In the first Sobukwe says: “...it was the civilised English who cut off the head of Chief Moorosi and

stuck it on a pole...”. And in the second: “...it was these cultured people - who never break their word - who mutilated the body of Chief Hintsia in the Cape.”<sup>84</sup> These statements are paradoxical, so designed with the intention of creating a sardonic tone. Earlier on in the analysis, it was observed that the use of the epithet ‘raw’ to describe Africans who are neither Christians nor educated reveals an intention to allude to the idea of ‘white man’s burden’. So too does the use of the phrasal epithets ‘civilised English’ and ‘cultured people’.

Sobukwe further supports his claim that the British administration does not value African chieftainship through two facts that indicate the innocence of Basotho chiefs accused of involvement in ritual murders.<sup>85</sup> These facts appear in the thirtieth paragraph, which begins with this metaphorical description of the murders: “It was the vigilance of your leaders that made them notice that all of a sudden Basutoland had become a huge abattoir (*sic*), slaughtering not stock but human beings.” In this metaphor drawn from agricultural life, a life known to the Basotho, Sobukwe associates ritual murders with the slaughter of cattle. This is in an attempt to vivify the extent of damage involved and to convey how merciless the killing is, for the butcher man who kills animals to supply food that will sustain life does not regret his actions. The first of the two facts reads: “We have read through the history of Basutoland and nowhere do we find evidence of ritual murders.” The second reads: “Not even in war did the Basotho mutilate an enemy.”<sup>86</sup>

The British, Sobukwe claims, thrive on exploiting Africans. He supports this claim in the twenty-second paragraph by appealing to his audience’s experience as servants: “The fact is; you know [the white man] does not care this bit about you, except as a servant to wash his dishes and dirty linen and dig his garden.” He also supports the claim by appealing to their experience as migrant mineworkers, an appeal that is also calculated to evoke the shared aspiration for freedom. This is in the thirty-eighth paragraph:

We are fighting to break the political and economic chains that bind us, compelling the life-blood of Basutoland, the youth of our country, to go to the gold mines to produce wealth that they do not enjoy, coming back here to Basutoland (*sic*) as human incubators to produce more moles to go into the subterranean passages of Johannesburg and Welkom to burrow for more wealth and come back sick and useless with phthisis - to die.

The warrant for this argument is that no one desires to be enslaved.

Africans, ended up as “reservoirs of labour”, Sobukwe maintains, because of land dispossession facilitated by the missionaries. By showing that there was an evil motive behind their befriending African chiefs, he creates the image that the missionaries are dishonest people, an image that he hopes will lead to their being perceived as untrustworthy by his audience. Argues Sobukwe:

[The missionaries] became the trusted friends of the Chiefs and knew all their secrets. We have evidence today that many of them acted as spies for their governments. It was they who arranged the so-called ‘Peace Treaties’ by which Africans lost their land and became reservoirs of labour that they are, today. They are called euphemistically, in some parts‘ (*sic*) ‘British subjects.’

The image of a reservoir, which he presents much earlier in the speech (paragraph 15), is used to impress how plentiful the labourers are. Meanwhile, the description in the thirty-eighth paragraph is intended to impress how worthless the life of these labourers is, a clear appeal to the emotions of the listeners. The life of the Basotho migrant mineworkers, who are identified as moles, is a life that is never enjoyed, a life that ends miserably. And it is a life that carries on from generation to generation. One notes Sobukwe’s effort to share the sadness that he tries to evoke here by referring to Basutoland as ‘our’ country.

The British administration, Sobukwe maintains, is not going to grant independence to Basutoland as the ‘good boys’ have been convinced. He claims in the twenty-fourth paragraph: “[The British] will not gladly hand Basutoland back to you.” This claim is based on the observation that the British are a dishonest lot, which he notes in the twenty-fifth paragraph: “...an Englishman...never gives [his word]! When you are sure he has said this, he comes back to prove to you that he could never have meant what you understood him to mean. You must have misunderstood him.” This argument relies on the following warrant, which is explicitly stated in the twenty-fourth paragraph: “It is one of the maxims of politics that a group in power never voluntarily relinquishes its position. It has to be compelled to do so. And the British I submit, are no exception”.

This maxim allows Sobukwe to intensify his image as one with (political) wisdom while building common ground with those among the audience who know about politics.

#### 5.2.2.4 The Source of Colonization: African Inferiority Complex

African inferiority complex is a hindrance to colonial resistance, claims Sobukwe. He supports this claim with the belief that the white man knows everything, a datum that he provides in the twenty-second paragraph: “You follow him, because you have been taught by him in Church and school that **umlungu mdala** (the white man knows everything).” He also supports the claim with the belief that Africans were born to be slaves, which he provides in the same paragraph: “It is your *slave mentality* that makes you follow him; the *slave mentality* that was instilled into you from childhood when you saw your own father, your God, saluting a small white boy as ‘**morena**’ or ‘**bass**’.” One notes the use of *conduplicatio* (identified in italics) to emphasize the belief that Africans were born to be slaves.<sup>87</sup>

Sobukwe attempts to enforce the ideas that bravery, loyalty, sacrifice and unity are essential if political independence is to be regained in Basutoland in particular and Africa at large through three allusions: to the Maccabean Revolt in Judea (now Israel); to the city of Sparta; and to the battle at the Sublician Bridge. He alludes to the Maccabean Revolt through the following direct quotation of Simon’s words as they are recorded in a text by Howard Fast. This allusion, which appears in the fortieth paragraph of his speech, reveals that he is addressing people that he believes are acquainted with religion and Jewish history. The quotation from Fast’s text reads:

‘Go to Regesh and tell him the Maccabee is in Ephraim the Maccabee and his brother Simon - tell him two men are in Ephraim and that so long as two men walk free on Judean soil, the fight goes on. Tell him it goes on until all the world knows that in Judea there is a people who will not bend their knee to man or god! We were slaves in Egypt, and we shall not be slaves again. Tell Regesh that!’

Through this quotation, Sobukwe associates himself with an individual known for his respect for personal courage and desire for social justice.<sup>88</sup> Sobukwe thus skilfully expresses his own passion for these virtues, which boosts his image as a virtuous person.

The allusion to Sparta, which appears in the forty-second paragraph, is also done through direct quotation. Sobukwe directly quotes from a conversation that occurred between Sparta's king and an ambassador from Epirus who was on an official visit; at the time, Sparta "was the most powerful and important city of Greece" (Keigwin 1915, 65). Says Sobukwe: "We are fighting for the hastening of the day when Mokhehle will be able to point to every man and woman in Basutoland and say, as the King of Sparta said of his soldiers, 'Behold the walls of Sparta (Basutoland), ten thousand men and every man a brick!'" This conversation is recorded in *Sower's Seeds of Encouragement: Fifth Planting* (1998), where the origin of the expression 'he's a brick' is traced:

The term implies bravery, courage and loyalty.

Plutarch, in writing about the king of Sparta, tells how the phrase originated. It seems that an ambassador on a diplomatic mission visited the famous city of Sparta. Knowing that its strength was acclaimed throughout all Greece, he expected to see massive fortresses surrounding the city, but he found nothing of the kind. Surprised, the ambassador said to the king, 'Sir you have no fortifications for defense. How can this be?'

'Oh, but we are well protected,' replied the king. 'Come with me tomorrow and I will show you the walls of Sparta.'

The next day he led the ambassador to the plains where Sparta's army was assembled in full battle dress. Pointing proudly to his soldiers, who stood fearlessly in place, the king said, 'Behold! The walls of Sparta—ten thousand men and every man a brick!' (Cavanaugh 1998, 64-5).

This allusion is most apt considering the physical characteristics of Sparta then; they closely match those in Basutoland at the time that Sobukwe was speaking: "...a cluster of open villages in a plain. The houses stood in spacious gardens, and there were no walls or fortifications." Sobukwe evokes the image of a powerful Basutoland, whose might rests on brave and loyal citizens. The third allusion, which appears in the forty-third paragraph, is to the battle fought between Romans and Etrurians at the River Tiber. This story tells of a brave Roman soldier called Horatius who is credited for the heroic deed of single-handedly defending the Sublician Bridge that traversed the Tiber River against the enemies led by King Porsena, thus preventing this king from entering and conquering Rome. It is this kind of bravery that is characterised by a preparedness to die in battle that Sobukwe tries to evoke in his audience through this allusion. This allusion, like the other two discussed above, is also done through a direct quote, this time from the poem

“Horatius” by Thomas Macaulay. This allusion reveals that the audience consists of both an educated lot and people that are acquainted with Pan-Africanist discourse. Sobukwe tells his audience:

We are looking forward to the dawn of the day when the young  
herdboys will listen to the call of Congress and say with Macaulay’s (*sic*)  
Roman soldier:  
‘And how can man die better  
Than facing fearful odds. (*sic*)  
For the ashes of his fathers (*sic*)  
And the temples of his gods?’ (*sic*)<sup>89</sup>

By quoting from the poem “Horatius”, Sobukwe associates himself with Macaulay who “throughout his life...expressed a sincere, exuberant, unwavering love for liberty.”<sup>90</sup> Sobukwe thus skilfully conveys that he too highly regards liberty, which boosts his image as a virtuous person.

#### **5.2.2.5 The Effect of Colonization: Racialism**

Racial injustice prevails in colonial Basutoland, claims Sobukwe. He supports this claim with various data that are intended to stir the emotions of the audience. These data are extended example, observation, belief and facts.

Sobukwe describes an incident that occurred that morning as he entered Basutoland from South Africa. The description starts at paragraph thirty-one and ends at thirty-five. “When we came into Basutoland this morning we were greeted at the gate leading into Maseru by huge, bold letters: BASUTOLAND: ENTER IN PEACE. What a welcome!” The description thus far is intended to evoke happiness. The word ‘greeted’ is emotive, connoting a feeling of warmth and joy between those shaking hands. The exclamation ‘What a welcome!’ is employed to arouse joy and pride in the listeners; joy to the extent that they themselves have experienced this feeling when warmly welcomed in different situations and pride to the extent that the Basotho are indirectly being praised for their cordiality. This feeling of pride is further evoked by the image that immediately follows: “We could see Moshoeshoe himself uttering those words to weary travellers and refugees, to the white missionaries and traders: ‘Enter in Peace.’” This is a flashback to

pre-colonial Basutoland where cordiality is acclaimed as a value that was extended without discrimination, “to weary travellers and refugees, to the white missionaries and traders”.<sup>91</sup> Sobukwe repeats ‘Enter in Peace’, both times at the end of a paragraph to emphasize this cordiality. He tries to evoke pride with the aim of instilling a positive self-image in his audience, which is crucial if they are to fight for liberation. One notes the repetition of the idea that the missionaries were warmly welcomed to Basutoland. Earlier, he told his listeners that the Sesotho name for missionaries, *baruti*, directly translated as “teachers” and conveying the idea of “those who brought light”, was an indicator of how happily the Basotho welcomed the missionaries, who were white.

He then relates what happened when they entered Basutoland:

We entered. A Basutoland Mounted Policeman took particulars of our car etc. Well and good, we thought it is a necessary formality. Then we were told to get out of the car, (*sic*) - **all of us** - and produce our passes. We spent an hour spelling out our names and defining ourselves ethnically (*sic*).

In the meantime European cars were passing. Particulars of the cars and drivers were taken, and then to attention stood the Basutoland Mounted Policeman, and with a grin extending from ear to ear saluted **‘morena’!** And we, the owners of the land, the children of the soil, were treated as *criminals* and *thieves in our own country!*

Totally unlike the first half of the incident, which was aimed at evoking joy and pride, this second half is designed to evoke indignation by highlighting the discrimination against Africans in the present Basutoland. Cordiality is no longer extended to fellow Africans; they are no longer perceived as friends, as the white man continues to be, but as criminals. There is also an attempt to evoke annoyance by emphasizing how badly they were received, an emphasis that is achieved through synonyms (identified in italics) that are highly negative. One notes the terms of reference used for Africans -- the owners of the land, the children of the soil. The parallelism here serves to let the listeners know that the two references have equal import. Sobukwe skilfully combines the two references to convey the idea that Africa belongs to the Africans. Africa is here represented by the *synecdoches* ‘land’ and ‘soil’. It is subtly personified, whereby the image is that of a mother, an image that he earlier evoked when he referred to his listeners as ‘sons and daughters of the soil’. All these references are intended to intensify the African

consciousness of the listeners which is crucial, it will be repeated, if African unity is to materialize. Also strikingly significant is his reference to Basutoland as ‘our own country’. Considering that he and fellow passengers were entering Basutoland from South Africa one sees an outright rejection of the boundaries marked out by the colonial powers, thus quashing country-level identity in favour of an African identity.

As already mentioned, Sobukwe also supports the claim that racial injustice prevails in colonial Basutoland through observation, belief and facts. The observation is that the Africans are insulted, which like the foregoing datum, is also intended to evoke indignation: “...we are all called boys and girls even if we have married sons and daughters” he points out in the eighteenth paragraph. The belief is that the Basotho are inferior to others from different races: “We are fighting for the recognition of the Mosotho man and woman as an equal to any other man or woman whatever race and creed, capable of taking his place alongside any other man or woman, to plan the future of mankind”, he notes in the thirty-sixth paragraph. This datum appeals to the listeners’ desire for justice. The two facts that he provides are intended to evoke further indignation. The first of them is that the Basotho pay poll tax: “We all pay poll-tax...”, he notes in the eighteenth paragraph. The second fact is that the Basotho are denied their resources. He notes in paragraph thirty-seven:

We are fighting for the recognition of the fact that this mountainous enclave with its majestic mountains, and splendid air, described as inhospitable and barren by some, is *the land* of the Basotho, *the land* that gave them birth, their refuge in time of war. *This is the land* that nurtured them, *the land* where the graves of their fathers are, *the land* where generations of the Basotho have been born, have worked, have married, have borne children and have died. *This is the land*, still clammy with the blood of those who defended it for us, *the land* that God gave us **to till, to plough and to exploit** for the benefit, of all the people of Basutoland, and secondly for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

The foregoing quote from paragraph thirty-seven contains intense pathetic appeal. There is a veneration of the landscape that is personified as a woman, both techniques that characterize Négritude literature. Three essential epithets are used to present a positive image of Basutoland, an image that is intended to stir pride in the audience. These epithets are ‘mountainous enclave’, ‘majestic mountains’ and ‘splendid air’. This feeling

of pride would make the Basotho more prepared to join the liberation struggle in the bid to retrieve this beautiful land. The pathetic appeal is strengthened by the inclusion of these emotive terms: birth, refuge, war, nurtured, graves, fathers, generations, married, children, died, God. These terms are used to describe the human life cycle (birth-growth-death), an idea that Sobukwe introduces as a skilful means of conveying that the Basotho have inhabited Basutoland since time immemorial and it belongs to them. 'Blood' here symbolizes death. Remaining on this quote but moving away from its pathetic appeal, one notes that both *anaphora* (identified in italics) and climax (identified in bold) are employed to give emphasis to the issue of land as well as to increase attentiveness to the message and make it memorable. Parallelism (identified by underlining) is used to attach equal import to the benefits of the Basotho and mankind in its entirety.<sup>92</sup> Meanwhile, the *asyndeton* leads to a climax.

### **5.2.3 Visualization Step: Life in Post-Colonial Basutoland**

Sobukwe envisions life in post-colonial Basutoland. The Basotho will not only be living happily and peacefully but will also be productively engaged in developing their country. This image is intended to increase their desire for liberation. The image is presented in the forty-fifth paragraph:

Soon the integument of oppression will burst and the untremelled (*sic*) intelligence of the Basotho will be directed towards productive activities such as harnessing the water of your rivers (*sic*) producing wealth in barren places and filling the hills and valleys of Basutoland with song - the song of a free, happy people, hating nobody and loving everybody, conscious of the fact that they are 'INVOLVED IN MANKIND.'

There is a sense in which the metaphorical language employed here is maternal. It creates the image of birth. The child that has lived in its mother's womb finally pushes out forcefully, breaking out of bondage into the free world one may say, at the end of the nine months. It soon begins to use its intelligence to survive in its new setting. The personality of the Basotho would be the child and oppression the womb. Birth is inevitable at the end of the nine months; so too, independence is inevitable. One notes the explicit statement of feeling -- that the Basotho will be a "happy people, *hating*

*nobody* and *loving everybody*". The parallelism here, which is constituted of synonymous phrases (identified in italics), is employed to emphasize that the Basotho will be living peacefully, a peace that will manifest in their treating everyone equally. The paragraph concludes with a quotation from a UNESCO document (identified in capital letters).<sup>93</sup>

#### **5.2.4 Satisfaction Step: How to Achieve Independence**

*It is your own struggle that will free you.*

*We must therefore, be united, so that whatever we do, we do as one man* - From the current speech

Sobukwe presents his plan on how to achieve Basutoland's independence in paragraphs forty-six to fifty. He relies heavily on *logos* to convince his listeners to adopt this plan. It is clearly evident that he wants the Basotho to understand that only they, as Africans, can win their own independence, and that this will be a difficult task. At the same time, they need to be prepared for independence when it comes.

In the first argument, he claims: "...to get out (*sic*) freedom we have to suffer more and more...". By calling for perseverance of suffering, Sobukwe hopes to appear as one who is courageous. The reason he gives for his claim: "...because freedom is never granted; it is won." The warrant is explicit: "It has never happened in history that a people in power have voluntarily relinquished their position; they have to be pushed away from it." One notes the warrant is a restatement of the following maxim that was provided as datum in an earlier argument: "It is one of the maxims of politics that a group in power never voluntarily relinquishes its position. It has to be compelled to do so." One notes too an explicit intertextual reference to the manifesto issued by the National Executive Committee of the ANCYL in 1948. This document states: "It is known, however, that a dominant group does not voluntarily give up its privileged position" (National Executive Committee of the ANC Youth League 1973, 328).

In the second argument he claims: "It is your own struggle that will free you." This is supported by an analogy drawn from the Bible (Exod. 13-14): "Just as the Israelites were led out of Egypt by a Moses and not by a John or a Molotov or an Abdullah, so the Basotho will be led to freedom by a Ntsu or a Rasenate and not by a

Harry or a Naidoo.” The warrant is explicit: “Nor has it ever happened in history that a people have been freed by others.” Apparently, there is yet again an intertextual reference to the policy of the CYL. In an article titled “Policy of the Congress Youth League” that was published in *Inkundla ya Bantu* in May 1946, Lembede declared: “*The Leader of the Africans will come out of their own loins*. No foreigner can ever be a true and genuine leader of the African people because no foreigner can every (*sic*) truly and genuinely interpret the African spirit which is unique and peculiar to Africans only” (Lembede 1973, 317).

In the third argument he claims: “You will probably have to organise economic boycotts at one stage or another...”. The reason: “...to compel certain shops and businesses to respect the Mosotho who is their chief customer”. The warrant here is implicit: Our combined economic strength is enough to win us respect.

In the fourth argument he claims: “We must make education our priority number one...”. The reason: “...we are leaving (*sic*) in an enlightened and scientifically advanced era.” The warrant is explicit: “...if we must make our contribution to the advancement of mankind, we must be educated and qualified.” Sobukwe goes ahead to give further details so that the listeners clearly understand the kind of education he is suggesting: “And it is technicians as well as professional men and women that we need...”. He then employs an analogy: “...we must, like the Jews who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, carry a sword in one hand and a trowel in the other. We must, while fighting oppression, while demolishing the walls of white supremacy, lay the foundation of a new society, a democratic society.” He employs this analogy, which is drawn from the Bible (Neh. 4), to clarify the idea that the fight for liberation should not preclude education.<sup>94</sup> Given that the vanguard of Africa’s social and economic reconstruction will be the educated elite, it is imperative that some Africans keep at the task of equipping themselves with academic and technical skills even as the others fight the enemies who in this case are the colonialists. The warrant here is that each race has a contribution to make to world civilization.<sup>95</sup> It will be recalled that in an earlier argument, he provided as datum the observation that the Basotho were destined to exploit their land for their own benefit as well as for the benefit of mankind as a whole. In all probability, this part of the solution is an implicit intertextual reference to the educational policy of the CYL as articulated in

the “Basic Policy Document”. The document holds that literacy is the foundation of an effective democracy. It also holds that one should have access to academic, aesthetic or technical training depending on his capabilities.

In the fifth and final argument, he claims: “...we must recruit members for Congress, until every man, woman and child is a member of Congress...”. The reason: “...so that your leaders can speak confidently, knowing that they have the whole nation behind them.” The warrant for this argument is that members of the Congress support the struggle. One notes the emotionalism introduced through the change from first to second person plural. The ‘we’ is intended to make the listeners feel involved in the proposed task and the change to ‘your’ is supposed to evoke a feeling of patriotism.

### **5.2.5 Conclusion of the Speech**

*Mokhehle and Lefela...have suffered...and they are still suffering....  
But their struggle is already bearing fruit - From the current speech*

As noted in Section 5.2 of this chapter, the conclusion of Sobukwe’s speech is made up of one paragraph that has 84 words in total (3% of the total in the speech). It consists of a quotation from a poem by the well-known Xhosa poet, James Jolobe, and a slogan.

What strikes one on first instance regarding the quotation here is that it connects this part of the speech with the introduction. As with the quotation in the introduction, the significance of the quotation here is explained. While he told his audience that the quotation from *Mohlabani* “expresses so clearly the reason for our sustained struggle”, he tells them that the lines from the poem “sum up most handsomely the spirit that urges us on”. Similarly, as the text in *Mohlabani* is written by an African in an African language, so too is Jolobe an African writing in an African language. The quote in the opening paragraph allowed Sobukwe to switch from English to Sesotho, a linguistic move intended to encourage the majority of his audience to identify with him as a member of their ethnic group. The quote from Jolobe’s poem allows him to switch from English to Xhosa. This switch, as in the English-Sesotho switch in the opening paragraph, is intended to encourage the audience to identify with him as an African in general; unlike the English-Sesotho switch however, which was also intended to encourage the Basotho

among his audience to identify with him as a member of their ethnic group, the English-Xhosa switch is intended to encourage the Xhosas in the audience to identify with him as a Xhosa. Sobukwe's father was a Mosotho and his mother a Xhosa. Both English-Xhosa and English-Sesotho switches can also be interpreted as means of introducing variety, thus adding flair to the speech. His use of Xhosa, as his use of Sesotho, contributes to his image as a western educated African who nevertheless identifies with his people and their culture. The occurrence of these switches at the opening and closing paragraphs of the speech indicates that Sobukwe considers this image to be extremely crucial for his speech to have an impact.

The lines of the poem themselves are intended to enhance the pathetic appeal of the speech. The first line is intended to arouse sadness by evoking death through the symbol blood. But this sadness is quickly turned into joy in the second line by evoking life through the visual image of a blooming flower. Blood therefore ceases to symbolize death and becomes instead a representation of life. Sobukwe hopes to evoke bravery based on the thought that death met in the liberation struggle would not be in vain as it would lead to freedom. The quotation thus also connects the conclusion with the body, where he noted that the struggle was already bearing fruit—"You are now awaiting the draft for a Legislative Assembly"—and also attempted to stir bravery by quoting the King of Sparta and "Horatius". The value of the freedom that would be won is captured in the visual and olfactory image of "a flower of exceeding sweetness". It will be recalled that earlier in the speech, Sobukwe visualized a post-colonial Basutoland inhabited by a productive and happy people that love everybody, "conscious of the fact that they are 'involved in mankind'". This is the idea that he tries to restate here; that is, that the freedom would benefit not just Basutoland but the entire world. The benefit to the entire world is captured in the olfactory image of the flower's scent spreading over a long distance and being inhaled by all nations. The quoting of this poem can be seen as a means of honouring those that have died in the liberation struggle.

Sobukwe ends with a slogan that reads: "BACK TO THE ATTACK!" Through this slogan, he hopes to convey that the liberation struggle is still on and will not cease until such time that freedom is attained, a motif in this speech (see paragraphs one, ten, forty, forty-four, forty-six and fifty-one).

### 5.3 Conclusion

The organizational format of this speech leans towards the Motivated Sequence pattern of arrangement. Sobukwe modifies this pattern, however, when he tackles the visualization step before the satisfaction step and omits the action step as a whole. The speech begins with a quotation from *Mohlabani*, a local newspaper. This quote serves several purposes, these being, capturing the listeners' attention and arousing their emotions, enhancing his *ethos* and validating the liberation struggle in Basutoland. Sobukwe attempts to make his listeners realize the need for unity in the liberation struggle by attributing Southern Africa's colonization to African disunity. He also tries to show that were it not for the colonizers, the Basotho would not be experiencing the oppression that they are now. He envisions life in post-colonial Basutoland. The Basotho will be not only be living happily and peacefully but will also be productively engaged in developing their country. He relies heavily on *logos* to convince his listeners to adopt his plan on how to achieve liberation. Sobukwe concludes his speech with a quotation from a poem by Jolobe.

The speech includes all three Aristotelian appeals—*logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*. Some of his claims are explicit while others are implied. His data includes events, incidents, apologues, beliefs, examples, observations, reasons, facts, experience and analogies. The majority of the events and examples that he gives are drawn from Southern Africa. Some of his warrants are explicit while others are implicit. *Pathos* is constituted by emotive terms, epithets, symbols, narration, compliments, metaphors and images. *Pathos* also involves an implicit rejection of the boundaries marked out by the colonial powers, thus quashing country-level identity in favour of an African identity. He attempts to enhance his *ethos* by quoting from authoritative texts as well as revering African tradition. He increases the credibility of the Basotho nationalists while diminishing the credibility of both the British and their African collaborators. His attitude towards the nationalists and collaborators emerges in the emotive terms that he uses to describe them. Sobukwe identifies himself as a member of the liberation movement in an attempt to create commonality between him and the listeners.

Intertextuality is employed as a key strategy. Sobukwe makes intertextual references to colonial discourse as well as to Pan-Africanist discourse. The references to colonial discourse are mainly employed to construct images of African nationalists. The Pan-Africanist discourse that he refers to is selected from across Africa, which helps to boost his image as a Pan-Africanist. There are also references to English literature, an indication that his target audience includes college graduates. The references to the Bible reveal that his target audience includes Christians. The speech also includes a reference to a UNESCO document.

Sobukwe establishes commonality with his listeners through various techniques. One of these involves introducing the idea of 'in-group' and 'out-group'. Throughout his speech, he makes it clear that the collaborators are opposed to the BAC leaders. In other words, the collaborators constitute the 'out-group'. He makes his hatred of the collaborators and love of the BAC leaders known by using highly negative terms and neutral terms to describe the points of view of the collaborators and nationalists, respectively. He and the listeners therefore become united by their attitudes towards the two groups. The second technique involves creating the impression that he and the listeners share opinions, values, goals and heritage; therefore he is a spokesman for the group.

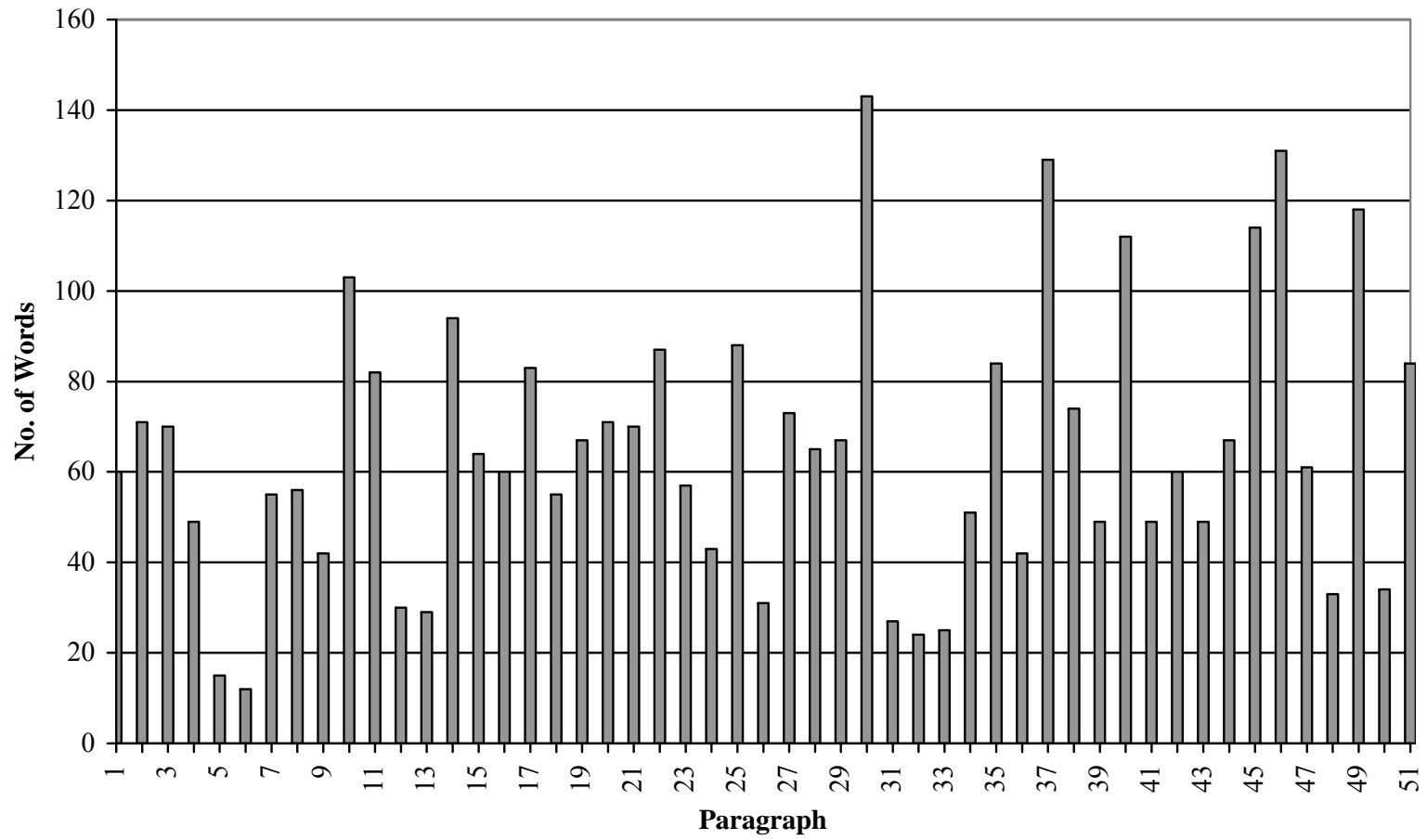
The imagery in the speech is constituted of epithets and metaphors. Some of the epithets that he uses reveal an intention to allude to the idea of 'white man's burden'; some are used to boost pride in Basotho nationalists. Metaphors are drawn from agricultural life and the animal world. Meanwhile, narratives are employed for liveliness, emotionalism and substantiation. Ideas are also made interesting through personification and *synecdoche*. There is personification of animals, land and words while the *synecdoches* 'land' and 'soil' represent Africa. The speech also employs symbolism. Particularly noteworthy is the use of 'blood' to represent family, death and life.

Emphasis of ideas is achieved through positioning of words and phrases at key places and through repetition of words and of construction. Parallelism is employed to attach equal importance to ideas. Antithesis is used to contrast character. *Asyndeton* is employed to make thought spontaneous and memorable as well as to give it a feel of rapidity, multiplicity and climax.

The speech is characterised by code-switching. Sobukwe switches from English to Xhosa, Sesotho and Zulu. Particularly noteworthy is that he switches to these languages when dealing with terms used to refer to whites.

Chapter Six analyses Nkrumah's speech.

**Figure 5.0 Distribution of Words in Sobukwe's Speech**



## Chapter Six

### Analysis of Kwame Nkrumah's Speech

#### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter conducts a rhetorical analysis of the speech that Nkrumah delivered at the Conference of African Heads of States and Governments held in Addis Ababa in 1963. As has already been mentioned in this thesis, Nkrumah advocated immediate political unification of African States as a means of realizing African unity. The analysis begins with a note on the rhetorical situation of the speech and then proceeds to examine the content, organization and style of the speech. The chapter ends with a summary of the main findings. The particular text on which the analysis is based appears in the fifth volume of the series *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, which is compiled by Samuel Obeng.<sup>96</sup>

#### 6.1 Rhetorical Situation

This speech was delivered on 24<sup>th</sup> May 1963, a day before the OAU Charter was signed, at the Conference of African Heads of States and Governments which took place from 22<sup>nd</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> of that month. The Conference was hosted by Ethiopia which, as discussed in the foregoing chapters of this thesis, has not only been projected as a symbol of black sovereignty but is used as a *synecdoche* to represent the whole of Africa. The audience for this speech was the Heads of States and Governments of the 32 independent African countries. The purpose of this speech was to persuade these leaders to form a political union of their States, immediately.

#### 6.2 *Inventio, Dispositio and Elocutio*

This speech, which contains 72 paragraphs, is arranged into three main parts: introduction, body and conclusion. The introduction contains 332 words (5% of the total in the speech) that are spread across four paragraphs. It has a distinct *exordium* and a distinct *narratio*. The body contains 4636 words (75% of the total in the speech) that are spread over 55 paragraphs. It has a distinct *confirmatio* and a distinct

*refutatio*. The conclusion contains 13 paragraphs that have 1196 words in total (19% of the total in the speech). Figure 6.0 shows the number of words in each paragraph. From the figure, it can be seen that the paragraph that contains the most number of words appears just about halfway in the speech.

### **6.2.1 Exordium**

The *exordium* contains 187 words that are spread over the first two paragraphs of the speech. It performs four functions: announcing the purpose of the speech; stating the thesis of the speech; attempting to capture and hold the attention of the audience; and attempting to win the trust of the audience.

The purpose of the speech is declared in the first paragraph: “Our objective is African Union now.” “Our” is employed in an attempt to make the audience feel involved in the said task, a feeling that is expected to capture their attention from outset. At the same time, it is employed to create a common identity between the audience and the speaker whereby they are both made to appear to hold the same view.

Nkrumah attempts to hold the audience’s attention with his thesis, which he states soon after the purpose: “We must unite now or perish.” This statement is designed to stir fear, more so in those acquainted with his definition of “perish”. He defined the word in a speech on Ghana’s economic policy which he delivered in Accra on 9<sup>th</sup> October 1960: “African States must either federate and survive or disintegrate and perish – i.e. selling themselves to their former colonial masters or to some other foreign powers” (Nkrumah 1997, 1:183). The thought of re-colonization (neo-colonialism) is intended to stir fear, an emotion that Nkrumah hopes will motivate the listeners to form a political union of their states, which he has stated is the only means of avoiding this evil.

Nkrumah also tries within the first paragraph to secure a reputation for good character by, one, portraying himself as a responsive and loyal leader. He portrays himself as a responsive and loyal leader by aligning his views with the interests of Ghanaians. Two, he portrays himself as courteous by expressing gratitude at having been invited to the host country and by conveying the greetings of his Government and citizens:

I am happy to be here in Addis Ababa on this most historic occasion. I bring with me the hopes and fraternal greetings of the Government and people of Ghana to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie and to all Heads of African States gathered here in this ancient capital in this momentous period in our history.

One notes a second attempt to get his audience to identify with him, this time round by highlighting their shared past. This commonality is conveyed through the statement “this momentous period in our history.” The first paragraph of this speech then, contains both pathetic and ethical proof.

In the second paragraph Nkrumah tries to secure a reputation for good sense by craftily indicating his experience with a conference similar to the Addis Ababa one. He states: “At the first gathering of African Heads of State, to which I had the honour of playing host, there were representatives of eight independent State (*sic*) only.” He also makes another attempt to appear a virtuous person by thanking Selassie for the hospitality shown: “To His Imperial Majesty, I wish to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana my deep appreciation of a most cordial welcome and generous hospitality”.

### **6.2.2 Narratio**

*The survival of free Africa, the extending of independence of this continent, and the development towards that bright future on which our hopes and endeavours are pinned, depend upon political unity - From Africa Must Unite<sup>97</sup>*

The *narratio*, which is 145 words long and occupies the third and fourth paragraphs, establishes a skeletal framework within which the call for immediate political unification is made. In this speech, Nkrumah argues that the immediate formation of a political union is expected of the Heads of States and Governments by the African masses. Further, this is an action that will allow for fulfilment of various desires and needs.

In the fourth paragraph, he says: “A whole continent has imposed a mandate upon us to lay the foundation of our Union at this Conference. It is our responsibility to execute this mandate by creating here and now the formula upon which the requisite superstructure may be erected.” ‘Responsibility’ is an emotion-laden word that evokes a sense of dedication. It is employed to reinforce the impression that the immediate formation of a political union is an immediate response to the will of the African masses, clearly an ethical appeal. At the same time, the word establishes

commonality between him and the audience based on a shared sense of duty as Heads and States of Governments.

In the third paragraph, he claims that the attainment of independence by 24 African countries in the past five years is evidence of the indomitable and irresistible surge of African peoples for independence. This claim foregrounds the desire for liberation, which he appeals to in the speech—he argues that the liberation of the remaining African colonies can only be won if Africa unites. He also claims, in the third paragraph, that the attainment of independence by 24 countries in five years is also evidence of the revolutionary speed of world events in the latter half of the twentieth century:

It is also a token of the revolutionary speed of world events in the latter half of this century. In the task which is before us of unifying our continent we must fall in with that pace or be left behind. The task cannot be attacked in the tempo of any other age than our own. To tall (*sic*) behind the unprecedented momentum of actions and events in our time will be to court failure and our own undoing.

The statements above not only pave the way for the call for unification to be immediate rather than gradual, but also for the view that the fulfilment of masses' desires and needs should be rapid, which he argues can only possible when the individual Governments unite. The failure to fulfil these desires and needs rapidly, Nkrumah argues, will result in the Governments being overthrown, a clear appeal to his listeners' desire for security. The last sentence of the foregoing quotation foregrounds this desire.

### **6.2.3 *Confirmatio***

*We in Africa who are pressing now for unity are deeply conscious of the validity of our purpose. We need the strength of our combined numbers and resources to protect ourselves from the very positive dangers of returning colonialism in disguised forms. We need it to combat the entrenched forces dividing our continent and still holding back millions of our brothers. We need it to secure total African liberation. We need it to carry forward our construction of a socio-economic system that will support the great mass of our steadily rising population at levels of life which will compare with those in the most advanced countries - From Africa Must Unite<sup>98</sup>*

The *confirmatio* has 3821 words that are spread over 45 paragraphs. It begins at the fifth and ends at the forty-ninth paragraph of the speech. As has already been mentioned, the speech seeks to persuade the audience that a political

union of independent African states should be formed immediately. The arguments analysed below are provided to win adherence to this view.

### **6.2.3.1 Will of the Masses**

Nkrumah claims: “United (*sic*) we must.” He particularizes this thought through *enumeratio* before giving his reason for the claim: “Without necessarily sacrificing our sovereignties, big or small, we can here and now forge a political union based on Defence, Foreign Affairs and Diplomacy, and a Common Citizenship, an African Currency, an African Monetary Zone and an African Central Bank.” The reason he gives: “We have been charged with this sacred task by our own people and we cannot betray their trust by failing them.” He explicitly states his warrant: “We will be mocking the hopes of our people if we show the slightest hesitation or delay in tackling realistically this question of African Unity.”

This argument intertwines both *ethos* and *pathos*. Nkrumah attempts to emerge as a leader that is responsive and loyal to the will of his people. ‘Betray’ is an emotion-laden term that brings to mind the thought of disloyalty. Meanwhile, ‘sacred’ is also an emotion-laden term that aligns the task of forming a political union with God’s will too, a duty sanctioned by the All-mighty. These strategies and techniques are also found in the *refutatio*.

### **6.2.3.2 Colonial and Neo-colonial Domination**

Nkrumah argues that colonialism is there to stay in Africa unless the individual countries unite. He lists several past events which he believes indicate that the imperial powers have neither the intention of granting political independence to the remaining colonies nor of letting the independent African states enjoy their sovereignty. He employs a polysyndetic structure marked by a superfluity of ‘when’ to make the listeners contemplate these events. At the same time, he describes these events as though they were happening in the present. This interchange of tenses is intended to turn what he is saying from mere narrative to vivid actuality:

When Portugal violates Senegal’s border, when Verwoerd allocates one-seventh of South Africa’s budget to military and police, when France builds as part of her defence policy an interventionist force that can intervene, more especially in French-speaking Africa, when

Welensky talks of, (*sic*) Southern Rhodesia joining South Africa, when Britain sends arms to South Africa, it is all part of a carefully calculated pattern working towards a single end; the continued enslavement of our still dependent brothers and an onslaught upon the independence of our sovereign African states.

The pathetic appeal in the argument above is strong. First, the deeds and motive of the imperial powers are subjectively described, which is achieved through the employment of the terms ‘violates’, ‘interventionist’, ‘enslavement’ and ‘onslaught’, all of which have negative connotations. This is meant to portray the imperial powers as vicious. Second, the Africans still under colonial rule are subjectively described, whereby they are referred to as ‘brothers’, a term that evokes a family image and the feelings of love and solidarity that come with it. One notes that the ethical appeal is also strong. First, the piled allusions together with the intertextual reference are partly meant to portray Nkrumah as well-informed about the activities of the imperial powers in Africa and thus qualified to speak on this subject. He hopes that this image will boost his *ethos* as a wise person. Second, Nkrumah tries to make himself and his listeners consubstantial, firstly by, as has already been noted, evoking their shared family image through the kin term ‘brothers’ and, secondly, by employing ‘our’ to impress that they share heritage (our sovereign African states).

Nkrumah argues that African unity is the only solution to colonial rule. He employs and emphasizes ‘only’ in his claim to stress his view: “Only a United Africa with central political direction can successfully give effective material and moral support to our freedom fighters, in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, etc., and of course South Africa.” He substantiates this claim with the fact that the colonialists have strengthened their resistance against nationalist movements: “Every step in the decolonisation of our continent has brought greater resistance in those areas where colonial garrisons are available to colonialism and you all here know that.” One notes his use of “you all here know that” to impress that this is knowledge that he and the listeners have in common, hence not only suppressing any alternative views that they may have but also encouraging them to identify with him. The listeners are also encouraged to identify with him through the possessive adjective ‘our’, which he uses to impress that he and they share heritage (our continent) as well as resources (our freedom fighters). The warrant for this argument is implicit—we aspire to see Africa politically independent.

### 6.2.3.3 Freedom

Nkrumah maintains that continental unification is a precondition for African countries to enjoy real freedom. Four arguments support this position. In the first of them, he observes that continental unification was necessary elsewhere even at a time when imperialism was less sophisticated:

When the colonies of the American Continent sought to free themselves from imperialism in the 18th century there was no threat of neo-colonialism in the sense on (*sic*) which we know it today in Africa. The American States were therefore free to form and fashion the unity which was best united (*sic*) to their needs and to frame (*sic*) constitution to hold their unity together without any form of interference from external sources. We, however, are having to grapple with outside interventions.

From this observation, he concludes: “How much more, then do we need to come together in the African unity that alone can save us from the clutches of neo-colonialism and imperialism.” This argument relies on the following explicit warrant: “As a continent we have emerged into independence in a different age, with imperialism grown stronger, more ruthless and experienced, and more dangerous in international associations.”

In the second argument, he claims that the imperialists have not withdrawn from the affairs of independent African states. He substantiates this claim with the example of Congo where the interference is, he says, manifest. He also observes that there is inconspicuous interference: “But generally it is covered up under the clothing of many agencies, which meddle in our domestic affairs, to torment (*sic*) dissension within our borders and to create an atmosphere of tension and political instability.”

In the third argument, he claims: “No independent African State today by itself has a chance to follow an independent course of economic development...”. He supports this claim with the following observation: “...many of us who have tried to do this have been almost ruined or have had to return to the fold of the former colonial rulers.” He also supports it with the example of Latin America, whose failure to unite has resulted in the resource rich continent remaining weak and underdeveloped and thus dependent. This argument relies on the following implicit warrant: African countries aspire to be economically independent.

In the fourth argument provided to convince his listeners that continental unification is a precondition for African countries to enjoy real freedom, Nkrumah claims: “With a common currency from one common bank of issue we should be able to stand erect on our own feet...”. He supports it with the following reason: “...because such an arrangement would be fully backed by the combined national products of the states composing the union.” He explicitly states one warrant: “After all, the purchasing power of money depends on productivity and the productive exploitation of the natural, human and physical resources of the nation.” Like the foregoing argument, this one also relies on the implicit warrant that African countries aspire to be economically independent.

#### **6.2.3.4 Boundary Disputes**

Nkrumah argues that the boundary disputes in Africa, which he refers to as a “fatal relic of colonialism”, will lead to war. He claims in the thirty-fourth paragraph: “But let me suggest to Your Excellencies that this fatal relic of colonialism will drive us to war against one another as our unplanned and uncoordinated industrial development expands...”. He supports this claim with an analogy: “...just as happened in Europe.” He provides two warrants within the same paragraph: “There is hardly any African State without a frontier problem with, (*sic*) its adjacent neighbours” and “only African Unity can heal this festering sore of boundary disputes between our various states.”

#### **6.2.3.5 Africa’s Problems**

Nkrumah claims: “By creating a true political union of all the independent states of Africa, with executive powers for political direction we can tackle hopefully *every emergency, every enemy, and every complexity.*” The climax here (identified in italics) allows him to concisely express the different problems facing Africa and distinguish them in terms of their levels of seriousness. He also arranges the reasons for this claim climactically:

This is not because we are a race of supermen, but because we have emerged in the age of science and technology in, (*sic*) which poverty, ignorance and disease are no longer the masters, but the retreating foes of mankind. We have emerged in the age of socialised planning, when

production and distribution are not governed by chaos, greed and self-interest, but by social needs...

Above all, we have merged (*sic*) at a time when a continental land mass like Africa with its population approaching three hundred million are necessary to the economic capitalisation and profitability of modern productive methods and techniques.

One notes that poverty, ignorance and disease are personified so as to vivify the achievements of science and technology.

#### **6.2.3.6 Development**

*Even for other continents lacking the resources of Africa, this is the age that sees the end of human want. For us it is a simple matter of grasping with certainty our heritage by using the political might of unity: All we need to do is to develop with our united strength the enormous resources of our continent – From the current speech*

Immediate political unification is portrayed as the only thing that will save African Heads of States and Governments from being overthrown. Nkrumah asserts: “Our people supported us in our fight for independence because they believed that African Governments could cure the ills of the past in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule.” This opinion, which is based on his experience as a nationalist leader, leads him to conclude: “If, therefore, now that we are independent we allow the same conditions to exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be mobilised against us.” The pathetic appeal here is obvious. The thought of being overthrown is intended to stir fear, which would motivate the leaders to take the action that will enable them to effect the desired change. The argument also contains ethical appeal. Nkrumah tries to create the impression that he is responsive and loyal to the will of his people by conveying the need to remain loyal to the masses.

Having argued that the masses are expecting change, Nkrumah attempts to convince his listeners that only a Union Government can rapidly effect the desired change. He claims: “Not one of us working singly and individually can successfully attain the fullest development.” He supports this claim by observing that the masses in the independent African States remain as dissatisfied as they were before independence: “In independent Africa we are already re-experiencing the instability and frustration which existed under colonial rule.” He also observes that the independent African countries remain as underdeveloped as they were while under

colonial administrations, a scenario that he attempts to focus attention on through *erotesis*:

Which independent African State, which of you here will claim that its financial structure and banking institutions are fully harnessed to its national development? Which will claim that its material resources and human energies are available for its own national aspirations? Which will disclaim substantial measure of disappointment and disillusionment in its agricultural and urban development?

This argument relies on four warrants, one of which is implicit and the others explicit. The implicit warrant is: The masses desire wealth and better living conditions. The explicit warrants are: (1) “The resources are there”; (2) “...political independence is not enough to rid us of the consequences of colonial rule.”; and (3) “Only a united Africa functioning under a Union Government can forcefully mobilise the material and moral resources of our separate countries and apply them efficiently and energetically to bring a rapid change in the conditions of our people.”

This speech refutes the argument that Africa is the poorest continent. This is done mainly through *logos*. Nkrumah constructs three arguments. The first of these three arguments shows that Africa has vast natural resources. The second shows that these resources benefit the West rather than Africa and the third attributes this exploitation mainly to African disunity. These arguments are analyzed below.

In the first argument, Nkrumah claims: “Our continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals and industrial and agricultural primary materials.” He quantifies this claim through statistics that indicate the total amount of money that the West has made from these resources between 1945 and 1955, a period during which the entire sub-Saharan Africa was still colonized: “From the Congo alone, Western firms exported copper, rubber, cotton, and other goods to the value of 2,773 million dollars in the ten years between 1945 and 1955, and from South Africa, Western gold mining companies have drawn a profit, in the six years between 1947 to 1951, of 814 million dollars.” He also cites expert opinion on the continent’s hydroelectric power potential: “Our continent certainly exceeds all the others in potential hydro-electric power, which some experts assess as 42 per cent of the world’s total.” He further cites expert opinion on Congo’s potential for agricultural productivity: “Experts have estimated that the Congo basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the whole world...”.

In the second argument, Nkrumah claims: “Our capital flows out in streams to irrigate the whole system of Western economy.” Nkrumah attempts to prove his claim through the following detail: “...all the stock exchanges in the world are pre-occupied with Africa’s gold, diamonds, uranium, platinum, copper and iron ore”. He augments this evidence with statistics: “Fifty-two per cent of the gold in Fort Knox at this moment, where the U.S.A. stores its bullion, is believed to have originated from our shores. Africa provides more than 60 per cent of the world’s gold”. He further augments the detail with the following observation: “A great deal *of the uranium for nuclear power, of copper for electronics, of titanium for supersonic projectiles, of iron and steel for heavy industries, of other minerals and raw materials for lighter industries*—**the basic economic might of the foreign Powers**—come from our continent.” One notes that in both first and second arguments, Nkrumah indicates the time frame of the statistics. This is done to emphasize how rich indeed the continent is in resources given that they have generated so much money in such short time; it also draws attention to the amount of money that they generate in just one year. He also indicates the time frame in order to draw attention to the fact that the figures are current, which paves way for his argument that Africa is capable of becoming wealthy.

Meanwhile, the second argument also employs several rhetorical devices. The claim is constructed in metaphorical language. Africa’s resources are associated with streams and their exploitation by the West as the harnessing of these streams for irrigation. The image of a stream is employed to concretise the thought that the resources are enormous, just as streams develop where water is plentiful, and are moving non-stop, as stream water runs non-stop, to the West. Each foreign power is taking a share of these resources, just as streams flow out into all directions, each carrying its own little water. These countries, lacking the resources themselves, depend on Africa’s resources, in the same way that farmers in dry-land areas rely on irrigation. Nkrumah further attempts to concretise the idea of Africa as ‘provider’ through the image of a milk cow: “For centuries Africa has been the milk cow of the Western world”. Both images are also employed to illustrate the economic dependency of these countries on Africa, an idea that he reiterates in the appositive (identified in bold). Meanwhile, he interweaves parallelism and *asyndeton* (identified in italics) to emphasize the list of resources and their uses.

It is important to note here the additional pathetic proof that Nkrumah provides in these two arguments. He asks his listeners this question that he does not proceed to answer, a device known as *erotesis*: “What need is there for us to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for the industrialised areas of the world?” The question appeals to the motive for freedom from external constraint. At the same time it refers to their experience as servants under colonial rule. This reference is intended to make him and the listeners consubstantial, which is ethical proof.

The third argument provided to refute that Africa is the poorest continent attributes the exploitation of the continent’s resources by the West to African disunity. Nkrumah claims: “It was colonialism in the first place that prevented us from accumulating the effective capital; but we ourselves have failed to make full use of our power in independence to mobilise our resources for the most effective take-off into thorough going economic and social development.” He observes: “We have been too busy nursing our separate states to understand fully the basic need of our union rooted in *common purpose, common planning and common endeavour.*” The parallelism here (identified in italics) is employed to increase attentiveness to, thus make memorable, the fundamentals of the proposed unity. At the same time, it is intended to attach equal import to the three fundamentals. This argument relies on five warrants, one of which is implicit: Capital is necessary for economic and social development. The remaining warrants are explicitly stated: (a) “We have the resources.”; (b) “It is only by uniting our productive capacity and the resultant production that we can amass capital.”; (c) “A union that ignores these fundamental necessities will be but a sham.”; and (d) “Only on a continental basis shall we be able to plan the proper utilisation of all our resources for the full development of our continent.”

Nkrumah closes the discussion on the utilization of Africa’s resources with a visualization of the good that will be achieved in a united Africa. He envisions an Africa free of not only industrial, technological and scientific backwardness but also hunger, disease and illiteracy. This vision is calculated to impress that his call for continental unification is motivated by the desire to purge the evil in Africa and introduce what is good, an impression he hopes can win him the love of the audience. Says Nkrumah:

WITH CAPITAL CONTROLLED BY OUR OWN BANKS,  
HARNESSED TO OUR OWN TRUE INDUSTRIAL AND

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, **WE SHALL** MAKE OUR ADVANCE. *We shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works, iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various states of our continent with communications by land, sea and air. We shall cable from one place to another, phone from one place to the other and astound the world with our hydro-electric power; we shall drain marshes and swamps, clear infested areas, feed the under-nourished, and rid our people of parasites and disease...We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy.*

One notes that he substantiates his assertion (identified in capitals) through *enumeratio*. This *enumeratio*, which builds to a climax, is augmented with *anaphora* (identified in bold) and parallelism (identified in italics; the underlined one is faulty). Both *anaphora* and parallelism are employed to make the thought emphatic and memorable. The *anaphora* is further intended to add rhythm to the passage; more importantly, it is calculated to create a sense of solidarity among the listeners that is based on a pledge in their capacities as Heads of States and Governments. The parallelism is further intended to show that Nkrumah regards industrial and technological development to be equally important. Meanwhile, the possessive adjective ‘our’ is employed to draw attention to the common ground between him and the audience. In particular, ‘our people’ is intended to enforce their common occupational status while ‘our own banks’, ‘our continent’ and ‘our hydro-electric power’ are intended to draw attention to their shared heritage (resources) as Africans.

African unity is a prerequisite for the continent’s social and economic development. Claims Nkrumah: “The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round.” The claim is supported with specific instances: “The United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, were the political decisions of revolutionary peoples before they became mighty realities of social power and material wealth.” The *asyndeton* here creates the impression that these are not the only examples, as indeed he lists them in *Africa Must Unite*:

There are in the world several unions of states which can offer examples or case studies for the political unification of Africa: the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Australia, Canada, Switzerland and Venezuela. Each of them came into being at different historical periods, but all aimed at giving greater protection to the uniting states against internal and external disintegrating pressures; and at providing within the union the

conditions of viability and security which would lead to faster economic evolution (Nkrumah 1963, 205).<sup>99</sup>

A united government, Nkrumah argues, is bait for foreign investment: “A United Africa will provide a stable field of foreign investment...” he claims. He gives two reasons. The first is the guaranteed stability of such a government: “In dealing with a united Africa, investors will no longer have to weigh with concern the risks of negotiating with governments in one period which may not exist in the very next period.” The second is the ease of coordination: “Instead of dealing or negotiating with so many separate states at a time, they will be dealing with one united government pursuing a harmonised continental policy.” Nkrumah explicitly states his warrant: “...such investment would add by its enterprises to the development of the continental national economy, employment and training of our people, and will be welcome (*sic*) Africa.”

#### **6.2.3.7 Peace, Stability and Security**

Nkrumah argues that African unity is the only means of safeguarding stability and security in Africa. He claims: “We need a Common Defence System with an African High Command to ensure the stability and security of Africa.” The claim is based on the observation that war could break out in Africa owing to the Cold War: “...with the present weakness and insecurity of our States in the context of world politics, the search for bases and spheres of influence brings the Cold War into Africa with its danger of nuclear warfare.” War could also break out in Africa, Nkrumah explains, because of the presence of foreign military bases: “Such bases are centres of tension and potential danger spots of military conflict. They threaten the security not only of the country in which they are situated but of neighbouring countries as well.” Four warrants are provided for this argument: (a) “Many of us have made non-alignment an article of faith on this continent. We have no wish, and no intention of being drawn into the Cold War.”; (b) “...many Independent African States are involved in military pacts with the former colonial powers.”; (c) We have seen how the neo-colonialists use their bases to entrench themselves and even to attack neighbouring independent states.”; and (d) “We do not want nor do we visualise an African High Command in the terms of the power politics that now rule a great part of

the world, but as an essential and indispensable instrument for ensuring stability and security in Africa.”<sup>100</sup> One notes that these warrants are also intended to intensify common ground: the first of them based on a shared perception of the Cold War, the third on shared experience and the fourth on an unfavourable attitude towards the great Powers concept of a defence bloc.

#### **6.2.4 Refutatio**

The *refutatio* has 815 words that are spread over 10 paragraphs. It begins at the fiftieth paragraph of the speech and ends at the fifty-ninth. Nkrumah attempts both to secure adherence to his view and to dissuade the audience from the ideas of the opposition. In this attempt, he emphasizes the good to be gained and the evil to be avoided if political union is adopted, strengthens his *ethos* and weakens that of his opponents, and also devalues the views of the opposition. All three Aristotelian appeals—*pathos*, *ethos*, *logos*—are thus at play.

The good to be gained and evil to be avoided by implementing political union are captured in this emotion-laden antithetic statement that appears in the fiftieth paragraph: “So many blessings must flow from our unity; so many disasters must follow on our continued disunity...”. ‘Flow’ impresses on the mind that the good will be infinite, as the waters of a river run, while ‘follow’ impresses that the bad will hound, as guilt haunts the guilty. The fear appeal here is obvious; the thought of disaster is meant to make the audience hostile to the idea of a gradual unification, which promises to maintain a state of political disunity.

Ethical appeal is created by “blessings”, which gives the impression that supporters of unification are engaged in a God-sanctioned mission. Meanwhile, even if the Nyerere school is not openly named, it is evident that Nkrumah seeks to portray its supporters, who are against immediate unification, as the out-group, to the extent that they identify with the colonialists’ goals. The colonialists are the enemies that the audience have been urged to unite against. The in-group, to which the speaker and his supporters belong, aspires for immediate unification, an aspiration whose increasing gravity among the African masses is portrayed through these three images: “The masses of the people of Africa are crying for unity. The people of Africa call for the breaking down of the boundaries that keep them apart. They demand an end to the border disputes between sister African states...”. These disputes are an outcome of the

deliberate actions of the out-group. In the *confirmatio*, they are described as a “fatal relic of colonialism”; here as phenomena that “arise out of the artificial barrier (*sic*) raised by colonialism.” The following statement employs *anaphora* (identified in bold) to emphasize that the colonialists deliberately divided Africans: “**It was colonialism’s purpose that** divided us. **It was colonialism’s purpose that** left us with our border irredentism, that rejected our ethnic and cultural fusion.” Nkrumah and all others propagating immediate unification are thus functioning as the voice of Africans at large, a sign of a credible African leader and of a genuine Pan-Africanist. This image is carried further when he declares in the fifty-third paragraph: “Our people call for unity so that they may not lose their patrimony in the perpetual service of neo-colonialism. In their fervent push for unity, they understand that only its realisation will give full meaning to their freedom and our African independence.”

The view that African political unification should be gradual is portrayed as cowardly hence, by implication, its supporters as cowards and its opponents as courageous people. Nkrumah announces: “...our failure to unite today will not be attributed by posterity only to faulty reasoning and lack of courage, but to our capitulation before the forces of neo-colonialism and imperialism.” The *confirmatio* also portrays the supporters of gradual unification as cowards. There, Nkrumah asks them this provocative rhetorical question that is created from an idiomatic expression: “Experts have estimated that the Congo basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the whole world and here we sit talking about regionalism, talking about gradualism, talking about step by step. Are you afraid to tackle the bull by the horn?”<sup>101</sup> The change from ‘we’ to ‘you’ makes it clear that the ‘we’ here refers to his opponents.

The intertextual reference which appears in the fifty-fourth paragraph (identified in italics in the passage below) initiates the direct refutation of opposing arguments. One notes that Nkrumah employs parallel anaphoric tautologous structures (identified in bold) to emphasize the Monrovia view that political unification of African states should be a gradual process. He attributes this view to faulty reasoning:

*It has been suggested that our approach to unity **should be gradual, that it should be piece-meal.** This point of view conceives of Africa as a static entity with ‘frozen’ problems which can be eliminated one by one and when all have been cleared then we can come together and say: ‘Now all is well. Let us now unite.’*

He also presents the view as one that has been arrived at with limited consideration. At this juncture, he employs imagery to help the audience see the danger in continued disunity. The image is created through a metaphor that associates African countries with fish and neo-colonialism with a fishing net. Nkrumah attempts to stir despair in his audience by equating the capture of the fish with the loss of Africa's redemption, an aspiration that Africans have, as previous chapters of this thesis argue, held since the slavery era:

This view takes no account of the impact of external pressures. Nor does it take cognisance of the danger that delay can deepen our isolations and exclusiveness; that it can enlarge our differences and set us drifting further and further apart into the net of neo-colonialism, so that our union will become nothing but a fading hope, and the great design of Africa's full redemption will be lost, perhaps, forever.

Nkrumah also refutes the view that the problems facing Africa can be resolved through greater co-operation. Here too, the view is introduced through an intertextual reference: "The view is also expressed that our difficulties can be resolved simply by a greater collaboration through co-operative association in our inter-territorial relationships." As in the case of the idea of gradual unification, this view is attributed to faulty reasoning. First, to a misapprehension of the nature of the problems in question: "This way of looking at our problems denies a proper conception of their inter-relationship and mutuality." Second, to lack of faith in an African renaissance, reasoning that reinforces the *ethos* of the opposition as benefactors of European thought: "[This view] denies faith in a future for African advancement in African independence. It betrays a sense of solution only in continued reliance upon external sources through bilateral agreements for economic and other forms of aid." Third, this view is based on the UN and the USA models, which are not ideal; the UN model not only because "decisions are framed on the basis of resolutions that in our experience have sometimes been ignored by member States" but also because "groupings are formed and pressures develop in accordance with the interests of the groups concerned"; the USA model because "the weaker States within it can be at the mercy of the stronger or more powerful ones politically or economically and all at the mercy of some powerful outside nation or group of nations". The idea that the problems facing Africa can be resolved by greater collaboration is also devalued by noting that the approach has hitherto failed to yield desired results:

The fact is that although we have been cooperating and associating with one another in various fields of common endeavour even before colonial times, this has not given us the continental identity and the political and economic force which would help us to deal effectively with the complicated problems confronting us in Africa today.

### **6.2.5 Peroratio**

*...I am convinced that the forces making for unity far outweigh those which divide us. In meeting fellow Africans from all parts of the continent I am constantly impressed by how much we have in common. It is not just our colonial past, or the fact that we have aims in common, it is something which goes far deeper. I can best describe it as a sense of one-ness in that we are Africans - From Africa Must Unite<sup>102</sup>*

The *peroratio* begins at the sixtieth paragraph. It restates some of the arguments made in support of immediate political unification including the need to meet the expectations of the African people, the need to achieve prosperity and social equality, the need to secure the liberation of African colonies, the need to achieve progress and happiness and the need to ensure the stability and security of Africa.

The *peroratio* also contains ethical appeal. As in previous parts of the speech, Nkrumah attempts to establish common ground by employing a continental voice: "...on this occasion Your Excellencies,...we meet there (*sic*) today not as Ghanaians, Guineans, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians but as Africans." In addition to creating commonality between him and the audience, this voice is intended to strengthen his Pan-Africanist image as he appears to be concerned with the interests of the entire continent and not just Ghana. Nkrumah also hopes to inculcate this loyalty in the other Heads of States and Governments as such loyalty is crucial for the materialization and survival of a United States of Africa. He concretizes the idea of continental identity by comparing the conference to the first United States continental congress that was held from 5<sup>th</sup> September to 26th October 1774 in Philadelphia:

When the first Congress of the United States met many years ago in Philadelphia one of the delegates sounded the first chord of unity by declaring that they had met in a 'state of nature.'<sup>103</sup> In other words, they were not in Philadelphia as Virginians, or Pensylvanians (*sic*), but simply as Americans. This reference to themselves as Americans was in those days a new and strange experience. May I dare to assert equally on this occasion Your Excellencies, that we meet there (*sic*) today not as Ghanaians, Guineans, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians but as Africans.<sup>104</sup>

Through this analogy, Nkrumah compares himself to Patrick Henry, a renowned patriot. Patriotism is virtuous, thus Nkrumah boosts his image as a virtuous person.

Nkrumah also attempts to establish common ground by pointing out the cultural icon 'Ethiopia': "Your Excellencies, nothing could be more fitting than that the unification of Africa should be born on the soil of the State which stood for centuries as the symbol of African Independence." He also declares, a statement that shows his acquaintance with earlier Pan-Africanist literature: "Ethiopia shall STRETCH forth her hands unto God". As has already been noted in this thesis, Ethiopia is significant as a symbol of African pride owing to its having evolved from an ancient African empire (Abyssinia), its political independence and its successful resistance of attempted colonial conquest by Italy.

A third technique used in the *peroratio* to establish common ground is highlighting the aspiration of the Heads of States and Governments to see the African personality assert itself: "Let us return to our people of Africa...with the firm hope and assurance that at long last African Unity has become a reality. We shall thus begin the triumphant march to the kingdom of the African Personality...". The representation of the African Personality as a kingdom is partly intended to show that Nkrumah highly regards African identity, which would strengthen his image of good character. It is also intended to intensify the pathetic appeal of his speech. 'Kingdom' connotes might, thus impressing upon the audience the might of the African personality.<sup>105</sup> This image is expected to evoke their pride and confidence while alerting the imperial powers to the kind of challenge that lies ahead once Africa unites.<sup>106</sup>

### **6.2.6 Elocutio**

It has been felt necessary to add extra sections addressing *elocutio* to be able to adequately treat Nkrumah's style. Many of the stylistic features that he employs in his speech were not integrated in earlier discussions to facilitate an uninterrupted analysis of his thought. These features are examined in this section.

The section is divided into two parts. The first part examines how he repeats his ideas. The second part examines how he employs various rhetorical devices.

### **6.2.6.1 Thematic Iteration**

The analysis reveals skilful repetition of the following five ideas: African unity, African identity, independence, danger and imperialism. This section examines how each of these ideas is varied and made more definite.

#### **6.2.6.1.1 African Unity**

The repetition of ‘African unity’ is expected, this being the main issue that the speech deals with. The idea is varied and made more definite in four ways. The first involves the use of a lexical cluster where the words derive from ‘unite’: union, unification, unity, Union Government, Union of (independent) African states, African Union, African Unity, Pan-African Unity, unite, unifying, unified, uniting, united and United Africa. These words are distributed throughout the speech.

The second technique involves the use of ‘continental’ as pre-modifier: continental level; continental scale; continental basis; continental identity; continental land mass; continental union; continental government; continent-wide plan; continental planning; continental policy; continental national economy; and continental communication system. These words are concentrated in the second half of the speech, especially between paragraphs 47 and 49.

The third technique is closely related to the second. It involves the use of the words ‘common’, ‘combined’ and ‘concerned’ as pre-modifiers: common desire; common purpose; common endeavour; common front; common planning; common policy; common economic and industrial programme; common parity; common currency; common bank of issue; common market; common defence force/system; common foreign policy and diplomacy; common citizenship; combined planning; combined national products; and concerted effort. These are also mostly concentrated in the forty-seventh and forty-eighth paragraphs, as well as in paragraph 66.

Finally, Nkrumah highlights the institutions of his proposed United States of Africa, all of which are pre-modified by ‘African’: African Currency; African Monetary Zone; African Central Bank; African High Command; and African Citizenship. Apart from one occurrence of ‘African High Command’ in the forty-first paragraph, the proposed institutions are concentrated in the thirty-seventh and sixty-sixth paragraphs.

Figure 6.1 shows the place and intensity of restatement of the foregoing words.<sup>107</sup> It indicates that there is a mounting intensification of restatement of the idea African unity as the speech progresses, the point of highest intensity being paragraph 66. The figure also shows that only 25 out of the 72 paragraphs do not contain any of the words in the four categories above.

#### **6.2.6.1.2 African Identity**

Chapter Three of this thesis surveyed Pan-Africanist literature that embraces the idea African identity. The survey found that literature produced in the African diaspora expresses an African consciousness and pride in the African heritage. In slave songs, this is manifested in the symbolisation of Africa as Heaven, Jerusalem and Zion. In slave accounts, it is manifested in the authors' references to themselves as 'sons of Africa'. Harlem Renaissance and Négritude literatures romanticize Africa, exalt the black race and defend African culture with the aim of creating a positive racial identity and, subsequently, boosting racial solidarity. On the continent itself, much of the literature that emerged from the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries was concerned with the regeneration of Africa, and advocated that traditional institutions form the basis of development. Blyden, who formulated the concept African Personality, talked of the African's uniqueness with regard not only to geographical position and traditions, but also to traits and role in the world.

In the current speech, the idea African identity is varied and made more definite by, first, making direct references to Africa and, second, signalling African heritage. The following words refer to the continent: continent; Africa; and Africa's. Of these, 'continent' and 'Africa' are evenly distributed throughout the speech, but with a preference for 'Africa'. The following words signal African heritage: African(s); People of Africa; African freedom fighters; African Personality; African advancement; African interests; African territories; African Government(s); African States; and African Heads of State. One notes that in the second category, all, except 'people of Africa', are pre-modified by 'African'. Overall, there is more of a concern for the geographical entity Africa than there is for any other aspect considered under African identity.

Figure 6.2 shows the place and intensity of restatement of the foregoing words. It indicates a constant pattern of restatement of the idea African identity—

falls then rises. This restatement is most intense in paragraph 30 and 69. Other points of intensity include paragraphs 11, 22, 40-41, 43, 52 and 66. The figure also shows that only 22 out of the 72 paragraphs do not contain any of the words in the two categories above.

### **6.2.6.1.3 Independence**

Nkrumah argues that the essence of independence is to bring about change—a move away from the conditions that existed under colonial regimes. This change involves initiating development. So long as African Governments work separately, they will never be able to bring about this change. This is because the individual countries are weak and, therefore, have to rely on aid from the stronger former colonial powers, which then continue dictating the show as before. African unity would eliminate the boundaries that separate the different countries. As a geopolitical entity, the strength required to free Africa from dependency would evolve, and with this independence at its disposal, the Union Government can initiate the desired change.

As he discusses the relationship between unity and independence, Nkrumah varies and makes more definite the latter with the following words, which are distributed across 33 paragraphs: independence; African independence; national independence; political independence; economic independence; independent; independent Africa; Independent African State(s); independent States (of Africa); independent financing; independent development; independent currency; independent course of economic development; liberation; liberated; freedom; free states; sovereign African states.

Figure 6.3 shows the place and intensity of restatement of these words. It indicates that the restatement of the idea independence is basically similar in distribution and intensification in three sections: paragraphs 2-16, 26-47 and 63-70.

#### **6.2.6.1.4 Danger**

*In order to promote and construct a united Africa, we shall gladly conjure up the danger that lurks behind a divided Africa - Modibo Keita, speaking on the same occasion*

‘African unity’ is described using the more familiar idea of defence. Unity is portrayed as protection against the danger that faces African countries. Nkrumah argues that independent African countries should unite immediately because imperialism has become more dangerous in international associations. Gradual unification not only threatens their well-being, their very existence as free states, but could also intensify their separation. They should unite to end their frontier problems, which are a threat to internal peace. They should unite to boost their stability and security, which would keep at bay the Cold War and its danger of nuclear warfare while enabling them to terminate foreign military pacts that encourage the growth of military bases that are potential danger spots of military conflict. It is only a united front of African countries that can defeat the enemies -- the colonialists -- thus winning political independence for African colonies.

The crucial place that the idea danger holds necessitates special attention to its restatement. The idea is made more varied using the following words, which are distributed across 14 paragraphs: danger, dangerous, threat, threaten, menaces, enemy, war, conflict, attack, onslaught, aggression, resistance, prey, victims, martyrs and executioners. The most preferred of these words is ‘danger’, which appears five times.

Figure 6.4 shows the place and intensity of restatement of these words. It indicates that the restatement of the idea danger is most intense in paragraph 41 followed by paragraph 34.

#### **6.2.6.1.5 Imperialism**

The words used to restate ‘danger’—naturally negative—are associated with imperialism. This is done to portray imperialism negatively, thus reinforcing hatred for it. The idea imperialism is restated in 27 paragraphs, where it is varied and made more definite through the following words: imperialism; economic imperialism; imperialists; imperialist interests; colonialism; colonialism’s purpose; colonised; colonies; colonial powers; colonial times/days; colonial rule; colonial rulers; colonial

oppressors; colonial and racist domination and oppression; colonial occupation; colonial garrisons; colonialists; colonialist and neo-colonialist domination; neo-colonialism; neo-colonialists; neo-colonialist forces; and neo-colonialist controls (and interference).

Figure 6.5 shows the place and intensity of restatement of the foregoing words. The figure indicates that the restatement of the idea imperialism, as in the case of the idea danger, is most intense in paragraph 41. This is followed by paragraph 26. Similarly, as in the case of the idea independence, the distribution of references to imperialism is concentrated in three segments: paragraphs 5-18, 25-41 and 47-56.

Figure 6.6 shows the place and intensity of restatement of references to all the five ideas. It indicates an absolute predominance of restatement of the idea African unity. Table 6.0 shows the frequency of the references to the five ideas.

#### **6.2.6.2 Rhetorical Devices**

Nkrumah employs several rhetorical devices to make his speech more persuasive. This section is devoted to those devices that have not previously been examined in this chapter. It is divided into three parts. The first part focuses on the tropes used individually, including metaphors, *synecdoches* and personification. The second part focuses on the schemes used individually, including *anadiplosis*, *epistrophe* and *asyndeton*. The third part focuses on devices that are used in combination.

##### **6.2.6.2.1 Tropes**

Nkrumah employs metaphors to illustrate the significance and the process of African unification as well as the role that Africa has played in enriching the West. He employs various part-whole *synecdoches*. He personifies African countries and Africa, which intensifies the *pathos* and *ethos* of his speech.

Three types of metaphors illustrate the significance of Africa's unification: 'kingdom-metaphor'; 'defence-metaphor'; and 'cure-metaphor'.<sup>108</sup> Says Nkrumah: "African Unity is, above all, a political kingdom". This metaphor is best understood within its immediate context: "African Unity is, above all, a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means. The social and economic development of

Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round.” If this passage is paraphrased to read “seek ye first the political kingdom, and social and economic development shall be added unto you” the echo of Matt. 6:33—“But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you”—becomes obvious. The conclusion can thus be reached that the metaphor describes the significance of the proposed geo-political entity through subtle allusion to the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God evokes, from one perspective, a sense of sovereignty, in terms of independence and power. Nkrumah is appealing to his audience’s needs of political power and political independence, convincing them that the proposed entity will provide these, which are preconditions for the attainment of socio-economic development.<sup>109</sup> The subtle allusion to the Kingdom of God becomes more evident when one considers that Christ’s second coming is expected to be marked by the establishment of an earthly Kingdom that will introduce a new era characterised by peace and righteousness. In the following statement which is placed at the end of paragraph 71, Nkrumah suggests that the proposed entity will provide peace and security, also preconditions for socio-economic development: “Especially do the new nation (*sic*) need peace in order to make their way into a life of economic and social well-being amid an atmosphere of security and stability that will promote moral, cultural and spiritual fulfilment.” By specifying that the kingdom is, above all, “political” and that it “can only be gained by political means”, he blocks out any alternative methods suggested for realizing African unity. His opponents, the Monrovia Bloc, were opposed to immediate political amalgamation of African states. For them, African unity meant cooperation among African states, with political amalgamation coming later. This Bloc, otherwise referred to as the Nyerere school in this thesis, maintained that immediate political unification was impracticable; rather, economic and cultural cooperation as well as free social intercourse and association were to facilitate political union.

‘African unity’ is associated with ‘defence’. It is portrayed as a weapon without which, African countries will end up being “the unwilling and distressed prey of imperialism”. This image of an unwilling and distressed prey is intended to evoke fear in the audience.

While ‘kingdom’, ‘defence’ and ‘cure’ metaphors illustrate the significance of political unification, a ‘journey-metaphor’ illustrates the process. Nkrumah was fond of using the ‘journey metaphor’, whereby he would portray a given cause as a

journey. In Chapter Four of this thesis, it was seen that he portrayed the struggle for self-government as a journey. He told Ghanaians three years before the country became independent: “Full self-government is only one step away; we must be very sure that we do not stumble at this final step in our journey to reach the end of the road” (Nkrumah 1961, 37). Similarly, the creation of a political union is represented as a journey that will take six months to complete.<sup>110</sup>

The speech contains several ‘part-whole’ *synecdoches*. Body parts represent the human being. The use of “hand”, “face” and “heart” was examined earlier on in this chapter. The discussion of the steps to creating a continental government uses “brains”: “[The All-Africa Committee of Foreign Ministers] should establish...a permanent body of officials and experts to work out a machinery for the Union Government of Africa. This body...should be made up of two of the best brains from each independent African State.” Land is represented by ‘soil’. Nkrumah observes: “Your Excellencies, nothing could be more fitting than that the unification of Africa should be born on the soil of the State which stood for centuries as the symbol of African Independence.”<sup>111</sup> One notes that the *synecdoche* is preceded by vocabulary that is maternal in nature.

Nkrumah’s speech reveals a preference for the “universalist approach” to development.<sup>112</sup> Despite the strong African consciousness that characterizes his speech, there is also a strong feeling that modern science and technology should be incorporated in African culture. That these features are to be used to litter the African landscape, so glorified in Négritude literature, with structures found in highly developed Western nations reveals further dissociation from that which is African. Nkrumah attempts to create a desire for these features through vivification of the changes that they can produce in the Sahara Desert, changes that will in turn enable to the audience to meet its goal of development: “It is within the possibility of science and technology to make even the Sahara bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments.” He vivifies the achievements of the features through personification:

...this is the age in which science has transcended the limits of the material world, and technology has invaded the silences of nature. Time and space have been reduced to unimportant abstractions. Giant machines make roads, clear forests, dig dams, lay our aerodromes; moulder trucks and planes distribute goods; huge laboratories manufacture drugs; complicated geological surveys are made; mighty

power stations are built; colossal factories erected - all at an incredible speed.

Personifying poverty, ignorance and disease, all which are being conquered by science and technology—“we have emerged in the age of science and technology in, (*sic*) which poverty, ignorance and disease are no longer the masters, but the retreating foes of mankind”—helps further vivify the achievements of these features.<sup>113</sup> Nkrumah personifies African states as ‘sisters’ and the continent as ‘mother’ so as to create the image of a family. This image is intended to stir the emotions of his audience as well as to establish a sense of commonality amongst them. Family evokes love as well as a sense of shared identity.

#### **6.2.6.2.2 Schemes**

The speech employs *anadiplosis* to emphasize the common identity of African leaders as well as their role in the creation of a United States of Africa. It gives emphasis to the African masses, the Continent and colonial rule through *epistrophe*.

*Anadiplosis* is employed twice in the conclusion of the speech. In the first instance, it is clearly used to emphasize the shared identity of all those at the Conference: “...we meet there (*sic*) today...as Africans. Africans united in our resolve to remain here until we have agreed on the basic principles of a new compact of unity among ourselves which guarantees for us and our future a new arrangement of continental government.” Nkrumah next uses the device when describing the steps to be taken in creating a union government. The final step would involve a presidium, consisting of the Heads of Governments of the Independent African States, adopting a Constitution and other recommendations presented to them by a committee of foreign ministers that would in turn have been advised by several commissions. He repeats “the Presidium” to make sure that the members of his audience remember this task, which they are to perform six months down the road:

...the Committee of Foreign Ministers...should...submit within six months of this Conference their recommendations to the Presidium. The Presidium meeting in Conference at the Union Headquarters will consider and approve the recommendations of the Committee of Foreign Ministers.

In the following passage, *epistrophe* is employed to emphasize ‘colonial rule’: “In independent Africa we are already re-experiencing the instability and frustration which existed under colonial rule. We are fast learning that political independence is not enough to rid us of the consequences of colonial rule.” It will be recalled that ‘imperialism’ is a key idea in this speech, hence the need to emphasize it as much as possible.

One asyndetic structure reads: “Giant machines make roads, clear forests, dig dams, lay our aerodromes; mounter trucks and planes distribute goods; huge laboratories manufacture drugs; complicated geological surveys are made; mighty power stations are built; colossal factories erected - all at an incredible speed.” Here, the omission of conjunctions is clearly to give the clauses a feeling of the speed that he is describing.

#### 6.2.6.2.3 Combined Figures

Nkrumah accumulates figures that he skilfully employs to set up a contrast between the effects of immediate and gradual unification. The following visual image vivifies the delay, both in the fulfilment of the needs and in the achievement of the goals of Africans, which will result from the adoption of gradual political unification. The image, which starts from the last sentence of paragraph twenty-eight and carries through to the end of paragraph twenty-nine is aided by parallelism, *anaphora* and *epistrophe*. The parallelism (identified in italics) gives equal importance to the listed elements, which form the gist of the arguments presented in the speech, while the *anaphora* (identified in capital letters) increases attentiveness to the image, thus making it memorable. Meanwhile, the *epistrophe* (identified in bold) emphasizes the idea of slow pace:<sup>114</sup>

The world is no longer moving through bush paths or on **camels and donkeys**.

WE CANNOT AFFORD to pace *our needs, our development, our security*, to the gait of **camels and donkeys**. WE CANNOT AFFORD not to cut down the overgrown bush of outmoded attitudes that obstruct our path to the modern (*sic*) open road of the widest and earliest achievement of economic independence and the raising up of the lives of our people to the highest level.

The passage below, which is taken from paragraph forty-eight, employs *enumeratio* to amplify the idea of investigating Africa's resources. This, it will be noted, is a key paragraph—it is basically the closing of the *confirmatio*. It contains a mini-refutation of the view that Africa is poor, and this is emphasized by communicating the thought in an antithetical structure (identified in italics). The passage also contains *diacope* (identified in capitals), *anaphora* (identified in bold) and expletive (identified by underlining). Nkrumah uses the diacopic 'common' to make the idea of unity memorable and 'whether' to make memorable the different things he says should be established. The expletive is intended to emphasize that it is the imperial powers that believe that Africa is poor:<sup>115</sup>

While we are assuring our stability by a COMMON defence system, and our economy is being orientated beyond foreign control by a COMMON Currency, Monetary Zone and Central Bank of Issue, **we can** investigate the resources of our continent. **We can** begin to ascertain WHETHER in reality *we are the richest, and not, as we have been taught to believe, the poorest among the continents*. **We can** determine WHETHER we possess the largest potential in hydroelectric power, and WHETHER we can harness it and other sources of energy to our own industries. **We can** proceed to plan our industrialisation on a continental scale, and to build up a COMMON market for nearly three hundred million people.

In the following passage, taken from the forty-fourth paragraph of the speech, Nkrumah interweaves *erotesis* with *anaphora* (identified by underlining), parallelism (italicized) and *epistrophe* (bold):

*How else will we retain our own capital for our development? How else will we establish an internal market for our own industries?* By belonging to different economic zones, how will we break down the currency and trading barriers between African **States**, and how will the economically stronger amongst us be able to assist the weaker and less developed **States**?

The questions convey the gain to be realized from unification. The anaphoric utterance is intended to convey his distress at the inevitability of endless problems—exploitation, lack of internal markets, currency and trading barriers, economic dependency—if a political union is not established. He resorts to parallelism to emphasize the importance of capital accumulation and the establishment of an internal market. Meanwhile, the *epistrophe* emphasizes the thought of African countries.

There is another instance of *erotesis*, this time combined with *polysyndeton* and expletive. These questions which he attempts to focus attention on through the

expletive “Your Excellencies, permit me to ask” are posed almost at the end of the *refutatio*. The first of them calls on the Heads of States and Governments to deliberate with the speaker on the suitability of the USA model for Africa. The second question sustains this communication. The *polysyndeton* marked by a superfluity of ‘or’ draws attention to some of the different countries that could dominate the continent were the model to be implemented. The Monrovia Bloc feared that Ghana would dominate the continent should countries surrender their sovereignty. Nkrumah’s listing of these countries is probably intended to draw attention to other countries that had the capacity to do so, which not only conveys a similar fear on his part, but also reduces the attention on Ghana:

Your Excellencies, permit me to ask: Is this the kind of framework we desire for our United Africa? An arrangement which in future could permit Ghana or Nigeria or the Sudan, or Liberia, or Egypt or Ethiopia for example, to use pressure, which either superior economic or political influence gives, to dictate the flow and direction of trade from, say, Burundi or Togo or Nyasaland to Mozambique or Madagascar?

It was mentioned earlier that ‘African unity’ is illustrated using a ‘cure’ metaphor. Africa’s boundary disputes are a disease. The image of a rotting wound creates the understanding that these disputes are an old, acute and disgusting malady. Political union is the only medicine that can cure this wound. In the passage quoted shortly, the metaphor is augmented with personification, whereby African unity is presented as a person trying to catch the attention of the African leaders, and with *synecdoche*, whereby ‘hand’ and ‘face’ stand for the African leaders and ‘heart’ for the African masses. It is the first instance that Nkrumah directly addresses his audience by their title, having all along maintained contact through first and second person forms. He tells them: “Only African Unity can heal this festering sore of boundary disputes between our various states. Your Excellencies, the remedy for these ills is ready in our hand. It stares us in the face at every customs barrier, it shouts to us from every African heart.”

### **6.3 Conclusion**

The analysis has found that Nkrumah’s speech contains the following parts of a classical oration: *exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *refutatio* and *peroratio*. In the *exordium*, Nkrumah announces the purpose and thesis of his speech and tries to

capture and hold the attention of his listeners. He also employs both pathetic and ethical proof. In the *narratio*, he establishes a skeletal framework within which his call for immediate political unification is made. As in the *exordium*, he employs both pathetic and ethical proof.

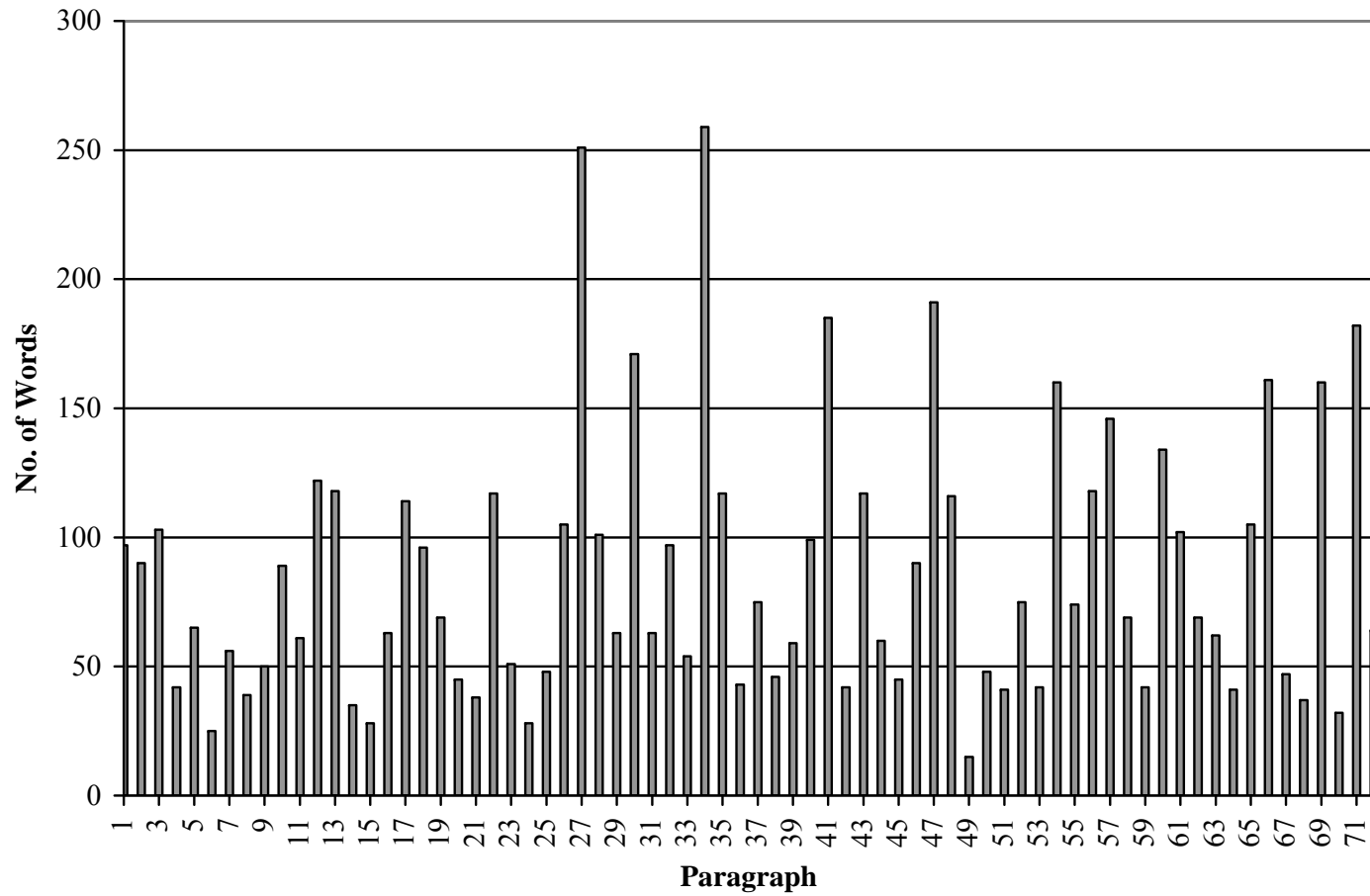
He provides several arguments in the *confirmatio*. He supports his claims with the following data: reasons, fact, examples, observations, analogy, statistics, testimony, detail and explanation. While some the arguments contain more than one warrant others do not have warrants. Some warrants are explicitly stated while others are implicit. Several of these arguments are intertwined with *ethos* and *pathos*. The *refutatio* is also marked by the three Aristotelian appeals.

The *peroratio* restates some of the arguments made in the speech. In this part of the speech too, Nkrumah employs both ethical and pathetic proof.

The speech is characterized by thematic iteration and contains several rhetorical devices, some of which are used alone while others are used in combination.

Chapter            Seven            analyses            Nyerere's            speech.

**Figure 6.0 Distribution of Words in Nkrumah's Speech**



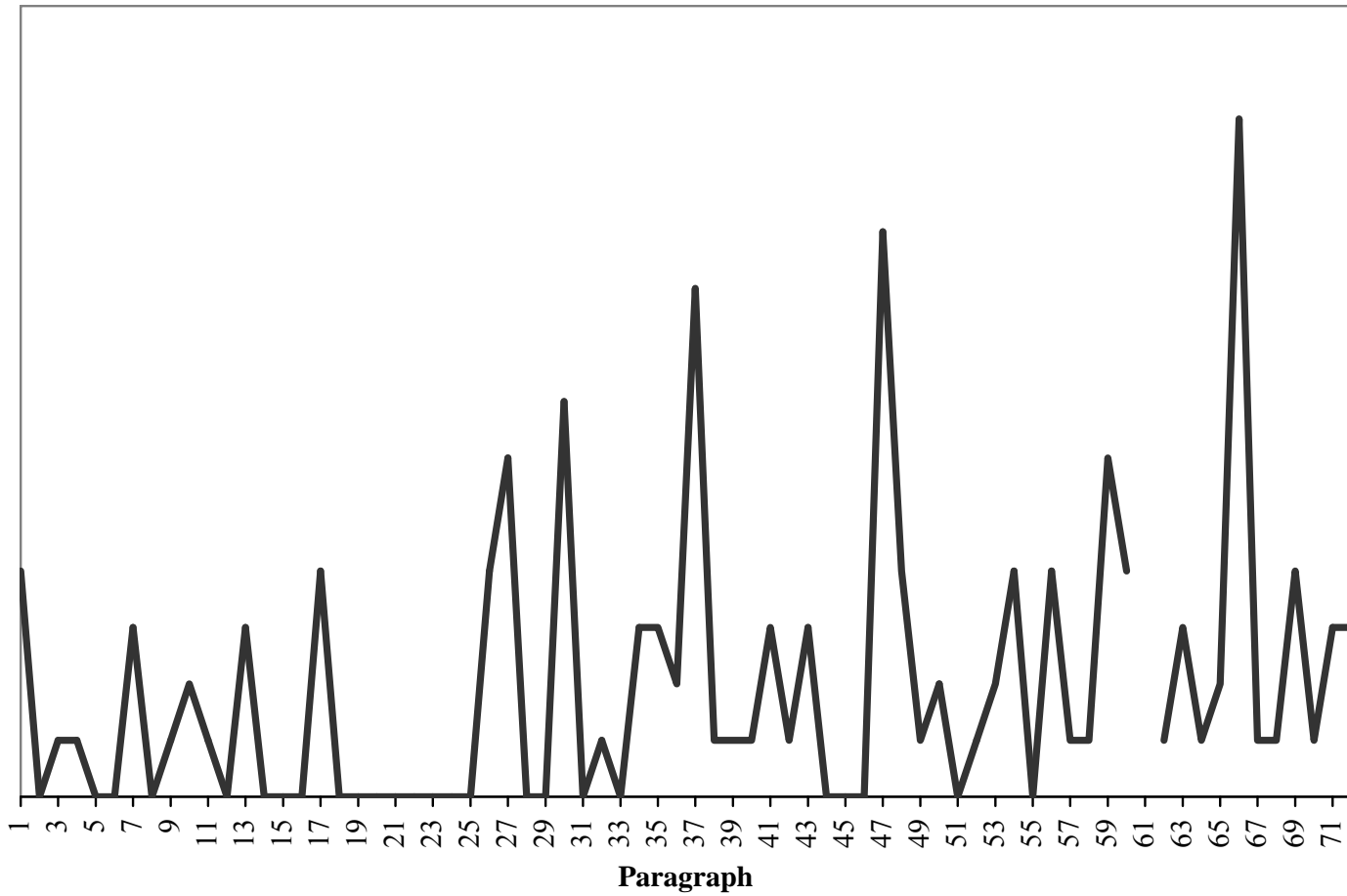
**Table 6.0 Frequency of References to the Five Ideas**

WORD	FREQUENCY IN SPEECH
<b>African Unity</b>	
unity	18
united	11
United Africa	11
union	9
African Unity	8
Union Government	6
unite	6
Union of (independent) African states	4
unified	4
common defence force/system	4
common purpose	3
common currency	3
African High Command	3
unification	2
African Union	2
uniting	2
continental basis	2
continental government	2
common desire	2
common endeavour	2
common parity	2
common market	2
concerted effort	2
African Currency	2
African Monetary Zone	2
African Central Bank	2
Pan-African Unity	1
unifying	1
continental level	1
continental scale	1
continental identity	1
continental land mass	1
continental union	1
continent-wide plan	1
continental planning	1
continental policy	1
continental national economy	1
continental communication system	1
common front	1
common planning	1
common policy	1
common economic and industrial programme	1
common bank of issue	1
common foreign policy and diplomacy	1

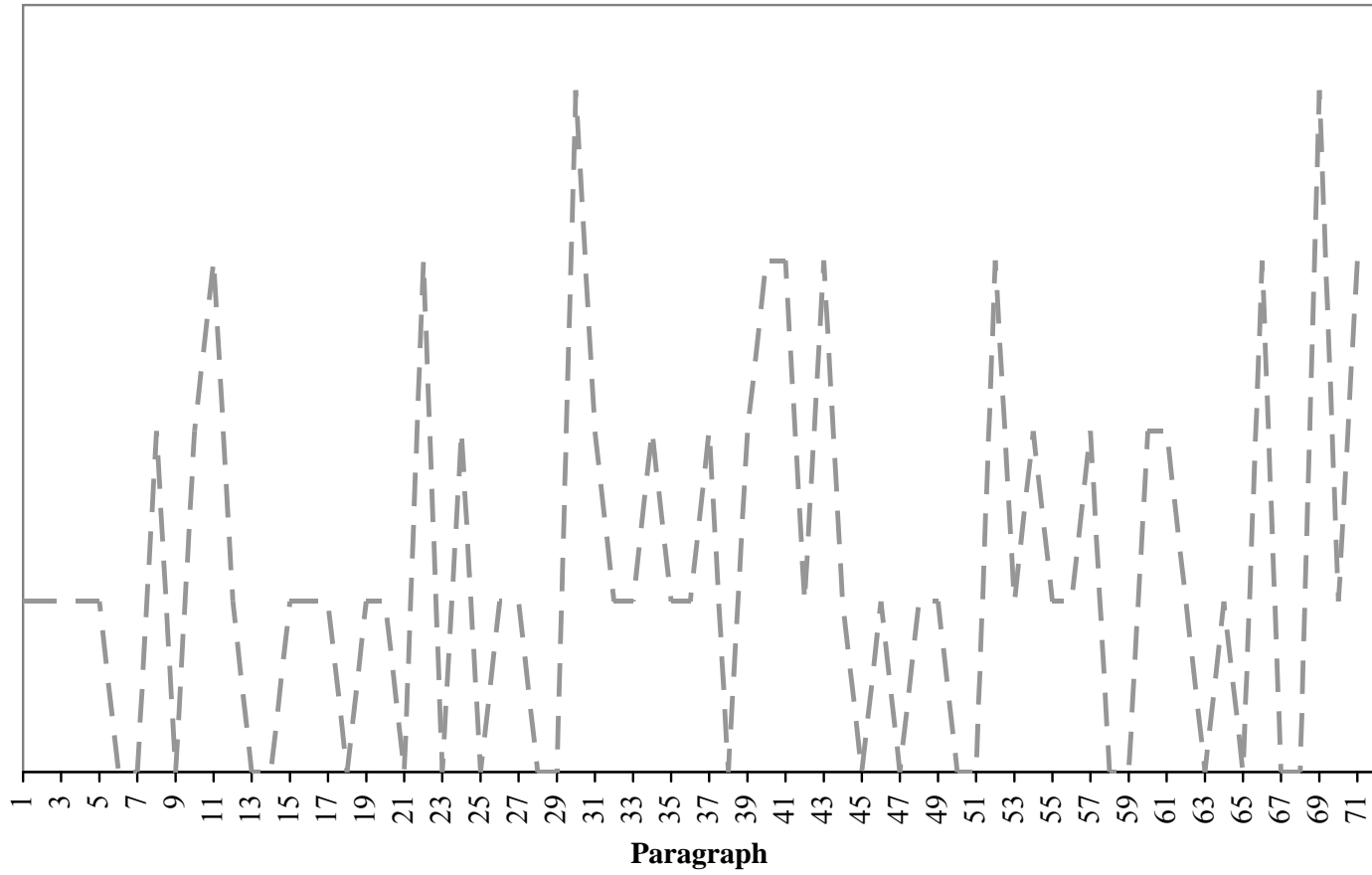
WORD	FREQUENCY IN SPEECH
common citizenship	1
combined planning	1
combined national products	1
African Citizenship	1
<b>African identity</b>	
Africa	41
continent	23
People of Africa	4
African States	4
African(s)	3
Africa's	2
African freedom fighters	1
African Personality	1
African advancement	1
African interests	1
African territories	1
African Government(s)	1
African Heads of State	1
<b>Independence</b>	
independence	10
Independent African State(s)	6
political independence	5
African independence	4
freedom	4
independent States (of Africa)	3
economic independence	2
independent	2
liberation	2
freed	2
free	2
national independence	1
independent Africa	1
independent financing	1
independent development	1
independent currency	1
independent course of economic development	1
liberated	1
free states	1
sovereign African states	1
<b>Danger</b>	
danger	5
threat	2
aggression	2
dangerous	1
threaten	1
menaces	1
enemy	1

WORD	FREQUENCY IN SPEECH
war	1
conflict	1
attack	1
onslaught	1
resistance	1
prey	1
victims	1
martyrs	1
executioners	1
<b>Imperialism</b>	
colonialism	11
neo-colonialism	9
imperialism	6
colonial rule	3
imperialists	2
colonialism's purpose	2
colonial times/days	2
neo-colonialist controls (and interference)	2
economic imperialism	1
imperialist interests	1
colonised	1
colonies	1
colonial powers	1
colonial rulers	1
colonial oppressors	1
colonial and racist domination and oppression	1
colonial occupation	1
colonial garrisons	1
colonialists	1
colonialist and neo-colonialist domination	1
neo-colonialists	1
neo-colonialist forces	1

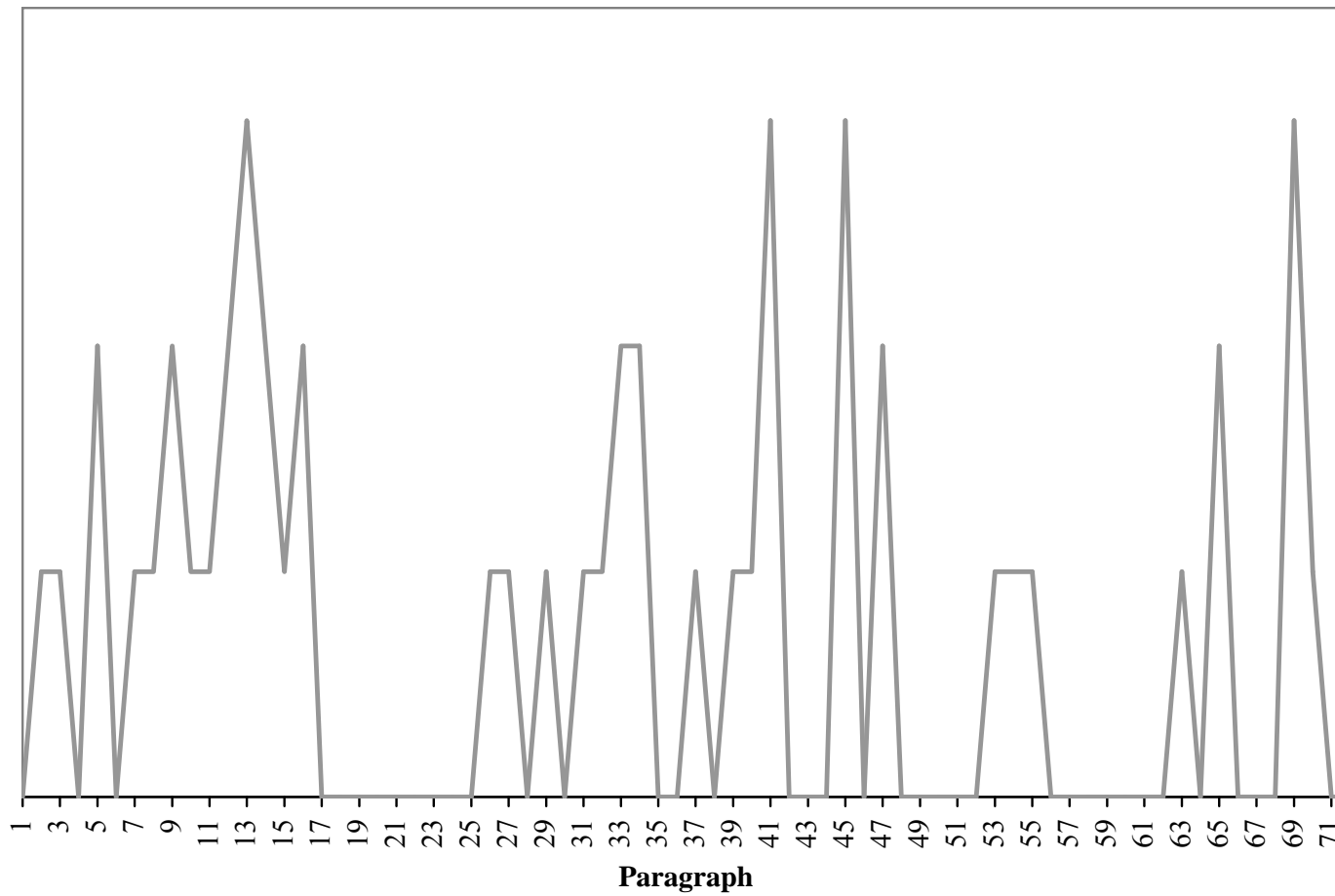
**Figure 6.1 The Place and Intensity of Restatement of References to African Unity**



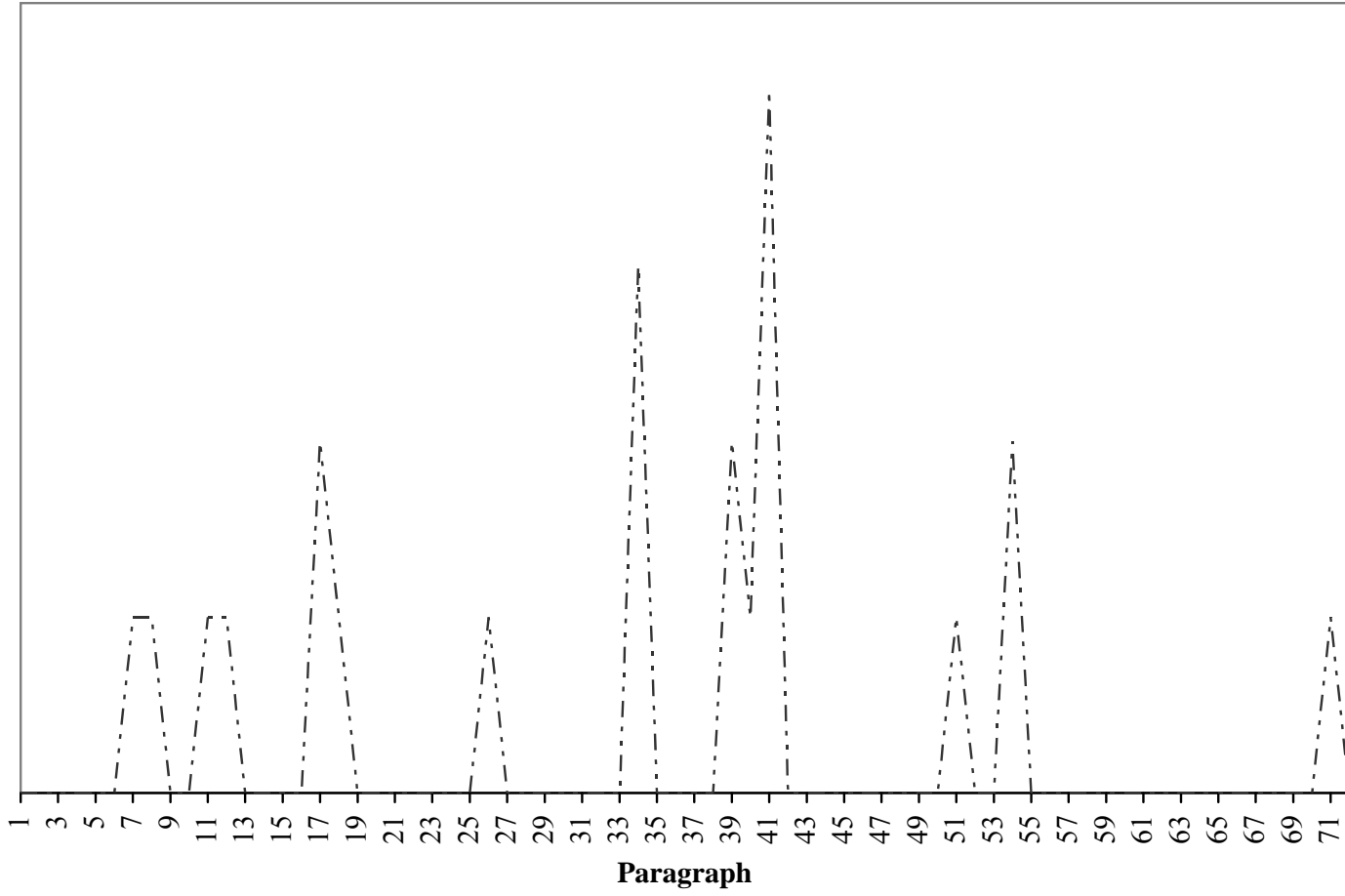
**Figure 6.2 The Place and Intensity of Restatement of References to African Identity**



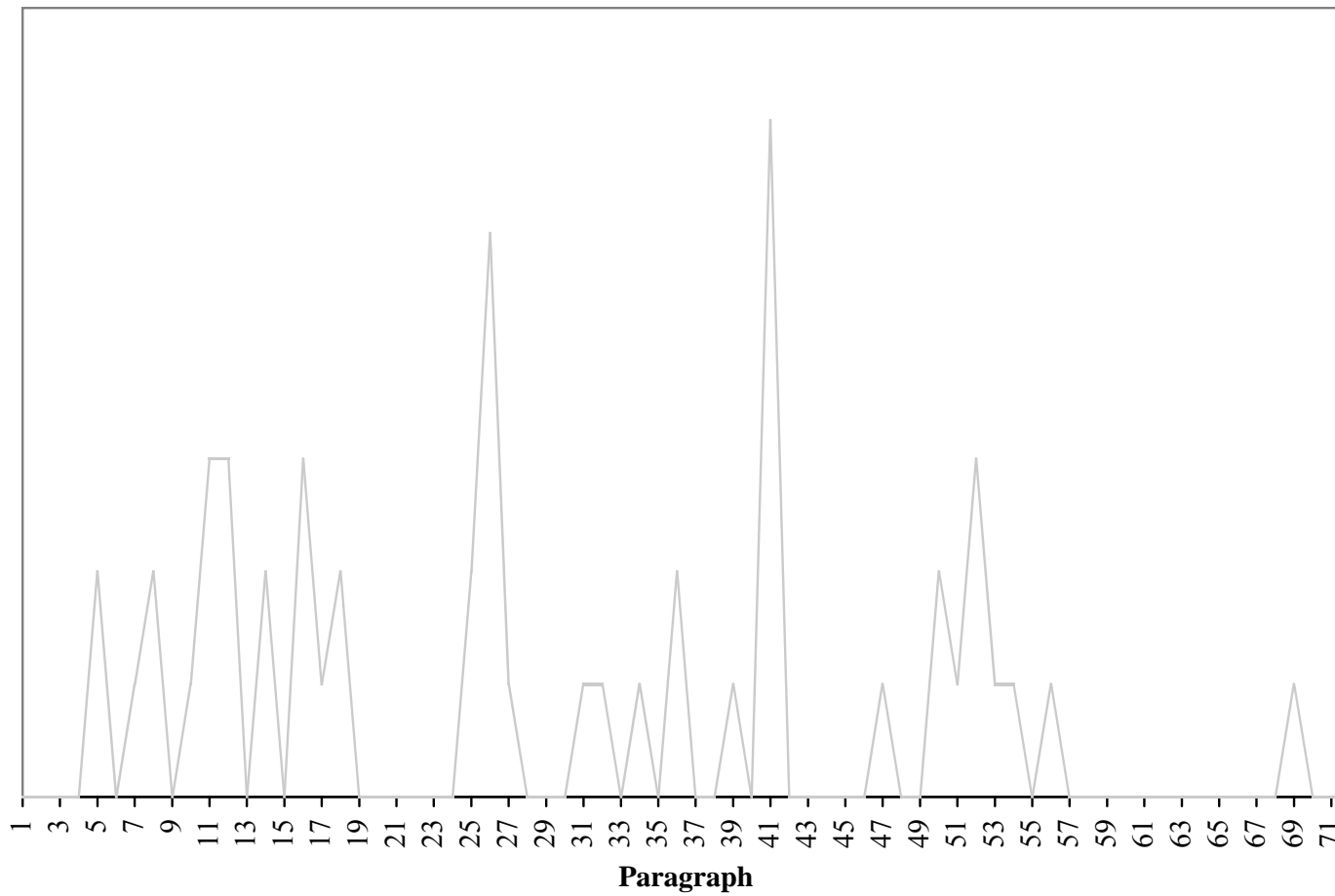
**Figure 6.3 The Place and Intensity of Restatement of References to Independence**



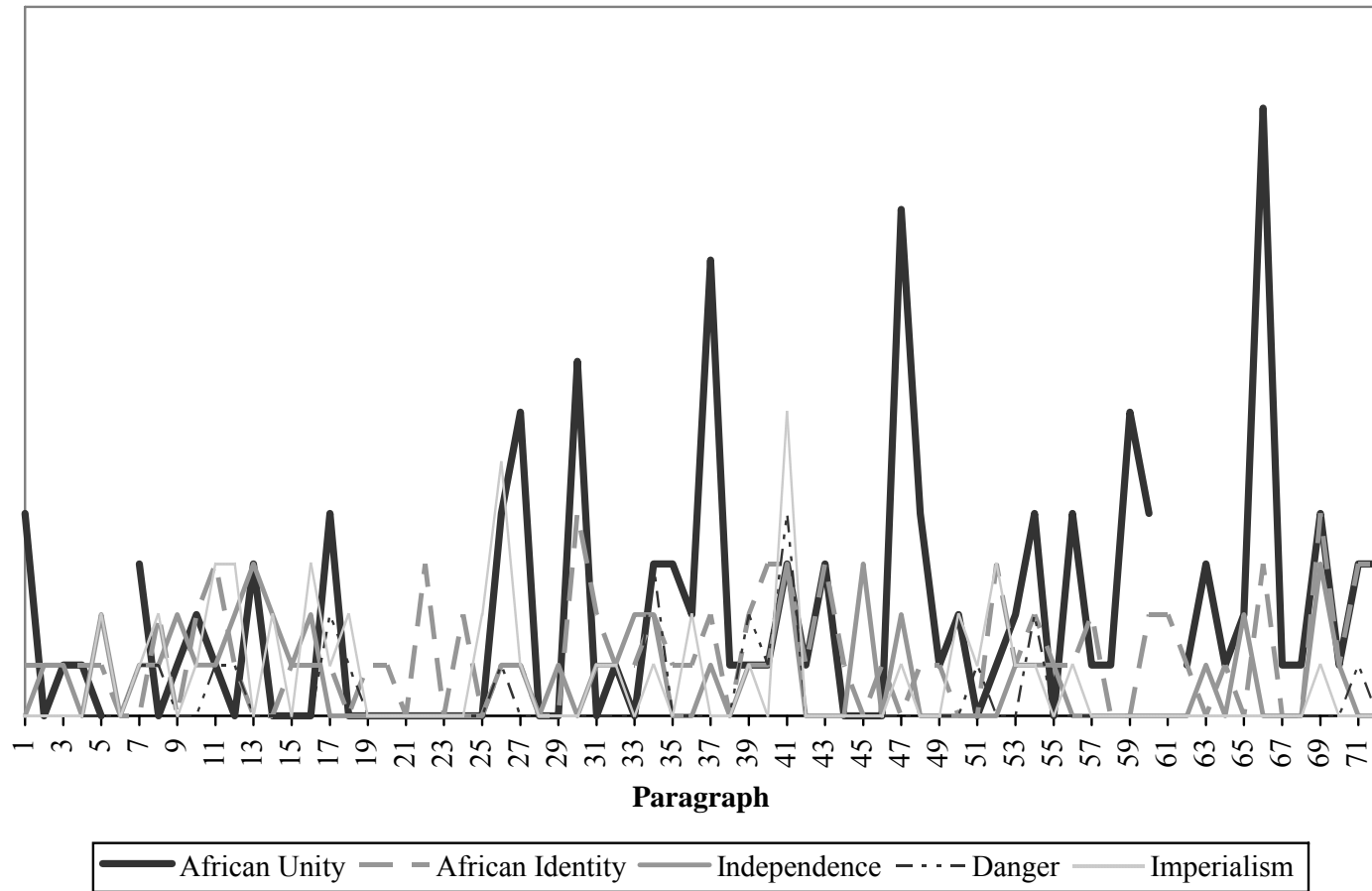
**Figure 6.4 The Place and Intensity of Restatement of References to Danger**



**Figure 6.5 The Place and Intensity of Restatement of References to Imperialism**



**Figure 6.6 The Place and Intensity of Restatement of References to the Five Ideas**



## Chapter Seven

### Analysis of Julius Nyerere's Speech

#### 7.0 Introduction

This chapter conducts a rhetorical analysis of the speech that Nyerere delivered at the Conference of African Heads of States and Governments held in Addis Ababa in 1963. As has already been mentioned in this thesis, Nyerere advocated gradual political unification of African States. He felt that political unification should be preceded by economic, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation among the states.

The chapter begins with a note on the rhetorical situation of the speech after which it proceeds to examine the content, organization and style of the speech. The chapter ends with a summary of the main findings. The particular text on which the analysis is based appears on the Economic Commission for Africa website.<sup>116</sup>

#### 7.1 The Rhetorical Situation

The occasion on which this speech was made, and to whom, has already been described in Chapter Six of this thesis. It is important to point out here though that Nyerere was the last of the leaders to speak at the Conference. This fact, as will be evident from the analysis, impacted significantly on his speech. The purpose of his speech was to persuade his fellow leaders to adopt a gradual approach to the political unification of Africa.

#### 7.2 *Inventio, Dispositio and Elocutio*

This speech, which contains 19 paragraphs, is arranged into three main parts: introduction, body and conclusion. The introduction contains 325 words (22% of the total in the speech) that are spread across five paragraphs. It has a distinct *exordium* and *narratio*. The body contains 961 words (64% of the total in the speech) that are spread across nine paragraphs. It has a distinct *confirmatio* and *refutatio*. The conclusion contains five paragraphs that have 212 words in total (14% of the total in

the speech). Figure 7.0 shows the number of words in each paragraph. From this figure it can be seen that, as in the case of Nkrumah's speech given on the same occasion, the paragraph that contains the most number of words appears just about halfway through the speech.

### 7.2.1 *Exordium*

The *exordium*, which contains 241 words and occupies the first four paragraphs of the speech, attempts to capture and hold the attention of the listeners by constantly referring to the nature and purpose of the occasion. The first paragraph announces the purpose of the conference, which Nyerere declares is to establish how to bring about freedom and unity in Africa, two issues that not only form the title of his book *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja: a selection from writings and speeches, 1952-65* (1966) but also the national motto of Tanzania (*Uhuru na Umoja*). He asserts: "This conference has been faced with one **task**, it is the **task** of finding a common denominator, which will guide us in *our determination* to rid our continent of the remaining vestiges of colonialism and in *our determination* to see an Africa speaking with the same voice." He resorts to *conduplicatio* (identified in bold) to focus attention on the purpose of the conference and *diacope* (identified in italics) to emphasize the shared resolve to achieve freedom and unity. The emphasis of this common ground is intended to produce a two-fold effect: first, encourage the audience members to perceive him as similar to them, which is important if they are to trust him and, second, encourage them to think as a team.

The third and fourth paragraphs attempt to emphasize and make memorable the idea that the Heads of States and Governments have met to establish how they will bring about freedom and unity in Africa. This is done through repetition and antithesis. In the third paragraph, Nyerere observes: "We did not come here to discover whether we all want a free Africa." This observation constitutes the first sentence of the paragraph. He then claims: "We came here to find out what we should all do now in order to bring about the final liberation of Africa." This claim forms the last sentence of the paragraph, while the warrant forms the second: "Even the greatest enemies of African unity know that the one thing on which there can be no doubt that the whole of Africa speaks with one sincere voice, it is our desire to see an Africa completely freed from foreign domination and racialism." In the fourth paragraph,

Nyerere observes: “We did not come here to discover whether we want African unity.” He then claims: “We came here to find out our common denominator in our approach to African unity.” The warrant for this argument is: “Again even our enemies know that we sincerely desire unity.” As in the case of the first argument, the claim and data in the second argument occupy emphatic positions being the last and first sentences, respectively, of the paragraph while the warrant forms the second sentence.

One notes that Nyerere repeats the words ‘we’, ‘our’ and ‘desire’ in a bid to emphasize that the aspirations for freedom and unity are shared by those in attendance. This emphasis is significant, particularly with regard to the issue of freedom, for he is later to argue that sheer desire on the part of leaders, and not a continental government, is what will help the remaining African colonies to get independence. He emphasizes the desire for unity even further by repeating within the paragraph: “No, we did not come here to find out whether we desire unity.” Noteworthy however is his uncertainty as to whether all the leaders aspire for unity, unlike in the case of freedom where he is sure that they all do. This difference in certainty emerges from his inclusion of the qualifier ‘there can be no doubt’ and the statement “the whole of Africa” in the warrant of the argument on freedom but not in the warrant of the argument on unity, as well as by including the quantifier ‘all’ in the data and claim of the former argument but not in those of the latter.

The *exordium* is also devoted to pathetic appeal. This occurs in the second paragraph where the feelings towards African unification are conveyed through imagery.<sup>117</sup>

### **7.2.2 Narratio**

The *narratio*, which contains 84 words and occupies the fifth paragraph, seeks largely to strengthen support for African freedom and unity by using all the three Aristotelian appeals, especially *pathos* and *ethos*. The pathetic appeal is marked by an attempt to evoke African consciousness through portraying the leaders at the conference as members of the same family, as well as by highlighting the common suffering experienced by Africans. Nyerere boosts his *ethos* by portraying himself as a true Pan-African leader and by showing respect for his listeners. He attempts to arouse his listeners’ reasoning through drawing attention to previous arguments on

African freedom and unity, and through presenting his own views on the relationship that exists between the two.

Aware that his listeners might be weary of listening to why Africa should be free and united, Nyerere begins by announcing that he will not be dealing with this because the host of the conference and the previous speakers have already done so much better than he possibly could. He refers to these speakers as “brothers”, a word that brings to mind the image of a family and the love that abounds within. This image is intended to establish commonality among all in attendance. Nyerere’s employment of the term can also be explained in terms of his socialist stand. As a socialist who stood for the ultimate formation of a United States of Africa, it was crucial that he emerge as one who accepts the equality of all those who were to constitute this nation. By calling his listeners brothers instead of comrades, he was also localizing socialist language. He argues in *Freedom and Socialism* (1968):

...the universality of socialism does not imply a single, world-wide uniformity of... social language (*sic*). There is no reason why a dozen fully socialist societies should not have...a dozen different styles of political address and description. It is by no means necessary to call people “comrade” in order to be socialist...The differences between these societies will reflect both the manner of their development, and their historical traditions (Nyerere 1968, 3).<sup>118</sup>

Nyerere’s announcement that he will not be dealing with why Africa should be free and united is also significant for his *ethos*. It shows his concern for his listeners’ feelings and ideas, clearly a sign that he respects them. He appears modest when he insinuates that they have dealt with the issue much better than he possibly could. The announcement is significant from a logical appeal perspective also. Through it, he rouses the listeners’ reasoning by drawing attention to the arguments hitherto given. It is in essence the use of *praeteritio* in that Nyerere actually draws attention to the reasons why the leaders should be concerned about freedom and unity while seeming to pass over the matter. Keeping in mind that he was the last speaker, it is significant to note that he draws attention to arguments given even by opponents; this rhetorical move enables him to draw attention to, and start his argument from, common ground. The parallel anaphoric structure (identified in bold) allows him to attach equal importance to freedom and unity. The second clause in the paragraph conveys his view on the relationship between these two factors:

I do not propose to bother you by stating **why Africa should be free** any (*sic*) **why Africa should be united**; why Africa should unite in achieving its freedom and (*sic*) free in achieving its unity. Your Imperial Majesty and those of my brothers who have spoken before me have stated that case much better than I can.

Nyerere thereafter proceeds to further try and mobilize support for freedom and unity mainly through emotional appeal. He rouses pity for the suffering experienced by Africans under imperialists. In doing this, he begins with an assertion (identified in italics) that he amplifies through *enumeratio*. He points, in particular, to the deaths in the distant slave era and also those, more pointedly, in the colonial era that is still underway in some countries. The anaphoric utterance (“it has been better stated by the”) increases attentiveness to the images. The collocation “our people” is employed with the aim of creating the image of a true Pan-African leader, one who is concerned about the welfare of Africans on the continent at large, which further boosts his *ethos*:

*It has been even better stated by the suffering of our people; by the blood which our people have shed and are still shedding at the hands of their oppressors; it has been better stated by the millions of our people who died in the slave raids organised all over Africa by those powers whose prestige was built upon the humiliation of Africa; it is still stated by those monuments of European, American, and (let's say it) Asian glory, which to us are symbols of humiliation and oppression.*

As can be seen from the above quotation, Nyerere not only points to the numerous deaths that have taken place because of imperialism but also to the humiliation and oppression that continues to be experienced because of it. It will further be noted that these two experiences (humiliation and oppression) are conveyed in an emphatic sentence where the emphasis is created through the contrast introduced by suddenly altering the anaphoric statement “it has been better stated by the” to “it is still stated by those”. The images above not only arouse pity but also strengthen solidarity among the listeners based on the common experience of suffering undergone by their race.

Nyerere uses the second last sentence of his *narratio* to re-emphasize that he will not address why Africa should be free and united. He uses the very same parallel structures (identified in bold) that he used in the first sentence of the paragraph: “I repeat then, that I do not propose to bother you with reasons, **why Africa should be free**, and **why Africa should be united.**” Thus far, the contents of the *narratio* are in

line with those of a classical *narratio*. A departure occurs, however, in the last sentence where the purpose of the conference is restated: “We came here simply to discover our common denominator, in our approach to freedom and unity.” This is a function that in a classical oration would be performed by the *partitio*, a part that is lacking in Nyerere’s introduction.

### **7.2.3 *Confirmatio***

The *confirmatio*, which contains 829 words, begins at the sixth paragraph and ends at the twelfth. It outlines the speaker’s plan of what the Heads of States and Governments should do to achieve African freedom and unity. It is arranged topically, with paragraphs six to 10 dealing with the issue of freedom and paragraphs 11 and 12 dealing with the issue of unity.

#### **7.2.3.1 Part 1: The Issue of Freedom**

Paragraph six highlights a point of agreement between both blocs with regard to Africa’s liberation. Nyerere refers to this point of agreement as the ‘common denominator’ in the approach to freedom. Both camps agree that it is time to start offering material support to the nationalist movements in the continent. One notes the employment of antithesis (identified in italics) to emphasize this idea:

In our approach to the final liberation of Africa we are all agreed without a single exception *that the time for more words is gone; that this is time for action; that the time for allowing our brethren to struggle unaided is gone; that from now on our brethren in non-independent Africa should be helped by independent Africa.*<sup>119</sup>

Paragraph seven is characterised by both logical and pathetic appeal. Nyerere asserts: “...we in Tanganyika, as indeed our brethren in the Congo cannot be comfortable or complacent in. (*sic*) our freedom as long as our neighbours to the south are not free.” This assertion is significant as it reveals the belief, dominant during Africa’s liberation struggle, that a country’s independence was meaningful only if the entire continent was independent. Nyerere told the UN General Assembly when he addressed them on 14<sup>th</sup> December 1961:

It is not possible for Tanganyika to remain an island of freedom and peace surrounded by troubled and unfreed areas. On either side of all

our borders live people with a common language, and common traditions. We cannot fail to be concerned with what goes on in countries which adjoin Tanganyika, because their troubles are also our troubles. The same is true of the countries which border our neighbours. We are all involved together. The whole of Africa is, in fact, interlinked. It cannot really be split into small portions (Nyerere 1966, 153).<sup>120</sup>

The ‘we’ in Nyerere’s assertion is exclusive, its referent being the people of Tanganyika, and it is employed to impress upon the listeners that all the people of Tanganyika feel the same about the colonies to the south of their country. Meanwhile, there is an attempt to evoke African consciousness by using the emotive term ‘brethren’ to refer to the Congolese.

In the eighth paragraph, Nyerere announces that Tanganyika is already helping the colonies in southern Africa and that it is prepared to do more. Tanganyika, he explains, is concerned about these particular countries because of their proximity. His explanation boosts his *ethos* to the extent that it reveals humility: “...not because of any greater dedication to the freedom of Africa, but because of our proximity to non-independent Africa, we are already making a humble contribution to the liberation of Southern Africa...”. Clearly, he does not want to exude the attitude that Tanganyika is the most dedicated of the independent countries when it comes to the issue of freedom. This is also how he avoided exuding the attitude that his ideas on freedom and unity were the best when he said that he would not explain why Africa should be free and united because previous speakers had done that better than he could. By describing his country’s contribution as a “humble contribution”, he further reduces chances of appearing arrogant.

As a way of doing more to help non-independent Africa, Nyerere offers to contribute one percent of Tanganyika’s national budget to a liberation fund. This pledge is an explicit reference to Sekou Touré who had earlier on in the conference suggested that the leaders establish a national liberation fund, to which each would contribute one percent of his country’s national budget at the beginning of every financial year.<sup>121</sup> He immediately follows the reference with another like it: “I want to assure our gallant brother from Algeria, Brother Ben Bella, that we are prepared to die a little for the final removal of the humiliation of colonialism from the face of Africa.”<sup>122</sup> The pronouns here create the impression that the Prime Minister is speaking on behalf those that he leads, all whom wholeheartedly support the liberation

movement. Meanwhile, there is also here, as in the seventh paragraph, an attempt to evoke African consciousness by referring to Ben Bella as a 'brother'. He will also be seen to refer to Senghor as a 'brother' in paragraph 12.

As mentioned earlier, paragraphs six to 10 deal with the issue of freedom. Thus far, Nyerere has conveyed the need and willingness to offer more support to Africa's liberation movement and explained Tanganyika's position with regard to the colonies south of the country. In paragraph nine, he turns attention to the relationship between unity and independence. He refutes the argument that a continental government is a precondition for the liberation of African colonies as well as for the realization of unity by giving the example of the USA where sheer desire to attain independence had united the 13 colonies even before the formation of a central government. On the same occasion, Nkrumah claimed: "Only a United Africa with central political direction can successfully give effective material and moral support to our freedom fighters, in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, etc., and of course South Africa." He declared: "We must unite in order to achieve the full liberation of our continent." And in the parliamentary speech that he delivered on 6<sup>th</sup> August 1960, Nkrumah declares: "The African struggle for independence and unity must begin with political union" (Nkrumah 1997, 1:128). Nyerere introduces this view through a paraphrase of the introduction of Chapter Twenty in *Africa Must Unite*: "In our search for a common approach to unity the way the United States of America came into being has often been mentioned as an example open to us to follow."<sup>123</sup> He immediately proceeds to show that this suggestion arises from a misunderstanding of how American unity came into being:

But let me say in this connection, that the United States of America did not come into being by the signing of the American Constitution. This was rather the culmination of a common endeavour by thirteen colonial countries. The ral (*sic*) unity was forged and sealed by the Declaration of Independence and by a comradeship in arms for the achievement of that independence. Let us not avoid that task now facing us by waiting until Africa is under one Government.

The tenth paragraph employs both pathetic and logical appeals to persuade the listeners that African colonies are an African problem that is best solved through an African solution. The pathetic appeal involves an attempt to arouse African consciousness by urging the leaders, referred to as 'brothers', to become seriously concerned about the colonies. The parallel tautologous structure (identified in bold in

the paragraph below) is intended to emphasize and make memorable the need for this seriousness while the parallel epistrophic structure (identified in italics) emphasizes and makes memorable the fact that Angola and Mozambique are still colonized. The latter structure further attaches equal importance to the two countries. The expletive (identified by underlining) is intended to focus attention on his assertion:<sup>124</sup>

I ask your Imperial Majesty and my brothers assembled here that we collectively should now view the continued occupation of Africa by any foreign power **with the same gravity and in the same seriousness** as each one of us would have viewed the occupation by a foreign power of a part of the country that he has the privilege and the honour to lead. We can no longer go on saying that *Angola is not free or Mozambique is not free*, etc., and that we are helping Angolans or Mozambiquans to free themselves. Such statements are hiding the truth.

The last statement above is followed by this observation that is intended to stir both a rational and emotional response from the listeners. The observation is significant in context of the view that a country's independence was meaningful only if the entire continent was independent: "The real humiliating truth is that Africa is not free...". Given this, Nyerere concludes that "it is Africa which should take the necessary collective measures to free Africa."

### 7.2.3.2 Part 2: The Issue of Unity

As was noted at the beginning of the current discussion on the *confirmatio*, paragraphs 11 and 12 of this speech deal with the issue of unification. Figure 7.0 shows that paragraph 11 contains the highest number of words. The paragraph begins by highlighting a point of agreement between both blocs with regard to Africa's unification. This is the second time that Nyerere is using the *confirmatio* to highlight a point of agreement, a function otherwise performed by the *partitio* in a classical oration. The first time was in paragraph six, which is the opening paragraph of the first part of the *confirmatio*. It is interesting to note that he repeats this rhetorical move in the opening paragraph of the second part of the *confirmatio*. Here too, he refers to this point of agreement as the 'common denominator': "In our approach to unity we have also discovered a common denominator. We have all repeated our dedication to the achievement of a fully united Africa."

Nyerere proceeds to argue in favour of a gradual approach to this unity. He claims: "...African unity is about to be a process." This claim is supported by the following analogy drawn from African history: "...just as African Independence has been a process." His warrant is a general law: "It is not in the nature of human action that the will and the fulfilment should be simultaneous. That is not in our power, that is only in the power of the Gods. In human action there is an inevitable progress between the will to do and the fulfilment of that action." Nyerere employs the device "we have all said" to create the impression that everyone at the conference feels that the approach to unity should be gradual and, subsequently, silence the Casablanca view of immediate unification: "But we have all said in effect that just as *African Independence has been a process, African unity is about to be a process.*" As can be seen, this statement also employs *symploce* (identified in italics) and parallelism (identified in bold). The parallelism balances and emphasizes the ideas of independence and unity, a rhetorical move that is a motif in the speech, while the *symploce* reinforces the thought of process. The employment of both devices also helps to make the claim memorable.

Another argument observes: "...African unity cannot come by a divine will, 'Let there be unity.' And none of us is prepared in the name of unity to invite a Napoleon to come and bring about such unity by conquest." It concludes: "We are therefore left with only one method of bringing about African unity. That method is the method of free agreement." The warrant reads: "There is not going to be a God who will bring about African unity by merely willing unity and saying, 'Let there be Unity.'" One notes the employment of *expeditio*, whereby he enumerates and eliminates all alternative methods of achieving unity except gradual unification, to focus attention on his preferred method. Being the surviving option, gradual unification acquires a superior stature to the other alternatives (Leroux 1992).

The use of allusions in paragraph 11 is also significant. The claim "...African unity cannot come by a divine will, 'Let there be unity'" and the warrant "there is not going to be a God who will bring about African unity by merely willing unity and saying, 'Let there be Unity'" both allude to the creation story as told in Genesis. The Casablanca view that all that was needed for the materialization of an African political union was the will on the part of the Heads of States and Governments is here associated with the creation of the world and the supernatural power behind this creation to prove the impracticability of this proposal. Earlier in

the day, Nkrumah had argued: “With our united resources, energies and talents we have the means, as soon as we show the will, to transform the economic structures of our individual states from poverty to that of wealth, from inequality to the satisfaction of popular needs.” And in *I Speak of Freedom* he says: “If the need for political union is agreed by us all, then the will to create it is born; and where there’s a will there’s a way” (Nkrumah 1961, xi).

A second allusion is made through the following observation. While the previous allusion appeals to the reasoning of the listeners, this one appeals to their emotions: “And none of us is prepared in the name of unity to invite a Napoleon to come and bring about such unity by conquest.” The quantifier “none of us” is employed to create the perception that all the Heads of States and Governments are against the idea of imposed unification, a perception that Nyerere believes would make his opponents more amenable to his idea of free agreement. Nkrumah’s view that imposed unification is an option for Africa is here associated with Napoleon Bonaparte’s military conquest and domination of Europe in the early nineteenth century.<sup>125</sup> This thought of military conquest and domination is intended to stir fear in the Heads of States and Governments, subsequently causing them to dislike Nkrumah who is the source of the fear. It is in *Africa Must Unite*, which was published shortly before the Addis Ababa Conference, that Nkrumah suggests that unity can be imposed:

Though originally conceived as a free union of sovereign states, the United States of America, in its present form, was not achieved as a free and voluntary union, but was imposed as the result of the North’s victory over the South in the civil war. The right to secede was brought into the open when some states broke away in 1861, and President Lincoln, in order to maintain the unity of the nation, began the civil war against the secessionists.

Though the seceding states wanted to break up the Union because of the North’s growing opposition to slavery, Lincoln, writing to Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Herald Tribune*, in 1862, declared that “my paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that”. The war was won and Lincoln was able to assert most solemnly “that I did all in my judgment that could be done to restore the Union without interfering with the institution of slavery. We failed, and the blow at slavery was struck (Nkrumah 1963, 210-11).

The analysis of the eleventh paragraph has thus far examined its length and found it to be the longest in the speech. This indicates that Nyerere's main concern on that occasion was *how* to achieve African unity unlike Nkrumah who devoted most of his speech to the *need* for African unity. The analysis has also examined the arguments, rhetorical devices and pronominal usage in the paragraph. It has further been noted that the paragraph begins by highlighting a point of agreement, a function that would otherwise be performed by the *partitio* in a classical oration. The paragraph, in addition to these, restates the purpose of the conference. Having argued that African unity can only be achieved through free agreement, Nyerere says: "That is why at the beginning of this speech I said our task is to discover how to bring about our freedom in unity and our unity in freedom." This is the third time that the purpose of the conference is announced. The first time was in the *exordium* where he said: "This conference has been faced with one task, it is the task of finding a common denominator, which will guide us in our determination to rid our continent of the remaining vestiges of colonialism and in our determination to see an Africa speaking with the same voice." The second time was in the *narratio* where he said: "We came here simply to discover our common denominator, in our approach to freedom and unity."

In paragraph 12, Nyerere singles out Senghor's proposals forwarded on the same occasion for adoption: "I believe that one can pick upon any proposal made by our brother President Senghor as such an example of common denominator." This remark is preceded by the following passage which closes the eleventh paragraph:

...at the beginning of this speech I said our task is to discover how to bring about our freedom in unity and our unity in freedom. This means that at any given point we must (*sic*) discover our highest common denominator. Having discovered that highest common denominator our duty is to take it without waiting till tomorrow.

The highest common denominator is the agreement to implement a new charter that will merge the Casablanca and Monrovia Blocs. He remarks in the fifteenth paragraph: "The people of Africa... are praying for the triumph (*sic*) of PAN-**AFRICANISM** (*sic*) **OVER NARROW NATIONALISM AND REGIONALISM**. They are specially praying for the triumph of an all embracing Africa Charter over a Monrovia or Casablanca."<sup>126</sup>

#### **7.2.4 Refutatio**

The *refutatio* contains 132 words and occupies the thirteenth and fourteenth paragraphs. Paragraph 13 anticipates and partly accepts the counterargument that the Charter fails to create a politically united Africa and is too moderate: “There will be some who will say that this charter does not go far enough or is not revolutionary enough. This may be so.” The paragraph however poses the following question that it then answers, a rhetorical device known as *hypophora*. The question invites the listeners to reflect together with the speaker: “But what is going far enough. (*sic*)” The question is answered with this extended metaphor drawn from vocational life: “No good mason would complain that his first brick did not go far enough. He knows that a first brick will go as far as it can go and will go no farther. He will go on laying brick after brick before the edifice is complete.” The tenor of this metaphor is that the creation of a politically united Africa is a task that demands skill and which cannot be completed with the one act of signing a charter. The charter is only a first step, as he describes it in the eleventh paragraph.

The fourteenth paragraph also employs *hypophora*: “And what is being revolutionary?” The question here also invites the listeners to reflect together with the speaker. But while the answer to the question in the thirteenth paragraph appeals to the logic of the listeners, the answer to this question appeals to their trust. Nyerere’s opponents are implied to be biased idealists, a kind unlikely to be distrusted: “A true revolutionary is not an unrealistic dreamer. A true revolutionary is one who analyses any given situation with scientific objectivity and acts accordingly.”<sup>127</sup> The antithesis here is intended to clarify and emphasize the nature of a revolutionary. And in a further bid to persuade the leaders to endorse the proposed charter, Nyerere portrays those urging for its implementation as critical thinkers: “This is what this conference has been doing. Examining realistically what it is that we have in common in our approach to unity and then act accordingly.”

#### **7.2.5 Peroratio**

The *peroratio* contains 212 words, which are spread over five paragraphs. It begins at the fifteenth paragraph where Nyerere’s belief that all the African masses in Africa want unification to succeed becomes evident. This belief is captured in the

following visual image that contributes to the pathetic appeal of the speech. The imperialistic powers are here associated with the intense desire for Africa's eternal disunity, which goes against that of Africans. These are specifically called "the enemies of Africa". This image is intended to intensify hatred for these powers:

The enemies of Africa are now praying. **They are praying for the failure of this conference.** The people of Africa are also praying. **They are praying for the triumph (*sic*) of PAN-AFRICANISM (*sic*) OVER NARROW NATIONALISM AND REGIONALISM.** They are specially praying for the triumph of an all embracing Africa Charter over a Monrovia or Casablanca.

This is the second time in the speech that Nyerere emphasizes the divergent feelings towards African unification through antithetical expressions (identified in bold) that are augmented with a visual image. The first instance occurs in the second paragraph. The image there, which is evoked through a part-whole *synecdoche*, contributes to the logical appeal of the speech. It is employed to concretise the idea that attention is focused on the conference: "The eyes of Africa and the world are turned upon this conference. They are anxiously waiting for its outcome. **Some are praying for its failure; others are praying for its success.**"

From these images it is obvious that for Nyerere, adopting a common charter for the two blocs shows success of the conference whereas not adopting one shows failure. He cleverly incites ill-will against those who would oppose the adoption of the proposed charter by associating them with the desire for Africa's eternal disunity, an aspiration of the 'enemies of Africa'/imperialistic powers. This implies that they are allies of the enemies as well as unresponsive to the will of those that they lead. Meanwhile, he uses paragraph 16 to boost his *ethos* by emphasizing that he endorses a common charter, which shows that he is a responsive leader. He emphasizes this through parallelism. The parallelism here (identified in italics) also helps to make his remark memorable:

It is unnecessary for me to prophesy that it shall not be recorded in history that, 'BUT FOR THE STUBBORNNESS AND NON-COOPERATION OF TANGANYIKA THE ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN A SUCCESS.' *Our National Motto is 'UHURU NA UMOJA' (FREEDOM AND UNITY). Our National Anthem is, 'GOD BLESS AFRICA.'*

One notes that the foregoing passage also contributes to the fear appeal of the speech. It raises the thought that leaders who oppose the adoption of the proposed charter will suffer a bad reputation.

Paragraph 17, which is the shortest in the speech, conveys a sense of closure through the frame marker ‘finally’. It is followed by a paragraph that is targeted at the non-imperialistic powers, referred to as “friends of Africa”. Paragraph 18 is in turn followed by one targeted at the imperialistic powers, referred to as “enemies of Africa”. To the former Nyerere conveys, on behalf of his fellow leaders, “good wishes and prayers”. He challenges the latter, also on behalf of his fellow leaders, to take “an immense step towards universal brotherhood” by approaching international problems with “the same spirit of goodwill and co-operation” as the African states at the conference have approached African problems.

### 7.3 Conclusion

Nyerere’s speech contains the following parts of a classical oration: *exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *refutatio* and *peroratio*. One notes that it lacks a *partitio*, just as in Nkrumah’s and Tafawa Balewa’s speeches made on the same occasion.

Unlike many other *exordiums* of speeches made on similar occasions, the *exordium* of this speech does not attempt to portray the speaker as a courteous person. In particular, Nyerere does not express gratitude at having been invited to the host country nor does he convey the greetings of his Government and citizens. He uses his *exordium* to capture and hold the attention of his listeners by constantly referring to the nature and purpose of the occasion. He also attempts to get them to identify with him. The *exordium* is also marked by both logical and pathetic appeal. It does not provide a noticeable thesis statement but the analysis allows the conclusion that it is: ‘Independent Africa should help non-independent Africa and should adopt an all embracing African Charter.’ The *narratio* is marked by all three Aristotelian appeals. It alerts the listeners to what the speaker will be addressing and restates the purpose of the conference.

The *confirmatio*, which is arranged topically, outlines the speaker’s plan of what the Heads of States and Governments should do to achieve African freedom and unity. Nyerere supports his claims with the following data: observations, analogy,

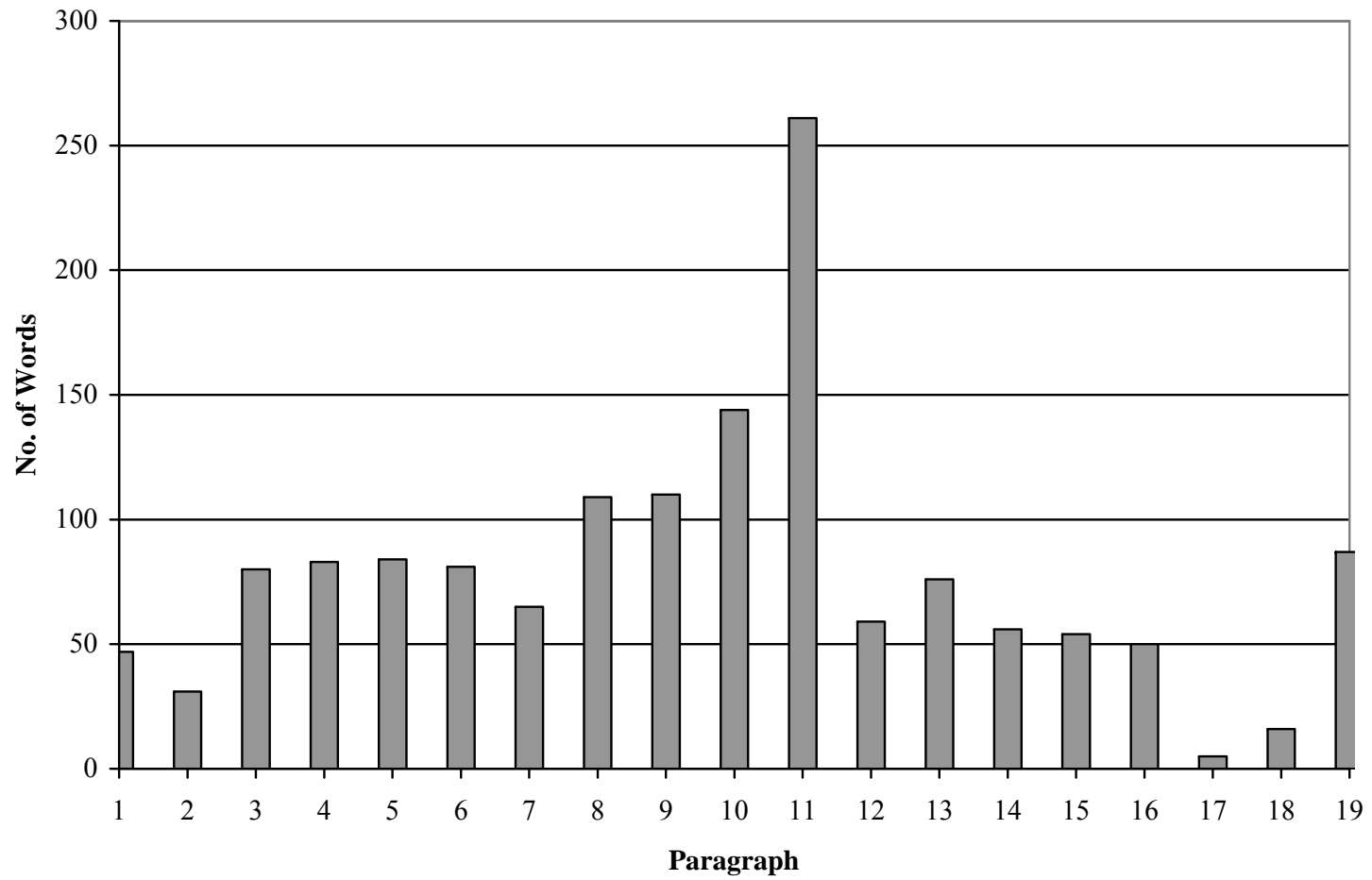
reasons, details, examples and facts. The logical appeal is intertwined with ethical and pathetic appeal. The *refutatio* is marked by questions that invite the listeners to reflect together with the speaker. These questions strengthen the logical and the ethical appeal of the speech.

The *peroratio* strengthens the logical, ethical and pathetic appeal of the speech. The speech contains several rhetorical devices, some of which are used alone while others are used in combination.

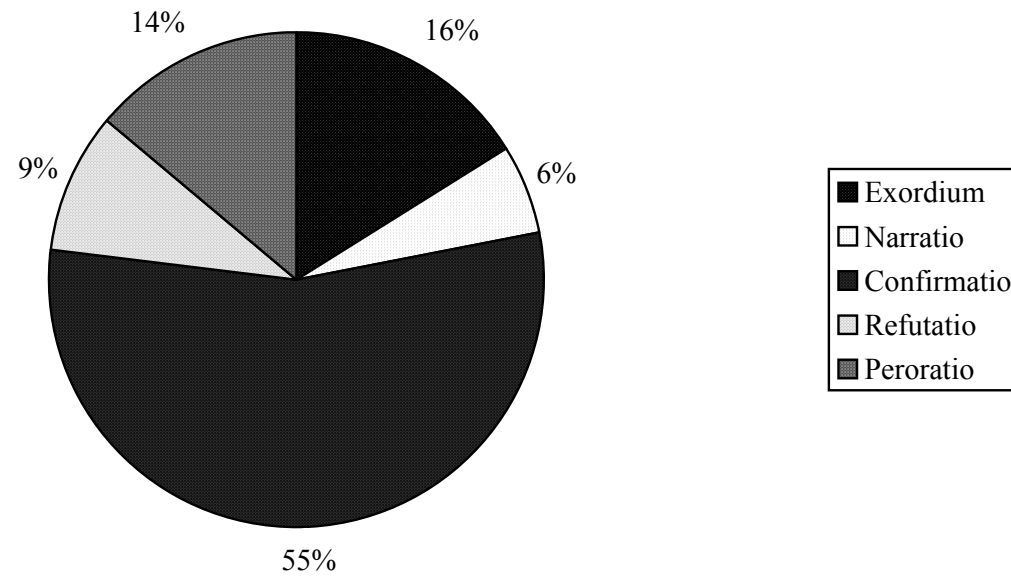
As the last speaker of the day, Nyerere feels that he is qualified to identify the common denominators in the approaches to freedom and unity. The motif ‘common denominator’ occurs nine times in the speech. The ‘common denominator’ in the approach to freedom is the agreement to start offering material support to the nationalist movements in the continent. In the approach to unity, the agreement that a “fully united Africa” should be formed is identified as the common denominator while the agreement to adopt a new charter to replace those of the Casablanca and Monrovia blocs is identified as the highest common denominator.

The chapter that follows analyzes Tafawa Balewa’s speech.

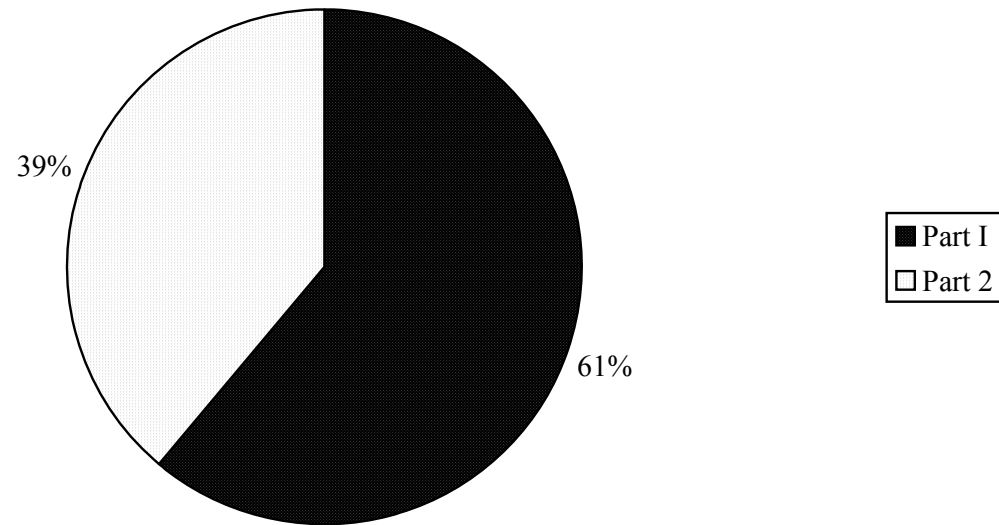
**Figure 7.0 Distribution of Words in Nyerere's Speech**



**Figure 7.1 Space Occupied by the Parts of the Speech**



**Figure 7.2** Distribution of Words in the *Confirmatio*



## Chapter Eight

### Analysis of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa's Speech

#### 8.0 Introduction

This chapter conducts a rhetorical analysis of the speech delivered by Tafawa Balewa at the Conference of African Heads of States and Governments held in Addis Ababa in May 1963. Nigeria, like Tanzania, was aligned with the Monrovia Bloc. The rhetorical situation of the speech has already been examined in previous chapters so the chapter proceeds straight into the speech's content, organization and style. The chapter ends with a summary of the main findings. The particular text on which the analysis is based appears on the Economic Commission for Africa website.<sup>128</sup>

#### 8.1 *Inventio, Dispositio and Elocutio*

This speech contains 19 paragraphs and is arranged into three main parts: introduction, body and conclusion. The introduction contains 324 words (11% of the total in the speech), which are spread across five paragraphs. It has a distinct *exordium* and *narratio*. The body contains 2511 words (85% of the total in the speech), which are spread across 13 paragraphs. The *confirmatio* and *refutatio* are in a fluid, bound relationship to each other. The conclusion of the speech is made up of one paragraph that has 125 words in total (4% of the total in the speech). Figure 8.0 shows the number of words in each paragraph.

##### 8.1.1 *Exordium*

The *exordium* contains 276 words that are spread over the first four paragraphs of the speech. It begins with a salutation that constitutes the first paragraph. The second paragraph announces the purpose of the conference -- to build unity -- and attempts to boost the speaker's *ethos*. Tafawa Balewa also attempts to portray himself as a virtuous person by displaying his esteem for hospitality: "First, I want to express the thanks of my country to your Imperial Majesty, the Imperial Majesty's Government and the people of Ethiopia for the warm reception which they

have given to my delegation and myself.” He attempts to strengthen this image by conferring honour on the host:

The presence of almost all the Heads of African States and Governments in Addis Ababa is a great tribute to your Imperial Majesty personally. The history of the new Africa will always have your name in the forefront, because the unity which we are trying to build in this conference is going to have quite a lot to do with the name of the capital city of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

Tafawa Balewa’s attempt to boost his *ethos* continues into the third paragraph where he attempts to emerge as a compassionate person by identifying with the regrettable loss of the host’s wife and the youngest child, both of whom died in 1962. He at the same time attempts to create a similar image of the other leaders at the conference by including ‘our’ in the following statement where ‘hearts’ symbolizes thoughts: “During your period of sorrow which you have sustained with very great fortitude, our hearts were with you.” He attempts to intensify this image of himself by calling upon the leaders to observe two minutes of silence in memory of these deceased individuals: “I ask all of you, your excellencies, to rise and observe two minutes silence in memory of Her Imperial Majesty, the Emperess (*sic*), and Prince Sahle Selassie.” One notes that he praises Selassie for his ‘fortitude’, which shows Tafawa Balewa’s own esteem for this virtue. Ethical appeal exists in the fourth paragraph too where Tafawa Balewa shows respect for his audience by alerting them to the fact that they will hear him repeat some of the points that have already been made. He explains that this repetition is unavoidable because the previous speeches were so eloquent and exhaustive, a description that is clearly also intended to heap praise on the speakers (who now form his audience).

The attempt to arouse hope by drawing attention to Africa’s renaissance is pathetic proof. As can be seen from the second quotation in the opening paragraph of this sub-section, Tafawa Balewa notes that unification will lead to a “new Africa”, recognizing at the same time that this re-birth will take place in Ethiopia.

He firmly believes that the conference will succeed at building unity, which is evident from the fourth paragraph where he claims it to already be a “success” based on the fact that all the Heads of African States and Governments are present. To emphasize this belief, he asserts: “...I have no doubt that all of us will leave Addis Ababa satisfied that we have done something.” The booster “I have no doubt” as well as the quantifier “all of us” convey the impression of a certainty—subsequently

increasing his credibility—that the conference will build unity. It is also in the fourth paragraph that he announces the specific purpose of his speech: “...to explain the views and the stand of Nigeria as far as African unity is concerned.”

### **8.1.2 *Narratio***

In the *narratio*, which contains 48 words and occupies the fifth paragraph, Tafawa Balewa expresses the opinion that interaction and dialogue are vital for mutual understanding: “It has always been our view in Nigeria that personal contacts, and the exchange of ideas are the basis of mutual understanding.” One notes his employment of ‘our’ to create the impression that this is the opinion of all Nigerian leaders, thus he is speaking on their behalf. This assertion, as is with the following statement which he immediately makes after it, is partly intended to portray him as one who values harmony, an image that exudes moral character: “I am pleased to say that, from now on, there will be no question of the so-called Monrovia and Casablanca Blocs. We all belong to Africa.” The attitude marker ‘pleased’ is employed for a two-fold purpose: To convey his joy at the achievement of harmony, subsequently reinforcing his esteem for this virtue and to influence the listeners to adopt a similar attitude. Mutual understanding, he argues in his speech, is a precondition for political union.

### **8.1.3 *Body***

As mentioned earlier, the body of this speech is not divided into a distinct *confirmatio* and a distinct *refutatio*. Nevertheless, it discusses opposing arguments while presenting supporting arguments. The material, which begins at the sixth paragraph and ends at the eighteenth, is organized in a topical pattern.

#### **8.1.3.1 The Basis of and Approach to African Unity**

The sixth paragraph partly seeks to make known Nigeria’s position on how to achieve African unity. Tafawa Balewa begins by making known existing positions on this issue. He starts with the Casablanca view, which he introduces through a paraphrase of their texts: “Some of us have suggested that African Unity should be

achieved by political fusion of the different states in Africa...”. Immediately after this he introduces the Monrovia position, also through a paraphrase of their prior texts: “...some of us feel that African unity could be achieved by taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation and by trying first to get the Africans to understand themselves before embarking on the *more complicated* and *more difficult* arrangement of political union.” The words “before embarking” reveal that even for the Monrovia powers, a political union is the ultimate goal, but they are against its immediate creation because they believe it to be a complicated and difficult arrangement. The tautologous parallel anaphoric structures (identified in italics) emphasize Tafawa Balewa’s underlying contention that forming a political union is a complex matter. Nigeria’s position is announced immediately after that of the Monrovia Bloc: “My country stands for the practical approach to the unity of the African continent.”

Tafawa Balewa proceeds to express what he believes is the basis of African unity, which is respect among the states. Both suspense and enumerative amplification are employed to emphasize this idea whereby the significant part of the assertion is delayed by introducing two indefinite conditions before it, and is then followed by several details. He says:

We feel that, if this unity is to last, we must start from the beginning.<sup>129</sup> Nigeria’s stand is that if we want this unity in Africa we must first agree to certain essential things: The first is that African States must respect one another. There must be acceptance of equality by all the States. No matter whether they are big or small, they are all sovereign and their sovereignty is sovereignty. The size of a State, its population or its wealth should not be the criterion.

There are different meanings of ‘we’ here. While the first is exclusive the other three are inclusive. The former is used to create the impression that the idea has been arrived at collectively and thus he is speaking on behalf of other Nigerians, while the latter are employed to strengthen solidarity among the Heads of States and Governments at the Conference.

The foregoing quotation is followed by this paraphrase of Nkrumah’s texts: It has been pointed out many times that the smaller States in Africa have no right to exist because they are too small.”<sup>130</sup> He immediately makes it clear that he disagrees with this view: “We in Nigeria do not agree with this view.” This move is intended not only to pave way for his argument on national boundaries but also to intensify his

image as one of good character. Tafawa Balewa claims: “Nigeria recognises all the existing *boundaries in Africa*, and recognises the existence of all the *countries in Africa*.” The parallel structures here (identified in italics), which are emphasized by their position in the sentence, attach equal importance to the aspects of territory and independence. The reason that Tafawa Balewa gives for his claim is that any attempt on the part of any African country to disregard the boundaries which have been in existence for over 60 years might stir trouble in the continent. His warrant is that the leaders want to avoid trouble in Africa.

The pathetic appeal in this argument is intense. The possibility of ‘trouble’, which goes against the leaders’ desire for peace, is intended to stir fear, which would dissuade them from accepting Nkrumah’s view. Tafawa Balewa describes the partition of Africa as “unfortunate”, an adjective that conveys his unhappiness with the geographical disunity that presently characterizes the continent. This adjective is also employed with the intention of getting his listeners to feel the same towards this scenario. He, however, absolves the leaders of blame, blaming the situation instead on the colonialists. He closes the paragraph by saying that Nigerians “pray”—an emotive term—that there be African unity. Still on this sentence, Tafawa Balewa invites dialogue on the matter of the basis of African unity. He does this by qualifying his claim with the hedge “I think”.

The seventh paragraph begins by analysing the leaders’ attitudes towards the speedy and slow approaches to Africa’s unification. Tafawa Balewa tries to show that the former approach is unpopular while the latter is popular. He employs antithesis (identified in bold) to emphasize these contrary attitudes, and tautology (identified in italics) to further emphasize the popularity of the gradual approach. The synonymous quantifiers occupy emphatic positions in all three consecutive sentences:

I have listened to speeches in this conference, and there have been **only a very few members who spoke on the desirability of having a political union.** *Almost all the speeches indicate that a more practical approach is much preferred by the majority of the delegation.* I am glad to say that the stand we have taken right from the beginning is the stand of *nearly almost all the countries in this conference.*

In the last sentence above, Tafawa Balewa not only aligns his country’s position with other African countries but also expresses his happiness, captured in the adjective ‘glad’, that it has always held this position. The sentence is similar to this

one that appears in the *narratio*: “I am pleased to say that, from now on, there will be no question of the so-called Monrovia and Casablanca Blocs.” Both begin with the pronoun “I” which collocates with attitude markers. Both highlight a time frame; that in paragraph five points to the future while that in paragraph seven points to the past. By expressing his feelings about African unity in these sentences, Tafawa Balewa hopes that he will establish himself as somebody of good character, hence build credibility with the audience.

After analysing the attitudes towards the Casablanca and Monrovia proposals, Tafawa Balewa discusses what Nigeria is doing in the effort to realize African unity. He claims it is already cooperating with some of its neighbours. He substantiates this claim through *enumeratio* (identified in italics) and reinforces the idea through examples (factual extended example identified in bold and specific instances identified by underlining). The warrant on which he relies on is identified in capital letters:

**For example, the other day, my friend, the President of Malagasy said he could not contact Lagos by telephone from Cotonou. This is no longer the case. Now he can speak direct.** *What we are trying to do is to link up with all our neighbours by means of telecommunications and by exchanging more postal facilities; and we are already entering into bilaterial (sic) agreements with many of our neighbours. We are discussing this matter with the Republic of the Cameroun, discussing our common problems with Tchad, Congo (Leo) (sic) with Dahomey, and also we have direct link with Togo. We hope to continue in this work because we feel that, IF WE ARE TO UNITE, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT OUR COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM SHOULD BE EXCELLENT AND TRANSPORT FACILITIES SHOULD BE SUCH THAT IT WOULD ENABLE US TO MOVE FREELY AROUND, TO MOVE NOT ONLY OURSELVES BUT TO MORE (SIC) OUR GOODS TO DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE CONTINENT. Also, we have been trying in Nigeria to jointoother (sic) states in trying to discuss common problems – educational and scientific problems.*

Interesting to note is that Tafawa Balewa submerges the warrant in between the details and examples. The ‘if-clause’ in the warrant is deliberately positioned to accumulate emphasis for the assumption therein. Also of interest is that Tafawa Balewa chooses to refer to his fellow Head of State as ‘my friend’ rather than ‘my brother’, which is the term that is commonly applied by African leaders.

The eighth paragraph discusses how to achieve mutual understanding among Africans. This value is first highlighted in the fifth paragraph where he says: “It has

always been our view in Nigeria that personal contacts, and the exchange of ideas are the basis of mutual understanding.” It appears again in the sixth paragraph where Tafawa Balewa says that Monrovia leaders believe that African unity should be achieved by “taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation and by trying first to get the Africans to understand themselves before embarking on the more complicated and more difficult arrangement of political union.” In paragraph eight, he tells his audience that mutual understanding will be achieved if Africans travel to various African countries: “Let our peoples travel to different countries in Africa; let them get to know themselves and to understand themselves. This, I am sure, will bring great understanding among all the peoples of this continent.” The booster “I am sure” is intended to convey the impression of a certainty in his assertion, which boosts his image as a person of good sense. At the same time, he boosts his image as a virtuous person through his emphasis of the need to attain mutual understanding.

Several other rhetorical devices are employed in this argument. There is also the use of *enumeratio*, which is combined with parallelism, and *epistrophe* in the passage quoted shortly. The assertion is identified in bold; the *enumeratio*, employed to make the point more forcibly, is identified in italics; the *epistrophe*, employed to emphasize the point, is capitalized; the parallelism, employed to give equal importance to the details, is underlined: “...**it is very important for the nationals of different African countries to have the opportunity of mixing AT ALL LEVELS, not at the Heads of States and Governments LEVEL, not only at the foreign ministers LEVEL, but also AT ALL LEVELS.**” A second instance of combined figures involves the mingling of *asyndeton*, parallelism and *anaphora* in the sentence that immediately follows the foregoing one. The parallelism (identified in italics) attaches equal importance to the aspects of Africans knowing and understanding themselves, which are themselves emphasized by the *anaphora* (identified in bold): “**Let** our peoples travel to different countries in Africa; **let** them get *to know themselves and to understand themselves.*” And in the sentence that follows this one, the booster “I am sure” not only conveys the impression of certainty but also works as an expletive; it emphasizes the words on either of its sides, thus maintaining continuity of the thought: “This, I am sure, will bring great understanding among all the peoples of this continent.”

The paragraph highlights a common African problem—poor transport and communications. As in the case of Africa’s geographical disunity, the leaders are absolved of blame, which is heaped on the colonialists. Nevertheless, Tafawa Balewa says it is their responsibility to improve Africa’s situation: “It is up to us now - those of us who shape the destiny of our countries - to do what we can to improve matters.” The appositive (identified in bold) is used to highlight the duty of a Head of State and Government. He carries forth this idea into the ninth paragraph where he employs the idiomatic expression “it is in our hands” to convey the idea that it is the responsibility of the African leaders to develop Africa. He expresses enthusiasm in this duty, and encourages the others to adopt the same attitude, through the adjective ‘anxious’, which collocates with the quantifier ‘all of us’. This attitude is intended to boost his *ethos*. Meanwhile, he stresses the idea of development through parallelism (identified in italics): “It is in our hands *to build, to create and to develop* a new Africa for which all of us are anxious to do.”

There is a second instance of parallelism in the paragraph. This occurs in the first sentence of the paragraph where it is combined with *asyndeton* and *anaphora*. Tafawa Balewa observes: “Many of the speakers have told us that *mere resolutions, mere condemnation* is not enough; it is time for action.” The parallelism (identified in italics) balances and emphasizes the verbal acts while the *asyndeton* lends spontaneity to the expression and makes the thought memorable. The *anaphora* (identified in bold) is intended to increase attentiveness to the solution—that is, to ‘what is enough’—and he is able to concisely explain this by employing the *asyndeton* in the later half of the statement.<sup>131</sup>

Tafawa Balewa returns to the issue of how to promote understanding among Africans in the tenth paragraph, his focus here being how to promote understanding among the Heads of States and Governments in particular. He maintains that the leaders would promote understanding amongst themselves by being frank. He claims that the leaders are currently not frank, a claim that he supports with three observations. First, an observation noted by Farik Abboud on the same occasion. Abboud noted that the African masses “expect frankness when details are discussed, and when issues are resolved.”<sup>132</sup> Tafawa Balewa paraphrases this thus: “Now, Mr. President, the Hon. President of the Sudan, I think, when he spoke, told us that we should be frank.” Second, an observation noted by Philibert Tsirinana on the same occasion. Tsirinana announced:

As his country has no common border with any other country, the child of the Great Island thinks he can hold a more objective opinion on what we, African and Malagasy people, really are.

He will try to give his opinion about this Unity by analysing the difficulties we have to overcome. Indeed, what I am going to say, may not be agreeable to all present here. But it is necessary that someone dare tell the truth, however hard it may be, and lance the abscess.<sup>133</sup>

Tafawa Balewa paraphrases this message thus: “I think it was the President of Malagasy who said that we in Africa do not want to speak the truth.” Third, an observation noted by the Nigerian community which is conveyed in the following proverb: “Truth is bitter.” This proverb allows him to exhibit his wisdom, which he has acquired over the years as a member of this community. By incorporating it in his speech he is able to portray himself not only as wise but also as a typical African given that the testimony is from Africans. The proverb also allows him to create common ground by stressing an observation that is probably familiar even to those Africans who are not Nigerians.

Having made the foregoing argument, Tafawa Balewa proclaims: “...**I want to be frank** (sic) **I want to tell the bitter truth.**” He combines *anaphora* (identified in bold) with tautology (identified in italics) to emphasize his willingness to be honest, hence portraying himself as a sincere person. The truth that he tells is presented in form of an assertion: “...we cannot achieve this African unity as long as some African countries continue to carry on subversive activities in other African countries.”

### 8.1.3.2 The Issue of African Liberation

The eleventh paragraph turns attention to the issue of Africa’s liberation. The topic is introduced by a generalized intertextual reference: “...many of the members have spoken very strongly on the decolonisation of the continent.” Here, the quantifier ‘many’ as well as the adverb ‘very’ convey the importance of this matter. Tafawa Balewa makes another intertextual reference, this time implicit: “There has been a suggestion that we should pull our resources together, that we should make arrangements, if necessary, to help the nationalists in different countries in Africa, which are still dependent, to fight their way to independence.” He combines an expletive (identified in bold) with *anaphora* (identified by underlining) and tautology (identified in italics) to emphasize his position on this issue: “**I want to say that we in**

Nigeria are prepared to do anything to secure the freedom of the continent of Africa....We in Nigeria are prepared to do anything towards the liberation of all African countries.”

Tafawa Balewa, however, cautions the leaders against making demands on the countries that they assist, arguing that this would hinder unity. That such demands would hinder unity is evident from the fact that many leaders at the conference have disapproved of aid that involves obligations and requirements. He claims: “If we give assistance to African people in any dependent territory, we should not ask for any obligation on their part...”. And the reason: “...many of the speakers have made [the point] that they would only accept foreign aid without any strings attached.”<sup>134</sup> Two statements warrant this argument. First: “...when we give assistance to another country which is fighting for its independence, some of us are in the habit of imposing obligations on those States.” Second: “That is wrong.” Through the warrants, Tafawa Balewa attempts to evoke shame in those engaged in this habit, a feeling that he hopes would make them desist.

One notes the use of idiomatic expression to emphasize the idea of not imposing obligations on colonies. Tafawa Balewa says the leaders “should not ask for any obligation on their part.” This is the meaning of “foreign aid without any strings attached”. He says: “I do not believe that any aid, no matter from where it comes, is without strings attached to it. Let us not fall into the same trap.” The latter statement is also an idiom; it conveys the idea that African countries should not also play the game of the developed countries, the ‘out-group.’

The paragraph ends with a sentence that summarizes the argument made. Through its position, this sentence emphasizes further the idea of unattached aid; it expresses how crucial this is through repeating the adverb ‘very’: “This is very, very important if we want to establish the solidarity of the continent of Africa, to make sure that any form of assistance we give is free.”

In the twelfth paragraph, Tafawa Balewa expresses agreement with the idea of establishing a common pool but is quick to point out that the leaders cannot go into the details of the organisation.<sup>135</sup> He proposes that a committee do this. The paragraph ends with a reiteration of his position on Africa’s liberation.

The change in person in paragraph twelve is striking. The entire paragraph follows:

It is good, sir, that *we* have a common pool, but a conference like this cannot discuss the details of such an organisation; and it is *our* view that, immediately after leaving this conference, or before *we* leave, *we* should appoint a committee - a standing committee - to go into the details of this matter. On the question of colonialism and racial discrimination, *I* am afraid that *we* in Nigeria will never compromise. (italics mine).

The appositive “a standing committee” is used to explain the kind of committee that should construct the liberation pool while the expletives “sir” and “I am afraid that” are used to lend emphasis to the words on either side.

### 8.1.3.3 The Issue of Development

Paragraphs eight and nine maintain that it is the responsibility of the leaders to develop the continent, a task that they need to embark on immediately. The thirteenth paragraph argues that, first, they have to rely on foreign aid to achieve this development and, second, this reliance could lead to economic imperialism.

Tafawa Balewa observes: “We are born at a very difficult time.” He enumerates: “We have not the *necessary capital*, the *necessary equipment*, or the *necessary know-how* for the development of our continent.” The parallelism (identified in italics) makes the three details equally important. This observation leads him to conclude: “Therefore, we find it absolutely necessary to rely on outsiders for the development of the African territories.” His warrant is: “The African continent is very rich in resources but, unfortunately, these resources are not developed yet.”

The ethical appeal in the foregoing argument is intense. There is an attempt to create commonality between the speaker and the audience by referring to their shared experiences as Heads of States and Governments. Among these experiences is having to solicit aid from the developed countries. He deliberately refers to those from developed countries as ‘outsiders’ to impress on his listeners that they themselves constitute the ‘in-group’, a perception expected to intensify solidarity amongst them. By talking about the resources of the continent, Tafawa Balewa further attempts to establish a commonality based on a sense of shared heritage as Africans. The term ‘unfortunately’ Tafawa Balewa conveys his pain at the state of underdevelopment in Africa, a feeling that is intended to portray him not only as patriotic, to the extent that he wants better conditions for Africa, but also as a

responsible Head of State and Government, to the extent that he is concerned about his responsibility.

The reliance on foreign aid, he argues, could lead to economic imperialism. Clearly, he is trying to evoke fear in the Heads of States and Governments by raising the thought of their countries losing economic independence. He claims: "...we must take every care to know how (*sic*) we invite to assist in the development of our resources...". His reason for claiming this: "Our countries can be colonised economically...". The fear of their countries losing economic independence is intended to motivate the listeners to be careful when soliciting foreign aid that comes with attachments, a motivation that he attempts to strengthen by admitting that he and some among them fear colonialism. In the following statement, he uses *conduplicatio* (identified in italics) to focus attention on the concept 'colonialism' and *epistrophe* (identified in bold) to focus attention on its manifestations. The repetition of 'fear' emphasizes this emotion, thus intensifying the pathetic appeal of the argument: "I would like to tell the conference that we must take every care to know how (*sic*) we invite to assist in the development of our resources, because there is a **fear**, which is my personal **fear**, that, if we are not careful, we may have *colonialism* in a **different form**. *Colonialism* can take many **different forms**." He warrants this argument with two statements: "Colonialism can take many different forms" and "just as we have fought political *domination*, it is also important that we fight against economic *domination* by other countries." One notes the employment of *diacope* in the latter statement to emphasize the idea of lack of independence, an emphasis calculated to increase the fear hitherto evoked.

### 8.1.3.4 The Issue of African Personality

The fourteenth paragraph departs from the Pan-Africanist convention of an African voice. The tendency in Pan-Africanist discourse is for a rhetor to communicate as an African throughout his or her text. Here Tafawa Balewa abandons this voice and picks up a universal one. This shift is concisely captured in the creative play that marks this statement that receives emphasis from being the last sentence of the paragraph: "I am a human being."<sup>136</sup> He claims: "...any talk of African personality is based on inferiority complex." He supports this claim with the following fact: "...we belong to one human society."<sup>137</sup> Clearly, the position here contradicts that

which he has maintained hitherto. It will be recalled that in the *narratio*, he not only expressed his joy at the prospect of the conference re-awakening a continental identity, but also attempted to influence his listeners to adopt the same attitude. “We all belong to Africa,” he told them. Also, in his argument on development, he referred to the developed countries as “outsiders” thus creating a divide between them and the African countries, the “insiders”. In short, he has hitherto persuaded his listeners to identify themselves as Africans. The current paragraph is struggling to demolish an identity that previous paragraphs have built, and for a reason that is vague. Back in 1893, Blyden cautioned Africans against the teachings of those who advocated the abandonment of African personality:

If their theory were carried out, it would, with all the reckless cruelty of mere theory, blot out all the varieties of mankind, destroy all differences, sacrifice nationalities and reduce the human Race to the formless protoplasm from which we are told we came.

Therefore honour and love your Race. Be yourselves, as God intended you to be or he would not have made you thus....If you are not yourself, if you surrender your personality, you have nothing left to give the world. You have no pleasure, no use, nothing which will attract and charm men, for by your suppression of your individuality you lose your distinctive character....

There is hardly anything new in a material sense, that the so-called civilized African can contribute to the world’s resources, but if his individuality is preserved and developed on right or righteous lines, he will bring intellectual and spiritual contributions which Humanity will gladly welcome.

...it is God’s intention for you that you should be different from all the rest of mankind—...he placed you here to reveal a phase of His character not given to others to reveal...

...It is this personality which respects and preserves itself and respects and is anxious to preserve others. It is this which interests and awakens and has power to move the world. When it is generally understood and acted upon then will nature’s the most diverse harmonize and cooperate (Blyden 1971, 201-202, 204).

The other arguments in the paragraph also persuade the listeners to perceive themselves as human beings. He claims: “...*in all that we do*, and *in all that we say*, we should be careful.” Here, parallelism (identified in italics) is employed to attach equal importance to as well as emphasize ‘deed’ and ‘word’. He supports this claim with the following fact: “...we in Africa are part of the world.” He also supports it with the following observation: “Whatever we do, we cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the world.” He explicitly states his warrant: “We have our international

obligations as well.” In another argument, he claims: “...we have to see to the development of human personality in Africa.” He supports this claim with the fact that “the African is a human being.”

While he departs from the voice of Pan-Africanist discourse, Tafawa Balewa maintains the argument of African equality. He asserts: “**I** do not regard any human being - *red, white, brown, yellow or green* - as superior to me. **I** regard myself as equal to anybody.” He employs ‘I’ as an anaphoric utterance to emphasize that this is a strongly-held personal belief that he is unlikely to abandon. Meanwhile, the appositive (identified in italics) allows him to briefly elaborate the human beings he has in mind. Tafawa Balewa gives his reason for holding this view: “I am a human being.”

Some further comment will be made about paragraph 14 before moving on to look at the other issues that Tafawa Balewa discusses. The thought therein is inspired, apparently, by Sobukwe. In the speech that he delivered at the inaugural convention of the PAC, Sobukwe declared his party’s position on the race question thus:

The Africanists take the view that there is only one race to which we all belong, and that is the human race. In our vocabulary therefore, the word “race” as applied to man, has no plural form. We do, however, admit the existence of observable physical differences between various groups of people, but these differences are the result of a number of factors, chief among which has been geographical isolation....

...with UNESCO we hold that ‘every man is his brother’s keeper. For every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, because he is involved in mankind (Sobukwe 1977, 3:514).

Tafawa Balewa contextualises Africa as part of the world: “Let us not forget that we in Africa are part of the world.” This echoes Sobukwe’s contextualization of Basutoland as part of the wider continent of Africa when he spoke at the BAC Conference: “We cannot forget, however, that we are a part of the vast continent of Africa...”.

### 8.1.3.5 The Issues of an African Development Bank and an African Common Market

The shift from the topic African personality to that of an African Development Bank is indicated by a generalized intertextual reference that is preceded by the word ‘now’, the same frame-marker that opens the tenth and thirteenth paragraphs. The reference is to speeches made earlier in the day: “Now, some people have suggested, and this is a thing which is already underway, the establishment of an African Development Bank.” Tafawa Balewa conveys his support of this idea, and suggests that his listeners respond in similar manner, by including the word ‘hope’ in the statement that he next makes: “I hope that, when the Ministers of Finance of different countries of Africa meet in Khartoum, they will be able to produce something which should be of benefit to all of us.” This is all that is said concerning the African Development Bank after which he turns attention to the issue of an African Common Market. He again employs paraphrase to bring up the issue. He paraphrases speeches made earlier in the day: “Also a suggestion has been made for the establishment of an African Common Market.” One notes the parallelism in the two references -- establishment of an African Development Bank/establishment of an African Common Market -- which attaches equal importance to the two ideas.

As with the idea of political union, Tafawa Balewa acknowledges that a Common Market is an ultimate goal: “We wann (*sic*) an African Common Market”. He in fact argues in favour of its establishment. He claims that the idea of establishing an African Common Market is a very good one and provides several reasons, all which appeal to concerns of the listeners as Heads of States and Governments. First, it will boost inter-state trade, which is currently only 10 percent, the other 90 being international. Second, it will enable African countries to overcome many difficulties. Third, it will enable Africa to stand on its own in relation to the other parts of the world. Fourth, it will eliminate chances of economic imperialism.

However, as with the formation of a political union, he expresses the view that the establishment of an African Common Market is “a very complicated matter.” He poses two questions that invite deliberation on the approaches of the two Blocs: “*But, can we do it by taking the continent as a whole? Or can we do it by certain groupings in Africa?*” The anaphoric utterance (identified in italics) is employed to

increase attentiveness to the two alternatives. He provides a fully developed answer, a device known as *hypophora*, through which he justifies the Monrovia position by focusing on the practicality of the proposals. Political unification, Tafawa Balewa argued earlier on, is a more complicated and less preferred approach than that of regional co-operation. A Common Market based on the continent as a whole, he argues, is less practical than one based on regional groupings. He is at all times comparing the ideas of the two blocs, never at any time snubbing those of the Casablanca Bloc but always arguing that those of his bloc are better. By showing awareness of opposing views and treating these with respect, he attempts to give the impression of one who is not only well informed on the issue, but also a person of good character. The answer to his question follows: “**What appears to us to be more practical is that we should have an African Common Market based on certain groupings.** We are thinking, sir, of *a North African grouping which will include the Sudan; a West African grouping which will extend to the River Congo; an East African grouping, which will include almost all the Central African countries.*” The parallelism (identified in italics) attaches equal significance to the details, which amplify the assertion (identified in bold); it is also intended to increase attentiveness to these details while making them memorable. The expletive ‘sir’ is employed to lend emphasis to these details. Meanwhile, *asyndeton* is employed for concise and emphatic communication of these details.

#### **8.1.3.6 The Issues of Disarmament and the Nuclear Arms Race**

As with many of the issues he addresses in his speech, Tafawa Balewa introduces that of disarmament through a paraphrase of some speeches delivered earlier at the conference: “The question of disarmament was raised by several speakers.” He then outlines the positions on this issue, attaching equal value to them through parallelism (identified in italics): “I think all of us feel strongly about this question. *Although some feel that disarmament can never be achieved, still others feel that* it is most important that the great Powers will continue to talk about it; because the more they talk about it, the less danger there would be of an open clash.” The inclusion of the adjective ‘glad’ in the sentence that follows reveals that he supports the second position: “I am glad that they have seen fit to invite some of the African (*sic*) countries to participate in their disarmament talks.” He emphasizes this position

through iteration: “It is desirable to ban nuclear testing; it is most important that we exercise every possible influence we can upon the great Powers to destroy those bombs which they have already got.”

The ethical appeal thus far is evident. By acknowledging the opposing views on the issue of disarmament and attaching equal significance to them, Tafawa Balewa hopes to be perceived as one who is not only well informed about the issue, but also a person of good character. He attempts to intensify this image of good character by openly expressing his feeling towards these views.

He provides two arguments to show why he supports disarmament. In the first of these, he claims: “The most essential thing, which is desirable, is to effect disarmament.” The reason he gives to substantiate this claim: “If there is a war now, *there would be nothing - everything would go.*” He resorts to tautology (identified in italics) to emphasize the thought of loss. This thought is meant to stir fear in the audience, which he hopes would push them to support disarmament. In the second argument, he claims: “It is our concern that there should be peace in the world, and that there should be understanding among the great Powers.” The reason he gives to substantiate this claim: “We are now just starting to develop our countries.” The explicit warrant here is: “The mere fact that Africa has been declared a nuclear-free zone will not make Africa free in the event of a world war.” The implicit warrant is: Peace is important for development.

The second half of the sixteenth paragraph deals with the question of Africa’s involvement in the nuclear arms race. Again, the topic is introduced through a paraphrase of some speeches delivered earlier at the conference: “It has been suggested that we should embark on an arms race in Africa.” Clearly, Tafawa Balewa is against this idea and he explains why. He claims: “Our idea is that we should not be talking about an arms race.” One notes the change in person where ‘our’ is used instead of ‘my’, a rhetorical device that he also employs in the twelfth paragraph. He substantiates this claim with the following observation: “...all of us have been talking about the bad nature of the armament race”. He also supports it with the following fact: “All of us know very well that we are at present incapable of joining in such a race.” The device “all of us know” is employed to draw attention to knowledge that he and the audience share as Heads of States and Governments. This perception of common knowledge is calculated to make those leaders who feel that disarmament can never be achieved more receptive to the idea of disarmament.

### 8.1.3.7 The Issue of African Representation in the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies

Paragraph seventeen opens with the following generalized intertextual reference: “A suggestion was also made that we should come together as a bloc in the United Nations.” Tafawa Balewa is quick to make known his approval of this idea by including an evaluative term in the statement that he next makes: “Well, that is a very good idea...”. He is equally quick to make known his dislike of naming such a formation a ‘bloc’. This feeling, which he conveys that he feels obliged to express through the comment “I must tell the conference”, and which he stresses through tautologous expressions, is in line with the joy he expressed in his *narratio* at the thought that the Casablanca and Monrovia blocs were coming to an end. This consistency and openness about his feelings boosts his *ethos*. He says: “...but I must tell the conference that we in Nigeria **hate the idea of blocs, and we do not like it.**” (Bold identifies the tautology). The reason he gives for his hatred of blocs is intended to stir the emotions of his listeners: “...the whole idea of blocs is revolting.” He employs two techniques to invite dialogue on an alternative name. First, incorporating the hedge ‘I think’ in the following statement: “I think we should try to find better names for these different groupings.” Second, leaving the name open: “...an African “something””. He suggests an “African Committee”. He also suggests that this Committee have a permanent secretariat in New York. The latter is presented in form of an unanswered question, a device known as *erotesis*. One notes the employment of the phrase ‘it is time’ to link the past and the future: “I think that we have been working for sometime now in the United Nations where our different representatives meet and discuss matters of common interest. May I suggest to the conference that it is time now that we find a permanent small secretariat for such an African Committee in New York?”

The second half of the paragraph focuses on the branches of the UN. Again, a generalized intertextual reference introduces the topic: “Some of us have suggested that we should seek greater representation in the Security Council and also in all the bodies of the United Nations Organisation.” He immediately makes it known that he supports this idea: “Well, this has been our stand all the years we have been independent. *I said so in New York; I said it in Monrovia.*” The first explicit intertextual reference here is to his speech made on 8<sup>th</sup> October 1960 on the occasion

of accepting membership into the UN while the second is to his speech made at the Monrovia Conference. He resorts to parallelism (identified in italics) to make the statement memorable. The *anaphora* (identified in bold) is calculated to reinforce that he has always supported this idea. Meanwhile, the *asyndeton* creates the impression that there are several other occasions on which he has articulated this opinion. He explains why he supports this idea. He claims: “It is absolutely essential that the African continent must have more appropriate representation in the Security Council and all the bodies of the United Nations...”. He provides three reasons to support his claim: Africa and Africans have suffered for so long, the UN guarantees the independent sovereignty of African states and African states have more to gain thereby.

#### **8.1.3.8 The Issue of Adopting a Single African Charter**

The body of the speech closes with a brief comment on the issue of a common charter for the two blocs. This, like many of the other topics, is introduced through a generalized intertextual reference. This reference is preceded by a frame marker that indicates not only that he is beginning a new topic, but also that he is nearing the end of his speech: “Mr. President, many of the points have been made. Many members have said that we cannot leave Addis Ababa without a charter.” Tafawa Balewa expresses hope that this should be the case. He stresses this desire through *anaphora* that is constituted of attitudinal markers (identified in bold), and the urgency of the matter through tautology (identified in italics): “**I hope** *we shall not leave here without some kind of charter.* **I hope** our Foreign Ministers will *produce a charter before we leave this city.*”

#### **8.1.4 Peroratio**

As pointed out at the beginning of this analysis, the *peroratio* is made up of a paragraph of 125 words, which is 4% of the total number of words in the speech. Tafawa Balewa argues that frankness will facilitate understanding among the leaders. He claims: “It is important that, when we meet on an occasion like this, we try to tell each other the hard facts, the truth about matters, instead of speaking about them behind.” This is clearly ethical appeal. The reason he gives is that it is the only way

by which the leaders will achieve understanding among themselves. The warrant is explicit: “It is most important that we become frank in Africa.”

Tafawa Balewa portrays himself as one who is already contributing to such understanding through being honest: “May I thank Your Imperial Majesty again and may I ask the conference to forgive me for being a little bit frank.” This is a technique that he employed in the tenth paragraph where he emphasized his readiness to be honest: “...I want to be frank (*sic*) I want to tell the bitter truth.” The current paragraph alleges that the speaker has delivered on this promise, a boost for his *ethos*, which is further strengthened by his gratitude to the host of the conference.

The conference itself, he hints, has contributed to this understanding by enabling the leaders to know one another. He attempts to fan a convivial and non-confrontational atmosphere, which he also did in his introduction, by conveying great joy at meeting his fellow Heads of States and Governments: “We are just beginning to know ourselves; and I am very happy, Mr. President, for having the opportunity to meet the very distinguished members from all parts of Africa.” He expresses the wish that the conference will also “pave th (*sic*) way to the *unity* and *solidarity* of the African continent.” Here, tautology (identified in italics) is employed to emphasize the thought of unity.

## 8.2 Conclusion

The introduction of Tafawa Balewa’s speech has a distinct *exordium* and a distinct *narratio*. The *exordium* announces the purpose of the conference as well as the specific purpose the speech. It is characterised by intense ethical appeal as well as by pathetic proof. The *narratio* also contains ethical proof.

The body has a *confirmatio* and *refutatio* that are in a fluid, bound relationship to each other. The material therein is organized in a topical pattern. The political issues addressed are: the basis of and approach to African unity; African liberation; disarmament and the nuclear arms race; African representation in the UN and its specialized agencies; and the adoption of a common Charter. The economic issues addressed are development, an African Development Bank and an African Common Market. The body also addresses the issue of African personality, a social issue. Most of these issues are introduced through a generalized intertextual reference to previous speakers. The *peroratio* is characterized by logical and ethical appeal.

The logical appeal in the speech is intense. Tafawa Balewa supports his claims with reasons, details, examples, observations and facts. Some of his warrants are explicit while others are implicit. It is interesting to note that many of his arguments are in agreement with those of the Casablanca Bloc. Tafawa Balewa maintains that the African continent is rich in resources and expresses the fear of economic imperialism owing to reliance on foreign aid for the development of these resources. This is an argument that exists in Nkrumah's speech made on the same occasion as well as in the one that he delivered during a state dinner held in honour of Selassie in Accra on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1960. Tafawa Balewa blames the colonialists for the geographical disunity of Africa, something that Nkrumah does in his speech on the same occasion. He draws a relationship between peace and development, maintaining that a World War would destroy everything in African countries. Speaking at the conference organized by the Ghana Women's Movement on 18<sup>th</sup> July 1960, Nkrumah argued that anything that threatened the peace of the world would impact on Africa's destiny. The argument that peace is a prerequisite for the socio-economic development of African countries is a motif that recurs throughout Nkrumah's texts.<sup>138</sup> Tafawa Balewa also draws a relationship between transport and communications and African unity. But while he argues that good transport and communication is a prerequisite for unity, Nkrumah argued on the same occasion that unity is a prerequisite for improved transport and communication. The argument that small African countries have a right to exist, however, counters Nkrumah's position.

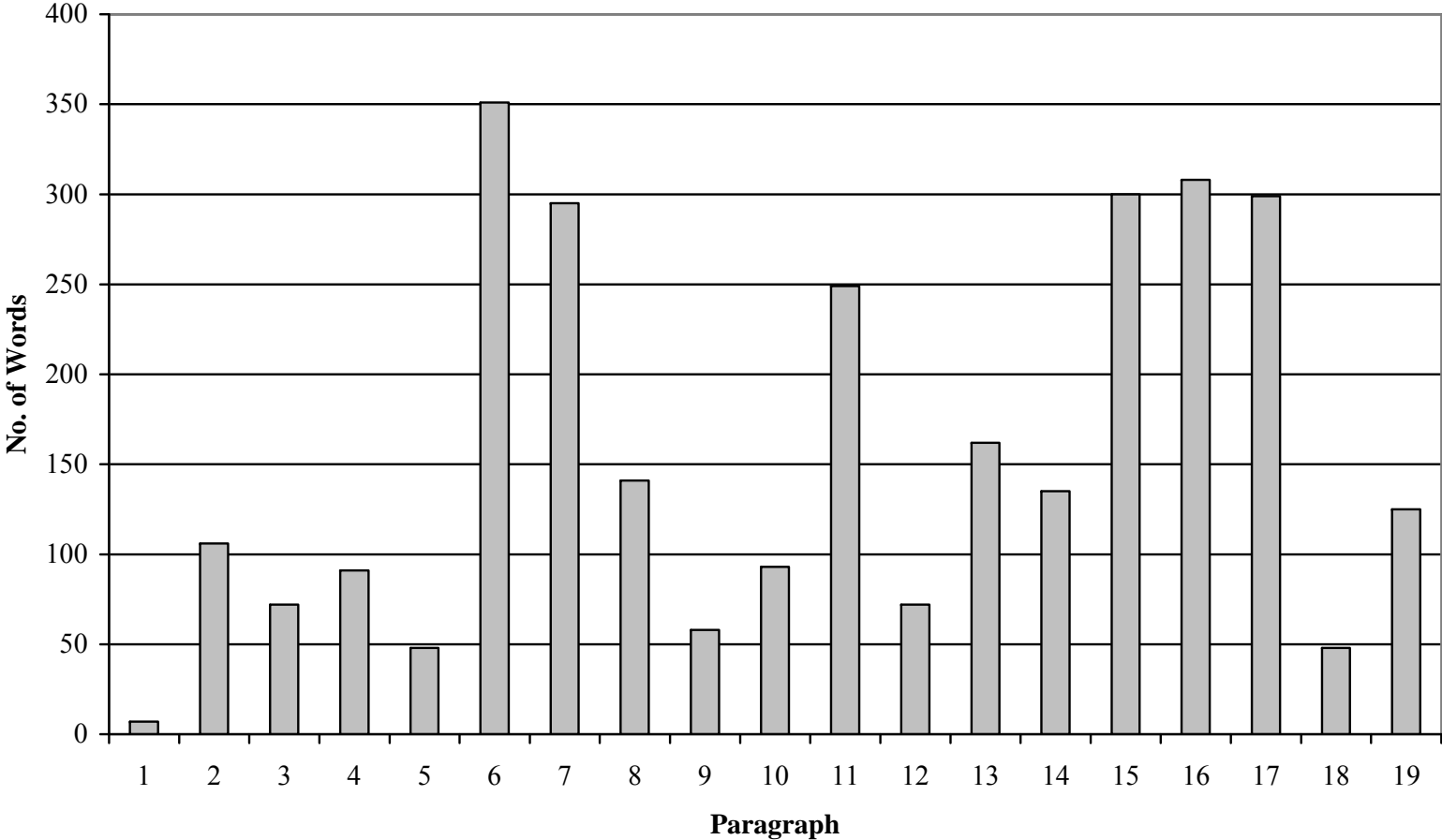
The pathetic appeal in the speech is also intense. He appeals to fear, sadness, joy, shame, hope. He employs emotive terms. The speech also relies heavily on ethical proof for effectiveness. Tafawa Balewa tries to portray himself as a well-informed, courteous, compassionate, patriotic, sincere, peace-loving individual as well as a responsible leader.<sup>139</sup> He tries to strengthen solidarity among the Heads of States and Governments by employing inclusive 'we' and by referring to those from developed countries as 'outsiders'. He also tries to create commonality between him and the audience by highlighting their shared experiences as Heads and States of Governments and by talking about the resources they share as Africans.

Very unique about this speech is the speaker's departure, at one point, from the Pan-Africanist convention of an African voice. The tendency in Pan-Africanist discourse is for a rhetor to communicate as an African throughout his or her text. Tafawa Balewa at a point abandons this voice and picks up a universal one.

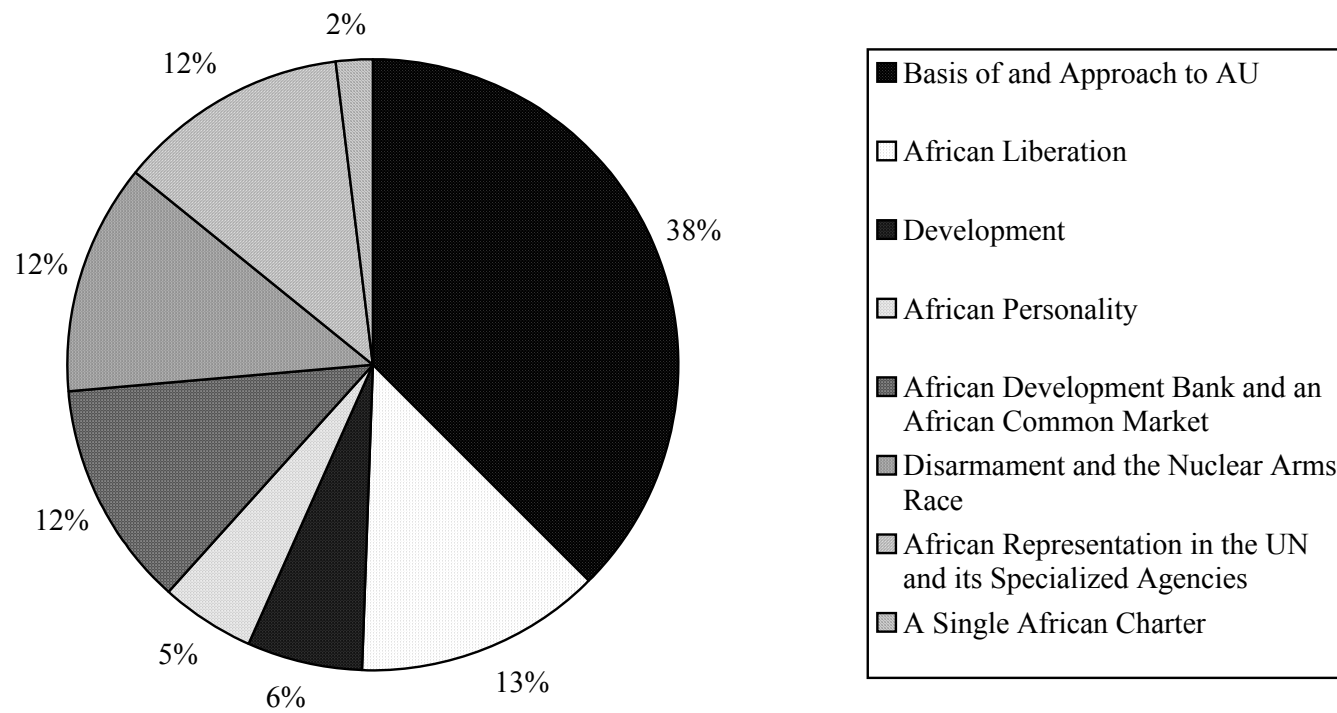
Tafawa Balewa employs several rhetorical devices to increase the persuasiveness of his speech, among them, tautology, parallelism, *anaphora*, *enumeratio*, antithesis, *epistrophe*, appositive, *asyndeton*, *conduplicatio*, *hypophora* and expletive. Many of these are used in combination. The speech is marked by repetition of important words and phrases as well as by maternal language.

This chapter ends the analysis of speeches, which began in Chapter Five. The following chapter summarizes the findings of this study.

**Figure 8.0 Distribution of Words in Tafawa Balewa's Speech**



**Figure 8.1 Distribution of the Words in the Body**



**Table 8.0 Expletives Found in Speech**

<b>Expletive (in bold)</b>	<b>Paragraph Found</b>
“This I think, <b>Sir</b> , is the basis of the unity which we in Nigeria pray for on our continent.”	6
“This, <b>I am sure</b> , will bring great understanding among all the peoples of this continent.”	8
“Now, <b>Mr. President</b> , the Hon. President of the Sudan, <b>I think</b> , when he spoke, told us that we should be frank. <b>I think</b> it was the President of Malagasy who said that we in Africa do not want to speak the truth.... <b>Mr. President</b> , I want to be frank ( <i>sic</i> ) I want to tell the bitter truth. <b>To my mind</b> we cannot achieve this African unity as long as some African countries continue to carry on subversive activities in other African countries.”	10
“ <b>Sir</b> , many of the members have spoken very strongly on the decolonisation of the continent. <b>I want to say that</b> we in Nigeria are prepared to do anything to secure the freedom of the continent of Africa. There has been a suggestion that we should pull our resources together, that we should make arrangements, <b>if necessary</b> , to help the nationalists in different countries in Africa, which are still dependent, to fight their way to independence....I do not believe that any aid, <b>no matter from where it comes</b> , is without strings attached to it.”	11
“It is good, <b>sir</b> , that we have a common pool, but a conference like this cannot discuss the details of such an organisation; and it is our view that, immediately after leaving this conference, or before we leave, we should appoint a committee - a standing committee - to go into the details of this matter. On the question of colonialism and racial discrimination, <b>I am afraid that</b> we in Nigeria will never compromise.”	12
“ <b>I would like to tell the conference that</b> we must take every care to know how ( <i>sic</i> ) we invite to assist in the development of our resources, because there is a fear, which is my personal fear, that, if we are not careful, we may have colonialism in a different form.”	13
“ <b>Mr. President</b> , I always tell people that I do not believe in African personality, but in human personality.”	14
“This is a very good idea: but <b>I must say that</b> we in Nigeria feel that it is a very complicated matter....We are thinking, <b>sir</b> , of a North African grouping which will include the Sudan; a West African grouping which will extend to the River Congo; an East African grouping, which will include almost all the Central African countries.... <b>I think, sir, that</b> if we are able to establish an African Common Market, we shall overcome many difficulties and we shall be in a position to stand on our own in relation to the other parts of the world”	15

Expletive (in bold)	Paragraph Found
<p>“<b>Well, Mr. President and Your Excellencies</b>, all of us have been talking about the bad nature of the armament race....<b>Our idea is that</b> we should not be talking about an arms race. All we should talk about, <b>sir</b>, is how to stop it, and I would not suggest that we should join in that race at all.”</p>	16
<p>“<b>Well</b>, that is a very good idea; but I must tell the conference that we in Nigeria hate the idea of blocs, and we do not like it....<b>I think</b> we should try to find better names for these different groupings. <b>I think that</b> we have been working for sometime now in the United Nations where our different representatives meet and discuss matters of common interest. <b>May I suggest to the conference that</b> it is time now that we find a permanent small secretariat for such an African Committee in New York?....But, as a Continent which has suffered for so long and also as a people who have suffered for so long, <b>I think</b> we have to do everything to get our proper position in the United Nations Organisation....<b>Well</b>, this has been our stand all the years we have been independent....That world organisation, <b>I have always maintained</b>, is a sure guarantee of the independent sovereignty of our African states.”</p>	17
<p>“<b>Mr. President</b>, many of the points have been made.”</p>	18
<p>“<b>I think</b> that is the only way by which we could achieve understanding among ourselves....We are just beginning to know ourselves; and I am very happy, <b>Mr. President</b>, for having the opportunity to meet the very distinguished members from all parts of Africa.”</p>	19

## Chapter Nine

### Summary of Findings

#### 9.0 Introduction

This study set out to establish how leaders aligned with the Monrovia and Casablanca blocs attempted, between the years 1957 and 1963, to secure adherence to their views on how to achieve African unity. During this period, leaders aligned with the Monrovia Bloc maintained that the political unification of independent African states should be gradual, preceded by regional co-operation while leaders aligned with the Casablanca Bloc maintained that the political unification of independent African states should be immediate. Two leaders were selected as representative of those aligned with the Monrovia Bloc: Nyerere and Tafawa Balewa. Similarly, two leaders were selected as representative of those aligned with the Casablanca Bloc: Sobukwe and Nkrumah.

An in-depth rhetorical analysis of one speech by each of these leaders was conducted. In the cases of Nyerere, Tafawa Balewa and Nkrumah these were the speeches that they presented at the Conference of African Heads of States and Governments held in Addis Ababa in 1963. These three speeches deal with strategies for the realization of a political union of African states. In the case of Sobukwe, it was the speech that he presented at the BAC Conference held in December 1957, which deals with African unification in the context of the liberation struggle. This particular speech was selected as the researcher was unable to access a speech where Sobukwe deals at length with how to achieve political union. The persuasive strategies and techniques identified in it were sought in two of his other speeches that briefly tackle political unification: the one that he delivered at the inaugural convention of the PAC in April 1959 and the speech that he delivered at the PAC Conference held in August 1959. The strategies and techniques that were located in these three speeches are believed to be the ones that he would have employed in a speech where he attempts to persuade an audience to immediately form a political union of their States.<sup>140</sup>

The study applied both classical and contemporary rhetorical theories. The main classical rhetorical theory that was applied is the Aristotelian theory. Aristotle,

who defines rhetoric as “the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever” (Aristotle 1926, 15), maintains that speakers secure adherence to their views when they provide ethical proof, pathetic proof and logical proof. Ethical proof, which is the appeal to the speaker’s personality to persuade, is aimed at gaining the confidence of the audience. It involves the demonstration of practical wisdom (good sense), good character (virtue) and goodwill to convince the audience of one’s trustworthiness. Good sense is demonstrated by stressing one’s expertise in the subject at hand as well as incorporating testimony. Good character is demonstrated by calling attention to virtues that the audience values, which would include “justice, courage, self-control, magnificence, magnanimity, liberality, gentleness, practical and speculative wisdom” (Aristotle 1926, 91). It is also demonstrated by comparing oneself to others, especially those more renowned. Goodwill is demonstrated by creating consubstantiality.

The term consubstantiality is drawn from Burkean theory, a contemporary rhetorical theory. Like Aristotle, Burke maintains that a speaker’s image impacts on the effectiveness of the speech. In his *Rhetoric of Motives*, he argues that (perceived) source-receiver similarity is a precondition for persuasion. He argues that audiences are receptive to the arguments presented to them only if they perceive the source to be similar to them. Says Burke: “You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his” (Burke 1969, 55). In an earlier part of the book, he explains: “A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is *identified* with B. Or he may *identify himself* with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes they are, or is persuaded to believe so” (Burke 1969, 20).

Another contemporary rhetorical theory that was applied in part is Toulminian theory. This theory was applied to the arguments in the speeches. According to this theory, an argument has three major parts: claim, data and warrant. These three parts were sought in the arguments in the speeches that were analysed.

This chapter is a condensed discussion of how the four leaders examined in this study attempted to win adherence to their views on how to achieve African unity in the speeches that they delivered between 1957 and 1963. The discussion includes samples from the speeches that were analysed in this study. It aligns with the three of the five canons of classical rhetoric that guided the investigation study, viz. *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio*.

## ***Part I: Inventio***

### **9.1 Ethical Proof**

The investigation of the content of the selected speeches was guided by Aristotelian theory. The study examined the employment of the three modes of persuasion that Aristotle describes in his *Rhetoric*, viz. ethical proof (*ethos*), pathetic proof (*pathos*) and logical proof (*logos*). The investigation of content was also guided by the concept ‘motivation’.

This section discusses how the four leaders whose speeches were examined in this study employ ethical proof. It is divided into three main parts. The first part discusses how the leaders attempt to establish commonality with their audiences. The second part discusses how they attempt to secure a reputation for good sense. The final part discusses how they attempt to secure a reputation for good character.

#### **9.1.1 Speaker-Audience Similarity**

The audience members at the Addis Ababa conference differed in their views on how to bring about African unity; some were favourable to the idea of immediate political unification while others preferred gradual unification. As advocates of gradual unification, both Nyerere and Tafawa Balewa faced the challenge of getting the advocates of immediate unification (their opponents) to identify with them so that these members would become favourable to them and their arguments whereas Nkrumah, as an advocate of immediate unification, faced the challenge of getting the advocates of gradual unification (his opponents) to identify with him so that these members could become favourable to him and his arguments. Similarly, the audience members at the BAC conference differed in their views on the liberation struggle. While some supported the liberation struggle, others were against it. Sobukwe thus faced the challenge of getting the members that were against the liberation struggle (his opponents) to identify with him so that they would become favourable to him and his arguments. This section discusses how these leaders attempted to meet this challenge.

In an attempt to achieve consubstantiality, the leaders highlight characteristics that they and their opponents have in common as Africans. These

include aspirations, experiences, perceptions, values, heritage (continental identity and resources). Nyerere, Tafawa Balewa and Nkrumah further highlight some of the characteristics that they and their opponents have in common as Heads of States and Governments. These include: aspirations, experiences, responsibilities, attitudes, views and knowledge. Unique to Sobukwe is highlighting of the social identity that he and his audience share as Africans as well as highlighting knowledge, aspirations and ethnic identities that he and his audience share as Basotho. Unique to Nkrumah is highlighting a cultural icon. The samples below show that the leaders tend to combine two or more of these techniques in a given statement.

#### **9.1.1.1 Nyerere**

In the following statement, Nyerere intertwines a continental voice with a reference to the aspirations for independence and unity which he and the audience share as Africans as well as with a reference to their responsibility, as Heads of States and Governments, to decide on how these aspirations will be realized: “This conference has been faced with one task, it is the task of finding a common denominator, which will guide us in our determination to rid our continent of the remaining vestiges of colonialism and in our determination to see an Africa speaking with the same voice.”

He accentuates their perception, as Africans, of themselves as a family by referring to the audience members as “brothers”. He also points out their unfavourable attitude -- conveyed through the emotive terms ‘gravity’ and ‘seriousness’ -- as Heads of States and Governments to colonial rule:

I ask your Imperial Majesty and my brothers assembled here that we collectively should now view the continued occupation of Africa by any foreign power with the same gravity and in the same seriousness as each one of us would have viewed the occupation by a foreign power of a part of the country that he has the privilege and the honour to lead.

He employs ‘brother’ even when referring to individual leaders, for example, “our brother, President Sekou Toure”, “our gallant brother from Algeria, Brother Ben Bella”, and “our brother President Senghor”.

In the following statement he stresses, first, their aspiration, as Heads of States and Governments, to see Africa united and then plays up the Monrovia view

that this unification should be gradual: “We have all repeated our dedication to the achievement of a fully united Africa. But we have all said in effect that just as African Independence has been a process, African unity is about to be a process.”

#### **9.1.1.2 Tafawa Balewa**

Tafawa Balewa also adopts a continental voice: “...from now on, there will be no question of the so-called Monrovia and Casablanca Blocs. We all belong to Africa.” In the following statement, he interweaves this voice with a reference to the suffering that he and the audience have undergone as Africans: “...as a Continent which has suffered for so long and also as a people who have suffered for so long, I think we have to do everything to get our proper position in the United Nations Organisation.” And in the following, he combines a continental voice with a reference to the leaders’ dissatisfaction with the current state of transport and communications in Africa, after which he points out that it is their duty to improve the situation: “So far, our communications system is not what we would like it to be; our transport is bad....It is up to us now - those of us who shape the destiny of our countries - to do what we can to improve matters.”

He also interlocks an African voice with a reference to the leaders’ unfavourable attitude towards the idea of Africa joining the arms race, as well as with a reference to their shared knowledge that the continent is incapable of joining this race. He impresses this shared knowledge through the device “all of us know very well”: “....all of us have been talking about the bad nature of the armament race....All of us know very well that we are at present incapable of joining in such a race.”

In the following passage, he refers to their shared resources, as Africans, and to their shared experiences as Heads of States and Governments:

The African continent is very rich in resources but, unfortunately, these resources are not developed yet. We are born at a very difficult time: We have not the necessary capital, the necessary equipment, or the necessary know-how for the development of our continent. Therefore, we find it absolutely necessary to rely on outsiders for the development of the African territories.

And here he makes an implicit reference to their aspiration, as Heads of States and Governments, for African unity: “The history of the new Africa will always have your (referring to Selassie) name in the forefront, because the unity

which we are trying to build in this conference is going to have quite a lot to do with the name of the capital city of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.” The following passage conveys that the Heads of States and Governments all share the view that there should be eventual political unification, an impression produced by introducing the words “before embarking” when describing the position of those aligned with the Monrovia bloc:

There have been quite a lot of views on what we mean by African Unity. Some of us have suggested that African Unity should be achieved by political fusion of the different states in Africa; some of us feel that African unity could be achieved by taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation and by trying first to get the Africans to understand themselves before embarking on the more complicated and more difficult arrangement of political union.

Tafawa Balewa not only points out that it is the duty of the leaders to develop Africa but also notes their positive attitude towards this task and common view regarding future development strategies: “Many of the speakers have told us that mere resolutions, mere condemnation is not enough; it is time for action. I would call upon the conference that we now start on the real work. It is in our hands to build, to create and to develop a new Africa for which all of us are anxious to do.” Tafawa Balewa also notes the leaders’ shared view that an African Common Market should be established: “We wann (*sic*) an African Common Market”.

### **9.1.1.3 Sobukwe**

The following passage from Sobukwe’s speech not only adopts a continental voice but also makes implicit references to the oppression that Africans face under colonial rule as well as to their aspirations for political independence, freedom<sup>141</sup> and to contribute to world civilization:

We cannot forget...that we are a part of the vast continent of Africa which is today demanding the right of self-determination, the right to ‘manage or mismanage’ her own affairs; the right to take her place alongside the other nations of the world in the highest councils.

Africa is today sending forth a challenge to oppression in every form and guise.

In the following, Sobukwe makes a reference to the perception of Africans of themselves as family: “Our colour causes us to suffer common oppression. Why should not that colour bring us together, so that we fight together as a united family, which we are!”. A family image also opens the speech where it is triggered through the emotive phrase “sons and daughters of the soil”. In the following, he establishes common ground by underscoring the cultural value of family, a value that he feels continues to be negatively impacted on by western education: “The educated “Native” is still being told that he is better than the uneducated raw “kaffir” (*sic*) And many believe it and act accordingly, thereby insulting their fathers and mothers, because many of us have been educated by these same raw, blanketed “kaffirs” who are neither Christians nor educated natives.”

It was noted earlier that unique to Sobukwe is the attempt to create consubstantiality by drawing attention to knowledge that he and the audience share as Basotho. In the following passage, he does this by quoting and paraphrasing hear-say on the motives of the different types of people presently found in the country:

I have come to learn that even here in Basutoland you have your ‘good boys,’ the tried and tested collaborators; the ‘responsible natives’ whose mouths are ever watering for the flesh pots of Egypt. You also have, I learn, your agitators, your rebels and schemers, the ‘dirty bastards’ who want to destroy the Chieftainship and take power into their own hands, and make slaves of you all.

He also does this through the following facts, which he provides to support his claim that the British administration does not value African chieftainship: “We have read through the history of Basutoland and nowhere do we find evidence of ritual murders. Not even in war did the Basotho mutilate an enemy.” Sobukwe refutes the implication that the BAC leaders are power-hungry individuals whose ultimate goal is to dominate the masses. He claims that these leaders are for and with the masses, a claim that he supports with the fact that they have suffered: “Why should you trust the white official or the white ‘liberal’ more than your own leaders who have proved through personal suffering, of which you all are witnesses, that they are with you?” He repeats this fact in a later part of the speech: “Mokhehle and Lefela have shown you what it means to be a leader. They have suffered as you all know, and they are still suffering.” One notes his employment of the device “you all are witnesses” and “you all know” to create the impression that this is common knowledge among the Basotho. The use of “all of us know very well” for this effect by Tafawa Balewa has

already been noted; later on, it will be seen that Nkrumah employs “you all here know that”.

Also noted earlier is that unique to Sobukwe is the highlighting of the social identity that he and his audience share as Africans and also highlighting their shared ethnic identities as Basotho. He draws attention to these shared identities by switching from English to other languages that they both understand. He switches in particular from English to Sesotho, from English to isiXhosa and from English to Afrikaans. The following direct quotation from *Mohlabani* is partly intended to encourage the Basotho among his audience to perceive him as a Mosotho:

“Tsoara thebe e tiee oa Rasenate  
Oa bona fatse leno le ea.”

This quotation is also important in terms of allowing him to discuss the liberation struggle of Basutoland in the language of the very people engaged in it. Meanwhile, the following direct quotation from a poem by Jolobe is partly intended to encourage the Xhosa among his audience to perceive him as a Xhosa:

““(sic) Apho igazi lenu lithe lathontsela khona,  
Kolimia intyatyambo evumba limandi,  
Eliya kuthwalwa ngamphiko emepho,  
Zithi zonk’ izizwe zilirogole.”

Sobukwe draws attention to the status of Africans as an oppressed group by directly quoting the terms usually employed, especially in Southern Africa colonial literature, to address and refer to Africans as well as by directly quoting the terms usually employed by Africans to address and refer to whites. One of the terms that he quotes that is used to address and refer to Africans is ‘kaffirs’. The terms that he quotes which Africans employ to address and refer to whites are ‘morena’ and ‘bass’. The incorporation of these terms allows him to switch to Afrikaans, which is the language of the oppressive apartheid regime and therefore apt for evoking the identity that he is appealing to.

Also unique to Sobukwe is evoking the aspirations that he and the audience share as a national group. By the time he is doing this, he has already portrayed himself as a Mosotho nationalist. With this image intact, he emphasizes that Basotho nationalists are fighting for the right of the Basotho to equal treatment with people from other races, to be in control of their own resources and to freedom:

We are fighting for the recognition of the Mosotho man and  
woman as an equal to any other man or woman whatever race and

creed, capable of taking his place alongside any other man or woman, to plan the future of mankind.

We are fighting for the recognition of the fact that this mountainous enclave with its majestic mountains, and splendid air, described as inhospitable and barren by some, is the land of the Basotho, the land that gave them birth, their refuge in time of war. This is the land that nurtured them, the land where the graves of their fathers are, the land where generations of the Basotho have been born, have worked, have married, have borne children and have died. This is the land, still clammy with the blood of those who defended it for us, the land that God gave us to till, to plough and to exploit for the benefit, of all the people of Basutoland, and secondly for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

We are fighting to break the political and economic chains that bind us, compelling the life-blood of Basutoland, the youth of our country, to go to the gold mines to produce wealth that they do not enjoy, coming back here to Basutoland (*sic*) as human incubators to produce more moles to go into the subterranean passages of Johannesburg and Welkom to burrow for more wealth and come back sick and useless with phthisis - to die.

#### 9.1.1.4 Nkrumah

Nkrumah also uses a continental voice, which is most distinct in this allusion that appears in his *peroratio*. Here, the voice is augmented with a reference to the Heads of States and Governments' aspiration for unity:

When the first Congress of the United States met many years ago in Philadelphia one of the delegates sounded the first chord of unity by declaring that they had met in a 'state of nature.' In other words, they were not in Philadelphia as Virginians, or Pennsylvanians (*sic*), but simply as Americans. This reference to themselves as Americans was in those days a new and strange experience. May I dare to assert equally on this occasion Your Excellencies, that we meet there (*sic*) today not as Ghanaians, Guineans, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians but as Africans. Africans united in our resolve to remain here until we have agreed on the basic principles of a new compact of unity among ourselves which guarantees for us and our future a new arrangement of continental government.<sup>142</sup>

A continental voice is distinct too in this statement: "We can begin to ascertain whether in reality we are the richest, and not, as we have been taught to believe, the poorest among the continents." The voice also clearly emerges in the following paragraph: "It is said, of course, that we have no capital, no industrial skill, no

communications and no internal markets, and that we cannot even agree among ourselves how best to utilise our resources for our own social needs.”

Nkrumah makes an implicit reference to their servility, as Africans, under colonial rule: “What need is there for us to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for the industrialised areas of the world?”<sup>143</sup> In the following, he makes an implicit reference to their enslavement, as Africans, under colonial rule and knits this reference with another implicit one, this time to their aspirations as Heads of States and Governments, for Africa’s liberation and development: “How, except by our united efforts, will the richest and still enslaved parts of our continent be freed from colonial occupation and become available to us for the total development of our continent?”

He makes an implicit reference to the insecurity that faces them as Heads of States and Governments, which is followed by an explicit reference to their shared position on African freedom: “In independent Africa we are already re-experiencing the instability and frustration which existed under colonial rule. We are fast learning that political independence is not enough to rid us of the consequences of colonial rule.” Nkrumah also makes a reference to their experience, as Heads of States and Governments, of foreign military intervention: “We have seen how the neo-colonialists use their bases to entrench themselves and even to attack neighbouring independent states.” Nkrumah also points out that it is the responsibility of the Heads of States and Governments to develop Africa socially and economically: “It will then be too late even for Pan African Unity to secure for us stability and tranquillity in our labours for a continent of social justice and material well-being.” Like Nyerere, Nkrumah refers to their responsibility to unite Africa: “In the task which is before us of unifying our continent we must fall in with that pace or be left behind. The task cannot be attacked in the tempo of any other age than our own.” Also: “A whole continent has imposed a mandate upon us to lay the foundation of our Union at this Conference. It is our responsibility to execute this mandate by creating here and now the formula upon which the requisite superstructure may be erected.” Nkrumah refers to their aspirations, as Heads of States and Governments, to see Africa developed and contributing towards peace: “Is it not unity alone that can weld us into an effective force, capable of creating our own progress and making our valuable contribution to world, (*sic*) peace?” He stresses their unfavourable attitude, as Heads of States and Governments, towards the Cold War: “Many of us have made non-alignment an

article of faith on this continent. We have no wish, and no intention of being drawn into the Cold War.” In the following statement, he first refers to the aspiration of the Heads of States and Governments for unity and then plays up the Casablanca view that this unification should be immediate: “We all want a united Africa, united not only in our concept of what unity connotes, but united in our common desire to move forward together in dealing with all the problems that can best be solved only on a continental basis.” And in the following statement, he points to their unfavourable attitude, as Heads of States and Governments, towards the Great Powers’ concept of a defence bloc: “We do not want nor do we visualise an African High Command in the terms of the power politics that now rule a great part of the world, but as an essential and indispensable instrument for ensuring stability and security in Africa.”

In the following passage, he draws attention to the resources that he and the audience share as Africans:

With capital controlled by *our own banks*, harnessed to our own true industrial and agricultural development, we shall make our advance. We shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works, iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various states of *our continent* with communications by land, sea and air. We shall cable from one place to another, phone from one place to the other and astound the world with *our hydro-electric power*; we shall drain marshes and swamps, clear infested areas, feed the under-nourished, and rid our people of parasites and disease. It is within the possibility of science and technology to make even the Sahara bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments. We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy. [Emphasis mine]

He also draws attention to shared resources in the following passage:

Even for other continents lacking the resources of Africa, this is the age that sees the end of human want. For us it is a simple matter of grasping with certainty our heritage by using the political might of unity: All we need to do is to develop with our united strength the enormous resources of our continent.

Nkrumah attempts to get his opponents to identify with him by drawing attention to the knowledge that they share as Heads of States and Governments. He does this through facts that he provides. The following fact is intended to support the claim that continental unification is necessary for the political liberation of Africa: “Every step in the decolonisation of our continent has brought greater resistance in those areas where colonial garrisons are available to colonialism and you all here

know that.” One notes the use of the device “you all here know that” to create the impression that this is common knowledge. The following fact is intended to support the claim that continental unity is a prerequisite for Africa’s economic independence: “...many of us who have tried to [follow an independent course of economic development] have been almost ruined or have had to return to the fold of the former colonial rulers.”

Nkrumah points to their perception, as Africans, of themselves as a family. He interweaves this with references to their aspirations, as Heads of States and Governments, for African political independence and freedom: “Is not our unity essential to guard our own freedom as well as to win freedom for our oppressed brothers, the Freedom Fighters?” This family image is also evoked by his personification of African states as ‘sisters’ and the continent as ‘mother’.

As was noted earlier in this chapter, unique to Nkrumah is creating consubstantiality by pointing to a cultural icon. He says: “Your Excellencies, nothing could be more fitting than that the unification of Africa should be born on the soil of the State (namely, Ethiopia) which stood for centuries as the symbol of African Independence.”<sup>144</sup>

### **9.1.2 Reputation for Good Sense**

Nkrumah and more so Sobukwe and even more so Tafawa Balewa, all attempt to secure a reputation for good sense by highlighting their expertise in the issues that they discuss. These three leaders as well as Nyerere also strive for this image by incorporating the opinions of other people on these issues in their speeches. They incorporate these opinions, some similar to theirs and others different, through paraphrases and direct quotes of prior texts, techniques that are both part of the broader communication strategy termed intertextuality. The opinions that are similar are calculated to strengthen the speaker’s argument whereas the divergent ones are incorporated so that they may be refuted. Below are samples of these techniques.

#### **9.1.2.1 Nyerere**

Nyerere refutes the Casablanca view that a continental government is a precondition for the liberation of African colonies as well as for the realization of

African unity. He introduces this view through a paraphrase of the introduction of chapter twenty in *Africa Must Unite*: “In our search for a common approach to unity the way the United States of America came into being has often been mentioned as an example open to us to follow.” He immediately proceeds to show that this suggestion arises from a misunderstanding of how American unity came into being:

But let me say in this connection, that the United States of America did not come into being by the signing of the American Constitution. This was rather the culmination of a common endeavour by thirteen colonial countries. The real (*sic*) unity was forged and sealed by the Declaration of Independence and by a comradeship in arms for the achievement of that independence. Let us not avoid that task now facing us by waiting until Africa is under one Government.

He refers to other speeches presented on the same occasion to support his view that African unification will be gradual. This reference also takes the form of paraphrase: “...we have all said in effect that just as African Independence has been a process, African unity is about to be a process.”

#### **9.1.2.2 Tafawa Balewa**

Tafawa Balewa calls attention to his expertise in the issues that he discusses by pointing out the views that he has held over the years. One of these issues is mutual understanding among Africans and he says: “It has always been our view in Nigeria that personal contacts, and the exchange of ideas are the basis of mutual understanding.” On the issue of how to achieve unity, he says:

I have listened to speeches in this conference, and there have been only a very few members who spoke on the desirability of having a political union. Almost all the speeches indicate that a more practical approach is much preferred by the majority of the delegation. I am glad to say that the stand we have taken right from the beginning is the stand of nearly almost all the countries in this conference.

He outlines his achievements in creating unity:

It appears from the speeches as if we were just sitting idle and doing nothing towards the achievement of this unity. For our part, in Nigeria, we are already co-operating with some of our neighbours. For example, the other day, my friend, the President of Malagasy said he could not contact Lagos by telephone from Cotonou. This is no longer the case. Now he can speak direct. What we are trying to do is to link up with all our neighbours by means of telecommunications and by

exchanging more postal facilities; and we are already entering into bilateral (*sic*) agreements with many of our neighbours. We are discussing this matter with the Republic of the Cameroun, discussing our common problems with Tchad, Congo (Leo) (*sic*) with Dahomey, and also we have direct link with Togo. We hope to continue in this work because we feel that, if we are to unite, it is important that our communications system should be excellent and transport facilities should be such that it would enable us to move freely around, to move not only ourselves but to more (*sic*) our goods to different parts of the continent. Also, we have been trying in Nigeria to jointogether (*sic*) states in trying to discuss common problems – educational and scientific problems.

Another issue that he discusses is that of African personality, and he says: "...I always tell people that I do not believe in African personality, but in human personality." Responding to the view that Africa should seek greater representation in the Security Council and also in all the bodies of the UN, he says: "Well, this has been our stand all the years we have been independent. I said so in New York; I said it in Monrovia....That world organisation, I have always maintained, is a sure guarantee of the independent sovereignty of our African states."

Tafawa Balewa makes known the different positions on how to achieve African unity by paraphrasing prior texts that tackle this issue:

There have been quite a lot of views on what we mean by African Unity. Some of us have suggested that African Unity should be achieved by political fusion of the different states in Africa; some of us feel that African unity could be achieved by taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation and by trying first to get the Africans to understand themselves before embarking on the more complicated and more difficult arrangement of political union.

He refutes the Casablanca argument that small African states should not exist. He introduces this argument through the following paraphrase of Nkrumah's texts: "It has been pointed out many times that the smaller States in Africa have no right to exist because they are too small."<sup>145</sup>

He says that the African Heads of States and Governments should start developing their countries. He tries to impress upon them that many among them feel this through this paraphrase of speeches made earlier in the day: "Many of the speakers have told us that mere resolutions, mere condemnation is not enough; it is time for action."

He claims that African leaders are not frank. He supports this with testimony from three sources: First, President Farik Abboud whose speech he paraphrases thus: "...the Hon. President of the Sudan...when he spoke, told us that we should be frank." Second, President Tsirinana whose speech he paraphrases thus: "...the President of Malagasy...said that we in Africa do not want to speak the truth." Third, the Nigerian community which he directly quotes: "We have a saying in Nigeria, which is that 'Truth is bitter'". The inclusion of this proverb in his speech also allows him to exhibit the wisdom that he has acquired over the years as a member of this community. He is able to portray himself not only as wise but also as a typical African given that the testimony is from Africans. The proverb also allows him to underscore common ground by calling attention to an observation that is probably familiar even to those that are not Nigerians.

He refutes the argument that Africa should embark on an arms race. He introduces this argument into his speech through a paraphrase of some speeches made earlier at the Conference: "Some people have suggested that we should organise ourselves into a Defence Bloc." And again: "It has been suggested that we should embark on an arms race in Africa."

Tafawa Balewa tries to win adherence to his idea of gradual unification by creating the impression that it is a popular idea. This is the intended effect of the following paraphrase of speeches made earlier at the Conference: "Many members have said that we cannot leave Addis Ababa without a charter."

He addresses the issue of an African Common Market. He introduces it with a paraphrase of speeches made earlier: "Also a suggestion has been made for the establishment of an African Common Market." He then captures the prevailing positions on how to realize this structure through questions: "We want (*sic*) an African Common Market. But, can we do it by taking the continent as a whole? Or can we do it by certain groupings in Africa?"

### **9.1.2.3 Sobukwe**

Sobukwe calls attention to his expertise in politics when he employs a maxim to warrant the argument that the British will not grant independence to Basutoland: "...a group in power never voluntarily relinquishes its position. It has to be compelled to do so."

He attempts to vindicate the BAC leaders by refuting the indirect suggestion that they are power-hungry individuals whose ultimate goal is to dominate the masses. He introduces this view through a reference to hear-say. This reference comprises both paraphrase and direct quotation:

I have come to learn that even here in Basutoland you have your ‘good boys,’ the tried and tested collaborators; the ‘responsible natives’ whose mouths are ever watering for the flesh pots of Egypt. You also have, I learn, your agitators, your rebels and schemers, the ‘dirty bastards’ who want to destroy the Chieftainship and take power into their own hands, and make slaves of you all.

He directly quotes from *Mohlabani*, a newspaper which BAC supporters consider to be an authority in political matters, to add weight to his view that the liberation struggle in Basutoland is aimed at securing the land for the Basotho, its rightful owners.

“Tsoara thebe e tiee oa Rasenate  
Oa bona fatse leno le ea.”  
(Hold fast thy shield, son of Resenate,  
Thou seest thy fatherland is being taken away).

He attempts to enforce the ideas that bravery, loyalty, sacrifice and unity are essential if political independence is to be regained in Basutoland in particular and Africa at large through three allusions: to the Maccabean Revolt in Judea (now Israel); to the city of Sparta; and to the battle at the Sublician Bridge. He alludes to the Maccabean Revolt through this direct quotation of Simon’s words as they are recorded in a text by Howard Fast:

‘Go to Regesh and tell him the Maccabee is in Ephraim the Maccabee and his brother Simon - tell him two men are in Ephraim and that so long as two men walk free on Judean soil, the fight goes on. Tell him it goes on until all the world knows that in Judea there is a people who will not bend their knee to man or god! We were slaves in Egypt, and we shall not be slaves again. Tell Regesh that!’

The allusion to Sparta is also done through direct quotation. Sobukwe directly quotes from a conversation that occurred between Sparta’s king and an ambassador from Epirus who was on an official visit: “We are fighting for the hastening of the day when Mokhehle will be able to point to every man and woman in Basutoland and say, as the King of Sparta said of his soldiers, ‘Behold the walls of Sparta (Basutoland), ten thousand men and every man a brick!’”. The allusion to the battle fought between

Romans and Etrurians at River Tiber is also, like the foregoing two allusions, done through a direct quote, this time from the poem “Horatius” by Macaulay:

We are looking forward to the dawn of the day when the young  
herdboys will listen to the call of Congress and say with Macaulay’s  
(*sic*) Roman soldier:

‘And how can man die better  
Than facing fearful odds. (*sic*)  
For the ashes of his fathers (*sic*)  
And the temples of his gods?’ (*sic*)

#### **9.1.2.4 Nkrumah**

Nkrumah tries to secure a reputation for good sense by craftily indicating his experience with a conference similar to the Addis Ababa one: “At the first gathering of African Heads of State, to which I had the honour of playing host, there were representatives of eight independent State (*sic*) only.”

Nkrumah refutes the view that political unification of African states should be a gradual process. He introduces this view through this paraphrase of prior texts by those aligned with the Monrovia Bloc, including some of their speeches made on the same occasion: “It has been suggested that our approach to unity should be gradual, that it should be piece-meal.” He also refutes the view that the problems facing Africa can be resolved through greater co-operation and here too, the view is introduced by paraphrasing the aforementioned texts: “The view is also expressed that our difficulties can be resolved simply by a greater collaboration through co-operative association in our inter-territorial relationships.”

Nkrumah addresses the issue of Africa’s development in his speech. He responds to five arguments of imperial powers that touch on this issue: (1) Africa is poor; (2) Africa has no industrial skill; (3) Africa has no internal markets; (4) Africa has no technology; and (5) Africa does not utilise its resources for the benefit of its people. He disagrees with the first of these but agrees with all others. He introduces these arguments into his speech through the following paraphrase of colonial discourse: “It is said, of course, that we have no capital, no industrial skill, no communications and no internal markets, and that we cannot even agree among ourselves how best to utilise our resources for our own social needs.”

### 9.1.3 Reputation for Good Character

The four leaders whose speeches were examined in this thesis attempt to earn a reputation for good character by impressing upon their audiences that they are possessed of virtues that the audiences value. Among these virtues are bravery, liberty, friendliness, justice and loyalty.

#### 9.1.3.1 Commitment to Bravery

It has already been noted in an earlier part of this chapter that Sobukwe directly quotes from a text by Fast. Through this quotation, he associates himself with an individual known for his respect for personal courage and desire for social justice, hence skilfully expressing his own passion for these virtues.<sup>146</sup>

Sobukwe tries to portray himself as a brave person by praising BAC members for exhibiting this quality. He notes: “I also wish...to salute this fifth conference of the Basutoland African Congress, that has shaken the Basutoland White Administration and has made the Basotho realise that there still are people in Africa who prefer suffering and privation to the ‘flesh pots of Egypt’”. He further includes an apologue in his speech whereby the characters are a sleek, well-fed dog that is chained at night by its owner and a lean, hungry wolf that lives in the forest. He identifies the BAC leaders with the wolf, which upon establishing why the dog looks so much better than he does, turns down the invitation to go live with him: “I am accustomed to roaming about the forest free at night. I cannot accept chains for anything. I prefer freedom and hunger to chains and a full belly.” Sobukwe also tells his audience:

Mokhehle and Lefela have shown you what it means to be a leader. They have suffered as you all know, and they are still suffering. But they are still in front there, calling you, inviting you to battle, for the sake of your children, and those who are dead and those who are still to be born.

They have exposed corruption (*sic*) in the Administration, have fought relentlessly for the improvement of the lot of the Basotho in their own land (*sic*) And for that they have been made to suffer. But their struggle is already bearing fruit. You are now awaiting the draft for a Legislative Assembly.

As has already been noted in this chapter Sobukwe alludes to the Maccabean Revolt, whose leaders included Simon (Simeon). Having quoted Simon's words from the text by Fast, he engages in creative play: "Tell Ragesh that! Tell the 'good boys' that! Tell the "(sic)Marematlou" that! Tell the Christian Democratic Party that! Tell Chaplin that! Tell British Imperialism that!" Sobukwe then tells his audience: "Those are the words I can well imagine your President, Ntsu Mokhehle, and the grand old man, Josiel Lefela, uttering, substituting Basutoland for Judea."<sup>147</sup> This is clearly associating Mokhehle and Lefela with the brave Maccabean brothers.

Nkrumah creates the image that he is courageous by portraying gradual political unification as a cowardly view and hence, by intimation, its supporters as cowards. He announces: "...our failure to unite today will not be attributed by posterity only to faulty reasoning and lack of courage, but to our capitulation before the forces of neo-colonialism and imperialism." He also asks the supporters of gradual unification this provocative rhetorical question that is created from an idiomatic expression: "Experts have estimated that the Congo basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the whole world and here we sit talking about regionalism, talking about gradualism, talking about step by step. Are you afraid to tackle the bull by the horn?" The change from 'we' to 'you' makes it clear that the 'we' here refers to his opponents.

### **9.1.3.2 Commitment to Liberty**

It has already been noted in an earlier part of this chapter that Sobukwe directly quotes from "Horatius". Through this quotation, he associates himself with Macaulay—a champion of liberty—thus skilfully conveying that he too highly regards this virtue. Jim Powell, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute and whose specialty is the history of liberty, presents this side of Macaulay in an article titled "Thomas Babington Macaulay Extraordinary Eloquence for Liberty":

Thomas Babington Macaulay ranks among the most eloquent of all authors on liberty....

Throughout his life, Macaulay expressed a sincere, exuberant, unwavering love for liberty. He called for the abolition of slavery. He advocated repeal of laws against Jews. He defended freedom of the press. He spoke out for free trade and the free movement of people. He celebrated the achievements of free markets. He believed women

should be able to have property in their own name. He rejected government excuses for suspending civil liberties—There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces; and that cure is freedom....

...He inspired generations of historians to chronicle struggles for liberty.

...Not only did he regard liberty as supremely important; he knew that it needs ceaseless defending....

...Macaulay believed the most glorious story was the struggle for human freedom (Powell 1996, n.p.)

### **9.1.3.3 Commitment to Friendliness**

The following assertion by Tafawa Balewa portrays him as one who values friendship: “It has always been our view in Nigeria that personal contacts, and the exchange of ideas are the basis of mutual understanding.” So too does this statement which he immediately makes after it: “I am pleased to say that, from now on, there will be no question of the so-called Monrovia and Casablanca Blocs. We all belong to Africa.” The attitude marker ‘pleased’ is employed to convey his joy at the achievement of friendship, subsequently reinforcing his esteem for harmony; the marker is also employed to influence the listeners to adopt a similar attitude. He returns to the need to attain mutual understanding in later parts of the speech. At one point he says that Monrovia leaders believe that African unity should be achieved by “taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation and by trying first to get the Africans to understand themselves before embarking on the more complicated and more difficult arrangement of political union.” At another point he tells his audience that mutual understanding will be achieved if Africans travel to various African countries: “Let our peoples travel to different countries in Africa; let them get to know themselves and to understand themselves. This, I am sure, will bring great understanding among all the peoples of this continent.”

Sobukwe tries to appear as someone who values friendliness when he recalls the kind King Moshoeshoe who gladly welcomed all equally, black and white, to pre-colonial Basutoland. This recollection is also calculated to intensify his audience’s longing for the happier times, the days of a politically independent Basutoland under the leadership of a non-racist regime. He neatly introduces the recollection in a narrative:

When we came into Basutoland this morning we were greeted at the gate leading into Maseru by huge, bold letters: BASUTOLAND: ENTER IN PEACE.

What a welcome! We could see Moshoeshoe himself uttering those words to weary travellers and refugees, to the white missionaries and traders: 'Enter in Peace'.

#### 9.1.3.4 Commitment to Justice

Sobukwe relates what happened when they entered Basutoland:

We entered. A Basutoland Mounted Policeman took particulars of our car etc. Well and good, we thought it is a necessary formality. Then we were told to get out of the car, (*sic*) - **all of us** - and produce our passes. We spent an hour spelling out our names and defining ourselves ethnically (*sic*).

In the meantime European cars were passing. Particulars of the cars and drivers were taken, and then to attention stood the Basutoland Mounted Policeman, and with a grin extending from ear to ear saluted '**morena**'! And we, the owners of the land, the children of the soil, were treated as criminals and thieves **in our own country!**

The statement "well and good, we thought it is a necessary formality" reveals his gentleness; so far, there is no reason for him to be angry. His annoyance at Africans being treated like 'criminals and thieves' in Basutoland while whites there are treated with respect intensifies his image as a virtuous person.

#### 9.1.3.5 Commitment to Loyalty

Nkrumah tries to inculcate loyalty towards the continent and away from the individual countries. He concretizes the idea of continental identity by comparing the Addis Ababa conference to the first United States continental congress, which was held in 1774:

When the first Congress of the United States met many years ago in Philadelphia one of the delegates sounded the first chord of unity by declaring that they had met in a 'state of nature.' In other words, they were not in Philadelphia as Virginians, or Pennsylvanians (*sic*), but simply as Americans. This reference to themselves as Americans was in those days a new and strange experience. May I dare to assert equally on this occasion Your Excellencies, that we meet there (*sic*) today not as Ghanaians, Guineans, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians but as Africans.

Through this analogy, Nkrumah compares himself to the delegate in question, Patrick Henry, who was a renowned patriot. Nkrumah thus boosts his image as a patriot.

Through the following statements, Nkrumah links his call for continental unification to those that he and his listeners represent. This makes him appear responsive and loyal to the will of those that have elected him. The apparent concern for the African masses at large boosts his image as a Pan-Africanist:

The masses of the people of Africa are crying for unity. The people of Africa call for the breaking down of the boundaries that keep them apart. They demand an end to the border disputes between sister African states...

Our people call for unity so that they may not lose their patrimony in the perpetual service of neo-colonialism. In their fervent push for unity, they understand that only its realisation will give full meaning to their freedom and our African independence.

## **9.2 Pathetic Proof**

As already mentioned in this chapter, the investigation of the content of the selected speeches was guided by Aristotelian theory. The study examined the employment of the three modes of persuasion that Aristotle describes in his *Rhetoric*, viz. ethical proof (*ethos*), pathetic proof (*pathos*) and logical proof (*logos*). The investigation of content was also guided by the concept 'motivation'.

This section summarizes how the speeches employ pathetic proof. It is divided into three parts. The first part discusses the appeal to fear. The second part discusses the appeal to pity. The third part discusses the appeal to love.

### **9.2.1 Appeal to Fear**

Nyerere, Tafawa Balewa and Nkrumah all attempt to get their audiences to think and act as they want by appealing to fear. One of the ways in which they try to excite fear is by stressing the thought of domination. Nyerere and Nkrumah also raise the thought of infamy while Tafawa Balewa raises that of property loss. Samples of passages that exhibit these techniques are presented below.

Nyerere tries to make his listeners hostile to Nkrumah's idea of imposed unification through a fear appeal. He attempts to evoke fear by raising the thought of military conquest and domination through an allusion to Napoleon Bonaparte:

“...none of us is prepared in the name of unity to invite a Napoleon to come and bring about such unity by conquest.” Nkrumah’s view that imposed unification is an option for Africa, which he forwards in *Africa Must Unite*, is here associated with Napoleon Bonaparte’s military conquest and domination of Europe in the early nineteenth century. This thought of military conquest and domination is intended to stir fear in the Heads of States and Governments, subsequently causing them to dislike Nkrumah who is the source of the fear. Nyerere also resorts to fear appeal to win support for the proposed charter. He attempts to evoke fear by raising the thought that leaders who oppose the adoption of the proposed charter will suffer a bad reputation:

It is unnecessary for me to prophesy that it shall not be recorded in history that, ‘BUT FOR THE STUBBORNNESS AND NON-COOPERATION OF TANGANYIKA THE ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN A SUCCESS.’ Our National Motto is ‘UHURU NA UMOJA’ (FREEDOM AND UNITY). Our National Anthem is, ‘GOD BLESS AFRICA.’

Tafawa Balewa tries to evoke fear by arguing that reliance on foreign aid could lead to economic imperialism. The fear of their countries losing economic independence is intended to motivate the listeners to be careful when soliciting foreign aid that comes with attachments, a motivation that he attempts to intensify by admitting that he and some among them fear colonialism. He repeats ‘fear’ to emphasize this emotion: “I would like to tell the conference that we must take every care to know how (*sic*) we invite to assist in the development of our resources, because there is a fear, which is my personal fear, that, if we are not careful, we may have colonialism in a different form. Colonialism can take many different forms.” He attempts to win adherence to the idea of disarmament through a fear appeal. He provides two arguments to show why he supports disarmament. In the first of these, he claims: “The most essential thing, which is desirable, is to effect disarmament.” The reason he gives: “If there is a war now, *there would be nothing - everything would go.*” The tautology here (identified in italics) emphasizes the thought of loss. This thought is meant to arouse fear in the audience, which he hopes would push them to support disarmament. He argues that Nigeria recognises all the existing boundaries in Africa and the existence of all the countries in Africa because disregarding these boundaries which have been in existence for over 60 years might stir trouble in Africa. The possibility of ‘trouble’, which goes against the leaders’ desire for peace,

is intended to stir fear, which would dissuade them from accepting Nkrumah's view that the small African states should not exist.

Nkrumah relies heavily on fear appeal to secure adherence to his idea of immediate political unification. His thesis, which appears in the first paragraph of the speech, is designed to evoke fear: "We must unite now or perish." By perish, he means that African States will sell themselves to former colonial or other foreign powers. The thought of re-colonization (neo-colonialism) is intended to stir fear, an emotion that he hopes will motivate his audience to form a political union of their states. He reiterates the thought of re-colonization when he argues that the sole goal of the imperial powers is to continue enslaving the colonized Africans and to ambush the sovereignty of the independent African states and when he declares: "Unless we establish African Unity now, we who are sitting here today shall tomorrow be the victims and martyrs of neo-colonialism." He offers political unification as the only defence against economic domination: "We have already reached the stage where we must unite or sink into that condition which has made Latin-America the unwilling and distressed prey of imperialism after one-and-a-half centuries of political independence." Here, the image of an "unwilling and distressed prey" is used to bring to mind the thought of being overpowered, which normally arouses fear and gets one to be on guard with the necessary weapon. He also attempts to stir fear by raising the thought of their being overthrown: "If...we allow the same conditions to exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be mobilised against us." Later in the speech he warns: "Unless we can establish great industrial complexes in Africa—which we can only do in a united Africa—we must leave our peasantry to the mercy of foreign cash crop markets, and face the same unrest which overthrew the colonialists." He hopes that the fear of being overthrown will motivate the listeners to create a Union Government, which he maintains is the only thing that can rapidly produce the desired changes. Nkrumah raises the thought that the leaders will suffer a bad reputation if unity is not achieved immediately:

If we succeed in establishing a New Set of Principles as the basis of a New Charter or Statute for the establishment of a continental our people (*sic*), then, in my view, this conference should mark the end of our various groupings and regional blocs. But if we fail and let this grand and historic opportunity slip by then we shall give way to greater dissension and vision (*sic*) among us for which the people of Africa will never forgive us. And the popular and progressive forces and movements within Africa will condemn us.

### 9.2.2 Appeal to Pity

Nyerere tries to mobilize support for freedom and unity by arousing pity for the suffering experienced by Africans under imperialists. In doing this, he begins with an assertion (identified in italics) that he amplifies through *enumeratio*. He points, in particular, to the deaths in the distant slave era and also those, more pointedly, in the colonial era that is still underway in some countries. The anaphoric utterance (“it has been better stated by the”) increases attentiveness to the images:

*It has been even better stated by the suffering of our people; by the blood which our people have shed and are still shedding at the hands of their oppressors; it has been better stated by the millions of our people who died in the slave raids organised all over Africa by those powers whose prestige was built upon the humiliation of Africa; it is still stated by those monuments of European, American, and (let’s say it) Asian glory, which to us are symbols of humiliation and oppression.*

### 9.2.3 Appeal to Love

Nyerere, Sobukwe and Nkrumah attempt to increase solidarity amongst their listeners by appealing to love. They try to evoke love by creating a family image. This image is created by employing kin terms. Nyerere refers to other speakers at the Conference as “brothers”, Sobukwe refers to his listeners as “sons and daughters of the soil” while Nkrumah refers to the Africans still under colonial rule as “brothers”.

Sobukwe and Nkrumah also try to evoke love through personification. Sobukwe tries to stir in his audience affection for their country by personifying it as ‘mother’. Affection for their country would, Sobukwe hopes, provoke the Basotho to defend the country at all costs, which would entail joining and supporting the BAC. Says Sobukwe: “...this mountainous enclave with its majestic mountains, and splendid air...is the land of the Basotho, the land that gave them birth...the land that nurtured them...”. Nkrumah personifies African states as ‘sisters’ and the continent as ‘mother’.

Nkrumah also tries to win the love of his audience by impressing on them that his call for continental unification is motivated by the desire to rid Africa of evil and introduce in it the good, and not by personal gains. He does this by visualizing the good that will be achieved in a united Africa. He envisions an Africa free of not only industrial, technological and scientific backwardness but also of hunger, disease and illiteracy:

With capital controlled by our own banks, harnessed to our own true industrial and agricultural development, we shall make our advance. We shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works, iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various states of our continent with communications by land, sea and air. We shall cable from one place to another, phone from one place to the other and astound the world with our hydro-electric power; we shall drain marshes and swamps, clear infested areas, feed the under-nourished, and rid our people of parasites and disease....We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy.

### **9.3 Logical Proof: Claims, Data and Warrants**

The study found that the four leaders all employ logical proof. This section presents some of the claims that they made, the data that they provided in support of those claims and their warrants for those arguments. As was explained in Chapter One of this thesis, a claim is an assertion that the speaker wants his audience to accept. Data is the information that the speaker presents to justify this claim. It includes: 'reasons', facts, observations, stories, explanations, examples (specific instances and factual extended examples), statistics, testimony, literal analogy and details. A warrant is that which a speaker has appealed to in making the connection between the data and the claim. This can be a value, belief, custom, principle, law, procedure.

The one who relies most heavily on logical proof is Nkrumah while the one who relies least on it is Nyerere. Tafawa Balewa and Sobukwe use almost the same amount of logical proof. The most popular datum is observation. It is employed by the four leaders, especially Nkrumah. Also popular is reasons; Tafawa Balewa and Nkrumah are particularly fond of them. The least popular data are statistics and explanation; only Nkrumah was found to use these. All of Nyerere's warrants are explicit; the other leaders use both explicit and implicit warrants. The findings here are tabulated to facilitate a bird's eye-view of the argument in question.

**Table 9.0 Arguments in Nyerere’s Speech**

<b>Claim</b>	<b>Data</b>	<b>Warrant</b>
“We came here to find out what we should all do now in order to bring about the final liberation of Africa.”	OBSERVATION: “We did not come here to discover whether we all want a free Africa.	“Even the greatest enemies of African unity know that the one thing on which there can be no doubt that the whole of Africa speaks with one sincere voice, it is our desire to see an Africa completely freed from foreign domination and racialism.”
“We came here to find out our common denominator in our approach to African unity.”	OBSERVATION: “We did not come here to discover whether we want African unity.”	“Again even our enemies know that we sincerely desire unity.”
“...African unity is about to be a process.”	ANALOGY: “...just as African Independence has been a process.”	“It is not in the nature of human action that the will and the fulfilment should be simultaneous. That is not in our power, that is only in the power of the Gods. In human action there is an inevitable progress between the will to do and the fulfilment of that action.”
“We are therefore left with only one method of bringing about African unity. That method is the method of free agreement.”	OBSERVATION: “...African unity cannot come by a divine will, ‘Let there be unity.’ And none of us is prepared in the name of unity to invite a Napoleon to come and bring about such unity by conquest.”	“There is not going to be a God who will bring about African unity by merely willing unity and saying, ‘Let there be Unity.’”

**Table 9.1 Arguments in Tafawa Balewa’s Speech**

<b>Claim</b>	<b>Data</b>	<b>Warrant</b>
“Nigeria recognises all the existing boundaries in Africa, and recognises the existence of all the countries in Africa.”	REASON: Any attempt on the part of any African country to disregard the boundaries which have been in existence for over 60 years might stir trouble in the continent.	African leaders want to avoid trouble in Africa
Nigeria is already cooperating with some of its neighbours.	DETAILS: (a) What we are trying to do is to link up with all our neighbours by means of telecommunications and by exchanging more postal facilities; and we are already entering into bilateral ( <i>sic</i> ) agreements with many of our neighbours.; and (b) Also, we have been trying in Nigeria to jointogether ( <i>sic</i> ) states in trying to discuss common problems – educational and scientific problems. EXAMPLES: For example, the other day, my friend, the President of Malagasy said he could not contact Lagos by telephone from Cotonou. This is no longer the case. Now he can speak direct; and (b) We are discussing this matter with the Republic of the Cameroun, discussing our common problems with Tchad, Congo (Leo) ( <i>sic</i> ) with Dahomey, and also we have direct link with Togo.	“...if we are to unite, it is important that our communications system should be excellent and transport facilities should be such that it would enable us to move freely around, to move not only ourselves but to more ( <i>sic</i> ) our goods to different parts of the continent.”
African leaders are currently not frank	OBSERVATIONS: (a) “Now, Mr. President, the Hon. President of the Sudan, I think, when he spoke, told us that we should be frank.”; (b) “I think it was the President of Malagasy who said that we in Africa do not want to speak the truth.”; and (c) “Truth is bitter.”	
“If we give assistance to African people in any	REASON: “...many of the speakers have made [the point] that they would only accept foreign aid without any strings	(a) “...when we give assistance to another country which is fighting for its independence, some of us

Claim	Data	Warrant
dependent territory, we should not ask for any obligation on their part...".	attached."	are in the habit of imposing obligations on those States."; and (b) "That is wrong."
"...we must take every care to know how ( <i>sic</i> ) we invite to assist in the development of our resources...".	REASON: "Our countries can be colonised economically...".	(a) "Colonialism can take many different forms"; and (b) "just as we have fought political domination, it is also important that we fight against economic domination by other countries."
"...any talk of African personality is based on inferiority complex."	FACT: "...we belong to one human society.	
"...in all that we do, and in all that we say, we should be careful."	FACT: "...we in Africa are part of the world." OBSERVATION: "Whatever we do, we cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the world."	"We have our international obligations as well."
"...we have to see to the development of human personality in Africa."	FACT: "the African is a human being.	
The idea of establishing an African Common Market is a very good one.	REASONS: (a) It will boost inter-state trade, which is currently only 10 percent, the other 90 being international; (b) It will enable African countries to overcome many difficulties; (c) It will enable Africa to stand on its own in relation to the other parts of the world. (d) It will eliminate chances of economic imperialism.	

**Table 9.2 Arguments in Sobukwe’s Speech**

Claim	Data	Warrant
“[The white man, particularly the Englishman] has always managed to get some Africans on his side to fight against other Africans.”	EXAMPLES: (a) “Ngqika set against Ndlambe”; (b) “Mpande set against Dingaan”; and (c) Bapedi against Swazis	
Tribal warfare is a source of African disunity in contemporary Africa.	TESTIMONY: “...the whites...keep on reminding us that this one is a Zulu, the proud descendant of Chaka, with a glorious military history and should have nothing to do with the cunning Basotho; that one is told he is a Mosotho, a proud descendant of the wise Moshoeshe, and the only tribe that was never conquered by either black or white, and he should not associate with the wild, savage Zulus nor with the treacherous, thieving Xhosas.”	
No sooner had African tribes finished welcoming the missionaries, than the missionaries got down to dividing them.	EXAMPLES: (a) The missionaries identified Africans as ‘Christian’ or ‘heathen’; and (b) The missionaries identified Africans as educated or uneducated.	
Western education remains a source of African disunity in contemporary Africa.	OBSERVATION: “The educated “Native” is still being told that he is better than the uneducated raw “kaffir” ( <i>sic</i> ) And many believe it and act accordingly, thereby insulting their fathers and mothers, because many of us have been educated by these same raw, blanketed “kaffirs” who are neither Christians nor educated natives.”	
BAC leaders are for and with the masses	FACTS: (a) “They have suffered as you all know, and they are still suffering.”; (b) “They live with you, eat with you.”; (c) “They have exposed corruption ( <i>sic</i> ) in the Administration...”; (d) “...it was your Congress that led the opposition to the Moore Report...”; and (e) “...leaders, ( <i>sic</i> ) of Congress and the masses opposed Chaplin’s appointment...”. TESTIMONY: “They...have fought relentlessly for the improvement of the lot of the Basotho in their own land ( <i>sic</i> )”	
The British administration, does not value African chieftainship.	EXAMPLES: (a) Exile of Seretse Khama from Botswana to Britain; (b) hanging of Chiefs Bereng and Gabasheane; (c) “...it was the civilised English	

Claim	Data	Warrant
	<p>who cut off the head of Chief Moorosi and stuck it on a pole...”; and (d) “...it was these cultured people - who never break their word - who mutilated the body of Chief Hintsu in the Cape.”</p> <p>FACTS: (a) “We have read through the history of Basutoland and nowhere do we find evidence of ritual murders.”; and (b) “Not even in war did the Basotho mutilate an enemy.”</p>	
<p>“[The British] will not gladly hand Basutoland back to you.”</p>	<p>OBSERVATION: “...an Englishman...never gives [his word]! When you are sure he has said this, he comes back to prove to you that he could never have meant what you understood him to mean. You must have misunderstood him.”</p>	<p>“It is one of the maxims of politics that a group in power never voluntarily relinquishes its position. It has to be compelled to do so. And the British I submit, are no exception”.</p>
<p>“...to get out (<i>sic</i>) freedom we have to suffer more and more...”.</p>	<p>REASON: he gives for his claim: “...because freedom is never granted; it is won.”</p>	<p>“It has never happened in history that a people in power have voluntarily relinquished their position; they have to be pushed away from it.”</p>
<p>“It is your own struggle that will free you.”</p>	<p>ANALOGY: “Just as the Israelites were led out of Egypt by a Moses and not by a John or a Molotov or an Abdullah, so the Basotho will be led to freedom by a Ntsu or a Rasenate and not by a Harry or a Naidoo.”</p>	<p>“Nor has it ever happened in history that a people have been freed by others.”</p>
<p>“We must make education our priority number one...”.</p>	<p>REASON: “...we are leaving (<i>sic</i>) in an enlightened and scientifically advanced era.”</p>	<p>“...if we must make our contribution to the advancement of mankind, we must be educated and qualified.”</p>

**Table 9.3 Arguments in Nkrumah’s Speech**

<b>Claim</b>	<b>Data</b>	<b>Warrant</b>
“United ( <i>sic</i> ) we must.”	REASON: “We have been charged with this sacred task by our own people and we cannot betray their trust by failing them.”	“We will be mocking the hopes of our people if we show the slightest hesitation or delay in tackling realistically this question of African Unity.”
“Only a United Africa with central political direction can successfully give effective material and moral support to our freedom fighters, in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, etc., and of course South Africa.”	FACT: “Every step in the decolonisation of our continent has brought greater resistance in those areas where colonial garrisons are available to colonialism and you all here know that.”	We aspire to see Africa politically independent.
The imperialists have not withdrawn from the affairs of independent African states.	EXAMPLE: Congo where the interference is manifest. OBSERVATION: “But generally it is covered up under the clothing of many agencies, which meddle in our domestic affairs, to torment ( <i>sic</i> ) dissension within our borders and to create an atmosphere of tension and political instability.”	
“No independent African State today by itself has a chance to follow an independent course of economic development...”	OBSERVATION: “...many of us who have tried to do this have been almost ruined or have had to return to the fold of the former colonial rulers.” Example: Latin America	African countries aspire to be economically independent.
With a common currency from one common bank of issue we should be able to stand erect on our own feet...”	REASON: “...because such an arrangement would be fully backed by the combined national products of the states composing the union.”	“After all, the purchasing power of money depends on productivity and the productive exploitation of the natural, human and physical resources of the nation.”  African countries aspire to be economically independent.
Boundary disputes will drive us to war against	ANALOGY: “...just as happened in Europe.”	“There is hardly any African State

Claim	Data	Warrant
one another as our unplanned and uncoordinated industrial development expands		without a frontier problem with, ( <i>sic</i> ) its adjacent neighbours.”  “Only African Unity can heal this festering sore of boundary disputes between our various states.”
“By creating a true political union of all the independent states of Africa, with executive powers for political direction we can tackle hopefully every emergency, every enemy, and every complexity.”	REASONS: “This is not because we are a race of supermen, but because we have emerged in the age of science and technology in, ( <i>sic</i> ) which poverty, ignorance and disease are no longer the masters, but the retreating foes of mankind. We have emerged in the age of socialised planning, when production and distribution are not governed by chaos, greed and self-interest, but by social needs...Above all, we have merged ( <i>sic</i> ) at a time when a continental land mass like Africa with its population approaching three hundred million are necessary to the economic capitalisation and profitability of modern productive methods and techniques.”	
“Our continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals and industrial and agricultural primary materials.”	STATISTICS: “From the Congo alone, Western firms exported copper, rubber, cotton, and other goods to the value of 2,773 million dollars in the ten years between 1945 and 1955, and from South Africa, Western gold mining companies have drawn a profit, in the six years between 1947 to 1951, of 814 million dollars.”  TESTIMONY: (a) “Our continent certainly exceeds all the others in potential hydro-electric power, which some experts assess as 42 per cent of the world’s total.”; and (b) “Experts have estimated that the Congo basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the whole world...”.	
“Our capital flows out in streams to irrigate the	DETAIL: “...all the stock exchanges in the world are pre-	

Claim	Data	Warrant
whole system of Western economy.”	<p>occupied with Africa’s gold, diamonds, uranium, platinum, copper and iron ore”.</p> <p>STATISTICS: “Fifty-two per cent of the gold in Fort Knox at this moment, where the U.S.A. stores its bullion, is believed to have originated from our shores. Africa provides more than 60 per cent of the world’s gold”.</p> <p>OBSERVATION: “A great deal of the uranium for nuclear power, of copper for electronics, of titanium for supersonic projectiles, of iron and steel for heavy industries, of other minerals and raw materials for lighter industries—the basic economic might of the foreign Powers—come from our continent.”</p>	
<p>“It was colonialism in the first place that prevented us from accumulating the effective capital; but we ourselves have failed to make full use of our power in independence to mobilise our resources for the most effective take-off into thorough going economic and social development.”</p>	<p>OBSERVATION: “We have been too busy nursing our separate states to understand fully the basic need of our union rooted in common purpose, common planning and common endeavour.”</p>	<p>Capital is a necessity for economic and social development.</p> <p>“We have the resources.”</p> <p>“It is only by uniting our productive capacity and the resultant production that we can amass capital.”;</p> <p>“A union that ignores these fundamental necessities will be but a sham.”</p> <p>“Only on a continental basis shall we be able to plan the proper utilisation of all our resources for the full development of our continent.”</p>
<p>“The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round.”</p>	<p>EXAMPLES: “The United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, were the political decisions of revolutionary peoples before they became mighty realities of social power and material wealth.”</p>	
<p>“A United Africa will provide a stable field of foreign investment...”</p>	<p>REASON: (a) “In dealing with a united Africa, investors will no longer have to weigh with concern the risks of negotiating with governments in one period which may not exist in the</p>	<p>“...such investment would add by its enterprises to the development of the continental national economy,</p>

Claim	Data	Warrant
	very next period.”; and (b) Instead of dealing or negotiating with so many separate states at a time, they will be dealing with one united government pursuing a harmonised continental policy.”	employment and training of our people, and will be welcome ( <i>sic</i> ) Africa.”
“We need a Common Defence System with an African High Command to ensure the stability and security of Africa.”	OBSERVATION: “...with the present weakness and insecurity of our States in the context of world politics, the search for bases and spheres of influence brings the Cold War into Africa with its danger of nuclear warfare.” EXPLANATION: “Such bases are centres of tension and potential danger spots of military conflict. They threaten the security not only of the country in which they are situated but of neighbouring countries as well.”	“Many of us have made non-alignment an article of faith on this continent. We have no wish, and no intention of being drawn into the Cold War.” “...many Independent African States are involved in military pacts with the former colonial powers.” We have seen how the neo-colonialists use their bases to entrench themselves and even to attack neighbouring independent states.” “We do not want nor do we visualise an African High Command in the terms of the power politics that now rule a great part of the world, but as an essential and indispensable instrument for ensuring stability and security in Africa.”

## *Part II: Elocutio*

### **9.4 Rhetorical Devices**

All four leaders employ numerous rhetorical devices in the attempt to win adherence to their views. The discussion that follows provides samples of the use of these devices with an explanation of how they enhance the persuasiveness of the speeches.

#### **9.4.1 Nyerere**

Nyerere attempts to persuade his listeners that African colonies are an African problem that is best solved through an African solution. He urges his listeners to become seriously concerned about these colonies, emphasizing and making memorable the need for this seriousness through a parallel tautologous structure (identified in bold in the paragraph below). Meanwhile, the parallel epistrophic structure (identified in italics) emphasizes and makes memorable the fact that Angola and Mozambique are still colonized; it further attaches equal importance to the two countries. He employs an expletive (identified by underlining) to focus attention on his assertion, a strategy also employed by Tafawa Balewa on the same occasion:

I ask your Imperial Majesty and my brothers assembled here that we collectively should now view the continued occupation of Africa by any foreign power **with the same gravity and in the same seriousness** as each one of us would have viewed the occupation by a foreign power of a part of the country that he has the privilege and the honour to lead. We can no longer go on saying that *Angola is not free or Mozambique is not free*, etc., and that we are helping Angolans or Mozambiquans to free themselves. Such statements are hiding the truth.

The passage quoted below combines *asyndeton*, *anaphora*, parallelism and *praeteritio*. The *asyndeton* in the latter half of the passage below is employed with a two-fold aim: First, to intensify the sympathy exhibited in and evoked by the images therein; and, second, to make the amplification therein more pronounced. The anaphoric utterance (“it has been better stated by the”) increases attentiveness to the images. The contrast introduced by suddenly altering this utterance to “it is still stated

by those” gives emphasis to the common negative experiences -- humiliation and oppression -- that are being felt in contemporary Africa because of imperialism. Meanwhile, the parallel anaphoric structure (identified in bold) is intended to enforce the equal importance of freedom and unity. The assertions that Africa should unite to achieve its freedom and that unity must be a free choice are given emphasis by the anaphoric utterance “why Africa should”. Nyerere’s announcement that he will not deal with why Africa should be free and united because the host and other previous speakers have done so much better than he possibly could rouses the listeners’ reasoning by drawing attention to the arguments hitherto given. It is in essence the use of *praeteritio* in that Nyerere actually draws attention to the reasons why the listeners should be concerned about freedom and unity while seeming to pass over the matter. Keeping in mind that he was the last speaker, it is significant to note that he draws attention to arguments given even by opponents, a rhetorical move that enables him to draw attention to, and start his argument from, common ground. Says Nyerere:

I do not propose to bother you by stating **why Africa should be free any (*sic*) why Africa should be united**; why Africa should unite in achieving its freedom and (*sic*) free in achieving its unity. Your Imperial Majesty and those of my brothers who have spoken before me have stated that case much better than I can. It has been even better stated by the suffering of our people; by the blood which our people have shed and are still shedding at the hands of their oppressors; it has been better stated by the millions of our people who died in the slave raids organised all over Africa by those powers whose prestige was built upon the humiliation of Africa; it is still stated by those monuments of European, American, and (let’s say it) Asian glory, which to us are symbols of humiliation and oppression.

Nyerere says that the independent African countries should immediately start offering material support to the nationalist movements in the colonies:

In our approach to the final liberation of Africa we are all agreed without a single exception that the time for more words is gone; that this is time for action; that the time for allowing our brethren to struggle unaided is gone; that from now on our brethren in non-independent Africa should be helped by independent Africa.

The device “we are all agreed”, which is amplified through the tautologous “without a single exception”, is intended to make the listeners believe that all the Heads of States and Governments at the conference share this view. The *asyndeton* creates a rapidity that assists the thought. The repetition of “time for”—here diacopic—emphasizes and enforces a sense of immediacy and urgency that he hopes will stop the listeners

spending any more time thinking about strategies for securing African liberation and get them to adopt his proposal. Meanwhile, the antithesis—juxtaposition of past and present—draws attention to the fact that African liberation is a problem that has been facing and continues to face the listeners.

#### 9.4.2 Tafawa Balewa

Tafawa Balewa employs *asyndeton* alone but more commonly in conjunction with parallelism and *anaphora*. Here, he uses it alone to emphasize common problems in Africa: “So far, our communications system is not what we would like it to be; our transport is bad.” He maintains that mutual understanding amongst Africans will be achieved if Africans travel to the various countries in the continent: “**Let** our peoples travel to different countries in Africa; **let** them get *to know themselves and to understand themselves*.” Here, *asyndeton* allows him to concisely explain the benefits of travel, which he makes equally important by noting them in parallel structures (identified in italics). The *anaphora* (identified in bold) is calculated to fix attention on these structures. He expresses the opinion that African Heads of States and Governments should begin developing Africa. He draws attention to the others at the conference who also feel this by paraphrasing their speeches: “Many of the speakers have told us that *mere resolutions, mere condemnation* is not enough; it is time for action.” The parallel structures here (identified in italics) are employed to balance and emphasize the stated verbal acts while the omission of a conjunction between them (*asyndeton*) is designed to lend spontaneity to the expression while making the thought memorable. The *anaphora* (identified in bold) is intended to increase attentiveness to the solution—that is, to ‘what is enough’—and he is able to concisely explain this by employing the *asyndeton* in the later half of the statement. Making known that he has always advocated that African countries should seek greater representation in the Security Council and also in all the bodies of the UN, Tafawa Balewa states: ***I said so in New York; I said it in Monrovia.*** Three devices are at play here: *anaphora*, parallelism and *asyndeton*. The *asyndeton* creates the impression that that there are several other occasions on which he has articulated this opinion. The parallelism (identified in italics) is intended to make the statement memorable. The *anaphora* (identified in bold) serves to reinforce that he has always supported this idea.

In the following passage, Tafawa Balewa combines *anaphora*, *hypophora*, expletive, parallelism and *asyndeton*:

We wann (*sic*) an African Common Market. *But, can we do it by taking the continent as a whole? Or can we do it by certain groupings in Africa?* WHAT APPEARS TO US TO BE MORE PRACTICAL IS THAT WE SHOULD HAVE AN AFRICAN COMMON MARKET BASED ON CERTAIN GROUPINGS. We are thinking, sir, of **a North African grouping which will include** the Sudan; **a West African grouping which will extend** to the River Congo; **an East African grouping, which will include** almost all the Central African countries.

The anaphoric utterance (identified in italics) is intended to increase attentiveness to the two alternatives. *Hypophora* allows him to justify the Monrovia position by focusing on the practicality of the proposals. The expletive 'sir' lends emphasis to the thought that comes after it. The parallelism (identified in bold) attaches equal significance to the details, which amplify the assertion (identified in capitals); it is also intended to increase attentiveness to these details while making them memorable. Tafawa Balewa resorts to *asyndeton* to enable him to concisely and emphatically convey these details.

The following passage contains many devices. It contains: *enumeratio* (identified in brackets), *diacope* (identified in capitals), parallelism (identified in bold capitals), *anadiplosis* (identified in italicized capitals), *anaphora* (identified by underlined capitals), anaphoric tautology (identified by underlining), *conduplicatio* (identified in italics), *epistrophe* (identified in bold) and expletive (I would like to tell the conference that...):

Now, I come to a very vital matter, which is the development of *THE CONTINENT*. *THE AFRICAN CONTINENT* is very rich in RESOURCES but, unfortunately, these RESOURCES are not developed yet. WE are born at a very difficult time: (WE have not **THE NECESSARY CAPITAL, THE NECESSARY EQUIPMENT, OR THE NECESSARY KNOW-HOW** for the development of our continent.) Therefore, WE find it absolutely necessary to rely on outsiders for the development of the African territories. I would like to tell the conference that WE must take every care to know how (*sic*) WE invite to assist in the development of our resources, because there is a **fear**, which is my personal **fear**, that, IF WE ARE NOT CAREFUL, WE may have *colonialism* in a **different form**. *Colonialism* can take many **different forms**. Our countries can be colonised economically, IF WE ARE NOT CAREFUL. Just as WE have fought political DOMINATION, it is also important that WE fight against economic DOMINATION by other countries.

Tafawa Balewa resorts to *anadiplosis* to focus attention on Africa. He resorts to anaphoric tautology to enforce the central idea of the paragraph, which is the development of Africa. He resorts to *enumeratio* to amplify his observation, and parallelism to attach equal importance to the details that he lists. He repeats ‘colonialism’ and ‘different form’ to focus attention on the concept and its manifestations. The thought that there are different forms of colonialism and that Africa is prone to the economic form of it is intended to stir fear, and the repetition of the word ‘fear’ emphasizes this emotion. The *diacope* is calculated to emphasize the need for carefulness when soliciting foreign aid to avoid this evil; one notes that Tafawa Balewa employs an expletive to alert the audience that he is about to make this argument. The repetition of ‘we’ throughout the passage foregrounds the Heads of States and Governments.

Expletive, parallelism and *symploce* are used in conjunction in the following statement. The expletive (identified in bold) is employed to signal to the listeners that he is about to give his opinion on the issue of Africa seeking greater representation in all the bodies of the UN. The parallel structure that is interwoven with *symploce* (identified in italics) is used to emphasize and reinforce the thought of prolonged suffering in Africa: “But, *as a Continent which has suffered for so long* and also *as a people who have suffered for so long*, **I think** we have to do everything to get our proper position in the United Nations Organisation.”

Tafawa Balewa claims that Africa should not join the nuclear arms race. He substantiates this claim with the following data: “**Well, Mr. President and Your Excellencies**, *all of us* have been talking about the bad nature of the armament *race*. *All of us* know very well that we are at present incapable of joining in such a *race*.” Several devices are at work here. There is expletive (identified in bold), which is employed to emphasize the thought that follows it. Second, there is *symploce* (identified in italics). The *anaphora* part of this *symploce* is itself constituted of a device used to block alternative views; through it, Tafawa Balewa tries to discourage alternative views to his by emphasizing that everybody at the conference has an unfavourable attitude towards the idea of Africa joining the arms race and knows that Africa is incapable of joining this race. Meanwhile, the *epistrophe* emphasizes the idea of armament race.

Tafawa Balewa expresses the wish that the Addis Ababa conference will “pave th (*sic*) way to the *unity* and *solidarity* of the African continent.” The tautology

here (identified in italics) allows him to emphasize to the thought of unity. Elsewhere, he employs tautology to emphasize his dislike of blocs: “...we in Nigeria *hate the idea of blocs, and we do not like it.*” (Tautology identified in italics). This is a device that he tends to use in conjunction with other devices. In the passage below, he uses it (identified in italics) to emphasize the idea of disarmament and *diacope* (identified in bold) to emphasize the need for disarmament. Tautology is also employed to emphasize the thought of loss:

*The most essential thing, **which is desirable**, is to effect disarmament. **It is desirable** to ban nuclear testing; *it is most important that we exercise every possible influence we can upon the great Powers to destroy those bombs which they have already got.* If there is a war now, *there would be nothing - everything would go.**

In the following statement, he resorts to *anaphora* (identified in bold) combined with tautology (italicised) to emphasize his willingness to be honest, hence portraying himself as a sincere person. “...**I want to be frank** (*sic*) **I want to tell the bitter truth.**” The passage where he makes known the different positions on how to achieve African unity is marked by *anaphora*, parallelism and tautology:

Some of us have suggested that African Unity should be achieved by political fusion of the different states in Africa; some of us feel that African unity could be achieved by taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation and by trying first to get the Africans to understand themselves before embarking on the *more complicated and more difficult* arrangement of political union.

The anaphoric utterance here (identified by underlining) is intended to make the two positions more distinct. The parallel anaphoric tautologous structures (identified in italics) emphasize the thought of complexity. In the following statement, he combines an expletive (identified in bold) with *anaphora* (identified by underlining) and tautology (identified in italics) to emphasize his position on the issue of independent African countries assisting African colonies: “**I want to say that we in Nigeria are prepared to do anything to secure the freedom of the continent of Africa...We in Nigeria are prepared to do anything towards the liberation of all African countries.**”

In the following passage, parallelism (identified in italics) is used in conjunction with *diacope* (identified by underlining), *epistrophe* (identified in capitals), *anaphora* (identified by bracketing), expletive (‘Mr. President’ and ‘I think’) and appositive (red, white, brown, yellow or green):

“...(in all that we) do, and (in all that we) say, we should be careful because we belong to one human society. Mr. President, I always tell people that *I do not believe in African PERSONALITY, but in human PERSONALITY.* The African is a human being and, therefore, we have to see to the development of human personality in Africa. (I) think any talk of African personality is based on inferiority complex. (I) do not regard any human being - red, white, brown, yellow or green - as superior to me. (I) regard myself as equal to anybody. (I) am a human being.

The parallel structure “in all that we do, and in all that we say” attaches equal importance to and emphasizes both ‘deed’ and ‘word’. At the same time, the *anaphora* embedded in this structure enforces the thought of ‘everything’. The passage focuses on the concept of ‘identity’, hence the repetition of ‘personality’ at the end of consecutive parallel structures for emphasis. The passage seeks to persuade the listeners to perceive themselves as human beings rather than as Africans, hence the repetition of ‘human being’, ‘human personality’ and ‘African personality’ to emphasize these concepts. He employs expletives to signal that he is about to give his opinions and ‘I’ as an anaphoric utterance to emphasize that these are strongly-held opinions that he is unlikely to abandon. One notes that the appositive allows him to briefly elaborate the human beings he has in mind and the inclusion of ‘green’, which is emphasized, adds humor to the discussion.

### 9.4.3 Sobukwe

Sobukwe identifies the struggle of Basotho nationalists with that of earlier Basotho nationalists and nationalists in the rest of Africa:

*If we want to understand the meaning of our present struggle, the reason why the whole continent of Africa, from Egypt and Algeria in the North, to Basutoland and South Africa in the South, is in ferment; if we want to know why it is that the educated youth of Basutoland is fighting hand in hand with the old men of the past, if we want to know why it is that Ntsu Mokhehle and Josiel Lefela are speaking the same language as Moshoeshoe and Lerotholi spoke many years ago, we must go back a little in history and see the events unfold.*

The anaphoric utterances (identified in italics) serve to preface, hence emphasize, the thought that an understanding of the past is a precondition for an understanding of the on-going struggle for freedom, a struggle whose reach is continental. Meanwhile, the

parallelism (identified in bold) attaches equal importance to the different countries in the different regions in Africa.

Sobukwe gives three historical events to support his claim that the white man has always managed to get some Africans on his side to fight against other Africans: the battle between Ngqika and Ndlambe, between Mpande and Dingane and between Bapedi and Swazis. He notes that the first event involved “a nephew set against his uncle”. This parallel structure, which comes after the parallel structure “Ngqika set against Ndlambe”, enables him to clarify the relationship between these two individuals. He notes that the second event involved “brother set against brother”. This parallel diacopic structure is employed partly for, as in the previous case, clarification purposes. It follows the parallel structure “Mpande set against Dingaan” and serves to clarify the relationship between these two individuals. He describes both events symbolically as “blood against blood”. The parallel diacopic structures “brother set against brother” and “blood against blood” also enable him to emphasize the emotive terms ‘brother’ and ‘blood’, the latter representing relative. Sobukwe notes that the third event involved “one black tribe set against another”, which echoes the previous parallel structures. These four parallel structures, which he employs as a refrain, allow him to impress that all Africans—those from one’s extended family and immediate family as well as those from different tribes—are equally important, a perception that is vital for the materialization of unity. They also, provide a means of making his thought memorable. Further they allow him to draw attention to the breadth of African disunity. The repeated use of “set against” enables him to emphasize the white man’s role in creating this disunity. Says Sobukwe:

In the Cape, for instance, we had Ngqika set against Ndlambe, and when the latter was defeated with the ‘assistance’ of British forces, Ngqika was compelled to cede land to the British. Here we had a nephew set against his uncle. Blood against blood.

In Natal we had Mpande set against Dingaan and with the defeat of the latter the Zulus lost Natal. Here again we had brother set against brother; blood against blood.

When the Boers found that they could not defeat Sekukuni, they got the Swazis on their side and defeated Sekukuni. We had here one black tribe set against another.

Sobukwe resorts to epithets to portray Basotho freedom fighters as brave people, an image calculated to boost pride in them. He says: “I am reminded at this stage, of a tale they tell in the starving, depleted and deserted villages of our

motherland.” He is saying, in other words, that the apologue that he proceeds to narrate is told in the homes of the freedom fighters, the nationalists. ‘Depleted’ is a decorative epithet, which he employs to impress upon the listeners the condition of these homes. It creates an image of scruffiness. ‘Starving’ is a phrasal (packed) epithet, which he employs to impress the hunger of the owners of these homes. The image created here is one of thin people. ‘Deserted’ is both decorative and phrasal; decorative to the extent that it impresses upon the mind the conditions of these homes, and phrasal to the extent that it implies the courage of their owners, people who have left their homes to go fight for their country’s freedom.

#### 9.4.4 Nkrumah

Nkrumah tends to use two or more figures in conjunction. The following passage contains *anadiplosis* (identified in italics), *diacope* (identified in bold) and *asyndeton*:

On this continent it has not taken us long to discover that the **struggle** against colonialism does not end with the attainment of national *independence*. *Independence* is only the prelude to a new and more involved **struggle** for the right to conduct our own economic and social affairs, to construct our society according to our aspirations, unhampered by crushing and humiliating neo-colonialist controls and interference.

He draws on *anadiplosis* to focus attention on the concept ‘independence’, which is a motif in the speech. This figure also creates a sense of logical progression of the thought expressed. ‘Struggle’ is deliberately repeated to call attention to and make memorable the different struggles that Africans are engaged in. The *asyndeton* is intended to impress that that the struggle in post-colonial Africa is not just for the rights of the sovereign countries to conduct their affairs and to construct their societies according to their aspirations but also for many other rights that are not listed.

Nkrumah refutes the argument that Africa is the poorest continent. He provides three arguments, one of which is supported by the following datum: “We have been too busy nursing our separate states to understand fully the basic need of our union rooted in *common purpose*, *common planning* and *common endeavour*.” The parallelism here (identified in italics) is employed to increase attentiveness to,

thus make memorable, the fundamentals of the proposed unity. At the same time, it is intended to attach equal import to the three fundamentals.

The following datum supports the claim that “[Africa’s] capital flows out in streams to irrigate the whole system of Western economy”: “A great deal *OF the uranium for nuclear power, OF copper for electronics, OF titanium for supersonic projectiles, OF iron and steel for heavy industries, OF other minerals and raw materials for lighter industries—the basic economic might of the foreign Powers—* come from our continent.” This statement employs parallelism (identified in italics), *anaphora* (identified in capitals), appositive (identified in bold) and *asyndeton*. Nkrumah resorts to *asyndeton* to impress the multitude of resources flowing out and that those he has listed are only a part; meanwhile, the parallelism attaches equal significance to the resources he lists. The appositive, emphasized by the dashes that set it off, describes the resources in terms of their significance to the West. The *anaphora* is employed for not only rhythm but also to increase attentiveness to and, subsequently, make the statement memorable.

Nkrumah provides the following examples to support his claim that “the social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round”: “*The United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, were the political decisions of revolutionary peoples before they became mighty realities of social power and material wealth.” The parallel asyndetic structure embedded in this statement (identified in italics) is intended to attach equal prominence to the two continents. The omission of a conjunction between the continents is deliberately done to impress that there are other examples that he does not list.

In the following passage, where the thought builds to a climax, Nkrumah also combines *anaphora* (identified in bold) and parallelism (identified in italics; that which is underlined is faulty). Both of these devices are calculated to make the thought expressed emphatic and memorable. The *anaphora* is further intended to add rhythm to the passage; more importantly, it is calculated to create a sense of solidarity among the listeners that is based on a pledge in their capacities as Heads of States and Governments. The parallelism is further intended to show that Nkrumah regards industrial and technological development to be equally important:

*We shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works, iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various states of our*

*continent with communications by land, sea and air. We shall cable from one place to another, phone from one place to the other and astound the world with our hydro-electric power; we shall drain marshes and swamps, clear infested areas, feed the under-nourished, and rid our people of parasites and disease....We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy.*

Nkrumah employs the word 'Africa' 41 times. In the following paragraph, he employs *epistrophe* (identified in italics) to give it emphasis. Meanwhile, the parallel tautologous structures alongside (identified in bold) allow him to define and emphasize his understanding of a defence bloc: "We do not want nor do we visualise an African High Command in the terms of the power politics that now rule a great part of the world, but as an **essential and indispensable instrument** for ensuring **stability and security in Africa**. We need a unified economic planning for *Africa*."

Nkrumah strongly feels that modern science and technology should be incorporated in African culture. He attempts to create a desire for these features by vivifying them and their achievements. In the following passage, he employs personification for this effect. One notes the various actions that these features perform, a multiplicity that he emphasizes through *asyndeton*. The *asyndeton* is also calculated to produce a speed that parallels the incredible speed at which, as he explains in an emphatic appositive (identified in bold), the features work:

Giant machines make roads, clear forests, dig dams, lay our aerodromes; mounter trucks and planes distribute goods; huge laboratories manufacture drugs; complicated geological surveys are made; mighty power stations are built; colossal factories erected - **all at an incredible speed**.

Nkrumah claims: "By creating a true **political union** of all the independent states of Africa, with executive powers for **political direction** we can tackle hopefully *every emergency, every enemy, and every complexity*." The climax here (identified in italics) allows him to concisely express the different problems facing Africa and to distinguish them in terms of their levels of seriousness. Meanwhile, the parallel anaphoric structures (identified in bold) enable him to enforce the idea of continental government. He also arranges the reasons for this claim climatically:

This is not because we are a race of supermen, but because we have emerged in the age of science and technology in, (*sic*) which poverty, ignorance and disease are no longer the masters, but the retreating foes of mankind. We have emerged in the age of socialised planning, when

production and distribution are not governed by chaos, greed and self-interest, but by social needs...

Above all, we have merged (*sic*) at a time when a continental land mass like Africa with its population approaching three hundred million are necessary to the economic capitalisation and profitability of modern productive methods and techniques.

One notes that the last reason is further emphasized by the contrast introduced by suddenly altering the anaphoric utterance 'we have emerged in the age of' to 'we have merged (*sic*) at a time when', a technique employed by Nyerere on the same occasion. These two utterances are, nevertheless, tautologous. They are employed for rhythm, emotionalism and to increase attentiveness to the message. One also notes that Nkrumah vivifies the achievements of science and technology by personifying poverty, ignorance and disease. He refers to them as masters and foes, thus evoking the image of a battle.

Nkrumah lists several past events which he believes indicate that the imperial powers have neither the intention of granting political independence to the remaining colonies nor of letting the independent African states enjoy their sovereignty. He resorts to *polysyndeton* (identified in italics in the passage below) to make the listeners contemplate these events. At the same time, he describes these events as though they were happening in the present. This interchange of tenses is intended to turn what he is saying from mere narrative to vivid actuality:

When Portugal violates Senegal's border, *when* Verwoerd allocates one-seventh of South Africa's budget to military and police, *when* France builds as part of her defence policy an interventionist force that can intervene, more especially in French-speaking Africa, *when* Welensky talks of, Southern Rhodesia joining South Africa, *when* Britain sends arms to South Africa, it is all part of a carefully calculated pattern working towards a single end; the continued enslavement of our still dependent brothers and an onslaught upon the independence of our sovereign African states.

A second instance of *polysyndeton*, this time involving the repetition of 'or', appears in the passage below. Here, it is employed in conjunction with *erotesis* and expletive. The expletive (identified in bold) is calculated to focus attention on the two questions, the first of which calls on the listeners to deliberate with the speaker on the suitability of the USA model for Africa while the second sustains this communication. The *polysyndeton* is employed to draw attention to some of the different countries that could dominate the continent were the model to be implemented.

**Your Excellencies, permit me to ask:** Is this the kind of framework we desire for our United Africa? An arrangement which in future could permit Ghana or Nigeria or the Sudan, or Liberia, or Egypt or Ethiopia for example, to use pressure, which either superior economic or political influence gives, to dictate the flow and direction of trade from, say, Burundi or Togo or Nyasaland to Mozambique or Madagascar?

### *Part III: Dispositio*

#### **9.5 Introductions of the Speeches**

This section discusses the length and content of the introduction of each speech while comparing and contrasting the four introductions.

##### **9.5.1 Nyerere's Speech**

The introduction of Nyerere's speech contains 325 words (22% of the total in the speech) that are spread across five paragraphs. It has a distinct *exordium* and *narratio*.

The *exordium* contains 241 words (16% of the total in the speech) that are spread over the first four paragraphs of the speech. It attempts to capture and hold the attention of the listeners by constantly referring to the nature and purpose of the occasion.

The first of the four paragraphs announces the purpose of the conference, which Nyerere declares is to establish how to bring about freedom and unity in Africa: "This conference has been faced with one task, it is the task of finding a common denominator, which will guide us in *our determination* to rid our continent of the remaining vestiges of colonialism and in *our determination* to see an Africa speaking with the same voice." One notes Nyerere's attempt to portray himself as similar to the audience by emphasizing (through the diacopic structures identified in italics) the shared resolve to achieve freedom and unity. This emphasis is also intended to encourage the audience to think as a team. Clearly then, the *exordium* of Nyerere's speech contains ethical proof.

The *exordium* also contains pathetic proof. This is provided in the second paragraph where the divergent feelings towards African unification are conveyed in the following antithetical statement (identified in bold) constituted of the emotive terms ‘praying’, ‘failure’ and ‘success’. One notes the image of someone watching that is evoked through the part-whole *synecdoche* ‘eyes’: “The eyes of Africa and the world are turned upon this conference. They are anxiously waiting for its outcome. **Some are praying for its failure; others are praying for its success.**”

Nyerere uses the third and fourth paragraphs to emphasize that all the Heads of States and Governments aspire to see Africa free and united and that they have met to establish how they will bring about freedom and unity in Africa. He provides an argument in each of these paragraphs, which is logical proof.

The *narratio* of Nyerere’s speech contains 84 words (6% of the total in the speech) and occupies one paragraph. He seeks largely to strengthen support for African freedom and unity by providing all three Aristotelian proofs, especially *pathos* and *ethos*. The *ethos* involves an attempt to establish common ground with the audience, to emerge as a true Pan-African leader, to emerge as one who respects the audience and to emerge as a modest person. The *logos* involves drawing attention to the reasons why Africa should be free and united. The *pathos* involves an attempt to rouse pity for Africans. Nyerere’s *narratio* departs from that of a classical oration to the extent that it restates the purpose of the occasion. This is a function that in a classical oration would be performed by the *partitio*.

### 9.5.2 Tafawa Balewa’s Speech

The length of the introduction of Tafawa Balewa’s speech is more or less similar to that of Nyerere; it contains 324 words, which marks a difference of only one word between the two introductions. As in Nyerere’s case, these words are distributed across five paragraphs. As in Nyerere’s case too, Tafawa Balewa’s introduction has a distinct *exordium* and a distinct *narratio*. But much as these introductions are relatively similar in length, Nyerere’s introduction occupies 22% of his total speech whereas that of Tafawa Balewa occupies 11% of his total speech. This is to say that Nyerere apportions double the amount of his content to the introduction than does Tafawa Balewa of his.

The *exordium* of Tafawa Balewa's speech contains 276 words (9% of the total in the speech) that are spread, as in the case of Nyerere, over the first four paragraphs of the speech.

The first paragraph constitutes a salutation. The second paragraph announces the purpose of the conference—to build unity. Tafawa Balewa employs ethical proof in this paragraph, whereby he attempts to portray himself as a virtuous person by thanking Selassie, the host of the conference, for his hospitality and bestowing honour on him for hosting the conference. He also employs pathetic proof, whereby he tries to arouse hope by raising the thought of an African renaissance through the words “new Africa”.

Tafawa Balewa's attempt to boost his *ethos* continues into the third paragraph where he attempts to emerge as a compassionate person by identifying with the regrettable loss of the host's wife and the youngest child, both of whom died in 1962.

Ethical appeal exists in the fourth paragraph too where Tafawa Balewa shows respect for his audience by alerting them to the fact that they will hear him repeat some of the points that have already been made. He explains that this repetition is unavoidable because the previous speeches were so eloquent and exhaustive, a description that is clearly also intended to heap praise on the speakers (who now form his audience). The paragraph also contains pathetic proof; he claims that the conference is a “success”, based on the fact that all the Heads of African States and Governments are present. He announces the specific purpose of his speech in this paragraph, which is “to explain the views and the stand of Nigeria as far as African unity is concerned.”

The *narratio* of Tafawa Balewa's speech contains 48 words (2% of the total in the speech). As in the case of Nyerere's speech, it occupies one paragraph. Like Nyerere's *narratio* too, it contains ethical appeal. Tafawa Balewa attempts to appear as one who values harmony (mutual understanding). This image is crucial for in his speech he addresses the issue of how to achieve mutual understanding, a virtue he maintains is a prerequisite for political union.

### 9.5.3 Nkrumah's Speech

The length of the introduction of Nkrumah's speech is also relatively similar to that of Nyerere and Tafawa Balewa; it contains 332 words, which marks a difference of only eight words between it and Tafawa Balewa's and seven words between it and Nyerere's. It is also spread over more or less the same number of paragraphs, four precisely, and also has a distinct *exordium* and a distinct *narratio*. Nkrumah's introduction occupies 5% of his total speech.

The *exordium* contains 187 words (3% of the total in the speech) that are spread over the first two paragraphs of the speech. It performs four functions: announcing the purpose of the speech; stating the thesis of the speech; attempting to capture and hold the attention of the audience; and attempting to win the trust of the audience.

The purpose of the speech is declared in the first paragraph: "Our objective is African Union now." "Our" is employed in an attempt to make the audience feel involved in the said task, a feeling that would capture their attention right from the beginning of the speech by making them feel involved in the proposed task. At the same time, it is employed to create a common identity between the audience and the speaker whereby they are both made to appear to hold the same view. Nkrumah attempts to hold the audience's attention with his thesis, which he states soon after the purpose: "We must unite now or perish." This statement is designed to stir fear, an emotion that he hopes will motivate the listeners to form a political union of their states, which he has stated is the only means of avoiding this evil. He also tries within the first paragraph to secure a reputation for good character by, one, portraying himself as a responsive and loyal leader. He does this by aligning his views with the interests of Ghanaians. Two, he portrays himself as courteous by expressing gratitude at having been invited to the host country and by conveying the greetings of his Government and citizens: "I am happy to be here in Addis Ababa on this most historic occasion. I bring with me the hopes and fraternal greetings of the Government and people of Ghana to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie and to all Heads of African States gathered here in this ancient capital in this momentous period in our history." The first paragraph then, contains both pathetic and ethical proof. One notes a second attempt to get his audience to identify with him, this time round by highlighting their

shared past. This commonality is conveyed through the statement “this momentous period in our history.”

Nkrumah tries to secure a reputation for good sense by craftily indicating his experience with a conference similar to the Addis Ababa one. This is in the second paragraph where he states: “At the first gathering of African Heads of State, to which I had the honour of playing host, there were representatives of eight independent State (*sic*) only.” In this paragraph, he also makes another attempt to appear a virtuous person by thanking Selassie for the hospitality shown: “To His Imperial Majesty, I wish to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana my deep appreciation of a most cordial welcome and generous hospitality”.

The *narratio* of Nkrumah’s speech contains 145 words (2% of the total in the speech) and occupies two paragraphs. It establishes a skeletal framework within which the call for immediate political unification is made. In his speech, Nkrumah argues that the immediate formation of a political union is expected of the Heads of States and Governments by the African masses. In the first paragraph of the *narratio*, he says: “A whole continent has imposed a mandate upon us to lay the foundation of our Union at this Conference. It is our responsibility to execute this mandate by creating here and now the formula upon which the requisite superstructure may be erected.” ‘Responsibility’ is an emotion-laden word that evokes a sense of loyalty. He employs the word to reinforce the impression that the immediate formation of a political union is an immediate response to the will of the African masses, clearly an ethical appeal. At the same time, the word establishes commonality between him and the audience that is based on a shared sense of duty as Heads of States and Governments.

In his speech, Nkrumah also argues that the immediate formation of a political union is an action that will allow for fulfilment of various desires and needs. He argues, in particular, that the liberation of the remaining African colonies can only be won if Africa unites. In the second paragraph of the *narratio*, he foregrounds the desire for liberation when he claims that the attainment of independence by 24 African countries in the past five years is evidence of the indomitable and irresistible surge of African peoples for independence. He also claims, in the third paragraph, that the attainment of independence by 24 countries in five years is also evidence of the revolutionary speed of world events in the latter half of the twentieth century, a claim intended to justify his call for speedy unification. In this paragraph, he also

warns: “To tall (*sic*) behind the unprecedented momentum of actions and events in our time will be to court failure and our own undoing.” This is an appeal to fear. Nkrumah resorts to fear appeal in his speech to win adherence to the idea of speedy unification. He argues that the Heads of States and Governments will be overthrown if they fail to rapidly fulfil the desires and needs of the masses. The rapid fulfilment of these needs and desires is possible only, he argues, under a central government.

Nkrumah’s *narratio* then, like that of Nyerere and that of Tafawa Balewa contains ethical appeal. It further contains, like that of Nyerere, logical and pathetic appeal.

#### **9.5.4 Sobukwe’s Speech**

Sobukwe’s speech tends towards the Motivated Sequence organizational format. The introduction contains 430 words (13% of the total in the speech) that are spread across nine paragraphs. It contains, like those of Nkrumah and Nyerere, all three Aristotelian proofs.

The first paragraph is intense in ethical and pathetic appeal. It contains a quotation from a local newspaper that dealt mainly with the issue of political independence and was supportive of the BAC at the time. Sobukwe directly quotes from it to add weight to his view that the liberation struggle in Basutoland is aimed at securing the land for the Basotho. This is a move that is calculated to boost his image as one of good sense. This quotation, which he first gives in Sesotho and then English, is clearly also calculated to capture the attention of the audience, arouse their emotions and intensify his image as an African nationalist committed to the overthrow of the status quo. It is further intended to encourage the audience to identify with him as an African in general and a Mosotho in particular, images that allow him to align with the struggle. The switch to Sesotho is also significant to the extent that it allows him to discuss the struggle in the language of the very people engaged in it.

It can be argued that the inclusion of ‘our’ in the opening sentence of the speech -- “Mr. Speaker, Sir, sons and daughters of the soil, I wish...to quote the caption which appears in ‘Mohlabani’ since it expresses so clearly the reason for our sustained struggle” -- is intended to boost solidarity among all members of the audience by creating the impression that they are all part of a team that is working towards a common goal, and that the speaker is their spokesperson. This team is not

just any ordinary group but a family, hence Sobukwe's use of the emotive phrase 'sons and daughters of the soil' where soil in this case is a *synecdoche* representing Africa. By constructing a family image, Sobukwe hopes to boost love among the audience members and to trigger their African consciousness, both of which increase chances of their uniting in the struggle.

In the second paragraph, Sobukwe singles out the BAC as evidence to support his claim that "there still are people in Africa who prefer suffering and privation to the 'flesh pots of Egypt;' people who have taken it upon themselves to 'rebuild the destroyed shrines.'" This statement portrays the BAC supporters as courageous and patriotic, a rhetorical move that is also calculated to reveal his own esteem for these virtues. The phrase "flesh pots of Egypt" originates from Exod. 16:3 and it expresses the idea of comfort; the phrase is, to put it in other words, used symbolically. The direct quotation "rebuild the destroyed shrines" is taken from the dedication in Kenyatta's *Facing Mount Kenya*, a text that defends the traditional institutions of the Gikuyu. This quotation is calculated to show the good the Basotho freedom fighters are engaged in.

The third to eighth paragraphs constitute an apologue that is based on an extended metaphor drawn from the animal world. While making the introduction arresting, this apologue is also employed to distinguish the BAC leaders and the collaborators in terms of their attitudes towards freedom, an intention that Sobukwe himself reveals in the ninth paragraph. The apologue reveals the courageous nature of the BAC leaders as opposed to the cowardly nature of the collaborators; the BAC leaders are associated with a wolf that has chosen "freedom and hunger" while the collaborators are identified with a dog that has chosen "chains and a full belly". One notes that while the choice of the nationalists is described using relatively neutral words -- freedom, hunger -- that of the collaborators is described using highly negative words -- chains, a full belly. This is deliberately done to reveal his own respect for the nationalists and contempt for the collaborators and to arouse the same feelings in the audience. He resorts to epithets to create a subjective description of the freedom fighters and their homes, a description calculated to boost pride in these nationalists. He says in the third paragraph, a statement that he uses to introduce the apologue: "I am reminded at this stage, of a tale they tell in the starving, depleted and deserted villages of our motherland."

## 9.6 Bodies of the Speeches

This section discusses the length and content of the body of each speech while comparing and contrasting the four bodies.

The body of Nyerere's speech contains 961 words (64% of the total in the speech) that are spread across nine paragraphs. It has a distinct *confirmatio* and *refutatio*. That of Tafawa Balewa's speech has 2511 words (85% of the total in the speech) that are distributed over 13 paragraphs. Its message is two-sided but is not presented under a distinct *confirmatio* and *refutatio*. The body of Sobukwe's speech has 2795 words (84% of the total in the speech) that are distributed over 41 paragraphs. It is constituted of a need step, a visualization step and a satisfaction step. The body of Nkrumah's speech contains 4636 words (75% of the total in the speech) that are spread over 55 paragraphs. Like Nyerere's speech, it is comprised of a distinct *confirmatio* and a distinct *refutatio*.

The body of Nyerere's speech addresses only two issues: freedom and unity. Each of the other bodies, however, addresses more than two issues. These issues include: an African Common Market, an African Development Bank, African Inferiority Complex, an African Personality, Boundaries, a Charter, De-Africanization/ Europeanization, Development, Disarmament/ Peace, Disunity, Images of African Nationalists, Independence/Colonialism, Neo-colonialism/Freedom, Racialism, Regime Stability, Representation in the UN, Tribal Warfare, Unity, Will of the Masses.

## 9.7 Conclusions of the Speeches

This section discusses the length and content of the conclusion of each speech while comparing and contrasting the four conclusions.

The conclusion of Nyerere's speech contains five paragraphs that have 212 words in total (14% of the total in the speech). That of Tafawa Balewa's speech is made up of one paragraph that has 125 words in total (4% of the total in the speech). The conclusion of the Sobukwe's speech has one paragraph. It contains 84 words in total (3% of the total in the speech). The conclusion of Nkrumah's speech is 13 paragraphs long. These paragraphs have 1196 words in total (19% of the total in the

speech). Table 9.4 is a graphic presentation of the amount of space occupied by the different parts of the speeches.

**Table 9.4 Amount of Space Apportioned to the Different Parts of Each Speech**

PART	NYERERE	TAFAWA BALEWA	SOBUKWE	NKRUMAH
<b>Introduction</b>	22%	11%	13%	5%
<i>Exordium</i>	16%	9%	N/A	3%
<i>Narratio</i>	6%	2%	N/A	2%
<b>Body</b>	64%	85%	84%	75%
<i>Confirmatio</i>	55%	N/A	N/A	62%
<i>Refutatio</i>	9%	N/A	N/A	13%
<b>Conclusion</b>	14%	4%	3%	19%

## 9.8 Conclusion

Leaders aligned with the Monrovia Bloc and those aligned with the Casablanca Bloc attempted, in the speeches that they made between 1957 and 1963, to get their audiences to identify with them as Africans. The speakers tried to get their audiences to identify with them as Africans by stressing shared aspirations, experiences, perceptions, values and heritage. These commonalities are shown in Table 9.5. Where the speeches were addressed to Heads of States and Governments in particular, the speakers stressed shared aspirations, experiences, responsibilities, attitudes, views and knowledge. These commonalities are shown in Table 9.6.

These leaders would offer gradual or rapid unification as a means for realizing their audiences' aspirations. They would portray themselves as people who have the same aspirations so that they could be perceived by the audiences as genuinely interested in the realization of these aspirations. A comparative look at Table 9.5 and Table 9.6 leads to the conclusion that between 1957 and 1963, three aspirations were underscored. These are political independence, unity and freedom.

**Table 9.5 Common Ground between Speaker and Listener as Africans**

<b>Aspirations</b>	<b>Experiences</b>	<b>Perceptions</b>	<b>Values</b>	<b>Heritage</b>
political independence	suffering	a family	family	continental identity
unity	oppression			Resources
freedom	servility			
	enslavement			
	oppression			

While the foregoing rhetorical move was geared at securing an image of goodwill, there was also an attempt by these leaders to secure a reputation for good sense. The study has established that the leaders attempted to secure this reputation by highlighting their expertise in the issues that they discussed in their speeches as well as by drawing on the opinions of other people on these issues. The leaders further attempted to earn a reputation for good character by portraying themselves as people with high regard for commonly-held virtues.

These leaders attempted to secure adherence to their views through arguments. They supported their claims with sufficient evidence. This evidence included observations, analogies, reasons, details, examples, facts, testimony, statistics and explanations. They would explicitly state some of their warrants while others they kept implicit.

These leaders also attempted to secure adherence to their views through pathetic appeal. They appealed to fear, pity and love. Among the techniques they employed in an attempt to evoke these emotions are emotive terms, imagery and personification. All in all, the leaders balanced the three Aristotelian appeals in their speeches.

The leaders also relied heavily on classical rhetorical devices for effectiveness. They tended to use these devices in conjunction. The devices they employed worked in unison to amplify, emphasize, vivify, and increase attentiveness to the ideas that they presented.

The leaders tended to organize their speeches according to the classical organizational format. These speeches have at least a distinct *exordium* and a distinct

*narratio*; combined, these parts amount to approximately 300 words that are spread over approximately five paragraphs. But while this length is relatively the same, there is a significant difference when these words are considered in light of the total number of words in an individual speech, which shows a marked difference in the apportioning of content to their introductions by these speakers. The *exordiums* generally serve to announce the purpose of the occasion, state the thesis of the speech and capture and hold the attention of the audience. They contain at least ethical and pathetic proof. The *narratios* occupy one or two paragraphs, range between 50 to 100 words in length and contain at least ethical proof. The bodies of these speeches occupy over half the amount of space in a given speech but not more than 85% of the space.

**Table 9.6 Common Ground between Speaker and Listener as  
Heads of States and Governments**

<b>Aspirations</b>	<b>Experiences</b>	<b>Responsibilities</b>	<b>Views</b>	<b>Knowledge</b>	<b>Attitudes</b>
political independence	reliance on foreign aid	to decide how independence & unity will be realized	An African Common Market should be established	Africa is incapable of joining the arms race	favourable attitude towards developing Africa
unity	Regime insecurity	to develop Africa	political independence not enough to rid Africa of the consequences of colonial rule	intensified colonial resistance to nationalist movements	unfavourable attitude towards Africa joining the arms race
freedom	foreign military intervention			African countries have been unable to follow an independent course of economic development	unfavourable attitude to colonial rule
development					unfavourable attitude towards the Cold War
to see Africa contributing to world peace					unfavourable attitude towards the Great Powers' concept of a defence bloc

## **Chapter Ten**

### **Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Work**

#### **10.0 Conclusions**

The findings of this study deepen the conviction that Nkrumah, Sobukwe, Tafawa Balewa and Nyerere were truly masters of oratory. The persuasive strategies and techniques found in this study should be employed by today's leaders.

African unification oratory produced in the period 1957 to 1963 relies on the three Aristotelian proofs for persuasiveness. Each of these proofs is given a considerable amount of attention. The oratory also relies on style and organization for effectiveness.

The oratory draws attention not only to values that are deeply rooted in African society but also to past and present experiences as well as to aspirations of Africans. It also underscores perceptions held by Africans.

The content and form of this oratory is inspired by several sources. It is inspired by Pan-Africanist discourse that emerged prior to 1957. A good number of the persuasive strategies and techniques found in this oratory are found in earlier Pan-Africanist discourse. This oratory employs an African voice, which also characterises this earlier literature. It is also inspired by creative English Literature and the English Bible.

African unification oratory would be useful in courses in rhetoric as teaching and reference material.

#### **10.1 Suggestions for Further Work**

African leaders have so far opted for a gradualist, regional approach to African unity. A study that attempts to explain this choice in relation to the persuasive strategies and techniques employed by African leaders during the period 1957 to 1963 is recommended.

The impact of Pan-Africanist discourse produced prior to 1957 on African unification oratory produced during 1957 to 1963 should be investigated in greater detail than this study has managed to do.

Further work on the use of pronouns in the speeches that were analysed in this study should be undertaken.

Sobukwe's speeches are recommended for the study of intertextuality. A study of the use of deontic modals in Nkrumah's speeches would be worthwhile. Tafawa Balewa's speeches are recommended for the study of metadiscourse and an investigation of the use of intensifiers.

Future studies could study several speeches made over a long period by one of the leaders examined in this study to establish any trends in oratorical style over that period.

## Glossary

### Rhetorical Terms and Devices

**Table G.1 Rhetorical Terms**

Term	Definition	Intended Effect
Image	A reproduction in the mind, stimulated by a word or phrase, of a sensory perception.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Vivify</li> <li>— Stir imagination</li> <li>— Arouse emotion</li> <li>— Establish association</li> <li>— Enliven discussion</li> <li>— Make idea memorable</li> </ul>
Epithet	<p>An adjective that describes an object, scene, event or a person.</p> <p>A decorative epithet adds coloring or a trait to that which is described.</p> <p>An essential epithet draws attention to a trait inherent in that which is described.</p> <p>A phrasal epithet conveys an idea that would require a phrase or a sentence to express in full.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Arouse imagination</li> <li>— Emotionalism</li> <li>— Enliven</li> <li>— Condensation</li> </ul>
Motif	An idea, a concept, a situation, a scene, an image, character trait, an event, an object, a statement, a symbol or a rhetorical device that emerges several times in the speech.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Emphasis</li> </ul>
Amplification	The development (expansion) of an idea or meaning.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Emphasis</li> <li>— Focus attention</li> </ul>
Trope	A figure of speech in which words are used in a sense other than their literal meaning.	
Scheme	A figure of speech based upon word order or sound pattern	

**Table G.2 Tropes**

<b>Trope</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Intended Effect</b>
Simile	Explicit comparison of two entities of a different nature using the words ‘like’ or ‘as’.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Vivify</li> <li>– Clarify or give concreteness to abstractions</li> </ul>
Metaphor	<p>A brief description of a person, thing, event or idea as something else, which has some characteristic in common.</p> <p>An extended metaphor involves a lengthy description.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Vivify</li> <li>– Clarify or give concreteness to abstractions</li> </ul>
Personification	Ascription of human characteristics to animals, inanimate objects and abstractions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Vivify</li> <li>– Interestingness</li> </ul>
Analogy	Comparison of unfamiliar processes or events to others that are similar in several respects but familiar.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Clarify</li> <li>– Concretize</li> <li>– Vivify</li> </ul>
Allusion	Reference to a well-known person (fictitious or real), event, place, thing, myth or custom.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Explain or clarify an idea.</li> <li>– Break monotony of the discussion.</li> </ul>
Synecdoche	The use of a significant part to represent the whole (part-whole) or the whole to represent a part (whole-part).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Clarify or give concreteness to abstractions</li> </ul>

**Table G.3 Schemes**

<b>Scheme</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Intended Effect</b>
Parallelism	Recurrent structure or length in clauses but with continual variation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Emphasize ideas</li> <li>– Balance ideas</li> <li>– Increase attentiveness</li> <li>– Make idea memorable</li> </ul>
Antithesis	Juxtaposition of contrasting ideas, usually in parallel structures.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Emphasize ideas</li> <li>– Clarity</li> </ul>
Climax	Arrangement of consecutive words, phrases, clauses or sentences in order of mounting intensity or importance, usually in parallel structure. It is also the heaping of idea on idea.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Emphasis</li> <li>– Amplification</li> <li>– Make idea memorable</li> <li>– Impart force</li> <li>– Impart liveliness</li> </ul>
Diacoep	Repetition of a word or phrase after one or a few intervening words.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Emphasis</li> <li>– Emotionalism</li> <li>– Make idea memorable</li> </ul>
Anaphora	Repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of consecutive phrases, clauses, sentences or paragraphs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Emphasize idea</li> <li>– Enforce idea</li> <li>– Rhythm</li> <li>– Emotionalism</li> <li>– Amplification</li> <li>– Increase attentiveness</li> <li>– Make idea memorable</li> </ul>
Epistrophe	Repetition of a word or phrase at the end of consecutive phrases, clauses, sentences or paragraphs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Emphasis</li> <li>– Increase attentiveness</li> <li>– Make idea memorable</li> <li>– Rhythm</li> </ul>
Symploce	Repetition of an identical or slightly varied word or phrase at the beginning of consecutive phrases, clauses or sentences while repeating another at the end	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Emphasize meaning or idea</li> <li>– Reinforce meaning or idea</li> <li>– Make idea memorable</li> <li>– Increase attentiveness</li> </ul>

<b>Scheme</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Intended Effect</b>
Anadiplosis	Repetition of the word or phrase that closed a clause or sentence at, or very near, the beginning of the next.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Emphasize repeated meaning or idea</li> <li>– Reinforce repeated meaning or idea</li> <li>– Focus thought</li> <li>– Give logical progression to thought</li> <li>– Eloquence</li> </ul>
Conduplicatio	Repetition of a key word or phrase from the preceding clause or sentence at, or very near, the beginning of the next.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Focus thought</li> </ul>
Tautology	Reiteration of meaning through synonymous words or phrases placed next to each other or very close together.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Definition</li> <li>– Emphasis</li> <li>– Emotionalism</li> </ul>
Praeteritio	Declare something while pretending to pass it over.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Emphasis</li> <li>– Rouse emotions</li> </ul>
Asyndeton	A series of words, phrases and clauses that are not separated by conjunctions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Extemporaneity</li> <li>– Concision</li> <li>– Rapidity/Speedy enumeration</li> <li>– Force</li> <li>– Amplification (give impression of many things)</li> <li>– Give a sense of incompleteness/endlessness</li> <li>– Emphasis (entire series or last item by making it seem like an afterthought)</li> <li>– Emotionalism</li> <li>– Animation</li> </ul>
Polysyndeton	Repetition of the same conjunction between consecutive words, phrases or clauses.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Impress multiplicity</li> <li>– Convey complexity</li> <li>– Amplification</li> <li>– Emphasis (alternatives or qualifications)</li> <li>– Introduce slowness, thus enforcing contemplation on the enumerated items</li> </ul>
Appositive	A word or phrase that identifies or describes a person, place or thing mentioned in the same sentence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Concise description</li> <li>– Explanation</li> </ul>

<b>Scheme</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Intended Effect</b>
		– Elaboration
Parenthesis	A phrase, clause or sentence marked off by dashes or brackets that interrupts the thought of a sentence by its own thought.	– Extemporaneity – Contextualize – Attach urgency
Expletive	A word or phrase in a sentence that does not contribute to, but sustains the thought of the sentence	– Emphasis – Cue about the information at hand
Hypophora	A question raised and answered, usually at some length, by the rhetor	– Spontaneity – Arouse interest – Arouse curiosity – Involve audience – Shift arguments – Interpretive guidance
Erotesis	A question raised by the rhetor to which he or she provides no answer.	– Convey thought – Lead audience – Provocation – Emphasis – Arouse curiosity – Force – Emotionalism
Expeditio	Listing of alternatives and eliminating them to be left with preferred choice.	– Convey preferred alternative – Focus attention on surviving alternative – Attach superior status to surviving alternative

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup>Paula Gunder and Randall Sadler, "Rhetorical Analysis," 31 Oct 1999, <<http://www.gened.arizona.edu/eslweb/rhetoric.htm>> (26 July 2003).

<sup>2</sup>Azaveli Lwaitama, "Presidential Oratory for the Pan-African Cause: The Nyerere Harangues," <<http://www.soothcentre.org/mwalimu/articles/lwaitama/lwaitama.htm>> (14 Aug 2003).

<sup>3</sup>African Unification Front, "Unification Program Description," AUF, <<http://www.africanfront.com/praetorium.php>>

<sup>4</sup>C. Boeree, "Persuasion," 1999, <<http://webpace.ship.edu/cgboer/persuasion.html>> (1 June 2009).

<sup>5</sup>University of Florida Writing Centre, "The Three Appeals of Argument," 11 Aug 2004, <[http://www.uwc.ucf.edu/handouts/Three\\_Appeals\\_Argument.pdf](http://www.uwc.ucf.edu/handouts/Three_Appeals_Argument.pdf)> (13 Aug 2004).

<sup>6</sup>Laurel Nesbitt, "Parts of an Argument," Writing@CSU, <<http://writing.colostate.edu/references/reading/toulmin/list3.cfm>> (28 June 2004).

<sup>7</sup>James McCroskey, "Toulmin and the basic course," *The Speech Teacher* 14 (1965): 91-100, <<http://www.jamesmccroskey.com/publications/17.htm>> (1 July 2004).

<sup>8</sup>Shelley Rodrigo, "Classical and Contemporary Arrangement," 20 Sep 2003, <<http://www.mc.maricopa.edu/~rrodrigo/lessons/arrangement/discourse.htm>> (21 June 2004).

<sup>9</sup>M. Piscinus, "Roman rhetoric: an overview," 23 June 2004, <<http://home.tiscali.be/mauk.haemers/collegium-historicum/roman-rhetoric2.htm>>

<sup>10</sup>*op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup>Gideon Burton, "Style," June 2003, "Silva Rhetoricae" (rhetoric.byu.edu) (16 Aug 2003).

<sup>12</sup>Piscinus

<sup>13</sup>Elaine Buch, "Literary and Rhetorical Terms," *Jr. Research Project*, <<http://www.dupage88.net/aths/jrres03/rhetorical.htm>> (11 Apr 2004).

<sup>14</sup>Burton

<sup>15</sup>DiploFoundation, "Analysing Rhetoric," <<http://www.diplomacy.edu/Language/Rhetoric/analysing.htm>> (27 Dec 2003).

<sup>16</sup>David Koeller, "Rhetorical Analysis: The study of public discourse," <<http://campus.northpark.edu/history/Koeller/NPD2000/Rhetorical%20Analysis.ppt>> (30 July 2004).

<sup>17</sup>Tim Borchers, "Chapter 1: Defining Rhetoric and Rhetorical Theory," <<http://www.mnstate.edu/borchers/rhetoric/chapter1.pdf>> (11 Jan 2004).

<sup>18</sup>*Logos* is not included here as the discussion on it in Chapter One is believed to be sufficient.

<sup>19</sup>Boeree

<sup>20</sup> See Table 13.1 in Bruce Gronbeck et. al., *Principles of Speech Communication*, 12th brief ed. (New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1995), 239.

<sup>21</sup> Pan-Africanism has over the years meant different things. Stephen Howe outlines:

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- a. The aspiration for political co-operation, and awareness of a common experience of discrimination, among peoples of African descent wherever they may live (this was the earliest usage of the term).
  - b. The claim that people of African descent, wherever they live, have and should rediscover common sociocultural traditions derived from their shared origins. Some versions of this belief speak in terms of a distinctive ‘African personality’ involving shared philosophies, attitudes to life, or modes of expression and behaviour. In the Francophone world this latter variant came to be known as *négritude* or (in Haiti) *noirisme*. More recently in the Anglophone world, and especially the USA, similar beliefs have adopted the title Afrocentrism.
  - c. Belief in the need for the political unity, or at least much closer political, economic and cultural co-operation, between the states of the African continent (or in some variants, its sub-Saharan sector). This essentially political and geographical conception of the term is the most widespread *within* Africa, whereas outside it definitions (1) and (2) are perhaps more often meant: this has often caused misunderstanding.
  - d. In some situations, especially in South Africa, Pan-Africanism has become the political label of those who tend to stress the racial element in group conflict and identity as against emphasis on social class, political ideology, or universalist principles (Howe 1998, 25).

<sup>22</sup>*The Commentator*, July 1968, p.16.

<sup>23</sup>According to Shepperson, Hegel was the most influential exponent, throughout the nineteenth century, of the view that Africa had no place worth considering in world history. In the cited lectures, Hegel claimed that Africa was not a historical part of the World, that it had no movement or development to exhibit, and that the continent was only on the threshold of the World’s history (Shepperson 1982).

<sup>24</sup>Vincent Carretta’s biography, *Equiano, the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (2005) agrees that Equiano was an Igbo but disputes that he was born in Africa, arguing instead that he was born a slave in South Carolina. It holds that Equiano’s narration of his childhood in Nigeria before he was captured, and that of his experiences during the middle passage, is a description of the experiences of those with whom he lived. Ogude argues in “Olaudah Equiano and the Tradition of Defoe” that Equiano’s image and narration of Africa was substantially influenced by Daniel Defoe’s fiction (Ogude 1984).

<sup>25</sup>Diasporans who adopted an African identity include James Ukawsaw Gronniosaw - ‘an African Prince’; Phyllis Wheatley - ‘a Negro Servant’; Ignatius Sancho - ‘an African’; John Marrant - ‘a Black’; and Quobna Ottobah Cugoana - ‘a Native of Africa’ (Carretta 2005). On the continent there was James Horton who adopted the name ‘Africanus’.

<sup>26</sup>For more on the growth and development of churches whose names have the word Africa in them as well as the role that these churches have played in the development of Pan-African consciousness, see *Afro-American History: Primary Sources* (1970) edited by Thomas Frazier.

<sup>27</sup>“In his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781-82), [Thomas Jefferson] expressed the suspicion that ‘the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind’” (Draper 1970, 4-5).

<sup>28</sup>Ngugi describes the African as he is portrayed in Haggard’s novels: “...either a noble savage with gleaming white teeth and assegais, or else a sub-human crook waiting in the dark to harm the white adventurer. Often his good natives are seized with illogical terror and look up to the reassuring presence of the white protector” (Ngugi 1975, 42).

<sup>29</sup>Eddie Becker, “Chronology on the History of Slavery,” 1999 <<http://innercity.org/holt/slavechron.html>> (2 Nov 2005).

<sup>30</sup>*ibid.*

<sup>31</sup>*ibid.*

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<sup>32</sup> This compilation of biographies of important Africans and Afro-Americans, based on Abbé Grégoire's work, was dedicated to James Pennington, Frederick Douglass, and Alexander Crummell (Geiss 1974).

<sup>33</sup> See more on this Congress in Chapter Four of this thesis.

<sup>34</sup> Julius Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja: a selection from writings and speeches, 1952-1965* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1966), 116.

<sup>35</sup> Blyden's texts have over the centuries appealed to and inspired African nationalists worldwide. Back in 1915, Garvey praised these works in his pamphlet *A Talk with Afro-West Indians* (1915): "You who do not know anything of your ancestry will do well to read the works of Blyden, one of our historians and chroniclers, who has done so much to retrieve the lost prestige of the race, and to undo the selfishness of alien historians and their history which has said so little and painted us so unfairly" (Garvey 1976, 82). On 24<sup>th</sup> January 2002, while addressing the Work-in-Progress Review Workshop of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) which was held in Johannesburg, Mbeki highlighted Blyden's speech "The African Must Advance By Methods of His Own". Blyden delivered this speech to the Liberian College in 1881. Mbeki quoted from it: 'The African must advance by methods of his own. We must possess a power distinct from that of the European...We must show that we are able to go alone, to carve out our own way' (Mbeki 2002, n.p.).

<sup>36</sup> Ghana was known as Gold Coast up until 1957.

<sup>37</sup> Biblical references in this thesis are from the King James Version.

<sup>38</sup> Some creative play is evident here. The original line in Tennyson's poem reads: "He thinks he was not made to die". It has been suggested that Garvey coined UNIA's motto—"One God, One Aim, One Destiny"—to match the second line of the final stanza of the same poem, which reads 'One God, one law, one element'. The poem was a favourite of Garvey (White 1990).

<sup>39</sup> The statement is quoted from Kwesi Prah, "African Renaissance or Warlordism?," in *African Renaissance: The New Struggle*, ed. Malegapuru Makgoba (Cape Town: Mafube, 1999), 44.

<sup>40</sup> Benin was known as Dahomey up until 1972.

<sup>41</sup> This quotation is found in Abiola Irele, *The African Experience in Literature and Ideology* (London: Heinemann, 1981), 67-8. Irele quotes it from Lilyan Kesteloot, "La Négritude et son expression littéraire," in *Négritude africaine, négritude Caraïbe* (Paris: 1973).

<sup>42</sup> The equality and uniqueness of each race is an argument that Pixley kaIsaka Seme makes in his speech "The regeneration of Africa" that he delivered at New York's Columbia University in 1906. For a rhetorical analysis of this speech, see Chris Dunton, "Pixley Kalsaka Seme and the African Renaissance Debate," *African Affairs* 102 (2003): 555-573.

<sup>43</sup> That Africa was once again to contribute to human civilization through moral influence was a claim that was to be echoed by later nationalists, among them, Nkrumah and William Tubman.

<sup>44</sup> The endurance of black people was also highlighted in Harlem Renaissance literature. See, for example, Langston Hughes' poems "I, Too", "The Negro Mother" and "Mother to Son".

<sup>45</sup> This is not to say that only texts by blacks were important. Individuals of non-African descent have also contributed significantly to Pan-African ideological thought but attempting to also investigate their texts would make the study unmanageable within the given time limit.

<sup>46</sup> Casely Hayford, Review of *Memoirs of West African Celebrities*, by Attah Ahuma, *Gold Coast Leader*, no. 198, 7 April 1906. Quoted in Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement* (London: Methuen & Company Ltd., 1974), 203.

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<sup>47</sup> This synecdoche has been in use in religious circles. In their paper “‘The Black is a Brother’: Discursive Strategies of Intervention by the Pioneer Independent Press in Colonial Lesotho” Dunton and Mokuku explain that ‘Ethiopian Church’ and ‘Ethiopian Movement’ have been “used loosely to cover independent African churches, including break-away sections of Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians, influenced to a greater or lesser degree by the teaching of black American nationalist Christians” (Dunton and Mokuku 2003, 151).

<sup>48</sup> An example from English Literature where this technique is employed is *The Faerie Queene* (1590) by Edmund Spenser.

<sup>49</sup> The survey of discourse on the African Personality reveals that Blyden believed that the relationship between material and spiritual development was an inverse one—the more materialistic a civilization became, the less spiritually sensitive it became. It will be seen in the next chapter that he believed that a European presence in Africa would impact negatively on the African personality given it would introduce a culture of materialism.

<sup>50</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “African Diaspora in the 21st Century,” University of West Indies, Kingston, 30 June 2003, 4 Oct 2007 <<http://www.nathanielturner.com/africandiaspora21stcentury.htm>> (24 Oct 2007).

<sup>51</sup> The Black Poor include Afro-Americans, Afro-West Indians, and Afro-East Indians who had arrived in England either as domestic servants, seamen, soldiers in the Ethiopian Regiment during the American Revolution, or under the auspices of the East India Company Service (Carretta 2005).

<sup>52</sup> Becker

<sup>53</sup> Blyden was President of Liberia College from 1880 to 1884.

<sup>54</sup> *New Internationalist*, 326, August 2000.

<sup>55</sup> *Les Continents*, no. 2. Quoted in Geiss, 309.

<sup>56</sup> *Les Continents*, Juillet 1, 1924. Quoted in J. Langley, *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa: 1900-1945* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 297.

<sup>57</sup> *La Race Nègre*, no. 1, Juillet 1935. Quoted in Langley, 323.

<sup>58</sup> Forty-six years earlier, Blyden told various audiences in the US:

...there is no people in whom the desire for race integrity and race preservation is stronger than in the Negro.

...on this question of race, no argument is necessary or effective. Argument may be necessary in discussing the methods or course of procedure for the preservation of race integrity, and for the development of race efficiency, but no argument is needed as to the necessity of such preservation and development. If a man does not feel it - if it does not rise up with spontaneous and inspiring power in his heart - then he has neither part nor lot in it. The man who needs conviction on this subject, had much better be left unconvinced (Blyden “Ethiopia Stretching Out Her Hands Unto God”, 246).

<sup>59</sup> African National Congress, “The Freedom Charter,” ANC, <<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/charter.html>>

<sup>60</sup> This divergence of Nkrumah has been explained in terms of the influence of Kwegyir Aggrey who taught him in Achimota School where he studied before going to the US. Aggrey maintained that there was a complementary relationship between the black and white races (Timothy 1981).

<sup>61</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>62</sup> Lesotho was known as Basutoland up until 4<sup>th</sup> October 1966.

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<sup>63</sup> Formed in 1919 by Josiel Lefela,

...*Lekhotla la Bafo* challenged and fought against the abuses of the chiefs, birthright chieftainship, racial discrimination in social, economic and other aspects of colonial life, Britain's attempts to change the status of Lesotho from a Protectorate to a colony and incorporate the country into South Africa. Further, *Lekhotla la Bafo* wanted Basotho to rule themselves and conduct all their affairs in accordance with their own culture and customs (Mphanya 2004, 5).

According to Weisfelder,

Lefela's legacy to the Basutoland Congress Party and other political groups goes far beyond the fact that Ntsu Mokhehle, the BCP leader, had been a member of the earlier organization. *Lekhotla la Bafo* motifs incorporated by successor groups included (1) the enigmatic blending of traditionalism with vigorous anti-colonialism, (2) the sharp awareness of the subtleties of racial discrimination, (3) the sophisticated understanding of the subversive influence of estern (sic) culture and religion on Basotho society, (4) the eagerness to create links with external African nationalist movements and to identify with Pan-Africanist themes; and (5) the willingness to accept Communist assistance and to use its militant rhetoric without sacrificing the principle of nationalism to Marxism (Weisfelder 1974, 405).

<sup>64</sup> The ANCYL believed that the national liberation of Africans could only be achieved by Africans. It also believed in "the unity of all Africans from the Mediterranean Sea in the North to the Indian and Atlantic Oceans in the South - and that Africans must speak with one voice" (Mphanya 2004, 3).

<sup>65</sup> Sesotho is the major ethnic language in Lesotho; it is also an official language. Other ethnic languages spoken to a smaller degree include Xhosa, Zulu and Phuthi.

<sup>66</sup> Sobukwe's connotative understanding of 'dog' emerges in the opening address that he gave at the inaugural convention of the PAC. He employs the word to create a harshly critical tone: "Afrika is being wooed with more ardour than she has ever been....This wooing occurs at a time when...the distinctive badge of slavery and humiliation, the 'dom pass' is being extended from the African male dog to the African female bitch" (Sobukwe 1977, 3:510-12).

<sup>67</sup> In his address to the PAC Conference on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1959, Sobukwe says that 'belly' is an ugly word and uses 'stomach' instead to express his thought.

<sup>68</sup> The *pitso* was an open-air assembly held annually. It was the main method by which the principal chiefs consulted the people (Lesotho Gov't Online n.d).

<sup>69</sup> See Chapter Three of this thesis.

<sup>70</sup> Much of the rest of the paragraph where this quotation appears is a paraphrase of this dedication, which in its entirety reads:

To Mogoi and Wamboi and all the dispossessed youth of Africa: for perpetuation of communion with ancestral spirits through the fight for African Freedom, and in the firm faith that the dead, the living, and the unborn will unite to rebuild the destroyed shrines (Kenyatta 2004, v).

<sup>71</sup> Lesotho Gov't Online, "About Lesotho," <<http://www.lesotho.gov.ls/about/default.php>> (17 Sep 2008).

<sup>72</sup> This alignment can also be seen as an attempt to validate the demands of the Basotho.

<sup>73</sup> Excerpt in Martin Minogue and Judith Molloy, eds., *African Aims & Attitudes: Selected Documents* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 21.

<sup>74</sup> African disunity is a motif in his speech.

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<sup>75</sup>“Robert Sobukwe - Intellectual Sketch,” <<http://pzacad.pitzer.edu/NAM/sophia/writers/sobukwe/sobukweS.htm>> (5 May 2008).

<sup>76</sup> A. Lembede, “Policy of the Congress Youth League,” *Inkundla ya Bantu*, May 1946, Rpt. in Karis and Carter 317-18, 1973.

<sup>77</sup> The situation in colonial Kenya helps give further insight into the Sobukwe’s argument. Explains Ngugi:

The coming of Christianity also set in motion a process of social change, involving rapid disintegration of the tribal set-up and the frame-work of social norms and values by which people had formerly ordered their lives and their relationship to others. This was especially true of Central Province, where the Church of Scotland Mission, which has a highly strict puritan tradition, could not separate the strictly Christian dogma or doctrine from the European scale of values, and from European customs. The evidence that you were saved was not whether you were a believer in and follower of Christ, and accepted all men as equal: the measure of your Christian love and charity was in preserving the outer signs and symbols of a European way of life; whether you dressed as Europeans did, whether you had acquired European good manners, liked European hymns and tunes, and of course whether you had refused to have your daughter circumcised.

Thus acceptance of the Christian Church meant the outright rejection of all the African customs. It meant rejection of those values and rituals that held us together: it meant adopting what in effect was a debased European middle-class mode of living and behaviour. The European missionary had attacked the primitive rites of our people, had condemned our beautiful African dances, the images of our gods, recoiling from their suggestion of satanic sensuality. The early African convert did the same, often with even greater zeal, for he had to prove how Christian he was through this rejection of his past and roots (Ngugi 1975, 31-2).

Regarding the educated, Ngugi notes:

Education was not an adequate answer to the hungry soul of the African masses because it emphasized the same Christian values that had refused to condemn (in fact helped) the exploitation of the African body and mind by the European colonizer. The first education given was merely to enable converts to read the Bible, so that they could carry out simple duties as assistants to the missionaries. As education later came to be the ladder to better jobs and money and to a higher standard of living, albeit in the image of the European mode of life, the Christian-educated African became even more removed from his ancestral shrines and roots (Ngugi 1975, 32).

<sup>78</sup> A similar strategy is employed by Hayford in *The Future of West Africa*, whereby he attempts to evoke a feeling of betrayal in the African by describing how West Africa respectfully treated the British but received no respect in return. A feeling of betrayal was important if he was to persuade the African to fight for self-government and independence. For more on this, see Chapter Four of this thesis.

<sup>79</sup> The argument that western education is a source of African disunity exists in Pan-African literature that emerged earlier than 1957. In the speech that he delivered to the WASU on 5<sup>th</sup> November 1926, for example, Hayford argues:

It occurs to one very forcibly at times that the root idea has been always to separate the ordinary mass of the people of British West Africa from their educated brethren. The reason for that is not hard to find. It is the “educated man” who always criticises and sifts the conduct of the European. The European naturally resents this and seeks to implant in the mind of his less informed brother to regard the educated African as a sort of nuisance, or otherwise as one who is always seeking to cheat and take advantage of his less educated brother-African. By this means a division is created between us and our less enlightened brethren, and the work of keeping us in subjection is thereby made considerably easier (Thompson 1969, 335).

<sup>80</sup> Longinus in *On the Sublime* identifies changes of number, person, tense, case and gender as a rhetorical device that produces elegance, emotionalism, vigor, diversity and liveliness. He does not give a specific name to this device.

<sup>81</sup> In *Rhetoric*, Aristotle comments on the use of this device: “...the hearers also are impressed in a certain way by a device employed *ad nauseam* by writers of speeches: ‘Who does not know?’

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‘Everybody knows’; for the hearer agrees, because he is ashamed to appear not to share what is a matter of common knowledge” (Aristotle 1926, 378-9). As will be seen later in this thesis, this device is also employed by Nkrumah and Tafawa Balewa.

<sup>82</sup> When the Moore Commission took testimony on proposals for reforming colonial administration, both *Lekhotla la Bafo* and the BAC opposed the recommendation that hereditary chieftainship be abolished and replaced with appointed chieftainship (Edgar n.d.).

<sup>83</sup> The creation of emphasis through the contrast introduced by a sudden alteration of a repeated statement is a technique found in Nyerere’s speech delivered at the Addis Ababa Conference of May 1963. There, the humiliation and oppression that Africans have experienced under imperialism is emphasized by suddenly altering an anaphoric statement. For more on this, see Chapter Seven of this thesis.

<sup>84</sup> Hints had marshalled the Xhosa living beyond the Kei River to fight on the side of Ndlambe in the attack on British garrison at Grahamstown on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1819. When he was killed on 12<sup>th</sup> May 1835 in the eastern Cape, his body was mutilated and his ear cut off and sent to Grahamstown as a trophy (Lalu 2000).

<sup>85</sup> The alleged subversion of the chieftainship by the administration was a major theme in nationalist politics throughout the 1950s (Murray and Sanders 2000).

<sup>86</sup> Ritual murders (*liretlo*) were widespread after the Second World War. *Lekhotla la Bafo*, which was the predecessor of the BAC, maintained that the chiefs were being framed in these murders. It “believed the British were manipulating the *liretlo* controversy to discredit the chiefs. It did not deny that murders were taking place, but it claimed the police were bribing and torturing witnesses into perjuring themselves at trials, with the intent of getting rid of uncooperative senior chiefs and paving the way for Basutoland’s incorporation into South Africa” (Edgar n.d., 35). An article titled “A New ‘Reichstag Fire’ Plot Behind the Basutoland Arrests” in the *Inkululeko* dated August 1948, observes:

The sinister plot of the Basutoland authorities has wider aims as well. A number of chiefs have also been arrested, including men who had no connection with Lekhotla la Bafo.

It is understood that charges of “ritual murder” are to be brought against some of them, and that the administration is determined to victimise all chiefs who are not prepared to adopt a servile attitude to the administration (Edgar n.d., 193).

For more on this topic, see Colin Murray and Peter Sanders, “Medicine Murder in Basutoland: Colonial Rule and Moral Crisis,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 70, no. 1 (2000): 49-78. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1161401>> (22 Aug 2008).

<sup>87</sup> In his address to the WASU on 5<sup>th</sup> November 1926, Hayford singled out inferiority complex as one of the factors behind the African predicament. He asserted: “God did not destine any race to be servants of another race. It is only in so far as the people of a race suffer themselves, that they become so” (Hayford 1969, 335-36).

<sup>88</sup> “Fast, Howard – Introduction,” *Contemporary Literary Criticism* 128 ed. Jeffrey W. Hunter, Gale Cengage, 2000, [eNotes.com](http://www.enotes.com). 2006 <<http://www.enotes.com/contemporary-literary-criticism/fast-howard>> (4 May 2009).

<sup>89</sup> Benjamin Pogrund has reported Matthew Mokoena, chairman of a PAC branch near Johannesburg, having recited these words to Sobukwe one day when the two were imprisoned on Robben Island. Said Mokoena in Xhosa: “*Xa kunje siye sikhumbule amazwi ka Horatius: Indoda ingafa kakuhle njanina...*”, to which Sobukwe replied, also in Xhosa, “*Ewe*”. Pogrund translates Mokoena’s statement as “When it is like this we remember the words of Horatius” and Sobukwe’s answer as “Yes”. Pogrund further explains:

The poem was a favourite in PAC circles. It was always declaimed, in English, wherever PAC prisoners observed commemorations on the island, such as a memorial service when one of their fellows died. The story of Horatius was known because it was in books used in black schools so everyone had grown up with it. It is

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also part of the romanticised, heroic tradition which so many of the Africanist leaders seem to have acquired during their 'English' missionary education (Pogrud 2006, 191).

<sup>90</sup> Jim Powell, "Thomas Babington Macaulay Extraordinary Eloquence for Liberty," *The Freeman: Ideas on Liberty* 46, 10 (October 1996) <<http://www.thefreemanonline.org/featured/thomas-babington-macaulay-extraordinary-eloquence-for-liberty/>> (6 June 2009).

<sup>91</sup> The British annexed Basutoland in 1868.

<sup>92</sup> There is an echo of the view that Africans have a contribution to make to the betterment of not only Africans but also mankind as a whole, which is prominent in Pan-Africanist discourse especially that dealing with the issue of African identity.

<sup>93</sup> In the speech that he made at the inaugural convention of the PAC in 1959, he closed his discussion on the issue of race with the same allusion but quoted the document at greater length. He told his listeners: "Let me close discussion of this topic by declaring, on behalf of the Africanists, that with UNESCO we hold that 'every man is his brother's keeper. For every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, because he is involved in mankind'" (Sobukwe 1977, 3:514).

<sup>94</sup> This biblical story has it that as the Jews rebuilt the walls of the city of Jerusalem, which had been destroyed by the Babylonians when they were holding them captive, their neighbouring enemies kept trying to frustrate their efforts so that they would not succeed at the task. Despite these challenges, the Jews kept at the task. They decided that they would be building with one hand while holding a weapon in the other, lest their enemies attack.

<sup>95</sup> As was seen in Chapter Two of this thesis, this idea was presented by Blyden in the late nineteenth century. It was embraced by later African nationalists including members of the ANCYL. In an article published by *Ilanga lase Natal* in February 1945, Lembede declared: "Each nation has...its own peculiar character or make-up. Hence each nation has its own peculiar contribution to make towards the general progress and welfare of mankind" (Lembede 1973, 315). In a letter on the ANCYL from A. P. Mda to G. M. Pitje dated 24<sup>th</sup> August 1948, Mda declared: "That the black people of Africa have a divine destiny, that is to say, that they are destined to rise and play their part in the advance of humanity to a better life" (Mda 1973, 320).

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>97</sup> p. 221.

<sup>98</sup> pp. 217-18.

<sup>99</sup> Nkrumah preferred, though, the examples of the USA and the USSR, as evident from their appearance in the speech that he delivered at the Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa in 1960.

<sup>100</sup> The argument that alliances with foreign powers jeopardize the security of African states is a motif that recurs throughout Nkrumah's texts. In *Africa Must Unite*, he gives the example of the Balkans to illustrate the danger that Africa is in: "In the same way as alliances by the Balkan states with rival powers outside the Balkans resulted in a world war, so a world war could easily originate on our continent if African states make political, economic and military alliances with rival powers outside Africa" (Nkrumah 1963, 173). This example is also found in his parliamentary speech delivered on 6<sup>th</sup> August 1960 where he attributes such alliances to the weakness of individual African states and proffers the unification of these states as the only solution:

...if Africa is converted into a series of tiny states, such alliances are inevitable. Some of these states have neither the resources nor the personnel to provide for their own defence or to conduct an independent foreign policy. They will, in their weak position, rely on the armed forces and the diplomats of another country both for their security and their external policy. Nor can they become economically independent. They have not the resources to establish their own independent banking systems and

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obey (sic) are compelled to continue with the old colonial framework of trade. The only way out is to stand together politically (Nkrumah 1997, 1:128).

<sup>101</sup> See also, his opening speech at the Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa in 1960 where he declares: “I repeat that nothing but our own groundless fear and doubts can stop us from building a real practical politic (*sic*) union” (Nkrumah 1997, 1:55).

<sup>102</sup> p. 132.

<sup>103</sup> The delegate in question is Patrick Henry, a renowned patriot whose speech and its impact on that occasion have been described thus:

His voice was musical, and as he continued to speak, he became more animated, and his words more eloquent. With alternate vigor and pathos he drew a picture of the wrongs which the colonies had suffered by acts of the Parliament. He said all the governments in America were dissolved; that the colonies were in a state of nature. He believed that the Congress then in session was the beginning of a long series of congresses; and speaking to the undecided question about voting, he declared his great concern, for their decision would form a precedent. He favored representation according to population; and in reference to the objection that such representation would confer an undue weight of influence upon some of the larger provinces, he said, with words that prophesied of a nation: ‘British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies; the distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American. His speech drew the earnest attention of the whole House; and when he sat down the question went from lip to lip, ‘Who is he?’ A few who knew the speaker replied, ‘It is Patrick Henry of Virginia.’

...He had uttered the sentiment of union and nationality that warmed the hearts of all present, when he exclaimed: ‘I am not a Virginian, but an American.’ It was the text of every patriotic discourse thereafter; and from that hour the Congress went forward with courage and vigor in the work assigned them (Lossing 1877, n.p).

<sup>104</sup> Nkrumah used to portray national boundaries as ‘artificial’ marks. At the Casablanca Conference which took place three months before the Monrovia Conference, he observed: “All over Africa artificial boundaries dividing brother from brother, sister from sister have been erected by the colonizers” (Nkrumah 1997, 2:3).

<sup>105</sup> Pan-Africanist discourse also illustrates this might by representing the African Personality as a giant or a lion. For a discussion of this, see Chapter Three of this thesis.

<sup>106</sup> African unity had by the 1920s been proposed as a means to having the African personality re-impact on the international scene. In his address to the WASU on 5<sup>th</sup> November 1926, Hayford observed that African unity would enable the African to “[raise] his head among the other peoples of the world...” (Thompson 1969, 336). He observed that the NCBWA, established only six years earlier, had become a force both in British West African affairs and in the affairs of the African world. He urged: “The time has come that Africans from the north, south, east and west of the Globe, should join together, not for struggle, but in the way of saying to other men ‘We, too, are men; we, too, have found our place in the world’” (Thompson 1969, 336-337).

<sup>107</sup> No value is plotted for paragraph 61 owing to a typographical error in the speech.

<sup>108</sup> The ‘cure-metaphor’ is used in conjunction with other devices. See the discussion in Section 6.2.6.2.3.

<sup>109</sup> *Africa Must Unite* gives insight into the meaning of “Seek ye first the political kingdom” in the context of colonialism:

There has been a good deal of talk about dependent territories making themselves viable before attempting to take upon themselves the responsibilities of self-government. That is precisely what they cannot do. As long as the government of less developed countries remains in the hands of colonial administrators, their

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economies are set to a pattern determined by the interests, not of the indigenous inhabitants but of the national beneficiaries of the ruling country. Improvement in living conditions for the bulk of the people will not come until political power passes into their hands (Nkrumah 1963, 50-51).

<sup>110</sup> The ‘journey-metaphor’ has been a central device in literature from early times. Early well-known works that use this device include the quest narratives *The Odyssey* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

<sup>111</sup> For examples of earlier Pan-Africanist literature that uses this synecdoche, see discussion on Nkrumah’s understanding of ‘Africa for the Africans’ and discussion on DuBois’ second Pan-African Congress, which are both found in Chapter Four of this thesis.

<sup>112</sup> For an understanding of this idea, see Dunton.

<sup>113</sup> Personification of science and technology is also found in “The Regeneration of Africa.” Like Nkrumah, Seme felt that African culture should adopt these features. Here personification has, Dunton suggests, the effect of “obscuring the dynamic, interventionist, often brutally disruptive measures through which science and technology had been put to work” (Dunton 2003, 567):

Science has searched out the deep things of nature, surprised the secrets of the most distant stars, disentombed the memorials of the everlasting hills, taught the lightning to speak, the vapours to toil, and the winds to worship, spanned the sweeping rivers, tunnelled the longest mountain range - made the world a vast whispering gallery, and has brought foreign nations into one civilized family. This all-powerful contact says even to the most backward race, you cannot remain where you are, you cannot fall back, you must advance! A great century has come upon us! No race possessing the inherent capacity to survive can resist and remain unaffected by this influence of contact and intercourse, the backward with the advanced. This influence constitutes the very essence of efficient progress and of civilization (Seme 1991, 78).

<sup>114</sup> The technique of combining anaphora with parallelism is found in earlier Pan-Africanist discourse. The following passage is from Hayford’s address to the WASU on 5<sup>th</sup> November 1926. The anaphora is identified in bold and the parallelism in italics:

God did not destine any race to be servants of another race. **It is** only in so far as the people of a race suffer themselves, that they become so. **It is** only *the spirit of self-help, the power of will, of energy and of determination*, that can make us attain the height that others have reached. **It is** in this spirit that we shall be able to *hold our own* and *command our own* (Thompson 1969, 335-36).

<sup>115</sup> Earlier on in the speech, he paraphrases colonial discourse: “It is said, of course, that we have no capital, no industrial skill, no communications and no internal markets, and that we cannot even agree among ourselves how best to utilise our resources for our own social needs.” This strategy of highlighting the views of the imperialists, common in vindicationist literature, is also employed by Sobukwe in the speech that he delivered to the BAC. Sobukwe tells his audience:

You follow [the white man], because you have been taught by him in Church and school that **umlungu mdala** (the white man knows everything). It is your slave mentality that makes you follow him; the slave mentality that was instilled into you from childhood when you saw your own father, your God, saluting a small white boy as ‘**morena**’ or ‘**bass**’.

<sup>116</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>117</sup> The image in question is discussed under in the sub-section titled *Peroratio*.

<sup>118</sup> The African tradition of referring to people as ‘brothers’ was pointed out on the same occasion by François Tombalbaye who announced: “In the opinion of the people of Chad and its Government, a society capable of withstanding the tests of time can only be built on foundations of friendship and fraternity. In CHAD, and generally in Africa, the word ‘brother’ is not limitative” (Tombalbaye 1963, 1).

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<sup>119</sup> Nyerere's antithetical statement, "...the time for more words is gone...this is time for action ...the time for allowing our brethren to struggle unaided is gone ...from now on our brethren in non-independent Africa should be helped by independent Africa" reveals the linkage that Dunton notes characterises South African literature—that between past, present and future strategies. Nyerere's link touches on the problem of liberation, pointing to the need to move away from verbal to material support of nationalist movements. This view is expressed in speeches delivered on the same occasion by other Monrovia leaders including those of Leopold Senghor, Touré, Keita and Hubert Maga. Nkrumah also expressed the view at the conference convened by the Ghana Women's Movement in Accra in July 1960.

The phrases 'the time for...is gone'/'the time for...is past'/'the time for...has come to an end' and 'it is time'/'this is time for'/'the time has come' are also employed together to link past, present and future African unification strategies. In these instances too, there is an emphasis on the need to shift from 'words' to 'action'. An example of this is found in the speech that Apollo Milton Obote delivered at the Addis Ababa Conference and in that which Nyerere delivered at a meeting of the Central Legislative Assembly of East Africa in Dar es Salaam in August 1967. The linking of past, present and future strategies using the aforesaid phrases is found in Pan-Africanist discourse that emerged before 1958. It is found in the speech that Hayford delivered to the NCBWA in January 1923.

<sup>120</sup> In his midnight pronouncement of Ghana's independence at the Old Polo Ground, Accra, Nkrumah declared: "We have done with the battle and we again re-dedicate ourselves in the struggle to emancipate other countries in Africa, for our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent" (Nkrumah 1961, 107). The December 1958 AAPC proclaimed that no part of the continent could regard itself free until every part had been liberated (Karis and Carter 1977). Addressing the House of Representatives in Washington D.C. in July 1961, Tafawa Balewa said: "Our own freedom can only have meaning to the extent we utilize our efforts and goodwill to achieve the same for all Africans" (Tafawa Balewa and Epelle 1964, 104-5).

<sup>121</sup> Sekou Touré, Speech, Conference of African Heads of States and Governments, Addis Ababa, 24 May 1963 <<http://www.uneca.org/adfiii/riefforts/ref/speech/Guinea.pdf>> (31 Dec 2007).

<sup>122</sup> The researcher is unable to comment on this statement for lack of access to Ben Bella's speech.

<sup>123</sup> In the said chapter, Nkrumah not only offers the USA as a model for African unification but also explains how the country's unity was achieved:

THERE are in the world several unions of states which can offer examples or case studies for the political unification of Africa: the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Australia, Canada, Switzerland and Venezuela....

By the constitution adopted in 1787 and put into effect in 1789, the original thirteen members of the United States of America, each wholly independent of the other, formed a federal republic by a voluntary combination. This formation strengthened and centralized the confederation and perpetual union that had been established under the confederation articles accepted in 1777 and operated between 1781 and 1789 (Nkrumah 1963, 205-6).

<sup>124</sup> This is a technique that is also, as will be seen later on in this thesis, employed by Tafawa Balewa.

<sup>125</sup> During the period 1961 to 1967, Nyerere persistently embraced the view that African unity could only be realized through free choice. In his independence address to the UN General Assembly in December 1961, he declared: "The unity of the whole of our continent is our ambition, and we know that it has to be a unity based on the free decision of independent, African States" (Nyerere 1966, 153). In "A United States of Africa" he argues: "Historically areas of the world have been united by two methods - by conquest or by negotiated terms of association. It is absurd to imagine African Unity coming from the domination of one African country over another. Our unity can only be negotiated unity, for it is the unity of equals" (Nyerere 1966, 189). He emphasizes: "...African Unity must be a result of the free decision of the peoples of Africa..." (Nyerere 1966, 190). In "The Nature and Requirements of African Unity" he claims that "...it is only by agreement that a United Africa can be achieved" observing that "the twentieth century is littered with the wrecks of Federations which have

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failed because they were not based on the will of the people involved...” (Nyerere 1966, 349). And in a speech delivered on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1967 to the National Assembly of the United Arab Republic, he argued:

...African unity can only come about on the basis of agreement between all the peoples of Africa. And under present circumstances this means agreement by all the nation states of Africa. Not a single state of Africa - not a single people - would accept unity by conquest. It was our fate to be divided by colonialism; no military power can now cause us to unite. Nationalism is a fact - with all its advantages and disadvantages. It has been entrenched through the struggle for freedom, and through the post-independence experiences. Our only way to unified sovereignty is through the sovereign states which exist and which our people have accepted (Nyerere 1968, 295).

<sup>126</sup> It is interesting to note that on the same occasion, Tafawa Balewa closed the body of his speech with a call for the signing of a new charter. He announced: “Many members have said that we cannot leave Addis Ababa without a charter. I hope we shall not leave here without some kind of charter. I hope our Foreign Ministers will produce a charter before we leave this city.”

<sup>127</sup> In all likelihood, Nyerere was responding to Nkrumah’s speech made earlier on the same occasion. Nkrumah used the word revolutionary several times.

<sup>128</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>129</sup> Mbeki’s use of the phrase “we should, perhaps, start from the beginning” in his speech “I am an African”, which he delivered on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1996 in Cape Town on the occasion of the adoption of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill 1996 by the Constitutional Assembly, indicates the persistent of creative play as a persuasive technique in African political discourse.

<sup>130</sup> Nkrumah addresses this issue in the parliamentary speech on African affairs that he delivered on 6<sup>th</sup> August 1960 in Accra and in *I Speak of Freedom*.

<sup>131</sup> The use of the phrase ‘it is time’ to link past, present and future strategies in Pan-Africanist discourse was discussed in Chapter Seven of this thesis, where it was noted that the speakers usually stress the need to shift from ‘words’ to ‘action’ to be able to solve the problem at hand. This is also the case here where the opinion that there is need to start on the real work of developing the African countries is given credence by noting that it is the opinion of “many of the speakers”.

<sup>132</sup> Farik Abboud, Speech, Conference of African Heads of States and Governments, Addis Ababa, 24 May 1963 <<http://www.uneca.org/adfiii/riefforts/ref/speech/Madagascar.pdf>> (31 Dec 2007).

<sup>133</sup> Philibert Tsirirana, Speech, Conference of African Heads of States and Governments, Addis Ababa, 24 May 1963 <<http://www.uneca.org/adfiii/riefforts/ref/speech/Sudan.pdf>> (31 Dec 2007).

<sup>134</sup> The issue of foreign aid had been raised by Nkrumah in *Africa Must Unite* where he observes: “One of the worst things that can happen to less developed and emerging countries is to receive foreign aid with political and economic strings attached....Real aid...consists of direct gifts or loans that are given on favourable terms and without strings attached” (Nkrumah 1963, 101, 102).

<sup>135</sup> On the same occasion, Nkrumah suggested that the Heads of States and Governments establish a liberation bureau for African freedom fighters, there and then. He recommended that all the governments subscribe to this bureau, pointing out that it should be their joint responsibility to finance and support the bureau. He said the function of the bureau would be to emancipate African colonies.

<sup>136</sup> Earlier Pan-Africanist discourse is characterised by the use of “I am an African.” Lott Cary, an ex-slave born in Virginia, upon his migration from the US to Liberia in 1821 declared: “I am an African; and in this country, however meritorious my conduct and respectable my character, I cannot receive the credit due to either. I wish to go to a country where I shall be estimated by my merits not by my complexion” (Weisbord 1973, 16). In 1906 Seme affirmed in front of his audience at the Columbia University: “I am an African, and I set my pride in my race over against a hostile public opinion” (Seme 1991, 75). The statement has found its way into more recent political discourse, an example

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being Mbeki's speech delivered on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1996. This speech is titled "I am an African" and it begins as follows:

ON AN OCCASION such as this we should, perhaps, start from the beginning.

So let me begin.

I am an African.

In "The Negro", Hughes announced with pride:

I am a Negro:

Black as the night is black,

Black like the depths of my Africa;

<sup>137</sup> Noteworthy is that Sobukwe articulates this position in the speech that he delivered at the inaugural convention of the PAC:

The Africanists take the view that there is only one race to which we all belong, and that is the human race. In our vocabulary therefore, the word "race" as applied to man, has no plural form. We do, however, admit the existence of observable physical differences between various groups of people, but these differences are the result of a number of factors, chief among which has been geographical isolation (Sobukwe 1977, 3:514).

<sup>138</sup> See, for example, his speeches made on the following days: 9<sup>th</sup> January 1960 during an official visit of Harold Macmillan to Ghana; 4<sup>th</sup> July 1960 on the occasion of the first meeting of the Republican Parliament; 24<sup>th</sup> October 1960 commemorating United Nations Day; 24<sup>th</sup> May 1963 at the Addis Ababa Conference.

<sup>139</sup> It is typical of a Hausa-Fulani orator to take so much time trying to boost his *ethos*.

<sup>140</sup> The strategies and techniques presented in this chapter were found in the three speeches.

<sup>141</sup> The word 'free' is here being used with the same meaning that Sobukwe and Nkrumah attached to it, which is the lack of interference by imperial powers. As seen from the quotations from their speeches in this section, Sobukwe talked of the right of Africans to manage or mismanage their own affairs while Nkrumah talked of the right of Africans to conduct their own economic and social affairs and to construct their society according to their aspirations, unhampered by neo-colonialist controls and interference.

<sup>142</sup> In the speech that he delivered at the PAC Conference held on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1959, Sobukwe highlights the aspiration for an assertion of the African personality as well as the aspiration for political union as aspirations of African Heads of States and Governments: "Greater and greater efforts are being made by the independent countries of Afrika to mould, shape and assert the African personality, and to lay the foundations for a United States of Afrika. Just recently the heads of the States of Ghana, Guinea and Liberia met in conference to discuss methods of furthering the cause of Pan Africanism" (Sobukwe 1977, 3:544).

<sup>143</sup> This reference to servility appears in several Pan-Africanist texts, especially those dealing with the topic of African renaissance. It is found in Sarbah's *Fanti National Constitution* and Hayford's *The Future of West Africa*. Hayford awakened hope in West Africans when he declared: "West Africa shall not for ever remain a hewer of wood and drawer of water. She shall take her true place among the nations of the earth" (Hayford 1979, 211). And in his address to the WASU on 5<sup>th</sup> November 1926, he told his audience that it was their duty to rid the world of the mistaken idea that Africans were created to be servants. Africa, he explained, was prepared to cooperate with Britain, but only if the two were going to benefit equally:

...if anyone assumes that he has a heritage in British west African lands, it is time that we respectfully, yet emphatically, tried to eradicate the idea. This is not to imply that we are not to cooperate with Britain. Why, it is the very thing that we are doing now. Our farmers and traders are daily doing that all along the coast. The Gold Coast does this in her cocoa and other useful and prolific industries; Nigeria in her palm oil and other industries; Sierra Leone in palm kernels, and Gambia in groundnuts. We are prepared to work with them, and so to advance their prosperity in proportion as they

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advance ours? (*sic*) What we deprecate is one-sidedness. No self-respecting man would willingly concede the lion's share to him with whom he cooperates. We want to command fair prices for our produce and industry. While the other man is being enriched, we always somehow continue to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water. We must put an end to that sort of thing, and to the idea that we were made to be servants for ever.

I say again that unless the African thinks for himself, and produce (*sic*) his own leaders in industry, commerce, politics, and all walks of life, he would always remain a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. God did not destine any race to be servants of another race. It is only in so far as the people of a race suffer themselves, that they become so. It is only the spirit of self-help, the power of will, of energy and of determination, that can make us attain the height that others have reached. It is in this spirit that we shall be able to hold our own and command our own (Hayford 1969, 335-36).

In *Africa Must Unite* Nkrumah declares: "The great millions of Africa...have grown impatient of being hewers of wood and drawers of water, and are rebelling against the false belief that providence created some to be the menials of others" (Nkrumah 1963, ix).

<sup>144</sup>The significance of Ethiopia as a symbol of African pride due to its having evolved from an ancient African empire (Abyssinia), its political independence and its successful resistance of attempted colonial conquest by Italy is discussed in previous chapters of this thesis. Ethiopia is also a synecdoche that represents Africa.

<sup>145</sup> Nkrumah addresses this issue in the parliamentary speech that he delivered on 6<sup>th</sup> August 1960 in Accra and in *I Speak of Freedom*.

<sup>146</sup> "Fast, Howard - Introduction."

<sup>147</sup> The Marema-Tlou Party (MTP) was a rival party that came into being in 1957. It broke away from the BAC due to the latter's radicalism (EISA 2007).

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## **Appendix A**

### **Robert Sobukwe's Speech**

\*Source: *The Commentator*, August, 1968

# FACING FEARFUL ODDS

by Mangaliso Sobukwe

(SOBUKWE WAS BCP OFFICIAL GUEST TO 1957 BCP ANNUAL CONFERENCE — HE DELIVERED THIS OPENING ADDRESS).



**M**R. SPEAKER, Sir, sons and daughters of the soil, I wish, in opening this conference, to quote the caption which appears in "Mohlalani" since it expresses so clearly the reason for our sustained struggle:

"Tšoara thebe e tiee oa Rasenate,  
Ua bona fatše leno le'a ea."

(Hold fast thy shield, son of Rasenate,  
Thou seest thy fatherland being  
taken away).

I also wish, on behalf of the fighters for freedom, both living and dead and those still unborn, to salute this fifth conference of the Basutoland African Congress, that has shaken the Basutoland White Administration and has made the Basotho realise that there still are people in Africa who prefer suffering and privation to the "flesh pots of Egypt;" people who have taken it upon themselves to "rebuild the destroyed shrines."

I am reminded at this stage, of a tale they tell in the starving, depleted and deserted villages of our motherland. They say: "Once upon a time a

hungry starving wolf left the forest and approached the villages of man. On the way it met a sleek, contented dog. Asked the wolf: 'Brother, how comes it that you are so sleek and happy when I am so lean and discontented.'

The dog replied; 'I live with my master and his family. They feed me well and I do no work at all. I play with my master's children the whole day long. They all love me very much. Why don't you join me and be sleek and happy too?'

'Will your master and his family love me too?' asked the wolf desperate for food.

'Oh yes,' replied the dog. 'Let us go?' And off they went.

On the way the wolf noticed a scar on the dog's neck. 'What caused that scar?' he asked. 'Oh, that?' laughed the dog, 'that is nothing. It was caused by the chain. You see, at night I am chained. But that doesn't worry me, he added hastily, 'because I am well fed and cared for?'

'You are chained at night?' asked the wolf in alarm. 'Then thank you

for your food. I am accustomed to roaming about the forest free at night. I cannot accept chains for anything. I prefer freedom and hunger to chains and a full belly. Good-bye, my friend.' And the hungry wolf went back into the forest."

I need not tell you that the hungry, independent wolves here are the leaders of Congress, and the sleek, well fed dogs are the "good boys" on whom the British Government has always relied to carry on its exploitation of colonial peoples.

If we want to understand the meaning of our present struggle, the reason why the whole continent of Africa, from Egypt and Algeria in the North, to Basutoland and South Africa in the South, is in ferment; if we want to know why it is that the educated youth of Basutoland is fighting hand in hand with the old men of the past, if we want to know why it is that Ntsu Mokhehle and Josiel Lefela are speaking the same language as Moshoeshoe and Lerotholi spoke many years ago, we must go back a little in history and see the events unfold.

Ever since he came to this country the white man, particularly the Englishman, has adopted a policy of divide and rule. He has always managed to get some Africans on to his side to fight against other Africans. In the Cape, for instance, we had Ngqika set against Ndlambe, and when the latter was defeated with the "assistance" of British forces, Ngqika was compelled to cede land to the British. Here we had a nephew set against his uncle. Blood against blood.

In Natal we had Mpande set against Dingaan and with the defeat of the latter the Zulus lost Natal. Here again we had brother set against brother; blood against blood.

When the Boers found that they could not defeat Sekukuni, they got the Swazis on their side and defeated Sekukuni. We had here one black tribe set against another.

That was on governmental level. But there was also a subtler division introduced and the people who fostered that division were the servants of

God, those whom the Xhosa called *oonyawo-ntle* (those with beautiful feet). and the Basotho called them *barufi* (teachers), those who brought light. These names show how gladly these people were welcomed by the African tribes. But they immediately created divisions in the tribes, setting up the so-called "Christian" Africans against the so-called "heathens"; the educated against the uneducated. And everything African was frowned upon by the "Christians" and the educated.

The missionaries went further. They became the trusted friends of the Chiefs and knew all their secrets. We have evidence today that many of them acted as spies for their governments. It was they who arranged the so-called "Peace Treaties" by which Africans lost their land and became reservoirs of labour that they are, today. They are called euphemistically, in some parts "British subjects."

This policy of divide and rule is still being pursued today. The educated 'Native' is still being told that he is better than the uneducated raw 'kaffir'. And many believe it and act accordingly, thereby insulting their fathers and mothers, because many of us have been educated by these same raw, blanketed 'kaffirs' who are neither Christians nor educated natives.

We see this policy pursued by the whites who keep on reminding us that this one is a Zulu, the proud descendant of Chaka, with a glorious military history and should have nothing to do with the cunning Basotho; that one is told he is a Mosotho, a proud descendant of the wise Moshoeshoe, and the only tribe that was never conquered by either black or white, and he should not associate with the wild, savage Zulus nor with the treacherous, thieving Xhosas.

And yet they call us all "Kaffirs". We all pay poll-tax, and we are all called "boys" and "girls" even if we have married sons and daughters. Our colour causes us to suffer common oppression. Why should not that colour bring us together, so that we fight together as a united family, which we are!

I have come to learn that even here in Basutoland you have your "good boys," the tried and tested collaborators; the "responsible natives" whose mouths are ever watering for the flesh pots of Egypt. You also have, I learn, your agitators, your rebels and scheme-

rs, the "dirty bastards" who want to destroy the Chieftainship and take power into their own hands, and make slaves of you all.

My question to you is: Who tells you these things? Is it a black man or a white man? If it is the white men, do you think they care two hoots for your Chiefs or your Paramounts Chief? Did not the British Government ban Seretse Khama although his people wanted him? Did they not execute Bereng and Gabasheane although you, the Basotho, wanted them alive because you doubted their guilt?

Why should you trust the white official or the white "liberal" more than your own leaders who have proved through personal suffering, of which you all are witnesses, that they are with you? They live with you, eat with you. If you want food or shelter you go to your black neighbour and not to your white "friend." Why don't you go to him if he loves you so much?

The fact is; you know he does not care this bit about you, except as a servant to wash his dishes and dirty linen and dig his garden. You follow him, because you have been taught by him in Church and school that *umlungu mdala* (the white man knows everything). It is your slave mentality that makes you follow him; the slave mentality that was instilled into you from childhood when you saw your own father, your God, saluting a small white boy as "morena" or "bass".

If it is a black man who tells you that your leaders are misleading you, I advice you to find out whether he is a Mosotho or a black European. Is he one of the "good boys," the "moderate respectable and responsible leaders" or not? If he is tell him to go to town where he belongs.

It is one of the maxims of politics that a group in power never voluntarily relinquishes its position. It has to be compelled to do so. And the British I submit, are no exception. They will not gladly hand Basutoland back to you.

Some of you will probably inform me that the "good boys" have told you that the British have promised you a Legislature, and very soon you will be free, and that an Englishman never breaks his word. I agree too that an Englishman never breaks his word for the simple reason that he never gives

it! When you are sure he has said this, he comes back to prove to you that he could never have meant what you understood him to mean. You must have misunderstood him.

We have therefore, to be on the alert all the time, scrutinise carefully every word he uses because it is only perpetual vigilance that will ensure that we are not cheated.

It was your vigilance that made you study so carefully the beautifully phrased Moore Report, and you discovered that the recommendations of the Moore Commission amounted to handing over Basutoland to the white officials here. And you rejected that report in every village and town throughout the country. And it was your Congress that led the opposition to the Moore Report, this same Congress that is said to be anxious to dominate you.

It was your vigilance that made you note the steady infiltration of white Union Nationals into the Basutoland Administration and when you investigated their activities you discovered that there was "something rotten in the state of Denmark." But the British Government has forced Chaplin on you. And Chaplin's arrival, I think, showed clearly who were with the people and who were against the Basotho nation.

The Chiefs, leaders, of Congress and the masses opposed Chaplin's appointment, but those who are interested in the incorporation of Basutoland into the Union welcomed Chaplin. To separate the sleek dogs from the starving wolves ask yourselves: "Who wanted Chaplin?" And when you have answered that question you will know who are for you and with you and who are not for you and not with you.

It was the vigilance of your leaders that made them notice that all of a sudden Basutoland had become a huge abattoir, slaughtering not stock but human beings. We have read through the history of Basutoland and nowhere do we find evidence of ritual murders. Not even in war did the Basotho mutilate an enemy. On the contrary it was the civilised English who cut off the head of Chief Moorosi and stuck it on a pole; it was these cultured people - who never break their word - who mutilated the body of Chief Hintsu in the Cape. We have asked ourselves time and again what the source and purpose of these ritual murders is,

but up to now the mystery remains unsolved. Perhaps that will be done by posterity, or perhaps it will never be done. However, we leave all that to time.

From what I have said, it should become clear that our battle here in Basutoland, as in fact in all colonial countries, is for status and land.

When we came into Basutoland this morning we were greeted at the gate leading into Maseru by huge, bold letters: **BASUTOLAND: ENTER IN PEACE.**

What a welcome! We could see Mo-shoeshoe himself uttering those words to weary travellers and refugees, to the white missionaries and traders: "Enter In Peace".

We entered. A Basutoland Mounted Policeman took particulars of our car etc. Well and good, we thought it is a necessary formality. Then we were told to get out of the car, - all of us - and produce our passes. We spent an hour spelling out our names and defining ourselves ethnically.

In the meantime European cars were passing. Particulars of the cars and drivers were taken, and then to attention stood the Basutoland Mounted Policeman, and with a grin extending from ear to ear saluted "morena"! And we, the owners of the land, the children of the soil, were treated as criminals and thieves in our own country! and there still are people who want to know what we are fighting for, why we kick up all this fuss! All right, we shall tell them.

We are fighting for the recognition of the Mosotho man and woman as an equal to any other man or woman whatever race and creed, capable of taking his place alongside any other man or woman, to plan the future of mankind.

We are fighting for the recognition of the fact that this mountainous enclave with its majestic mountains, and splendid air, described as inhospitable and barren by some, is the land of the Basotho, the land that gave them birth, their refuge in time of war. This is the land that nurtured them, the land where the graves of their fathers are, the land where generations of the Basotho have been born, have worked, have married, have borne children and have died. This is the land, still clammy with the blood of those who defended it for us, the land that God gave us to till, to plough and to exploit for the benefit, of all the people of Basutoland, and secondly for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

We are fighting to break the political and economic chains that bind us, compelling the life-blood of Basutoland, the youth of our country, to go to the gold mines to produce wealth that they do not enjoy, coming back here to Basutoland as human incubators to produce more moles to go into the subterranean passages of Johannesburg and Welkom to burrow for more wealth and come back sick and useless with pthisis - to die.

We cannot forget, however, that we are a part of the vast continent of Africa which is today demanding the right of self-determination, the right "to manage or mismanage" her own affairs; the right to take her place alongside the other nations of the world in the highest councils.

Africa is today sending forth a challenge to oppression in every form and guise. Her declaration is best expressed in the words of Howard Fast when he makes Simon say: "Go to Regesh and tell him the Maccabee is in Ephraim the Maccabee and his brother Simon - tell him two men are in Ephraim and that so long as two men walk free on Judean soil, the fight goes on. Tell him it goes on until all the world knows that in Judea there is a people who will not bend their knee to man or god! We were slaves in Egypt, and we shall not be slaves again. Tell Regesh that!"

Tell Ragesh that! Tell the "good boys" that! Tell the "Marematlou" that! Tell the Christian Democratic Party that! Tell Chaplin that! Tell British Imperialism that! Those are the words I can well imagine your President, Ntsu Mokhehle, and the grand old man, Josiel Lefela, uttering, substituting Basutoland for Judea.

That is what we are fighting for, if you want to know. We are fighting for the hastening of the day when Mokhehle will be able to point to every man and woman in Basutoland and say, as the King of Sparta said of his soldiers, "Behold the walls of Sparta (Basutoland), ten thousand men and every man a brick!"

We are looking forward to the dawn of the day when the young herdboys will listen to the call of Congress and say with Macaulay's Roman soldier:

"And how can man die better  
Than facing fearful odds.

For the ashes of his fathers  
And the temples of his gods?"

You have been extremely fortunate in your choice of leaders. Mokhehle and Lefela have shown you what it means to be a leader. They have suffered as you all know, and they are still

suffering.

But they are still in front there, calling you, inviting you to battle, for the sake of your children, and those who are dead and those who are still to be born.

They have exposed corruption in the Administration, have fought relentlessly for the improvement of the lot of the Basotho in their own land. And for that they have been made to suffer. But their struggle is already bearing fruit. You are now awaiting the draft for a Legislative Assembly. Soon the integument of oppression will burst and the untremelled intelligence of the Basotho will be directed towards productive activities such as harnessing the water of your rivers producing wealth in barren places and filling the hills and valleys of Basutoland with song - the song of a free, happy people, hating nobody and loving everybody, conscious of the fact that they are "involved in mankind."

What to do: That briefly, is a catalogue of what we want. But we are not yet free. And to get out freedom we have to suffer more and more, because freedom is never granted; it is won. It has never happened in history that a people in power have voluntarily relinquished their position; they have to be pushed away from it. Nor has it ever happened in history that a people have been freed by others. Just as the Israelites were led out of Egypt by a Moses and not by a John or a Molotov or an Abdullah, so the Basotho will be led to freedom by a Ntsu or a Rasenate and not by a Harry or a Naidoo. It is your own struggle that will free you.

We must therefore, be united, so that whatever we do, we do as one man. You will probably have to organise economic boycotts at one stage or another, to compel certain shops and businesses to respect the Mosotho who is their chief customer. If they want our money, they must treat us decently as customers and not as boys and girls.

We must develop a hatred for oppression and a sensitivity to insult even if it means disappointing some people who like to think of us as a happy-go-lucky nation with a thick skin.

Education Essential: We must make education our priority number one, because we are leaving in an enlightened and scientifically advanced era. And if we must make our contribution to the advancement of mankind, we must be educated and qualified. And it is technicians as well as professional men and women that we need, so that when

we achieve our freedom we shall not be at a loss what to do. In short then we must, like the Jews who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, carry a sword in one hand and a trowel in the other. We must, while fighting oppression, while demolishing the walls of white supremacy, lay the foundation of a new society, a democratic society.

Finally, we must recruit members for Congress, until every man, woman and child is a member of Congress,

so that your leaders can speak confidently, knowing that they have the whole nation behind them.

In conclusion, allow me, with apologies to J.J.R. Jolobe, to quote a few of his Xhosa lines which, I think, sum up most handsomely the spirit that urges us on:

“Apho igazi lenu lithe lathontsela khona,  
Kolimila intyatyambo evumba li-

mandi,  
Eliya kuthwalwa ngamphiko em-  
papho,  
Zithi zonk' izizwe zilirogole.”  
(Wherever your blood has dropped  
Will blossom a flower of exceeding  
sweetness.

Whose scent will be carried on the  
wings of the air.  
And all the nations will inhale it).

BACK TO THE ATTACK!

## THE AMERICAN PEACE CORPS (PART 1)

The arrival in larger numbers than before, of the American “Peace” Corps and their seven months of adjustment and activity in Lesotho call for some further comments from Basotho.

In order to give substance to these comments, we feel that it is necessary that we review the purpose behind the creation of the American “Peace” Corps and their purpose in a country such as Lesotho.

To reduce arguments, we desire to delve into some political references dealing with the different aspects of this American “Peace” Corps. May we first, then examine utterances of the political veterans of the United States of America, whose repeated suggestions have led to the formation of this “Corps”. They continue to speak to the Americans and to the World through the following utterances:

“American policy towards Africa is double-edged,--- to sympathize, in the abstract, with colonial peoples in their desire to be free, but to do nothing that will embarrass their European masters--- on the other hand, in its contemporary phase, American foreign policy is absolutist and has to protect its interests. It is engaged in a Cold War and cannot afford to see its principal allies, Great Britain and France, weakened. --- What the U.S. A. ought to do is to take a much bolder position, announce its unshakable faith in freedom for all peoples, and enormously multiply its assistance to Africa in fields of technical aid, education, and the like. That is the only effective way to beat Communism. America will be stupid beyond belief, if it--- lets the Soviet Union usurp its historical role as the protector of young Nations --- In any case Africa is part of the American frontier nowadays, whether we like it or not---

Nationalist Africa is not remotely strong enough to be able to get rid of Europe in the near future but it can make Africa unpleasantly expensive and troublesome for Europeans.----So at least we should give Africa our most seasoned, scrupulous, and long-minded attention. The challenge to American as well as European Statesmanship is undeniable. Africa is awake, Africa is alert, it has seen the example of Asia, even if its circumstances are different from those of Asia, and for good or ill it is marching with the time.

*The American Writer - John Gunther. (Inside Africa. 1955)*

2. “-----the United States is neglecting Africa while Russia is trying to ‘twist’ Africa’s awakening into totalitarian channels. The growing aspirations of the African people for national and human equality and progress-

three basic principles under which the United States itself has developed - must have the constant sympathy of this country---even if it meant that America’s policy was sometimes at variance with Western Europe’s.”

*U.S.A. Senator M. Mansfield (Africa Digest. Vol. iv. No. 2 -1956)*

3. “Mrs. Frances Bolton,---urged the United States to make it clear to the African that “we know his intense desire for freedom and sympathize with him”. Her general recommendations included the belief that the U.S. should consider treaties of amity and commerce with the Sovereign nations in Africa and should hold our prospect to still dependent territories that when they gain independence they too, would be able to obtain U.S. Aid.”

*Member of U.S. House of Representatives (Africa Digest. Vol. iv. No. 2*



NTSU

MOKHEHLE

## **Appendix B**

### **Kwame Nkrumah's Speech**

\*Source: Obeng, Samuel, comp. *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*. Vol. 5. Accra: Afram Publications, 1997.

10

## CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

Addis Ababa  
May 24, 1963

I am happy to be here in Addis Ababa on this most historic occasion. I bring with me the hopes and fraternal greetings of the Government and people of Ghana to His Imperial Majesty Haille Selassie and to all Heads of African States gathered here in this ancient capital in this momentous period in our history. Our objective is African Union now. There is no time to waste. We must unite now or perish. I am confident that by our concerted effort and determination we shall lay here the foundations for a continental Union of African States.

At the first gathering of African Heads of State, to which I had the honour of playing host, there were representatives of eight independent State only. Today, five years later, here at Addis Ababa, we meet as the representatives of no less than thirty-two States, the guests of His Imperial Majesty, Haille Selassie the First, and the Government and people of Ethiopia. To His Imperial Majesty, I wish to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana my deep appreciation of a most cordial welcome and generous hospitality.

The increase in our number in this short space of time is open testimony to the indomitable and irresistible surge of our peoples for independence. It is also a token of the revolutionary speed of world events in the latter half of this century. In the task which is before us of unifying our continent we must fall in with that pace or be left behind. The task cannot be attacked in the tempo of any other age than our own. To fall behind the unprecedented momentum of actions and events in our time will be to court failure and our own undoing.

A whole continent has imposed a mandate upon us to lay the

foundation of our Union at this Conference. It is our responsibility to execute this mandate by creating here and now the formula upon which the requisite superstructure may be erected.

On this continent it has not taken us long to discover that the struggle against colonialism does not end with the attainment of national independence. Independence is only the prelude to a new and more involved struggle for the right to conduct our own economic and social affairs, to construct our society according to our aspirations, unhampered by crushing and humiliating neo-colonialist controls and interference.

From the start we have been threatened with frustration where rapid change is imperative and with instability where sustained effort and ordered rule are indispensable.

No sporadic act nor pious resolution can resolve our present problems. Nothing will be of avail, except the united act of a united Africa. We have already reached the stage where we must unite or sink into that condition which has made Latin-America the unwilling and distressed prey of imperialism after one-and-a-half centuries of political independence.

As a continent we have emerged into independence in a different age, with imperialism grown stronger, more ruthless and experienced, and more dangerous in international associations. Our economic advancements demands the end of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination in Africa.

But just as we understood that the shaping of our national destinies required of each of us our political independence and bent all our strength to this attainment, so we must recognise that our economic independence resides in our African union and requires the same concentration upon the political achievement.

The unity of our continent, no less than our separate independence, will be delayed if, indeed, we do not lose it, by hobnobbing with colonialism. African Unity is, above all, a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means. The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political Kingdom, not the other way round. The United States of America, the Union of

Soviet Socialist Republics, were the political decisions of revolutionary peoples before they became mighty realities of social power and material wealth.

How, except by our united efforts, will the richest and still enslaved parts of our continent be freed from colonial occupation and become available to us for the total development of our continent? Every step in the decolonisation of our continent has brought greater resistance in those areas where colonial garrisons are available to colonialism and you all here know that.

This is the great design of the imperialist interests that buttress colonialism and neo-colonialism, and we would be deceiving ourselves in the most cruel way were we to regard their individual actions as separate and unrelated. When Portugal violates Senegal's border, when Verwoerd allocates one-seventh of South Africa's budget to military and police, when France builds as part of her defence policy an interventionist force that can intervene, more especially in French-speaking Africa, when Welensky talks of, Southern Rhodesia joining South Africa, when Britain sends arms to South Africa, it is all part of a carefully calculated pattern working towards a single end; the continued enslavement of our still dependent brothers and an onslaught upon the independence of our sovereign African states.

Do we have any other weapon against this design but our unity? Is not our unity essential to guard our own freedom as well as to win freedom for our oppressed brothers, the Freedom Fighters? Is it not unity alone that can weld us into an effective force, capable of creating our own progress and making our valuable contribution to world, peace? Which independent African State, which of you here will claim that its financial structure and banking institutions are fully harnessed to its national development? Which will claim that its material resources and human energies are available for its own national aspirations? Which will disclaim substantial measure of disappointment and disillusionment in its agricultural and urban development?

In independent Africa we are already re-experiencing the instability and frustration which existed under colonial rule. We are fast learning

that political independence is not enough to rid us of the consequences of colonial rule.

The movement of the masses of the people of Africa for freedom, from that kind of rule was not only a revolt against the conditions which it imposed.

Our people supported us in our fight for independence because they believed that African Governments could cure the ills of the past in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule. If, therefore, now that we are independent we allow the same conditions to exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be mobilised against us.

The resources are there. It is for us to marshal them in the active service of our people. Unless we do this by our concerted efforts, within the framework of our combined planning, we shall not progress at the tempo demanded by today's events and the mood of our people. The symptoms of our troubles will grow, and the troubles themselves become chronic. It will then be too late even for Pan African Unity to secure for us stability and tranquillity in our labours for a continent of social justice and material well-being. Unless we establish African Unity now, we who are sitting here today shall tomorrow be the victims and martyrs of neo-colonialism.

There is evidence on every side that the imperialists have not withdrawn from our affairs. There are times, as in the Congo, when their interference is manifest. But generally it is covered up under the clothing of many agencies, which meddle in our domestic affairs, to torment dissension within our borders and to create an atmosphere of tension and political instability. As long as we do not do away with the root causes of discontent, we lend aid to these neo-colonialist forces, and shall become our own executioners. We can not ignore the teachings of history.

Our continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals and industrial and agricultural primary materials. From the Congo alone, Western firms exported copper, rubber, cotton, and other goods to the value of 2,773 million dollars in the ten years between 1945 and 1955, and from South Africa, Western gold mining com-

panies have drawn a profit, in the six years between 1947 to 1951, of 814 million dollars.

Our continent certainly exceeds all the others in potential hydro-electric power, which some experts assess as 42 per cent of the world's total. What need is there for us to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for the industrialised areas of the world?

It is said, of course, that we have no capital, no industrial skill, no communications and no internal markets, and that we cannot even agree among ourselves how best to utilise our resources for our own social needs.

Yet all the stock exchanges in the world are pre-occupied with Africa's gold, diamonds, uranium, platinum, copper and iron ore. Our capital flows out in streams to irrigate the whole system of Western economy. Fifty-two per cent of the gold in Fort Knox at this moment, where the U. S. A. stores its bullion, is believed to have originated from our shores. Africa provides more than 60 per cent of the world's gold. A great deal of the uranium for nuclear power, of copper for electronics, of titanium for supersonic projectiles, of iron and steel for heavy industries, of other minerals and raw materials for lighter industries—the basic economic might of the foreign Powers—come from our continent.

Experts have estimated that the Congo basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the whole world and here we sit talking about regionalism, talking about gradualism, talking about step by step. Are you afraid to tackle the bull by the horn?

For centuries Africa has been the milk cow of the Western world. Was it not our continent that helped the Western world to build up its accumulated wealth?

It is true that we are now throwing off the yoke of colonialism as fast as we can, but our success in this direction is equally matched by an intense effort on the part of imperialism to continue the exploitation of our resources by creating divisions among us.

When the colonies of the American Continent sought to free

themselves from imperialism in the 18th century there was no threat of neo-colonialism in the sense on which we know it today in Africa. The American States were therefore free to form and fashion the unity which was best united to their needs and to frame constitution to hold their unity together without any form of interference from external sources. We, however, are having to grapple with outside interventions. How much more, then do we need to come together in the African unity that alone can save us from the clutches of neo-colonialism and imperialism.

We have the resources. It was colonialism in the first place that prevented us from accumulating the effective capital; but we ourselves have failed to make full use of our power in independence to mobilise our resources for the most effective take-off into thorough going economic and social development. We have been too busy nursing our separate states to understand fully the basic need of our union, rooted in common purpose, common planning and common endeavour. A union that ignores these fundamental necessities will be but a sham. It is only by uniting our productive capacity and the resultant production that we can amass capital. And once we start, the momentum will increase. With capital controlled by our own banks, harnessed to our own true industrial and agricultural development, we shall make our advance. We shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works, iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various states of our continent with communications by land, sea and air. We shall cable from one place to another, phone from one place to the other and astound the world with our hydro-electric power; we shall drain marshes and swamps, clear infested areas, feed the under-nourished, and rid our people of parasites and disease. It is within the possibility of science and technology to make even the Sahara bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments. We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy.

A decade ago, these would have been visionary words, the fantasies of an idle dreamer. But this is the age in which science has transcended the limits of the material world, and technology has invaded the silences of nature. Time and space have been reduced to unimportant abstractions. Giant machines make roads, clear forests,

dig dams, lay out aerodromes; mounter trucks and planes distribute goods; huge laboratories manufacture drugs; complicated geological surveys are made; mighty power stations are built; colossal factories erected - all at an incredible speed. The world is no longer moving through bush paths or on camels and donkeys.

We cannot afford to pace our needs, our development, our security, to the gait of camels and donkeys. We cannot afford not to cut down the overgrown bush of outmoded attitudes that obstruct our path to the modern open road of the widest and earliest achievement of economic independence and the raising up of the lives of our people to the highest level.

Even for other continents lacking the resources of Africa, this is the age that sees the end of human want. For us it is a simple matter of grasping with certainty our heritage by using the political might of unity: All we need to do is to develop with our united strength the enormous resources of our continent. A United Africa will provide a stable field of foreign investment, which will be encouraged as soon as it does not behave inimically to our African interests. For such investment would add by its enterprises to the development of the continental national economy, employment and training of our people, and will be welcome Africa. In dealing with a united Africa, investors will no longer have to weigh with concern the risks of negotiating with governments in one period which may not exist in the very next period. Instead of dealing or negotiating with so many separate states at a time, they will be dealing with one united government pursuing a harmonised continental policy.

What is the alternative to this? If we falter at this stage, and let time pass for neo-colonialism to consolidate its position on this continent, what will be the fate of our people who have put their trust in us? What will be the fate of our freedom fighters? What will be the fate of other African territories that are not yet free?

Unless we can establish great industrial complexes in Africa—which we can only do in a united Africa—we must leave our peasantry to the mercy of foreign cash crop markets, and face the same unrest which overthrew the colonialists. What use to the farmer is education and mechanisation, what use is even capital for development, unless we can ensure for him a fair price and a ready mar-

ket? What has the peasant, worker and farmer gained from political independence, unless we can ensure for him a fair return for his labour and higher standard of living?

Unless we can establish great industrial complexes in Africa, what have the urban worker, and those peasants on overcrowded land gained from political independence? If they are to remain unemployed or in unskilled occupation, what will avail them the better facilities for education, technical training, energy and ambition which independence enables us to provide?

There is hardly any African State without a frontier problem with, its adjacent neighbours. It would be futile for me to enumerate them because they are already so familiar to us all. But let me suggest to Your Excellencies that this fatal relic of colonialism will drive us to war against one another as our unplanned and uncoordinated industrial development expands, just as happened in Europe. Unless we succeed in arresting the danger through mutual understanding on fundamental issues and through African Unity, which will render existing boundaries obsolete and superfluous, we shall have fought in vain for independence. Only African Unity can heal this festering sore of boundary disputes between our various states. Your Excellencies, the remedy for these ills is ready in our hand. It stares us in the face at every customs barrier, it shouts to us from every African heart. By creating a true political union of all the independent states of Africa, with executive powers for political direction we can tackle hopefully every emergency, every enemy, and every complexity. This is not because we are a race of supermen, but because we have emerged in the age of science and technology in, which poverty, ignorance and disease are no longer the masters, but the retreating foes of mankind. We have emerged in the age of socialised planning, when production and distribution are not governed by chaos, greed and self-interest, but by social needs. Together with the rest of mankind, we have awakened from Utopian dreams to pursue practical blueprints for progress and social justice.

Above all, we have merged at a time when a continental land mass like Africa with its population approaching three hundred million are necessary to the economic capitalisation and profitability of modern productive methods and techniques. Not one of us working

singly and individually can successfully attain the fullest development. Certainly, in the circumstances, it will not be possible to give adequate assistance to sister states trying, against the most difficult conditions, to improve their economic and social structures. Only a united Africa functioning under a Union Government can forcefully mobilise the material and moral resources of our separate countries and apply them efficiently and energetically to bring a rapid change in the conditions of our people.

If we do not approach the problems in Africa with a common front and a common purpose, we shall be haggling and wrangling among ourselves until we are colonised again and become the tools of a far greater colonialism than we suffered hitherto.

United we must. Without necessarily sacrificing our sovereignties, big or small, we can here and now forge a political union based on Defence, Foreign Affairs and Diplomacy, and a Common Citizenship, an African Currency, an African Monetary Zone and an African Central Bank. We must unite in order to achieve the full liberation of our continent. We need a Common Defence System with an African High Command to ensure the stability and security of Africa.

We have been charged with this sacred task by our own people, and we cannot betray their trust by failing them. We will be mocking the hopes of our people if we show the slightest hesitation or delay in tackling realistically this question of African Unity.

The supply of arms or other military aid to the colonial oppressors in Africa must be regarded not only as aid in the vanquishment of the freedom fighters battling for their African independence, but as an act of aggression against the whole of Africa. How can we meet this aggression except by the full weight of our united strength?

Many of us have made non-alignment an article of faith on this continent. We have no wish, and no intention of being drawn into the Cold War. But with the present weakness and insecurity of our States in the context of world politics, the search for bases and spheres of influence brings the Cold War into Africa with its danger of nuclear warfare. Africa should be declared a nuclear-free zone and freed from cold war exigencies. But we cannot make this demand mandatory

unless we support it from a position of strength to be found only in our unity.

Instead, many Independent African States are involved in military pacts with the former colonial powers. The stability and security which such devices seek to establish are illusory, for the metropolitan Powers seize the opportunity to support their neo-colonialist controls by direct military involvement. We have seen how the neo-colonialists use their bases to entrench themselves and even to attack neighbouring independent states. Such bases are centres of tension and potential danger spots of military conflict. They threaten the security not only of the country in which they are situated but of neighbouring countries as well. How can we hope to make Africa a nuclear-free zone and independent of cold war pressure with such military involvement on our continent? Only by counter-balancing a common defence force with a common desire for an Africa untrammelled by foreign dictation or military and nuclear presence. This will require an all-embracing African High Command, especially if the military pacts with the imperialists are to be renounced. It is the only way we can break these direct links between the colonialism of the past and the neo-colonialism which disrupts us today.

We do not want nor do we visualise an African High Command in the terms of the power politics that now rule a great part of the world, but as an essential and indispensable instrument for ensuring stability and security in Africa.

We need a unified economic planning for Africa. Until the economic power of Africa is in our hands, the masses can have no real concern and no real interest for safeguarding our security, for ensuring the stability of our regimes, and for bending their strength to the fulfilment of our ends. With our united resources, energies and talents we have the means, as soon as we show the will, to transform the economic structures of our individual states from poverty to that of wealth, from inequality to the satisfaction of popular needs. Only on a continental basis shall we be able to plan the proper utilisation of all our resources for the full development of our continent.

How else will we retain our own capital for our development? How else will we establish an internal market for our own industries?

By belonging to different economic zones, how will we break down the currency and trading barriers between African States, and how will the economically stronger amongst us be able to assist the weaker and less developed States?

It is important to remember that independent financing and independent development cannot take place without an independent currency. A currency system that is backed by the resources of a foreign state is *ipso facto* subject to the trade and financial arrangements of that foreign country.

Because we have so many customs and currency barriers as a result of being subject to the different currency systems of foreign powers, this has served to widen the gap between us in Africa. How, for example, can related communities and families trade with, and support one another successfully, if they find themselves divided by national boundaries and currency restriction? The only alternative open to them in these circumstances is to use smuggled currency and enrich national and international racketeers and crooks who prey upon our financial and economic difficulties.

No independent African State today by itself has a chance to follow an independent course of economic development, and many of us who have tried to do this have been almost ruined or have had to return to the fold of the former colonial rulers. This position will not change unless we have a unified policy working at the continental level. The first step towards our cohesive economy would be a unified monetary zone, with, initially, an agreed common parity for our currencies. To facilitate this arrangement, Ghana would change to a decimal system. When we find that the arrangement of a fixed common parity is working successfully, there would seem to be no reason for not instituting one common currency and a single bank of issue. With a common currency from one common bank of issue we should be able to stand erect on our own feet because such an arrangement would be fully backed by the combined national products of the states composing the union. After all, the purchasing power of money depends on productivity and the productive exploitation of the natural, human and physical resources of the nation.

While we are assuring our stability by a common defence

system, and our economy is being orientated beyond foreign control by a Common Currency, Monetary Zone and Central Bank of Issue, we can investigate the resources of our continent. We can begin to ascertain whether in reality we are the richest, and not, as we have been taught to believe, the poorest among the continents. We can determine whether we possess the largest potential in hydroelectric power, and whether we can harness it and other sources of energy to our own industries. We can proceed to plan our industrialisation on a continental scale, and to build up a common market for nearly three hundred million people.

Common Continental Planning for the Industrial and Agricultural Development of Africa is a vital necessity.

So many blessings must flow from our unity; so many disasters must follow on our continued disunity, that our failure to unite today will not be attributed by posterity only to faulty reasoning and lack of courage, but to our capitulation before the forces of neo-colonialism and imperialism.

The hour of history which has brought us to this assembly is a revolutionary hour. It is the hour of decision. For the first time, the economic imperialism which menaces us is itself challenged by the irresistible will of our people.

The masses of the people of Africa are crying for unity. The people of Africa call for the breaking down of the boundaries that keep them apart. They demand an end to the border disputes between sister African states—disputes that arise out of the artificial barrier raised by colonialism. It was colonialism's purpose that divided us. It was colonialism's purpose that left us with our border irredentism, that rejected our ethnic and cultural fusion.

Our people call for unity so that they may not lose their patrimony in the perpetual service of neo-colonialism. In their fervent push for unity, they understand that only its realisation will give full meaning to their freedom and our African independence.

It is this popular determination that must move us on to a Union of Independent African States. In delay lies danger to our well-

being, to our very existence as free states. It has been suggested that our approach to unity should be gradual, that it should be piece-meal. This point of view conceives of Africa as a static entity with "frozen" problems which can be eliminated one by one and when all have been cleared then we can come together and say: "Now all is well. Let us now unite." This view takes no account of the impact of external pressures. Nor does it take cognisance of the danger that delay can deepen our isolations and exclusiveness; that it can enlarge our differences and set us drifting further and further apart into the net of neo-colonialism, so that our union will become nothing but a fading hope, and the great design of Africa's full redemption will be lost, perhaps, forever.

The view is also expressed that our difficulties can be resolved simply by a greater collaboration through co-operative association in our inter-territorial relationships. This way of looking at our problems denies a proper conception of their inter-relationship and mutuality. It denies faith in a future for African advancement in African independence. It betrays a sense of solution only in continued reliance upon external sources through bilateral agreements for economic and other forms of aid.

The fact is that although we have been co-operating and associating with one another in various fields of common endeavour even before colonial times, this has not given us the continental identity and the political and economic force which would help us to deal effectively with the complicated problems confronting us in Africa today. As far as foreign aid is concerned, a United Africa would be in a more favourable position to attract assistance from foreign sources. There is the far more compelling advantage which this arrangement offers, in that aid will come from anywhere to a united Africa because our bargaining power would become infinitely greater. We shall no longer be dependent upon aid from restricted sources.

What are we looking for in Africa? Are we looking for Charters, conceived in the light of the United Nations example? A type of United Nations Organisation whose decisions are framed on the basis of resolutions that in our experience have sometimes been ignored by member States? Where groupings are formed and pressures develop in accordance with the interests of the groups concerned?

Or is it intended that Africa should be turned into a loose organisation of States on the model of the Organisation of American States, in which the weaker States within it can be at the mercy of the stronger or more powerful ones politically or economically and all at the mercy of some powerful outside nation or group of nations? Is this the kind of association we want for ourselves in the United Africa we all speak of with such feeling and emotion?

Your Excellencies, permit me to ask: Is this the kind of framework we desire for our United Africa? An arrangement which in future could permit Ghana or Nigeria or the Sudan, or Liberia, or Egypt or Ethiopia for example, to use pressure, which either superior economic or political influence gives, to dictate the flow and direction of trade from, say, Burundi or Togo or Nyasaland to Mozambique or Madagascar?

We all want a united Africa, united not only in our concept of what unity connotes, but united in our common desire to move forward together in dealing with all the problems that can best be solved only on a continental basis.

When the first Congress of the United States met many years ago in Philadelphia one of the delegates sounded the first chord of unity by declaring that they had met in "a state of nature." In other words, they were not in Philadelphia as Virginians, or Pennsylvanians, but simply as Americans. This reference to themselves as Americans was in those days a new and strange experience. May I dare to assert equally on this occasion Your Excellencies, that we meet there today not as Ghanaians, Guineans, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians but as Africans. Africans united in our resolve to remain here until we have agreed on the basic principles of a new compact of unity among ourselves which guarantees for us and our future a new arrangement of continental government.

If we succeed in establishing a New Set of Principles as the basis of a New Charter or Statute for the establishment of a continental our people, then, in my view, this conference should mark the end of our various groupings and regional blocs. But if we fail and let this grand and historic opportunity slip by then we shall give way to greater dissension and vision among us for which the people of Africa will never forgive us. And the popular and progressive forces

and movements within Africa will condemn us. I am sure therefore that we shall not fail them.

I have spoken at some length, Your Excellencies, because it is necessary for us all to explain not only to one another present here but also to our people who have entrusted to us the fate and destiny of Africa. We must therefore not leave this place until we have set up effective machinery for achieving African Unity. To this end, I now propose for your consideration the following:-

As a first step, Your Excellencies, a declaration of principle uniting and binding us together and to which we must all faithfully and loyally adhere, and laying the foundations of unity should be set down. And there should also be a formal declaration that all the Independent African States here and now agree to the establishment of a Union of African States.

As a second and urgent step for the realisation of the unification of Africa, an All-Africa Committee of Foreign Ministers be set up now, and that before we rise from this Conference a date should be fixed for them to meet.

This Committee should establish on behalf of the Heads of our governments a permanent body of officials and experts to work out a machinery for the Union Government of Africa. This body of officials and experts should be made up of two of the best brains from each independent African State. The various Charters of the existing groupings and other relevant documents could also be submitted to the officials and experts. A Presidium consisting of the heads of Governments of the Independent African States should be called upon to meet and adopt a Constitution and other recommendations which will launch the Union Government of Africa.

We must also decide on a location where this body of officials and experts will work as the new Headquarters or Capital of our Union Government. Some central place in Africa might be the fairest suggestion either at Bangui in the Central African Republic or Leopoldville in Congo. My Colleagues may have other proposals. The Committee of Foreign Ministers, officials and experts should be empowered to establish:

- (1) a Commission to frame a constitution for a Union

Government of African States;

- (2) a Commission to work out a continent-wide plan for a unified or common economic and industrial programme for Africa; this plan should include proposals for setting up:

- (a) A Common Market for Africa;
- (b) An African Currency;
- (c) African Monetary Zone;
- (d) An African Central Bank, and
- (e) A continental Communication system.

- (3) a Commission to draw up details for a Common Foreign Policy and Diplomacy.

- (4) a Commission to produce plans for a Common System of Defence.

- (5) a Commission to make proposals for a Common African Citizenship.

These Commissions will report to the Committee of Foreign Ministers who should in turn submit within six months of this Conference their recommendations to the Presidium. The Presidium meeting in Conference at the Union Headquarters will consider and approve the recommendations of the Committee of Foreign Ministers.

In order to provide funds immediately for the work of the permanent officials and experts of the Headquarters of the Union, I suggest that a special Committee be set up to work out a budget for this.

Your Excellencies, with these steps, I submit, we shall be irrevocably committed to the road which will bring us to a Union Government for Africa. Only a United Africa with central political direction can successfully give effective material and moral support to our freedom fighters, in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, etc., and of course South Africa. All Africa must be liberated now. It is therefore imperative for us here and now to

establish a liberation bureau for African freedom fighters. The main object of this bureau, to which all governments should subscribe, should be to accelerate the emancipation of the rest of Africa still under colonial and racist domination and oppression. It should be our joint responsibility to finance and support this bureau. On their successful attainment of Independence these territories will automatically join our Union of African States, and thus strengthen the fabric of Mother Africa. We shall leave here, having laid the foundation for our unity.

Your Excellencies, nothing could be more fitting than that the unification of Africa should be born on the soil of the State which stood for centuries as the symbol of African Independence.

Let us return to our people of Africa not with empty hands and with high-sounding resolutions, but with the firm hope and assurance that at long last African Unity has become a reality. We shall thus begin the triumphant march to the kingdom of the African Personality, and to a continent of prosperity, and progress, of equality and justice and of work and happiness. This shall be our victory—victory within a continental government of a Union of African States. This victory will give our voice greater force in world affairs and enable us to throw our weight more forcibly on the side of peace. The world needs peace in which the greatest advantage can be taken of the benefits of science and technology. Many of the world's present ills are to be found in the insecurity and fear engendered by the threat of nuclear war. Especially do the new nation need peace in order to make their way into a life of economic and social well-being amid an atmosphere of security and stability that will promote moral, cultural and spiritual fulfilment.

If we in Africa can achieve the example of a continent knit together in common policy and common purpose, we shall have made the finest possible contribution to that peace for which all men and women thirst today, and which will lift once and forever the deepening shadow of global destruction from mankind. Ethiopia shall STRETCH forth her hands unto God.

**AFRICA MUST UNITE**

## CLOSING REMARKS AFTER SIGNING OF O. A. U. CHARTER

Addis Ababa  
May 25, 1963

YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY, MR. CHAIRMAN, YOUR EXCELLENCIES,  
BROTHERS AND FRIENDS,

We have come to the end of a historic and momentous Conference. The decisions we have taken here have made African Unity a reality and we can see clearly a Union Government of Africa in the horizon.

This is the goal which we set ourselves when we struggled in our separate States for Independence. It is also the compelling force which brought us together in Addis Ababa.

As I have said over and over again, the independence of our separate State is meaningless, unless the whole of Africa becomes free and united.

The resolutions we have made here are a symbol of our determination to become united and to remain united in an African Community with common aspirations and common objectives.

Freedom Fighters in all parts of our Continent can now be assured that they are not alone in their struggle. The whole weight and power of a united Africa is behind them.

After centuries of colonial exploitation and domination Africa has been re-born. We have discovered our common identity, a force with which we can re-assert our African personality.

We shall from now on think, plan and work together for the progress and development of our great Continent. In this way, we shall eliminate completely the handicaps, set-backs and humiliation we have suffered under colonialism and imperialism.

We should be happy that at long last by the adoption of this

## **Appendix C**

### **Julius Nyerere's Speech**

\*Source: <<http://www.uneca.org/adfiii/riefforts/ref/speech/Tanganyika.pdf>>

SUMMIT  
CIAS/GEN/INF/34

26 May 1963

ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE

SPEECH BY MWALINU JULIUS K. NYERERE, PRESIDENT OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF TANGANYIKA  
24th MAY, 1963

This conference has been faced with one task, it is the task of finding a common denominator, which will guide us in our determination to rid our continent of the remaining vestiges of colonialism and in our determination to see an Africa speaking with the same voice.

The eyes of Africa and the world are turned upon this conference. They are anxiously waiting for its outcome. Some are praying for its failure; others are praying for its success.

We did not come here to discover whether we all want a free Africa. Even the greatest enemies of African unity know that the one thing on which there can be no doubt that the whole of Africa speaks with one sincere voice, it is our desire to see an Africa completely freed from foreign domination and racialism. We came here to find out what we should all do now in order to bring about the final liberation of Africa.

We did not come here to discover whether we want African unity. Again even our enemies know that we sincerely desire unity. It is their fear of the consequences to them of complete African unity, which makes them emphasise our differences and hope - wishfully - that these differences will make it impossible for Africa to unite. No, we did not come here to find out whether we desire unity. We came here to find out our common denominator in our approach to African unity.

I do not propose to bother you by stating why Africa should be free any why Africa should be united; why Africa should unite in achieving its freedom and free in achieving its unity. Your Imperial Majesty and those of my brothers who have spoken before me have stated that case much better than I can. It has been even better stated by the suffering of our people; by the blood which our people have shed and are still shedding at the hands of their oppressors; it has been better stated by the millions of our people who died in the slave raids organised all over Africa by those powers whose prestige was built

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upon the humiliation of Africa; it is still stated by those monuments of European, American, and (let's say it) Asian glory, which to us are symbols of humiliation and oppression. I repeat then, that I do not propose to bother you with reasons, why Africa should be free, and why Africa should be united. We came here simply to discover our common denominator, in our approach to freedom and unity.

Because of the good fortune that I have had to speak last I can honestly say that we have discovered this common denominator. In our approach to the final liberation of Africa we are all agreed without a single exception that the time for more words is gone; that this is time for action; that the time for allowing our brethren to struggle unaided is gone; that from now on our brethren in non-independent Africa should be helped by independent Africa.

In order to complet this ficture of unanimity let me add Tanganyika's voice then. I ask you to look at the map of Africa. You will immediately realise why in a very real and special sence we in Tanganyika, as indeed our brethren in the Congo cannot be comfortable or complacent in, our freedom as long as our neighbours to the south are not free.

At present, not because of any greater dedication to the freedom of Africa, but because of our proximity to non-independent Africa, we are already making a humble contribution to the liberation of Southern Africa, but we are prepared to do more. In particular we are prepared to support the proposal made by our brother, President Sekou Toure, that one percent of our national budget should be set aside for the purpose fo liberating non-free Africa. I want to assure our gallant brother from Algeria, Brother Ben Bella, that we are prepared to die a little for the final removal of the humiliation of colonialism from the face of Africa.

In our search for a common approach to unity the way the United States of America came into being has often been mentioned as an example open to us to follow. But let me say in this connection, that the United States of America did not come into being by the signing of the American Constitution. This was rather the culmination of a common endeavour by thirteen colonial countries. The ral unity was forged and sealed by the Declaration of Independence and by a comradeship in arms for the achievement of that independence. Let

us not avoid that task now facing us by waiting until Africa is under one Government.

I ask your Imperial Majesty and my brothers assembled here that we collectively should now view the continued occupation of Africa by any foreign power with the same gravity and in the same seriousness as each one of us would have viewed the occupation by a foreign power of a part of the country that he has the privilege and the honour to lead. We can no longer go on saying that Angola is not free or Mozambique is not free, etc., and that we are helping Angolans or Mozambiquans to free themselves. Such statements are hiding the truth. The real humiliating truth is that Africa is not free; and therefore it is Africa which should take the necessary collective measures to free Africa. This is the clear and serious message that should go from here to the Security Council of the United Nations.

In our approach to unity we have also discovered a common denominator. We have all repeated our dedication to the achievement of a fully united Africa. But we have all said in effect that just as African Independence has been a process, African unity is about to be a process. There is not going to be a God who will bring about African unity by merely willing unity and saying, "Let there be Unity." It is not in the nature of human action that the will and the fulfilment should be simultaneous. That is not in our power, that is only in the power of the Gods. In human action there is an inevitable progress between the will to do and the fulfilment of that action. What is required is that immediately after the will the first step should be taken - I repeat then that African unity cannot come by a divine will, "Let there be unity." And none of us is prepared in the name of unity to invite a Napoleon to come and bring about such unity by conquest. We are therefore left with only one method of bringing about African unity. That method is the method of free agreement. That is why at the beginning of this speech I said our task is to discover how to bring about our freedom in unity and our unity in freedom. This means that at any given point we must discover our highest common denominator. Having discovered that highest common denominator our duty is to take it with our waiting till tomorrow.

We have, I believe, reached such an agreement here for the initial step to be taken. I believe that one can pick upon any proposal made by our brother President Senghor as such an example of common denominator. Taking the various proposals already made our Foreign

Ministers are now drawing that common denominator in the form of a Charter.

There will be some who will say that this charter does not go far enough or is not revolutionary enough. This may be so. But what is going far enough. No good mason would complain that his first brick did not go far enough. He knows that a first brick will go as far as it can go and will go no farther. He will go on laying brick after brick before the edifice is complete.

And what is being revolutionary? A true revolutionary is not an unrealistic dreamer. A true revolutionary is one who analyses any given situation with scientific objectivity and acts accordingly. This is what this conference has been doing. Examining realistically what it is that we have in common in our approach to unity and then act accordingly.

The enemies of Africa are now praying. They are praying for the failure of this conference. The people of Africa are also praying. They are praying for the triumph of FAN-AFRICANISM OVER NARROW NATIONALISM AND REGIONALISM. They are specially praying for the triumph of an all embracing Africa Charter over a Monrovia or Casablanca.

It is unnecessary for me to prophesy that it shall not be recorded in history that, "BUT FOR THE STUBBORNNESS AND NON-COOPERATION OF TANGANYIKA THE ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN A SUCCESS." Our National Motto is "UHURU NA UMOJA" (FREEDOM AND UNITY). Our National Anthem is, "GOD BLESS AFRICA."

Finally let me say this:-

We reciprocate the good wishes and prayers of the friends of Africa wherever they may be.

To those enemies of Africa who will want to belittle the significance of this conference by saying that it did not achieve very much we ought to send this challenge. That if when the nations of the world reassemble at the United Nations, they will approach the problems of the world in the same spirit of goodwill and co-operation as the nations of Africa assembled have approached their African problems here, the human race, like the African people, shall have taken an immense step towards universal brotherhood.

## **Appendix D**

### **Abubakar Tafawa Balewa's Speech**

\*Source: <<http://www.uneca.org/adfiii/riefforts/ref/speech/Nigeria.pdf>>

A RECORD SPEECH BY THE RIGHT HON. PRIME MINISTER OF  
THE FEDERATION OF NIGERIA TO THE AFRICAN SUMMIT  
CONFERENCE, ADDIS ABABA, 24TH MAY, 1963

Your Imperial Majesty  
Mr. President  
Your Excellencies:

First, I want to express the thanks of my country to your Imperial Majesty, the Imperial Majesty's Government and the people of Ethiopia for the warm reception which they have given to my delegation and myself. The presence of almost all the Heads of African States and Governments in Addis Ababa is a great tribute to your Imperial Majesty personally. The history of the new Africa will always have your name in the forefront, because the unity which we are trying to build in this conference is going to have quite a lot to do with the name of the capital city of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

Mr. President, His Imperial Majesty sustained a double loss not long ago in the death of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress, and Prince Sahle Selassie. During your period of sorrow which you have sustained with very great fortitude, our hearts were with you. Mr. President, may I ask all of you, your excellencies, to rise and observe two minutes silence in memory of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress, and Prince Sahle Selassie.

Mr. President, it is very difficult, after so many eloquent speeches which have exhaustively dealt with the subject, for me not to make some repetition of the points made. However, Sir, I will try to explain the views and the stand of Nigeria as far as African unity is concerned. I feel that the mere presence of all the Heads of African States and Governments here shows the success of the Conference, and I have no doubt that all of us will leave Addis Ababa satisfied that we have done something.

It has always been our view in Nigeria that personal contacts, and the exchange of ideas are the basis of mutual understanding. I am pleased to say that, from now on, there will be no question of the so-called Monrovia and Casablanca Blocs. We all belong to Africa.

There have been quite a lot of views on what we mean by African Unity. Some of us have suggested that African Unity should be achieved by political fusion of the different states in Africa; some of us feel that African unity could be achieved by taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation and by trying first to get the Africans to understand themselves before embarking on the more complicated and more difficult arrangement of political union. My country stands for the practical approach to the unity of the African continent. We feel that, if this unity is to last, we must start from the beginning. Nigeria's stand

is that if we want this unity in Africa we must first agree to certain essential things: The first is that African States must respect one another. There must be acceptance of equality by all the States. No matter whether they are big or small, they are all sovereign and their sovereignty is sovereignty. The size of a State, its population or its wealth should not be the criterion. It has been pointed out many times that the smaller States in Africa have no right to exist because they are too small. We in Nigeria do not agree with this view. It was unfortunate that the African States have been broken up into different groups by the Colonial powers. In some cases, a single tribe has been broken up into four different States. You might find a section in Guinea, a section in Mali, a section in Sierra Leone and perhaps a section in Liberia. That was not our fault because, for over 60 years, these different units have been existing, and any attempt, on the part of any African country to disregard this fact might bring trouble to this continent. This is the thing we want to avoid and, for this reason, Nigeria recognises all the existing boundaries in Africa, and recognises the existence of all the countries in Africa. This I think, Sir, is the basis of the unity which we in Nigeria pray for on our continent.

As I have said, we have to start from the beginning. I have listened to speeches in this conference, and there have been only a very few members who spoke on the desirability of having a political union. Almost all the speeches indicate that a more practical approach is much preferred by the majority of the delegation. I am glad to say that the stand we have taken right from the beginning is the stand of nearly almost all the countries in this conference. It appears from the speeches as if we were just sitting idle and doing nothing towards the achievement of this unity. For our part, in Nigeria, we are already co-operating with some of our neighbours. For example, the other day, my friend, the President of Malagasy said he could not contact Lagos by telephone from Cotonou. This is no longer the case. Now he can speak direct. What we are trying to do is to link up with all our neighbours by means of telecommunications and by exchanging more postal facilities; and we are already entering into bilateral agreements with many of our neighbours. We are discussing this matter with the Republic of the Cameroun, discussing our common problems with Tchad, Congo (Leo) with Dahomey, and also we have direct link with Togo. We hope to continue in this work because we feel that, if we are to unite, it is important that our communications system should be excellent and transport facilities should be such that it would enable us to move freely around, to move not only ourselves but to move our goods to different parts of the continent. Also, we have been trying in Nigeria to join other states in trying to discuss common problems - educational and scientific problems.

We feel that it is very important for the nationals of different African countries to have the opportunity of mixing at all levels, not at the Heads of States and Governments level, not only at the Foreign Ministers level, but also at all levels. Let our peoples travel to different countries in Africa; let them get to know themselves and to understand themselves. This, I am sure, will bring great understanding among all the peoples of

this continent. So far, our communications system is not what we would like it to be; our transport is bad. This is not our fault. It was the fault of the Colonial Powers because they designed everything for their own purposes. It is up to us now - those of us who shape the destiny of our countries - to do what we can to improve matters.

Many of the speakers have told us that mere resolutions, mere condemnation is not enough; it is time for action. I would call upon the conference that we now start on the real work. It is in our hands to build, to create and to develop a new Africa for which all of us are anxious to do.

Now, Mr. President, the Hon. President of the Sudan, I think, when he spoke, told us that we should be frank. I think it was the President of Malagasy who said that we in Africa do not want to speak the truth. We have a saying in Nigeria, which is that "Truth is bitter". Mr. President, I want to be frank I want to tell the bitter truth. To my mind we cannot achieve this African unity as long as some African countries continue to carry on subversive activities in other African countries.

Sir, many of the members have spoken very strongly on the decolonisation of the continent. I want to say that we in Nigeria are prepared to do anything to secure the freedom of the continent of Africa. There has been a suggestion that we should pull our resources together, that we should make arrangements, if necessary, to help the nationalists in different countries in Africa, which are still dependent, to fight their way to independence. We in Nigeria are prepared to do anything towards the liberation of all African countries. I have observed that, when we give assistance to another country which is fighting for its independence, some of us are in the habit of imposing obligations on those States. That is wrong. If we give assistance to African people in any dependent territory, we should not ask for any obligation on their part: because that would come almost to the same point that many of the speakers have made that they would only accept foreign aid without any strings attached. I do not believe that any aid, no matter from where it comes, is without strings attached to it. Let us not fall into the same trap. If we assist any dependent territory in Africa, we must see to it that we do not attach conditions to our assistance. This is very, very important if we want to establish the solidarity of the continent of Africa, to make sure that any form of assistance we give is free.

It is good, sir, that we have a common pool, but a conference like this cannot discuss the details of such an organisation; and it is our view that, immediately after leaving this conference, or before we leave, we should appoint a committee - a standing committee - to go into the details of this matter. On the question of colonialism and racial discrimination, I am afraid that we in Nigeria will never compromise.

Now, I come to a very vital matter, which is the development of the continent. The African continent is very rich in resources but, unfortunately, these resources are not developed yet. We are born at a very difficult time: We have not the necessary capital, the necessary equipment, or the necessary know-how for the development of our continent. Therefore, we find it absolutely necessary to rely on outsiders for the development of the African territories. I would like to tell the conference that we must take every care to know how we invite to assist in the development of our resources, because there is a fear, which is my personal fear, that, if we are not careful, we may have colonialism in a different form. Colonialism can take many different forms. Our countries can be colonised economically, if we are not careful. Just as we have fought political domination, it is also important that we fight against economic domination by other countries.

Let us not forget that we in Africa are part of the world. We have our international obligations as well. Whatever we do, we cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. Therefore, in all that we do, and in all that we say, we should be careful because we belong to one human society. Mr. President, I always tell people that I do not believe in African personality, but in human personality. The African is a human being and, therefore, we have to see to the development of human personality in Africa. I think any talk of African personality is based on inferiority complex. I do not regard any human being - red, white, brown, yellow or green - as superior to me. I regard myself as equal to anybody. I am a human being.

Now, some people have suggested, and this is a thing which is already underway, the establishment of an African Development Bank. I hope that, when the Ministers of Finance of different countries of Africa meet in Khartoum, they will be able to produce something which should be of benefit to all of us. Also a suggestion has been made for the establishment of an African Common Market. This is a very good idea; but I must say that we in Nigeria feel that it is a very complicated matter. We want an African Common Market. But, can we do it by taking the continent as a whole? Or can we do it by certain groupings in Africa? What appears to us to be more practical is that we should have an African Common Market based on certain groupings. We are thinking, sir, of a North African grouping which will include the Sudan; a West African grouping which will extend to the River Congo; an East African grouping, which will include almost all the Central African countries. If we base our examination on these groupings, I think we will arrive at a very successful establishment of an African Common Market, because I think it is good for the trade of Africa. For example, the inter-State trade in Africa is 10%, and 90% is done with countries outside Africa. There is no reason why we should not increase the inter-State trade on this Continent. I think, sir, that if we are able to establish an African Common Market, we shall overcome many difficulties and we shall be in a position to stand on our own in relation to the other parts of the world. My fear of our being colonised will disappear if we are able to establish this African Common Market.

The question of disarmament was raised by several speakers. I think all of us feel strongly about this question. Although some feel that disarmament can never be achieved, still others feel that it is most important that the great Powers will continue to talk about it; because the more they talk about it, the less danger there would be of an open clash. I am glad that they have seen fit to invite some of the African countries to participate in their disarmament talks. The most essential thing, which is desirable, is to effect disarmament. It is desirable to ban nuclear testing; it is most important that we exercise every possible influence we can upon the great Powers to destroy those bombs which they have already got. If there is a war now, there would be nothing - everything would go. We are now just starting to develop our countries. The mere fact that Africa has been declared a nuclear-free zone will not make Africa free in the event of a world war. If there is war, we in Africa will be directly involved. It is our concern that there should be peace in the world, and that there should be understanding among the great Powers. Some people have suggested that we should organise ourselves into a Defence Bloc. Well, Mr. President and Your Excellencies, all of us have been talking about the bad nature of the armament race. It has been suggested that we should embark on an arms race in Africa. All of us know very well that we are at present incapable of joining in such a race. Our idea is that we should not be talking about an arms race. All we should talk about, sir, is how to stop it, and I would not suggest that we should join in that race at all.

A suggestion was also made that we should come together as a bloc in the United Nations. Well, that is a very good idea; but I must tell the conference that we in Nigeria hate the idea of blocs, and we do not like it. If we can find some kind of name for it, such African Committee or an African 'something', it will be much better, because the whole idea of blocs is revolting. I think we should try to find better names for these different groupings. I think that we have been working for sometime now in United Nations where our different representatives meet and discuss matters of common interest. May I suggest to the conference that it is time now that we find a permanent small secretariat for such an African Committee in New York? That does not mean, of course, that we will instruct our delegates to close their eyes to the wider issues of world problems. But, as a Continent which has suffered for so long and also as a people who have suffered for so long, I think we have to do everything to get our proper position in the United Nations Organisation. Some of us have suggested that we should seek greater representation in the Security Council and also in all the bodies of the United Nations Organisation. Well, this has been our stand all the years we have been independent. I said so in New York; I said it in Monrovia. It is absolutely essential that the African continent must have more appropriate representation in the Security Council and all the bodies of United Nations, because we have more to gain thereby. That world organisation, I have always maintained,

is a sure guarantee of the independent sovereignty of our African states.

Mr. President, many of the points have been made. Many members have said that we cannot leave Addis Ababa without a charter. I hope we shall not leave here without some kind of charter. I hope our Foreign Ministers will produce a charter before we leave this city.

May I thank Your Imperial Majesty again and may I ask the conference to forgive me for being a little bit frank. I think that is the only way by which we could achieve understanding among ourselves. It is important that, when we meet on an occasion like this, we try to tell each other the hard facts, the truth about matters, instead of speaking about them behind. It is most important that we become frank in Africa. We are just beginning to know ourselves; and I am very happy, Mr. President, for having the opportunity to meet the very distinguished members from all parts of Africa. I hope that this conference will pave the way to the unity and solidarity of the African continent.