

THE NELSON MANDELA ANNUAL LECTURE

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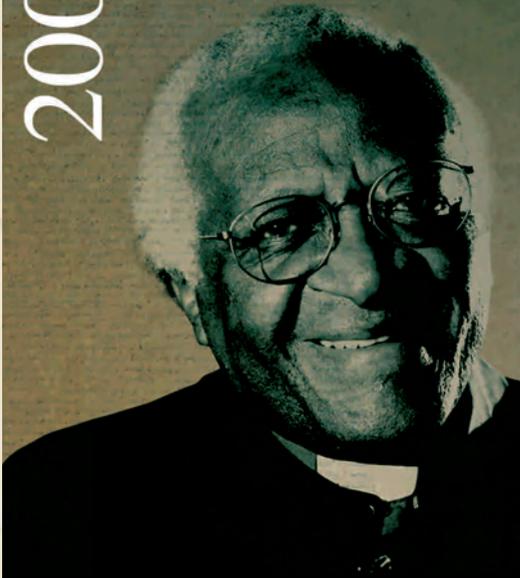
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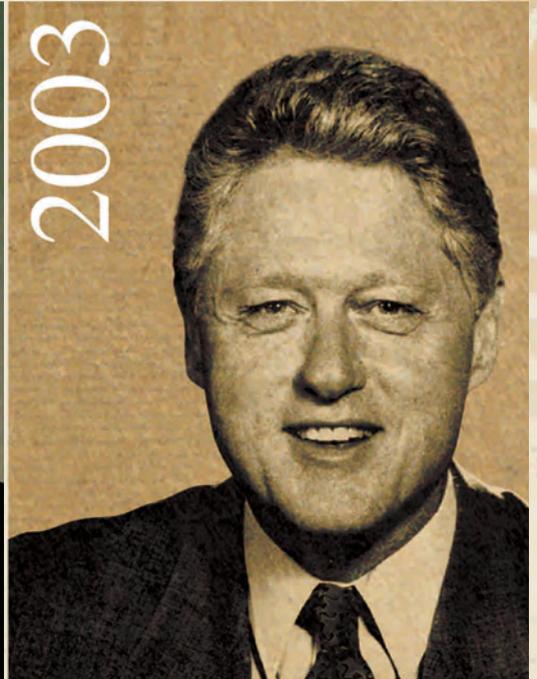
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THE NELSON MANDELA ANNUAL LECTURE

The Nelson Mandela Foundation (NMF), through its *Centre of Memory and Dialogue*, seeks to contribute to a just society by promoting the vision and work of its Founder and, using his example, to convene dialogue around critical social issues.

Our Founder, Nelson Mandela, based his entire life on the principle of dialogue, the art of listening and speaking to others; it is also the art of getting others to listen and speak to each other. The NMF's *Centre of Memory and Dialogue* encourages people to enter into dialogue – often about difficult subjects – in order to address the challenges we face today. *The Centre* provides the historic resources and a safe, non-partisan space, physically and intellectually, where open and frank discourse can take place.

The Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture is the centre-piece of a wide ranging Dialogue Programme. The Annual Lecture forms part of the annual celebrations of Mr Mandela's birthday and creates an opportunity for leaders of international standing to present their views on critical issues impacting society at large.

The inaugural Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture was held on 19 July 2003, and was delivered by **President William Jefferson Clinton**. The second Annual Lecture was delivered by Nobel Peace Prize winner **Archbishop Desmond Tutu** on 23 November 2004. The third Annual Lecture was delivered on 19 July 2005 by Nobel Peace Prize winner, **Professor Wangari Maathai** MP, from Kenya. The fourth Annual Lecture was delivered by **President Thabo Mbeki** on 29 July 2006.

Nobel Peace Prize winner, **Mr Kofi Annan**, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, will deliver the fifth Annual Lecture on 22 July 2007.

This booklet consolidates the four Annual Lectures delivered to date and demonstrates both the diverse views of the four eminent people who delivered these lectures as well as the common thread that they share with Nelson Mandela, compassion with and concern for all those who are marginalised and whose voices are not heard.

Thabo Mvunyelwa Mbeki was born into the anti-apartheid struggle, in Idutywa in June 1942, to a family of teachers and activists. The son of Govan Mbeki, a leading ANC figure in the Eastern Cape, he joined the ANC Youth League as a 14-year-old and quickly immersed himself in student politics.

He was involved in underground activities in what is now Gauteng Province after the ANC was banned in 1960, and in mobilising students and youth to stay at home in protest at the creation of the Republic in 1961. Soon after being elected secretary of the African Students Association, he left South Africa with other students on the instructions of the ANC.

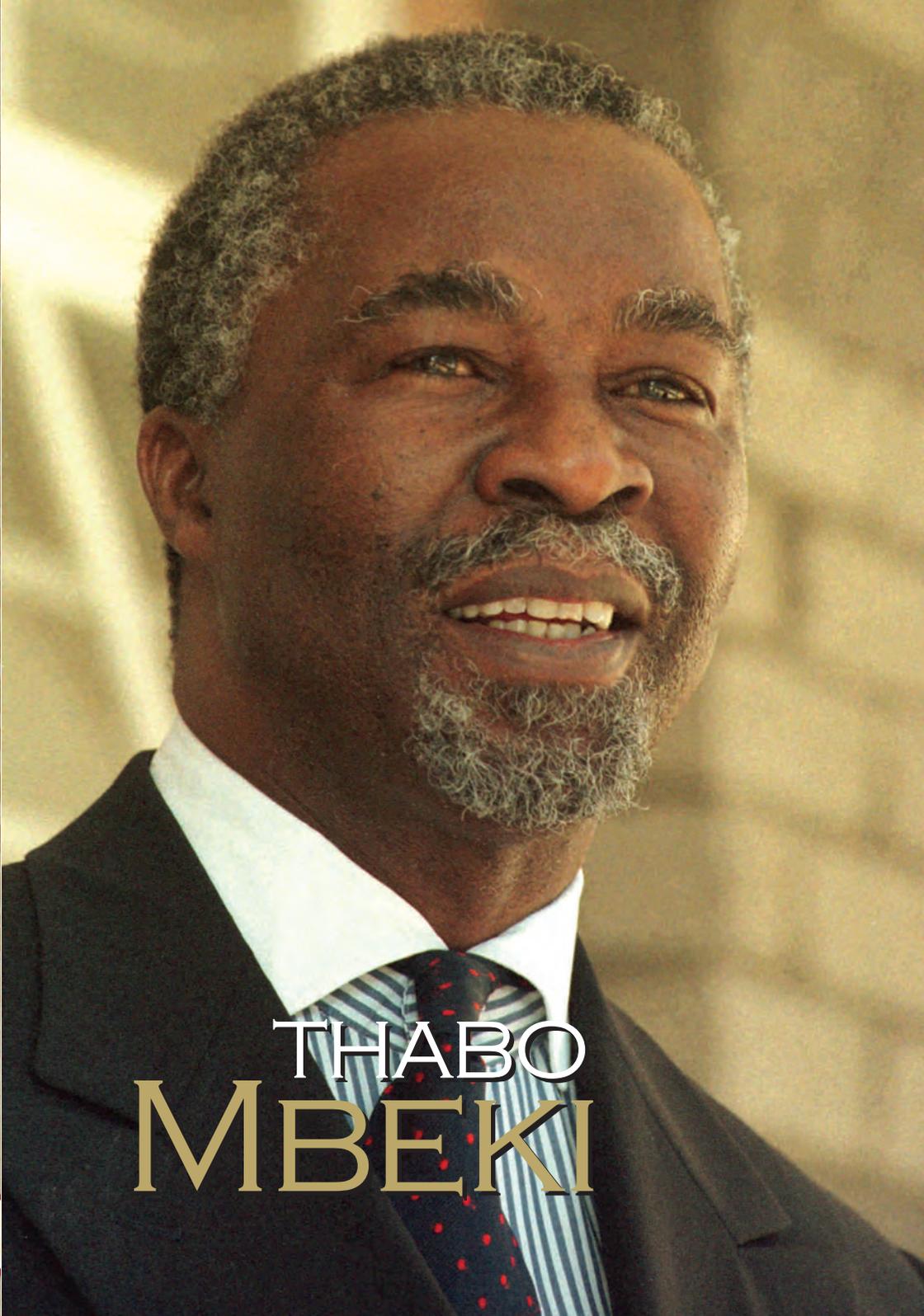
He continued his political activities as a university student in the United Kingdom, mobilising the international student community against apartheid. After completing a Masters degree in economics at Sussex University, he worked in the ANC London office with the late Oliver Tambo and Yusuf Dadoo. In 1970 he was sent to the Soviet Union for military training before being deployed to Lusaka where he was soon appointed assistant secretary of the Revolutionary Council.

He was appointed to the ANC's National Executive Committee in 1975, and served as ANC representative in Botswana, Swaziland and Nigeria, returning to Lusaka in 1978 as political secretary in the office of

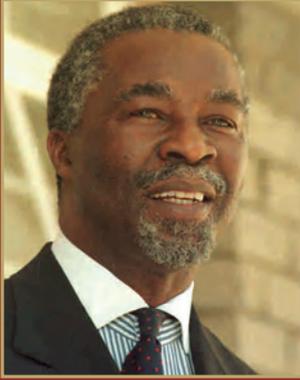
Oliver Tambo. As Director of Information for the ANC, he played a major role in mobilising the international community against apartheid.

During the 1980s he became head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity. He also coordinated diplomatic campaigns, and encouraged white South Africans to involve themselves in anti-apartheid activities. From 1989 he headed the ANC Department of International Affairs, and was a key figure in negotiations with the former regime. After South Africa's first democratic general election in 1994, Thabo Mbeki was chosen by Nelson Mandela to be the first Deputy President of the new Government of National Unity. At the 50th Conference of the ANC at Mafikeng in 1997 he was elected President of the ANC, and inaugurated as President of South Africa in June 1999. He was re-elected in 2004.

He is an international statesman who has played a leading role in issues of development, good governance and peacemaking. He takes a prominent position at world bodies such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement.



THABO
MBEKI



RECONSTRUCTING OUR SOUL

Thabo Mbeki
South Africa

President of the Republic of South Africa

THE NELSON MANDELA ANNUAL LECTURE

2006

I believe I know this as a matter of fact, that the great masses of our country everyday pray that the new South Africa that is being born will be a good, a moral, a humane and a caring South Africa which as it matures will progressively guarantee the happiness of all its citizens. I say this as I begin this Lecture to warn you about my intentions, which are about trying to convince you that because of the infancy of our brand new society, we have the possibility to act in ways that would for the foreseeable future, infuse the values of Ubuntu into our very being as a people.

But what is it that constitutes Ubuntu beyond the standard and yet correct rendition, *Motho ke motho ka motho yo mongoe: Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu!* The Book of Proverbs in the Holy Bible contains some injunctions that capture a number of elements of what I believe constitute important features of the Spirit of Ubuntu, which we should strive to implant in the very bosom of the new South Africa that is being born, the food of the soul that would inspire all our people to say that they are proud to be South African!

The Proverbs say:

"Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it. Say not unto thy neighbour, Go, and come again, and tomorrow I will give; when thou hast it by thee.

"Devise not evil against thy neighbour, seeing he dwelleth securely by thee. Strive not with a man without cause, if he has done thee no harm. Envy thou not the oppressor, and choose none of his ways."

The Book of Proverbs assumes that as human beings, we have the human capacity to do as it says, not to withhold the good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of our hand to do it and not

to say NO to our neighbour, come again, and we will give you something tomorrow, even when we can give the necessary help today. It assumes that we can be encouraged not to devise evil against our neighbours, with whom we otherwise live in harmony. It assumes that we are capable of responding to the injunction that we should not declare war against anybody without cause, especially those who have not caused us any harm. It urges that in our actions, we should not seek to emulate the demeanour of our oppressors, nor adopt their evil practices.

I am conscious of the fact that to the cynics, all this sounds truly like the behaviour we would expect and demand of angels. I am also certain that all of us are convinced that, most unfortunately, we would find it difficult to find such angels in our country, who would number more than the fingers on two hands!

It may indeed very well be that, as against coming across those we can honestly describe as good people, we would find it easier to identify not only evil-doers, but also those who intentionally set out to do evil. In this regard, we would not be an exception in terms both of time and space.

To illustrate what I am trying to say, I will take the liberty to quote words from the world of drama. I know of none of Shakespeare's Tragedies except Richard III that begins with an open declaration of villainy by the very villain of the play.

This well-known play begins with an oration by the Duke of Gloucester who later becomes King Richard III, in which he unashamedly declares his evil intentions in these famous words:

"Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York;
And all the clouds that lour'd upon our house.

In the deep bosom of the ocean buried
Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths
Our bruised arms hung up for monuments;
And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover,
To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
I am determined to prove a villain
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.
Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,
By drunken prophecies, libels and dreams,
To set my brother Clarence and the king
In deadly hate the one against the other."

This open proclamation of evil intent stands in direct opposition to the directive in the Proverbs which said, "Devise not evil against thy neighbour, seeing he dwelleth securely by thee. Strive not with a man without cause if he has done thee no harm."

Surely, all this tells us the naked truth that the intention to do good, however noble in its purposes, does not guarantee that such good will be done. Nevertheless we must ask ourselves the question whether this reality of the presence of many Richards III in our midst, dictates that we should accordingly avoid setting ourselves the goal to do good!

Many years ago, Nelson Mandela made it bold to say that our country needs an "RDP of the soul", the Reconstruction and Development if its soul. He made this call as our country, in the aftermath of our liberation in 1994, was immersed in an effort to understand the elements of the Reconstruction and Development Programme that had constituted the core of the Election Manifesto of the ANC in our first democratic elections.

That RDP was eminently about changing the material conditions of the lives of our people. It made no reference to matters of the soul, except indirectly. For instance, the RDP document said:

"The RDP integrates economic growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution into a unified programme. The key to this link is an infrastructural programme that will provide access to modern and effective services like electricity, water, telecommunications, transport, health, education and training for all our people. This will lead to an increased output in all sectors of the economy and by modernising our infrastructure and human resource development. We will also enhance export capacity.

"Success in linking reconstruction and development is essential if we are to achieve peace and security for all."

All of these were and remain critically important and eminently correct objectives that we must continue to pursue. Indeed in every election since 1994, our contending parties have vied for the favours of our people on the basis of statistics that are about all these things.

All revolutions which by definition, seek to replace one social order with another are in the end and in essence, concerned with human beings and the improvement of the human condition. This is also true of our Democratic Revolution of 1994.

Assuming this assertion to be true, we must also say that human fulfilment consists of more than "access to modern and effective services like electricity, water, telecommunications, transport, health, education and training for all our people," to use the words in the RDP document.

As distinct from other species of the animal world, human beings also have spiritual needs. It might perhaps be more accurate and less arrogant to say that these needs are more elevated and have a more defining impact on human beings than they do on

other citizens of the animal world. Thus do all of us and not merely the religious leaders speak of the intangible element that is immanent in all human beings - the soul! Acceptance of this proposition as a fact must necessarily mean that we have to accept the related assertion that, consequently, all human societies also have a soul! To deny this would demand that we argue in a convincing manner and therefore with all due logical coherence, that the fact that individual human beings might have a soul does not necessarily mean that the human societies they combine to constitute will themselves, in consequence also have a soul! I dare say that this would prove to be an impossible task. Nevertheless, we must accept that as in the contrast provided by the Proverbs and Richard III and with regard to the construction of a humane and caring society, we must accept that this entails a struggle, rather than any self-evident and inevitable victory of good over evil.

The question must therefore arise for those among us who believe that we represent the good, what must we do to succeed in our purposes? Since no human action takes place outside of established objective reality and since we want to achieve our objectives, necessarily we must strive to understand the social conditions that would help to determine whether we succeed or fail.

What I have said relates directly to what needed and needs to be done to achieve the objective that Nelson Mandela set the nation, to accomplish the RDP of its soul.

In this regard, I will take the liberty to quote what I said in 1978 in a Lecture delivered in Canada, reflecting on the formation of South African society, which was later reproduced in the ANC journal, "Sechaba", under the title "The Historical Injustice".

"The historic compromise of 1910 has therefore this significance that in granting the vanquished Boer equal political and social status with the British victor, it imposed on both the duty to defend the status quo against especially those whom that status quo defined as the dominated. The capitalist class, to whom everything has a cash value, has never considered moral incentives as very dependable. As part of the arrangement, it therefore decided that material incentives must play a prominent part.

"It consequently bought out the whole white population. It offered a price to the white workers and the Afrikaner farmers in exchange for an undertaking that they would shed their blood in defence of capital. Both worker and farmer, like Faustus took the devil's offering and, like Faustus, they will have to pay on the appointed day.

"The workers took the offering in monthly cash grants and reserved jobs. The farmers took their share by having black labour including, especially prison labour directed to the farms. They also took it in the form of huge subsidies and loans to help them maintain a 'civilised standard of living'.

"Of relevance to our purposes this evening, the critical point conveyed in these paragraphs is that, within the context of the development of capitalism in our country, individual acquisition of material wealth, produced through the oppression and exploitation of the black majority, became the defining social value in the organisation of white society."

Because the white minority was the dominant social force in our country, it entrenched in our society as a whole, including among the oppressed, the deep-seated understanding that personal wealth constituted the only true measure of individual and social success. As we achieved our freedom in 1994, this had become

the dominant social value, affecting the entirety of our population. Inevitably, as an established social norm, this manifested itself even in the democratic state machinery that had seemingly "seamlessly", replaced the apartheid state machinery.

I am arguing that the new order born of the victory in 1994, inherited a well-entrenched value system that placed individual acquisition of wealth at the very centre of the value system of our society as a whole. In practice this means that, provided this did not threaten overt social disorder, society assumed a tolerant or permissive attitude towards such crimes as theft and corruption, especially if these related to public property.

The phenomenon we are describing which we considered as particularly South African was in fact symptomatic of the capitalist system in all countries.

It had been analysed by all serious commentators on the capitalist political economy, including such early analysts as Adam Smith.

Specifically in this regard, we are speaking of the observations made by the political-economists that, since the onset of capitalism in England, the values of the capitalist market, of individual profit maximisation, had tended to displace the values of human solidarity.

In despair at this development, R. H. Tawney wrote in his famous book, "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism":

"To argue, in the manner of Machiavelli, that there is one rule for business and another for private life, is to open the door to an orgy of unscrupulousness before which the mind recoils. Yet granted that I should love my neighbour as myself the questions which under modern conditions of large-scale

economic organisation, remain for solutions like who precisely is my neighbour? And how exactly am I to make my love for him effective in practice?"

"To these questions the conventional religious teaching supplied no answer, for it had not even realised that they could be put religiously and had not yet learned to console itself for the practical difficulty of applying its moral principles, by clasping the comfortable formula that for the transactions of economic life no moral principles exists."

In his well-known book, "The Great Transformation", in a Chapter headed "Market and Man", Karl Polanyi went on to say:

"To separate labour from other activities of life and to subject it to the laws of the market was to annihilate all organic forms of existence and to replace them by a different type of organisation, an atomistic and individualist one."

"Such a scheme of destruction was best served by the application of the principle of freedom of contract. In practice this meant that the non-contractual organisations of kinship, neighbourhood, profession and creed were to be liquidated since they claimed the allegiance of the individual and thus restrained his freedom.

"To represent this principle as one of non-interference, as economic liberals were not to do, was merely the expression of an ingrained prejudice in favour of a definite kind of interference namely, such would destroy non-contractual relations between individuals and prevent the spontaneous reformation."

In a foreword to a recent edition of this book, Joseph Stiglitz says, "Polanyi stresses a particular defect in the self-regulating economy that only

recently has been brought back into discussion. It involves the relationship between the economy and society, with how economic systems or reforms can affect how individuals relate to one another. Again, as the importance of social relations has increasingly become recognised, the vocabulary has changed. We now talk, for instance, about social capital."

With reference to this Lecture, the central point made by Polanyi is that the capitalist market destroys relations of "kinship, neighbourhood, profession, and creed", replacing these with the pursuit of personal wealth by citizens who as he says, have become atomistic and individualistic.

Thus everyday and during every hour of our time beyond sleep, the demons embedded in our society, that stalk us at every minute, seem always to beckon each one of us towards a realisable dream and nightmare. With every passing second, they advise, with rhythmic and hypnotic regularity - get rich! get rich! get rich!

And thus has it come about that many of us accept that our common natural instinct to escape from poverty is but the other side of the same coin on whose reverse side are written the words at all costs, get rich!

In these circumstances personal wealth and the public communication of the message that we are people of wealth, becomes at the same time the means by which we communicate the message that we are worthy citizens of our community, the very exemplars of what defines the product of a liberated South Africa.

This peculiar striving produces the particular result that manifestations of wealth, defined in specific ways, determine the individuality of each one of us who seeks to achieve happiness and self-fulfilment, given the liberty that the revolution of 1994 brought to all of us.

In these circumstances, the meaning of freedom has come to be defined not by the seemingly ethereal and therefore intangible gift of liberty, but by the designer labels on the clothes we wear, the cars we drive, the spaciousness of our houses and our yards, their geographic location, the company we keep and what we do as part of that company.

In the event that what I have said has come across as a meaningless ramble, let me state what I have been saying more directly.

It is perfectly obvious that many in our society, having absorbed the value system of the capitalist market, have come to the conclusion that, for them personal success and fulfilment means personal enrichment at all costs and the most theatrical and striking public display of that wealth.

What this means is that many in our society have come to accept that what is socially correct is not the proverbial expression, "manners maketh the man", but the notion that each one of us is as excellent a human being as our demonstrated wealth suggests!

On previous occasions I have cited statements made by the well-known financier George Soros, which directly confront the crisis to social cohesion and human solidarity caused by what I have sought to address the elevation of the profit motive and the personal acquisition of wealth as the principal and guiding objectives in the construction of modern societies including our own.

With your permission and because it is relevant to what I am trying to communicate, I will take the liberty to quote this paragraph once again, believing that it resonates with a particular sense of honesty, because it emanates from one of the iconic figures of late 20th century capitalism.

Among other things George Soros said that in an earlier epoch, "People were guided by a set of moral principles that found expression in behaviour outside the scope of the market mechanism.

"Unsure of what they stand for, people increasingly rely on money as the criterion of value. What is more expensive is considered better. People deserve respect and admiration because they are rich. What used to be a medium of exchange has usurped the place of fundamental values, reversing the relationship postulated by economic theory. What used to be professions have turned into businesses. The cult of success has replaced a belief in principles. Society has lost its anchor.

"The laissez-faire argument against income redistribution invokes the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. There is something wrong with making the survival of the fittest a guiding principle of civilised society. Cooperation is as much a part of the (economic) system as competition, and the slogan 'survival of the fittest' distorts this fact.

"I blame the prevailing attitude, which holds that the unhampered pursuit of self-interest will bring about an eventual international equilibrium in the world economy."

All quotations from George Soros: "The Capitalist Threat" – The Atlantic Monthly, February 1997. The critical concern that George Soros has expressed is what he describes as 'market fundamentalism', the dominance and precedence of the capitalist motive of private profit maximisation which has evolved into the central objective that informs the construction of modern human society in all its elements.

Nothing can come out of this except the destruction of human society, resulting from the atomisation of

society into an agglomeration of individuals who pursue mutually antagonistic materialist goals. Necessarily and inevitably, this cannot but negate social cohesion and mutually beneficial human solidarity and therefore the most fundamental condition of the existence of all human beings namely, the mutually interdependent human relationships without which the individual human being cannot exist.

I am arguing that, whatever the benefit to any individual member of our nation, including all those present in this hall, we nevertheless share a fundamental objective to defeat the tendency in our society towards the deification of personal wealth as the distinguishing feature of the new citizen of the new South Africa.

With some trepidation, advisedly assuming that there is the allotted proportion of hardened cynics present here this evening, I will nevertheless make bold to quote an ancient text which reads, in Old English: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard consider her ways and be wise: which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer and gathereth her food in the harvest.

"How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? When wilt thou arise out of thy sleep? Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep: so shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth, and thy want as an armed man."

I know that given the level of education of our audience this evening, the overwhelming majority among us will know that I have extracted the passages I have quoted from the Book of Proverbs contained in the St James' edition of the Holy Bible.

It may be that the scepticism of our age has dulled our collective and individual sensitivity to the

messages of this Book of Faith and all the messages that it seeks to convey to all of us.

In this regard, I know that I have not served the purposes of this Book well, by exploiting the possibility it provides, to say to you and everybody else who might be listening, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways and be wise."

Everyday the ant, one of the smallest inhabitants of our common animal world, goes about her ways in search of sustenance, depending on nature's harvest in all seasons, as well as her own little ways, to provide her with meat in the hot summer months.

To consider her ways means that we too, who unknowingly squash to death the miniscule pygmies of the world, as we tread the common earth as giants of the universe, means that we must develop the wisdom that will ensure the survival and cohesion of human society.

It assumes that we have the humility to understand that "a little folding of the hands to sleep", travel and service in the defence of the nation, might impoverish us by depriving us of our regular meals but simultaneously make us happy as the man that finds wisdom and the man that gets understanding.

It would be dishonest of me not to assume that what I have cited from the Book of Proverbs will, at best, evoke literary interest and at worst a minor theological controversy.

My own view is that the Proverbs raise important issues that bear on what our nation is trying to do to define the soul of the new South Africa.

I believe they communicate a challenging message about how we should respond to the situation immanent

in our society concerning the adulation of personal wealth and the attendant tendency to pay little practical regard to what each one of us might do to assist our neighbour to achieve the goal of a better life.

I must also accept that many among us might very well think that, like the proverbial King Canute, I am trying to wish away the waves of self-aggrandisement that might be characteristic of global human society.

To return to the Holy Bible, the Book of Genesis says, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it was thou taken: for dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return." (Genesis 3:19).

This Biblical text suggests that of critical importance to every South African is consideration of the material conditions of life and therefore the attendant pursuit of personal wealth. After all, what interpretation should be attached to the statement that, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread!"

Perhaps strangely, this could be said to coincide exactly with a fundamental proposition advanced by the founders of Marxism, expressed by Friederich Engels at the funeral of Karl Marx in the following words:

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of development or organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means, and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions,

art and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case."

Putting all this in more dramatic language, Marx had said: "Man must eat before he can think!" In this regard, Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, said: "Before we perceive, we breathe: we cannot exist without air, food and drink".

In the context of this Lecture, and what we will say later, we must state that Marx and Engels represented a particular point of view in the evolution of the discipline of philosophy and were not asserting any love for the private accumulation of wealth. They were "materialists", who were militantly opposed to another philosophical tendency described as "idealism".

One of the most famous expressions of this "idealism" was stated by the French scholar and philosopher, Rene Descartes, who wrote in Latin: "*Cogito, ergo sum.*" ("I think, therefore I am" and in the original French rendition, "*Je pense, donc je suis.*")

In the context of our own challenges, this "idealism" must serve to focus our attention on issues other than the tasks of the production and distribution of material wealth.

The philosophers in our ranks will have to engage the old debate of the relationship between mind and matter expressed in the statements, "Man must eat before he can think!" and "I think, therefore I am."

I am certain that our country's philosopher-theologians will continue to be interested in these discussions. After all, some of the earliest expression of "idealism", as a philosophical expression, is also contained in the Holy Bible.

In this regard, for instance St John's Gospel says: "In the beginning was the Word."

I am certain that many in this auditorium have been asking themselves the question why I have referred so insistently on the Christian Holy Scriptures. Let me explain.

I believe that it is obvious to all of us that economic news and our economic challenges have come to occupy a central element of our daily diet of information.

Matters relating to such important issues as unemployment and job creation, disbursements from the national budget and expenditures on such items of education, health, welfare and transport, the economic growth rate, the balance between our imports and exports, the value of the Rand, skills development, broad based black economic empowerment and the development of the "second economy", have all become part of our daily discourse.

Nevertheless the old intellectual debate between "materialists" and "idealists", whatever side we take in this regard, must tell us that human life is about more than the economy and therefore material considerations.

I believe that as a nation we must make a special effort to understand and act on this because of what I have said already, that personal pursuit of material gain, as the beginning and end of our life purpose, is already beginning to corrode our social and national cohesion. Clearly, what this means is that when we talk of a better life for all, within the context of a shared sense of national unity and national reconciliation, we must look beyond the undoubtedly correct economic objectives our nation has set itself.

In this context I must say that, most unfortunately,

there is much trouble in the world. Much too regularly all of us are exposed daily, to news of human-made conflict and death and the disasters caused by poverty and natural disasters.

In reality I must confess that I have hardly ever heard of conflicts caused merely by low economic growth rates, currency movements and balance of payments problems, except to the extent that these produce a crisis in society.

Currently, none of us can avoid being extremely concerned about what is happening in the Middle East. What is happening in this region constitutes a tinderbox that has the potential to set the whole world aflame. As a country and people, we surely know that the highly negative events in the Middle East are of direct and immediate concern to us.

It seems tragically clear that here we are confronted with an impending catastrophe that is almost out of control. Nothing that has been done and said during this period of high crisis that has produced the necessary agreement which would pull humanity back from the brink of an escalating conflict that can only feed on itself, leading to a further fanning of the terrible fires that already seem to be burning out of control.

In this regard we must pose the question whether, even in the medium term, we are not ineluctably progressing towards the situation when the centre cannot hold. I refer here not only to the serious problems in the Middle East but to the phenomenon of social conflict everywhere else in the world.

As Europe and the world sowed the seeds for the catastrophe later represented by the Second World War as in a Greek tragedy, the eminent Irish poet, William Butler Yeats, like other European thinkers, sounded alarm bells that nobody seemed to hear.

What he said survives today as outstanding poetry. Hopefully, the warning he sounded so many decades ago will be heard today, so that, by our acts of commission and omission, we do not condemn humanity to an age of extreme misery and death that could have been avoided.

In an appeal to the Muses, when all else seems to be failing, I take this opportunity humbly to summon from the grave an extraordinary human mind to inspire the living to focus on the dangers ahead and strive to ensure that emanating from Jerusalem, the acre of the fountain of many faiths, no monstrous beast slouches out of Bethlehem to be born!

Thus do I appeal that all of us, the mighty and the lowly, hear the words of the poet not only with our ears, but also with our minds and our hearts, as he spoke of "The Second Coming"!

"Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold.
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity
Surely some revelation is at hand;
Surely the Second Coming is at hand.
A shape with lion body and the head of a man,
A gaze blank and pitiless as the sun,
Is moving its slow thighs, while all about it
Reel shadows of the indignant desert birds
but now I know
That twenty centuries of stony sleep
were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle,
And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,
Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?"

I believe that for us to ensure that things do not fall apart, we must in the first instance, never allow that the market should be the principal determinant of the nature of our society. We should firmly oppose the "market fundamentalism" which George Soros has denounced as the force that has led society to lose its anchor.

Instead, we must place at the centre of our daily activities the pursuit of the goals of social cohesion and human solidarity. We must therefore, strive to integrate into the national consciousness the value system contained in the world outlook described as Ubuntu.

We must therefore constantly ask ourselves the question - what is it in our country that militates against social cohesion and human solidarity? I believe that none of us present here tonight would have any difficulty in answering this question.

I am therefore certain that we would all agree that to achieve the social cohesion and human solidarity we seek, we must vigorously confront the legacy of poverty, racism and sexism. At the same time, we must persist in our efforts to achieve national reconciliation.

Mere reliance on the market would never help us to achieve these outcomes.

Indeed, if we were to rely on the market to produce these results, what would happen would be the exacerbation of the deep-seated problems of poverty, racism and sexism and a retreat from the realisation of the objective of national reconciliation?

Then indeed would we open the door to the demons that W.B. Yeats saw slouching towards Bethlehem to be born - emerging from the situation where the centre could not hold, in which mere anarchy would be loosed upon the world.

We must therefore say that the Biblical injunction is surely correct, that "Man cannot live by bread alone" and therefore that the mere pursuit of individual wealth can never satisfy the need immanent in all human beings to lead lives of happiness.

The conflicts we see today and have seen in many parts of the world should themselves communicate the daily message to us that the construction of cohesive human society concerns much more than the attainment of high economic growth rates, important as this objective is.

As we agonise over the unnecessary killings of innocent people and the destruction of much needed infrastructure in Iraq and Palestine, in Lebanon and Israel, we have to ensure that we do not slide into an era when the falcon cannot hear the falconer, when things fall apart and the centre cannot hold.

Indeed, as we South Africans, grapple with our own challenges, billions of the poor and the marginalised across the globe see the world ever evolving into a more sinister, cold and bitter place: this is the world that is gradually defined by increasing racism, xenophobia, ethnic animosity, religious conflicts, and the scourge of terrorism.

In this context, we have seen the rise of rightwing formations, racism, xenophobia and religious intolerance in France, Germany, Holland, Russia and many other European countries. This in part, is a reaction to the relentless development of complex and varied forms that societies are ineluctably assuming due to the processes of globalisation. It nevertheless also points to the absence of an integrative thrust some reconciler the institutionalised processes that would end the sense of alienation and marginalisation that leads to social conflict.

Indeed even in these developed societies, rising levels of poverty and insecurity have invariably conspired to fertilise the ground from which germinates ignorance about the other and portend a bleak future for the prospect of what has been called a dialogue among civilisations.

In many European countries, immigration from the South is seen as an intrusive force that is bound to create impurities in local cultures and in many instances, put a burden on available resources. In this regard, I am certain that all of us have been dismayed to see the way in which many in Europe have responded to the African economic migrants, who daily risk their lives to escape the grinding poverty in our own African countries.

Fortunately, in our case I would say that our nation has begun to exhibit many critical common features deriving from a unified vision of a society based on non-racialism, non-sexism, shared prosperity and peace and stability. Yet, at the same time, we still display strong traits of our divided past with the debate about our future quite often coalescing along definite racial lines.

Despite this and despite the advances we have made in our 12 years of freedom, we must also recognise the reality that we still have a long way to go before we can say we have eradicated the embedded impulses that militate against social cohesion, human solidarity and national reconciliation.

We should never allow ourselves the dangerous luxury of complacency, believing that we are immune to the conflicts that we see and have seen in so many parts of the world.

At the very same time as a ray of hope shone over our country and continent with the liberation of our

country in 1994, and as you, Madiba, declared to the world that "the sun shall never set on so glorious a day", our fellow Africans, the Rwandese people, engulfed in a horrific genocide, lamented in unison that: "the angels have left us".

In a foreword to the book of the same name, Archbishop Tutu said: "When we come face to face with ghastly atrocities we are appalled and want to ask: 'But what happened to these people that they have acted in this manner? What happened to their humanity that they should become inhumane?'

"Yes we hang our heads in shame as we witness our extraordinary capacity to be vicious, cruel and almost devoid of humanness." The imperative we face is that we should never permit that our country should witness the actions devoid of humanness of which Archbishop Tutu spoke some of which were a feature of our long years of colonialism and apartheid.

Indeed, in a world that still suffers from the blight of intolerance, wars, antagonistic conflicts, racism, tribalism and marginalisation, national reconciliation and reconciliation among the nations, will remain a challenge that must occupy the entire human race continuously.

In our case we should say that we are fortunate that we had a Nelson Mandela who made bold to give us the task to attend to the "RDP of the soul", and lent his considerable weight to the achievement of the goal of national reconciliation and the achievement of the goal of a better life for all our people.

Ten years ago, Madiba travelled to the Republic of Congo to assist the people of the then Zaire, and now the Democratic Republic of Congo, to make peace among them. In this regard, he was conscious of the task we share as Africans to end the conflicts on our Continent, many of which are driven by the failure to

affect the RDP of the African soul, to uphold the principles of Ubuntu, consciously to strive for social cohesion, human solidarity and national reconciliation.

Tomorrow the people of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) will go to the polls to elect their President and Members of the National Assembly.

Everything points to the happy outcome that these democratic elections, the first in more than 40 years, will produce a result that truly reflects the will of the people of the DRC.

We must therefore say that we have arrived at a proud moment of hope for the DRC and Africa and wish the sister people of the DRC unqualified success.

Yes, the Middle East is engulfed in flames that are devouring many people in this region and cause enormous pain to ourselves as well. But this we can also say, difficult as it may be for some fully to accept, what the people of the DRC have done and will do, is also helping to define a world of hope, radically different from the universe of despair which seems to imprison the sister peoples of the Middle East.

I can think of no better birthday present for Madiba than tomorrow's elections in the DRC and no better tribute to the initiative he took 10 years ago to plead with the leaders of the Congolese people that together as Africans, we must build a society based on the noble precept that - *Motho ke motho ka motho yo mongoe: Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu!*

Once again, happy birthday Madiba!

W

angari Maathai founded the Green Belt Movement in Kenya in 1977, which has planted more than 10 million trees to prevent soil erosion and provide firewood for cooking fires. A 1989 United Nations report noted that only nine trees were being replanted in Africa for every 100 that were cut down, causing serious problems with deforestation: soil runoff, water pollution, difficulty finding firewood, lack of animal nutrition, etc.

The program has been carried out primarily by women in the villages of Kenya, who through protecting their environment and through the paid employment for planting the trees are able to care better for their children and their children's future.

Born in 1940 in Nyeri, Wangari Maathai was able to pursue higher education, a rarity for girls in rural areas of Kenya. She earned her biology degree from Mount St. Scholastica College in Kansas and a master's degree at the University of Pittsburgh.

When she returned to Kenya, Wangari Maathai worked in veterinary medicine research at the University of Nairobi, and eventually, despite the skepticism and even opposition of the male students and faculty, was able to earn a Ph.D. there. She worked her way up through the academic ranks, becoming head of the veterinary medicine faculty, a first for a woman in any department at that university.

Wangari Maathai's husband ran for Parliament in the 1970s, and Wangari Maathai became involved in organizing work for poor people and eventually this became a national grass-roots organisation, providing work and improving the environment at the same time. The project has made significant headway against Kenya's deforestation. Wangari Maathai continued her work with the Green Belt

Movement, and working for environmental and women's causes. She also served as national chairperson for the National Council of Women of Kenya.

In 1991, Wangari Maathai was arrested and imprisoned; an Amnesty International letter-writing campaign helped free her.

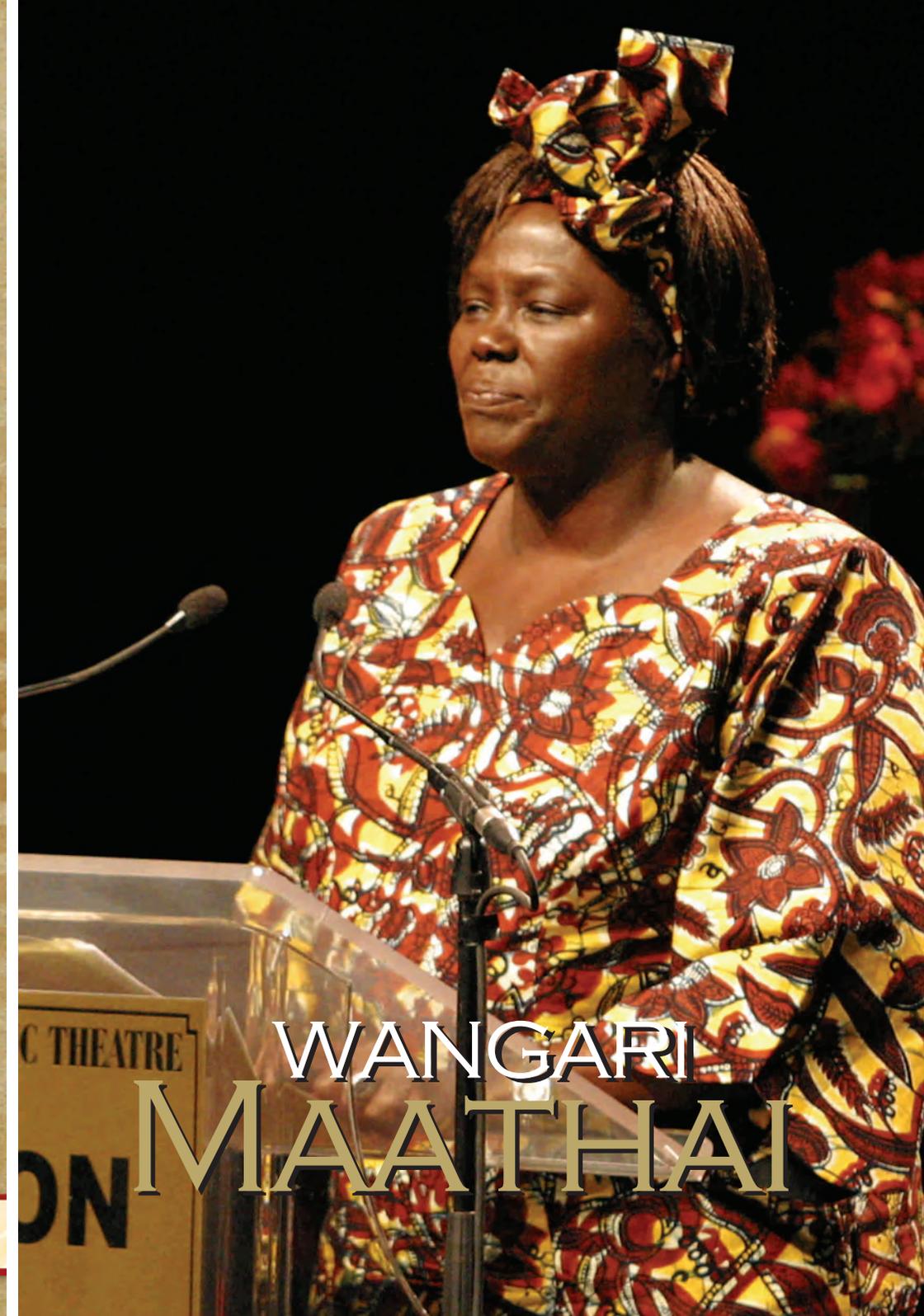
In 1997, Wangari Maathai ran for the presidency of Kenya, though the party withdrew her candidacy a few days before the election without letting her know; she was defeated for a seat in Parliament in the same election.

In 1998, Wangari Maathai gained worldwide attention when the Kenyan President backed development of a luxury housing project and building began by clearing hundreds of acres of Kenyan forest.

In 1999, she suffered head injuries when attacked while planting trees in the Karura Public Forest in Nairobi, part of a protest against continuing deforestation. She was arrested numerous times by the government of Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi.

In January, 2002, Wangari Maathai accepted a position as Visiting Fellow at Yale University's Global Institute for Sustainable Forestry.

And in December, 2002, Wangari Maathai was elected to Parliament, as Mwai Kibabi defeated Maathai's long-time political nemesis, Daniel arap Moi, for 24 years the President of Kenya. Kibabi named Maathai as Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources and Wildlife in January, 2003. In 2004, Professor Maathai received the coveted Nobel Peace Prize.



WANGARI
MAATHAI



RISE UP AND WALK!

Wangari Maathai, MP
Kenya

Deputy Minister of Environment
and
Nobel Peace Laureate

THE NELSON MANDELA ANNUAL LECTURE

2005

Your Excellencies, Presidents Nelson Mandela and Bill Clinton, Your Grace the Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Her Excellency Graça Machel, Ministers, Excellencies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

Allow me to thank the Nelson Mandela Foundation for inviting me to share these unforgettable days with South Africa. It is both a privilege and an honour to be in your midst and to give this year's Nelson Mandela Lecture.

This is a very special time when we are celebrating Madiba's birthday. Madiba, you are a source of great joy and pride for all of us in Africa and indeed in the whole world. Thank you for your dedication and commitment to the cause of freedom and human dignity.

We thank God for the gift that is Nelson Mandela. We salute you Madiba, we love you and we shall remain forever grateful to you. It is a privilege to be here to say, Happy Birthday, and may you have many more.

I am very aware of the extraordinary speakers at previous Mandela lectures. Both President Bill Clinton and the Archbishop Desmond Tutu have set very high standards for these lectures. I am deeply honoured to share this platform with them.

In the last few weeks the world and G8 leaders have focused on Africa. In Gleneagles, Scotland G8 leaders were joined by African statesmen, among them Presidents Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Olesegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania and Prime Minister Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia.

Leading up to the G8 meeting, another global campaign was picking up: Live 8. Inspired by Geldof, Bono and other concerned artists around the world,

the concerts were organised in support of Africa, attracting millions of ordinary citizens in industrialised countries. They went to enjoy the music but they also went to be informed and educated about Africa. They used that forum to express their support for Africa. The G8 leaders listened and watched as their citizens gathered to support the call to make dehumanising poverty unacceptable.

But even as I appreciated and was encouraged by the efforts at Gleneagles and around the world I had some concerns. This is because I knew that the G8 leaders had their own concerns and constraints. I also knew that they had some doubts about leadership and governance in Africa. They were therefore unlikely to, for example, cancel all the unpayable debts. Yet they knew that in some countries like Kenya, essential services are denied to citizens so that debt obligations can be met. In other countries, the average income used to determine eligibility for debt cancellation is misleading. This is because of inequitable distribution of resources, which has created large disparities between the few very rich and the many citizens who are very poor. When such countries are denied debt relief, it is the many poor people who are punished.

The G8 leaders had their reasons for their doubts. It was reported that some of these reasons included the fact that some African governments do not respect the rule of law and human rights, that some leaders are corrupt and often siphon the same money into personal accounts, that some governments spend funds inefficiently and excessively. It is important to realise however, that those who may be guilty do not suffer; it is the poor who suffer.

Despite the challenges, there has been much progress in Africa. There are already good indications of good governance in many countries. In many others, civil society continues to grow with moral support from

governments and the African Union. For example, the African Union is currently overseeing the formation of a civil society organ (ECOSOCC), to advise it on issues relating to the African people and to ensure that they participate in the affairs of the Union. I have the honour of presiding over this process and I consider it an important window of opportunity.

Further, many countries in the region are resolving their conflicts and are working for peace and stability. For sure much remains to be done. But we must appreciate and encourage those who are making bold decisions.

Nevertheless, as I stated earlier, it is the ordinary citizens who suffer when debts are not cancelled, when financial assistance is not forthcoming or when trade barriers are raised.

It is on their behalf that the African leaders traveled to Gleneagles to meet G8 leaders. It is on their behalf that the Live 8 concerts were held. It is for them that the Jubilee 2000 campaign was carried out by global citizens. Yet many ordinary citizens in Africa had no idea that such discussions and concerts were taking place on their behalf.

I wonder how many consultations and concerts will be held before a sustainable solution is found not only by the G8 leaders but also by the African leadership and people. What will it take for a solution to be found?

I ask these questions because the poor people the world is concerned about come from Africa, which is one of the richest continents on the planet. It is endowed with a large number of men and women, it has a lot of sunshine, oil, precious stones, forests, water, wildlife, soil, land and agricultural products. So, why are her people so poor?

The problem is that many Africans lack knowledge, skills and tools to create wealth from their resources. They are unable to add value to their raw materials so that they can take processed goods into the local and international markets and negotiate better prices and better trade rules. Without that capacity, opportunities will continue to slip by or others will continue to take advantage of them without the benefits reaching the people in whose name these negotiations take place.

What can be done to prepare Africa so that she benefits from the concessions and opportunities that surely lie ahead?

During the last 30 years of working with the Green Belt Movement I saw the need to give our people values. The man whose birthday we celebrate today exemplifies these values. For example, the value of service for the common good. How shall we motivate our men and women in the region, to be willing to sacrifice and volunteer so that others may have it better? To adopt the values of commitment, persistence and patience, and to stay with it until the goal is realised? To adopt a love for the land and desire to protect it from desertification and other destructive processes?

Perhaps it is due to lack of information and ignorance, or perhaps it is due to poverty, but we need people who love Africa so much that they want to protect her from destructive processes. Some that are threatening the entire continent include desertification due to deforestation, encroachment into forests for subsistence farming, overgrazing and loss of biodiversity and soil. Of particular importance for Africa and the world is the protection of the Congo Basin Forest Ecosystem. These values are important for African leaders, who should govern and serve for the benefit of the people, rather than themselves.

Working at the grassroots level and with the poor people, it was depressing to see those in power fail to provide necessary services and protect the land. Instead they facilitated the exploitation of the people and their resources. Because I have experienced irresponsible governance in the course of my work for the environment, it is difficult to dismiss the reservations and concerns expressed by the G8 leaders.

Another value we must espouse is the love and concern for the youth. One of the most devastating experiences at the grassroots level today is to see the youth wasting away because they are unemployed, even after they have completed secondary and tertiary education. Governments should prioritise the youth and their health. This should involve investments in technical education, HIV & AIDS prevention, treatment and care/support programs. One of the constraints, even for the government, is that we have not invested enough in education and especially in technical education. Technical education would give citizens knowledge, skills and experience, which would make them competent, confident and competitive. Such personnel would create opportunities for entrepreneurship and wealth creation. Such investments in Asia have contributed significantly to the economic growth and alleviation of poverty in the region.

Without skills, people will always find themselves locked out of productive, rewarding economic activities that would give them a better share of their national wealth. They find themselves unemployed or underemployed and they are certainly underpaid. They may wish to secure a well-paid job, but if they do not have the skills and the tools, nobody will hire them. Consequently they will not be able to meet their needs for housing, healthcare, nutrition, and other family and personal needs. They get trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty and sometimes crime.

Besides these values Africa needs to prepare herself by deliberately working for peace and security. I believe much of the poverty in Africa has been fuelled by conflicts. In the course of my work I learnt that whether it is at the national or regional level, most conflicts between communities are over resources: who will access, control and utilize them? Who will be included or excluded?

Often, those in power invent excuses to justify the exclusion and other injustices against those perceived to be weak and vulnerable. But when resources are scarce, so degraded that they can no longer sustain livelihoods, or when they are not equitably distributed, conflicts will invariably ensue.

Equitable distribution of resources cannot be effected unless there is democratic space, which respects the rule of law and human rights. Such democratic space gives citizens an enabling environment to be creative and productive. What is clear is that there is a close linkage between sustainable management of resources and equitable distribution of the same on one hand and democratic governance and peace on the other. These are the pillars of any stable and secure state. Such a state has the enabling environment for development. People who are denied the three pillars eventually become angry and frustrated, and undermine peace and security in their neighbourhoods and beyond.

For that reason, we need to manage our resources sustainably, accountably and responsibly. We need to share those resources equitably. Otherwise, we shall continue to invest in wars and conflicts, fighting crime and domestic instability, rather than promoting development and thereby eliminating poverty.

Over the past 30 years of work in Kenya I discovered something that is still not very clear to me. It is

perhaps the most unrecognised problem in Africa today, especially at the grassroots level. It is the level of disempowerment of our people. Wherever it comes from, it manifests itself in the form of fear, lack of confidence, low self-esteem, apathy and lack of enthusiasm to take charge of one's life and destiny. To the disempowered, it seems much easier and acceptable to leave their lives completely in the hands of third parties, especially governments.

At the Green Belt Movement, to assist community members to understand the need to take charge of their destiny and overcome apathy, we initiated education seminars to identify problems, their sources and solutions. This became a process of self-discovery and self-empowerment. It would take a long time but eventually participants believed in themselves and became more independent and self-reliant. They embraced some of these values mentioned above and developed a deep desire to better themselves and their immediate environments. Eventually they were even willing to work for the common resources like forests and public parks.

For Africa to benefit from the opportunities, which come her way she must empower her people. Education will help, peace and security are important and sustainable management of resources is essential. But the people must be allowed to gain confidence, dignity and a sense of self-worth. Ultimately, they must also be empowered with knowledge, skills and tools to take action. This is why debt relief is very important. It allows governments additional resources to invest in initiatives that empower.

The phenomenon of disempowerment is very common and perhaps that is why it is not addressed. But I believe that it is one of the main reasons why so many people are unable to take advantage of the

many opportunities available in Africa today. Such disempowerment and the triumph over it reminds me of a story in the Bible that I love. (It is in Acts 3: 1-10). It's the story where Peter and John went to the temple for prayer. As they approached, they came across a beggar, who was crippled since birth. The beggar must have had all the characteristics of a disempowered person: poor, self-effacing, dejected, low self-esteem, no self-pride and no sense of well-being. He did not even dare to look up to the people from whom he was begging. He was too ashamed of his status. The Bible says that he bowed his head, hid his face and stretched his hand for alms.

Peter and John, upon seeing him in that dehumanised and humiliated state, said to him: "Look up!" That must have been a bit startling, because people did not usually talk to him. Peter went on, "Silver and gold we do not have, but what we have we give to you". And, taking him by the right hand Peter helped the lame man stand up saying, "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, Rise up and walk!". And much to his surprise, he felt his limbs get strong and he rose up and walked forward with confidence and pride. The Bible says he went with Peter and John into the temple "jumping and praising God". He was an empowered man: no longer a beggar, no longer dehumanised. Now he could go and take care of himself with dignity, self-respect and confidence.

There must have been many worshippers, who had given him a few coins many times but never thought of doing anything different. But Peter and John reacted differently and decided to empower him, to give him wholeness. They encouraged him to believe in himself and walk with them into the temple.

Friends and leaders of Africa should be like Peter and John. They should strive to empower Africa and

not only give her alms. African governments should be responsible and accountable to their people, lifting them from ignorance, diseases and poverty, which cripple them.

In closing, we must remember that Peter and John called on the beggar to rise up and walk. It was not Peter and John who had to do the rising and the walking. It was the beggar. On his part, the beggar made a choice to respond to the call. He could have preferred to stay put and continue to beg the rich worshippers. But he decided to respond to an opportunity, which presented itself, he was ready for it and his life was changed for the better.

With African leaders like those here today, President Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and many friends like President Bill Clinton we have the "Peters" and "Johns" we need. They call on all of us to "Rise up and walk". Walk away from ignorance, inertia, apathy and fatalism. Walk towards the temple of economic and political freedom. An Africa free of dehumanising poverty.

There are simple actions we can take. Start by planting 10 trees – we each need to absorb the carbon dioxide we exhale. Practice the 3 R campaign (reduce, recycle and reuse, which is "*mottaina*" in Japanese), get involved in local initiatives and volunteer your time for services in your community. Governments should prioritise technical schools and give people knowledge and skills for self-employment.

Madiba, I know this is the dream you have for Africa. An Africa free of poverty. An Africa with economic and political freedom. An empowered Africa.

So my fellow Africans. Lets heed the call of Madiba: "Rise Up and Walk!" Thank you.



Desmond Tutu was born in Klerksdorp in 1931, the son of a schoolteacher and domestic worker. At the age of 12 he met Anglican cleric, Father Trevor Huddleston, an outspoken early critic of apartheid who was to have a profound impression on the young Desmond Tutu.

After matriculating from the Johannesburg Bantu High School, he took a teacher's diploma at the Pretoria Bantu Normal College and studied for his Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of South Africa. He taught at the Johannesburg Bantu High School and then moved to Munsieville High School, Krugersdorp, for three years. It was here that he married Leah.

In 1958, following the introduction of Bantu education, the Archbishop entered the ministry in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa and became an ordinand at St Peter's Theological College, Rosettenville. He received his Licentiate in Theology in 1960 and was ordained to the priesthood in 1961.

He obtained his Bachelor of Divinity Honours and Masters of Theology degrees at the University of London whilst a part-time curate in a local parish. In 1967 he returned to South Africa, joining the staff of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice and becoming chaplain at the University of Fort Hare.

In 1970 he moved to the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, followed by a further spell in the United Kingdom at the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches.

Tutu became Dean of St Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, in 1975, and shortly thereafter was elected Bishop of Lesotho. South Africa was in turmoil, in the wake of the Soweto uprising of 1976, and Bishop Tutu was persuaded to leave the Diocese of Lesotho to take up the post of General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). It was in this

position, a post he held from 1978 to 1985, that Bishop Tutu became an international figure. Under his guidance, the SACC became an important institution in South African spiritual and political life. The SACC was instrumental in providing assistance to the victims of apartheid.

Inevitably Bishop Tutu became heavily embroiled in controversy as he spoke out against the injustices of apartheid. He was denied a passport to travel abroad, but in 1982 the South African government withdrew this restriction in the face of national and international pressure. In 1984, his contribution to the cause of racial justice in South Africa was recognised when he received the Nobel Peace Prize.

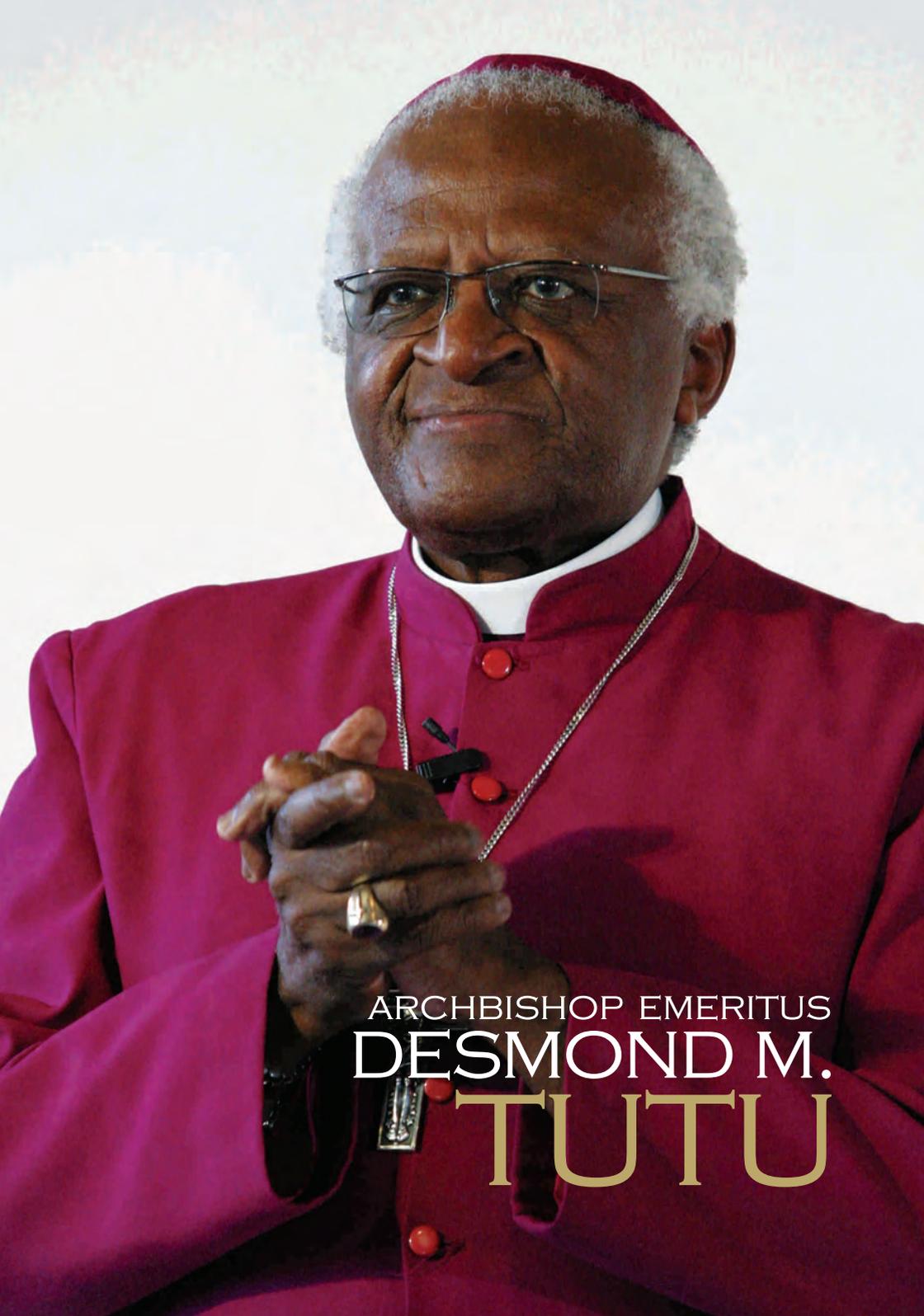
In 1985 Bishop Tutu was elected Bishop of Johannesburg. And in 1986 he was elected Archbishop of Cape Town. In 1987 he was elected as President of the All Africa Conference of Churches. In the same year he was also elected a Fellow of Kings College, London and became Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape.

In 1995 President Nelson Mandela appointed Archbishop Tutu to chair South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

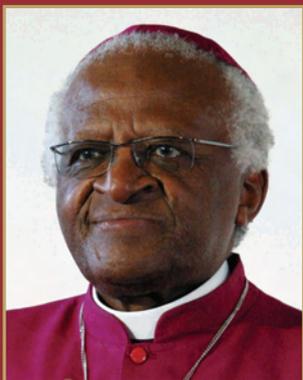
He retired from office as Archbishop of Cape Town in June 1996. In October 1998 he took a sabbatical at Emory University, Atlanta, serving as the William R Cannon Professor of Theology at the Candler School of Theology until July 2000. In 2002 he was Visiting Professor at the Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Massachusetts and in 2003 he was Visiting Scholar in Residence at the University of North Florida, Jacksonville.

He holds honorary degrees from dozens of universities and has received prizes including the Order for Meritorious Service Award (Gold) presented by President Mandela.





ARCHBISHOP EMERITUS
DESMOND M.
TUTU



LOOK TO THE ROCK FROM WHICH YOU WERE HEWN

Archbishop Emeritus
Desmond Mpilo Tutu
South Africa

Nobel Peace Laureate

THE NELSON
MANDELA ANNUAL
LECTURE

2004

INTRODUCTION

What a great honour to have been invited to give this year's Nelson Mandela Lecture following on the inaugural lecture by President Bill Clinton. I must make a confession, I really am a snob. I make out that I am modest but in fact I am an inveterate name-dropper—quite seemingly casually remarking, “You know when I was lunching with Madiba, etc.” Did you hear the story of the Englishman who was very good at name-dropping. A friend of his asked once, “John, why are you so fond of name-dropping?” and without batting an eyelid he responded, “That’s strange, yesterday, when I was in Buckingham Palace the Queen asked the same question.”

I fondly thought that Madiba was my friend and so, like a good friend, I told him I wasn’t impressed with his sartorial taste and his penchant for these gaudy shirts. Do you know how he treated this friendly advice? Well, he retorted, “That’s pretty thick coming from a man who wears a dress in public!” Now can you beat it? No, I am glad to have been asked and I think he probably, on his better days, probably acknowledges that he just might like me a little bit.

We are celebrating ten years, a whole decade of freedom and it is an opportunity for us to look back to assess our achievements and note our failures as we stride purposefully into the glorious future opening before us. That is why I have chosen as my title words from the prophet Isaiah, “Look to the rock from which you have been hewn.”

WHAT HAVE WE ACHIEVED?

You know that I am repetitive if anything at all. You heard the story of the brilliant physics professor who went around delivering a superb and erudite lecture, mercifully not at the same venue. One day he told his driver that he knew that he was giving a splendid address but he was getting bored repeating himself so much. His driver then surprised

him by saying he had heard the lecture so frequently he now knew it off by heart. When the professor tested the driver sure enough he was word perfect. So they decide to swap places – the professor became the driver and the driver was to be the professor. They agreed that he would speak for only so long and there would be no questions afterwards. The driver turned professor gave an outstanding address. Unfortunately, he had left some time over for questions and there will always be those awkward persons who want to trip up the speaker and so this person got up and asked the most convoluted question. The driver turned professor said in reply, “Is that all – even my driver at the back can answer that question”.

Yes, I am repetitive. I have been saying that we South Africans tend to sell ourselves short. We seem to be embarrassed with our successes. We have grown quickly blasé, taking for granted some quite remarkable achievements and not giving ourselves enough credit. The result is that we have tended to be despondent, to seem to say behind every ray of sunshine there must be an invisible cloud – just you wait long enough and it will soon appear. Of course we have problems, serious, indeed devastating problems; but can you please point to any one country in the world today that has no problems. No, I think we should change our perspective. If we are forever looking at our shortcomings and our faults then the mood will be pervasive and pessimistic and in a way we will provide the environment that encourages further failure. Don't they say give a dog a bad name and hang him? If you have low expectations of someone then don't be surprised if they don't rise above those low expectations. Many people have excelled almost only because someone had faith in them, believed in them and so inspired them with a new self-belief, a new self-confidence, a new self-esteem. The same is surely true of a nation, which is an aggregate of individuals.

Hey, the world has still not got over the fact that we had the reasonably peaceful transition from repression to democracy that we experienced. Have you forgotten so soon how we were on the brink of comprehensive disaster,

when most people believed we were going to be overwhelmed by a ghastly racial blood bath? Have you forgotten so soon what used to happen on our trains when no one could guarantee that if they went off to work in the morning they were going to return alive in the evening, when we had indiscriminate killings on the trains, in the taxis and buses? Do you recall how when they announced the statistics of the previous 24 hours and they said six or seven or eight people had been killed, do you recall that we would often sigh with relief and say well only seven or eight have been killed? Things were in such a desperate state – do you recall the attacks that happened in the hostels; just think of the massacres that were taking place at regular intervals – Sebokeng, Thokoza, Bisho, Boipatong and the killing fields of KwaZulu-Natal because of the bloody rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC? Have we forgotten the AWB raid into Bophuthatswana and the World Trade Centre? There are so very many occasions when it did seem it was touch and go and none more terrible than the assassination of Chris Hani. That was one of the scariest moments in our lives for most of us. We were a whisker's breadth away from total catastrophe. I said, “If we survived that we could survive anything.” Yes, we did appear to be on the verge of bloody conflagration and disaster. But it did not happen. Instead the world marvelled, indeed was awed, by the spectacle of the long, long lines of South Africans of every race snaking their way slowly to the polling booths on that unforgettable, that magical day, April 27th 1994.

We really do have much to celebrate and much for which to be thankful. Hey, just look at us, which other country has a moral colossus to match Nelson Mandela? We are the envy of every single nation on earth. He has become an icon of forgiveness, compassion and magnanimity and reconciliation for the entire globe. How blessed we are that he was at the helm to guide our ship of state through the choppy waters of transition. We should also salute F W de Klerk who exhibited outstanding moral courage when he announced his breathtaking initiatives on February 2, 1990,

that set in motion the process of negotiating a revolution. We, especially white South Africans, have tended to be dismissive of the TRC. Almost everywhere else in the world you go it is held in the highest possible regard and considered to be the benchmark against which other such endeavours will now be judged. Yes, it was flawed – so are almost all human enterprises. But it was a remarkable institution, for many had thought that the advent of a black led government would be the signal for an orgy of revenge and retribution against whites for all that black people had suffered through all the injustices and oppression from colonial times to the exquisite repression of the apartheid years. Instead of that the world stood open mouthed at the revelation of such nobility of spirit, such magnanimity as victims of often the most gruesome atrocities forgave their tormentors and even on occasion embraced them. We were all traumatised, wounded, by the awfulness of apartheid and the TRC helped to open wounds that were festering, cleansed them and poured balm on them to help in the healing of us, the wounded people of this beautiful land. We often take it all for granted – but just look at Northern Ireland and, more horrendously, the Middle East where revenge and retaliation are leading to a ghastly cul-de-sac, an inexorable cycle of reprisal provoking a counter reprisal ad infinitum. We have been spared the horrors of genocide as in Rwanda and the endless conflict in Sri Lanka, in Burundi, in the Sudan, the Ivory Coast, etc. Truly, there is no future without forgiveness. Given where we come from, given our antecedents, it is amazing that we should have the stability we enjoy. Russia made the transition from repression to democracy at almost the same time as we did. The Berlin Wall fell in November 1989. Nelson Mandela was released in February 1990. But what is happening in Russia today? The level of mafia controlled crime, the conflict with Chechnya giving such awful examples of carnage as the theatre hostage disaster and more recently the Beslan School hostage catastrophe makes what occurs in South Africa look like a Sunday school picnic.

I often stop to look at the children in the high school near our home in Milnerton. It used to be an all white school. Today at break you see our demography reflected. Just a few years ago it was a criminal offence to have that happen. All sorts of dire things, they said, were going to happen if schools were mixed. So far as I can make out the sky is still firmly in place. You would think that it would be in South Africa where children would have to be escorted by heavily armed police and soldiers to be able to go to school. But, no, it isn't in South Africa that that has had to happen. It is in Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Do you recall how police would climb trees in order to peep into bedrooms, hoping to catch out couples who might be contravening the Immorality Act, rushing to feel the temperature of the sheets, making sordid what should have been beautiful, love between two persons, and how many careers and lives were destroyed when people faced charges under this abominable legislation? And now I think I am about the only person who still goggles – look at all those mixed couples who saunter around hand in hand with hardly a care in the world, pushing a pram with a baby of indeterminate hue inside. I still seem to fear that a policeman will come crashing into them for breaking the law. And oh the humiliation and awfulness of race classification with its crude tests – sticking a pin suddenly into one and depending on whether you yelped, “Eina” or “Aitsho” you were classified “coloured” or “Bantu”; and the havoc it all played with family life when siblings could be assigned to different race groups because some were more swarthy than others and do you remember that people committed suicide because of race classification; others played white and would avoid members of their families who were less Caucasian-looking.

Recall the awfulness of the iniquitous pass laws and the migratory labour system and its single sex hostels and what havoc it caused to black family life in a country that without any sense of irony celebrated Family Day as a public holiday. Isn't it bizarre in the extreme that Nelson

Mandela had to wait until he was 76 before casting a vote for the very first time in the land of his birth, when a white could do so when they turned 18? When I became Archbishop in 1986 it was a criminal offence for me to live in the Archbishop's official residence in Bishopscourt because of the Group Areas Act. I told the government I was Archbishop and would live in my official residence and they could do what they liked and I wasn't asking for their permission. Fortunately they did nothing. But that's where we come from – nearly three million people forcibly removed, as from Sophiatown which was replaced by the very subtly named Triomf. To rub salt into our wound Triomf retained many of the street names of the old Sophiatown – Kofifi. How wonderful that the iniquity has been reversed – Triomf is Sophiatown again.

Yes, we come from far – when you had public notices that read, “Natives and dogs not allowed”. And those others, “Drive carefully, Natives cross here”, which people like Kathrada changed to read hair-raisingly, “Drive carefully, Natives very cross here”; when they used at election time to show pictures of an unkempt black and to stampede whites to vote for them ask, “Do you want your daughter to marry this man?” Blacks asked, “Show us your daughter first!”

With such antecedents you would have thought these headlines must surely apply to South Africa, “Vicious race riots in...” But remarkably it was not in South Africa that vicious race riots happened but fairly recently in Manchester, England.

We were the world's most despised pariah. South Africans had to skulk abroad hiding their nationality. Now we are, I think, still the flavour of the week. Our country through President Thabo Mbeki has been in the forefront of the creation of the African Union and in the conception and promotion of NEPAD and the African Renaissance. We will be home to the African Parliament. That is a remarkable turn around. The ugly caterpillar has metamorphosed into

a beautiful butterfly. South Africans proclaim their national identity proudly. Many wear the new flag on their lapels and emblazoned on their luggage. They want everyone to know they come from Madibaland. Our Constitution is widely acclaimed as one of the most liberal and most advanced. Look at the remarkable role our land is playing in peace-making in Africa, most recently in the Ivory Coast – as earlier in Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo and elsewhere.

The prestigious publication, *The Economist*, in London seriously proposed that President Mbeki should have been this year's Nobel Peace Prize Laureate because of his great efforts to broker peace in so many of Africa's troublespots. That's a huge feather in his cap and in our national cap! And by the way there are not too many countries that can say they have had four Nobel Peace Laureates as we can. We have two Nobel Literature Laureates, even if Coetzee wants to say he now belongs down under. It was in South Africa that the first heart transplant happened.

Our sporting exploits have not been something to sniff at. We have been Rugby World Champions and hosted the 1995 Rugby World Championship splendidly. We are currently Tri-Nation Champs, having risen virtually from the dead though we are not exactly covering ourselves in glory on this Grand Slam tour. We have hosted with panache the World Cricket Cup and the World Golf Cup which we won. Look at the magnificent exploits of Retief Goosen and Ernie Els. We have won the Africa Soccer Cup once and we can do so yet again. Our amaKrokrokro have had a fabulous run. We have had in Hestri Cloete the World High Jump Women's champion and just recently Hendrik Ramaala won the New York Marathon. We won Olympic gold in swimming. And we will be hosting the World's greatest sporting extravaganza, the 2010 World Soccer Cup. Over seven million people have access now to clean water which they were denied before. And 1.4 million now have electricity available. We have an independent and vociferous Press and an outstanding Judiciary. These are

accomplishments we should celebrate and trumpet abroad far more than we do. Yes, we do have problems. The most serious is the devastation caused by the ravages of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Over four million of our people are infected. It is estimated that nearly 400,000 people will die this year from AIDS. That is shattering news. And yet I want to say that there is something to celebrate even in this awful situation and it is this. Most of the victims are blacks and you would have thought given where we come from that whites would say, "Good riddance to bad rubbish." Quite the contrary, many of the most dedicated, most committed workers in the Anti-HIV/AIDS campaign are whites. That is something to celebrate; something to trumpet and I want to pay a very warm tribute to you, our white compatriots, for your remarkable generosity and dedication. That is not all. There are many white fellow South Africans out there doing fantastic work. I think of the white ballet dancers who decided they wanted to teach black township kids ballet. They started out ten years ago and formed something called Dance for All. One of their students went to UCT and ended up with a degree in African Dance and she is now on the staff of Dance for All. Another dances professionally in the UK, or Angela Rackstraw, a young white woman who is an Art Therapist and started a project, the Community Art Therapy Programme, to work with traumatised, isolated and abused township youth to help rehabilitate them. I am sure there are many, many others out there and we salute you for your enthusiasm and dedication.

WHAT ARE THE FAILURES AND CHALLENGES?

One of the undoubted gifts we bring to the world is our diversity and our capacity to affirm and celebrate our diversity so that today we have eleven official languages. We have a polyglot four language anthem. We say each one of us matters and we need each other in the spirit of ubuntu, that we can be human only in relationship, that a person is a person only through other persons. Our diversity which we must affirm and celebrate is diversity

of race, of language, of culture, of religion and of points of view. We want our society to be characterised by vigorous debate and dissent where to disagree is part and parcel of a vibrant community, that we should play the ball not to the person and not think that those who disagree, who express dissent, are ipso facto disloyal or unpatriotic. Unthinking, uncritical, kowtowing party line-toeing is fatal to a vibrant democracy. I am concerned to see how many have so easily been seemingly cowed and apparently intimidated to comply. I am sure proportional representation has been a very good thing but it should have been linked to constituency representation. I fear that the party lists have had a deleterious impact on people even if that was not the intention. It is lucrative to be on a party list. The rewards are substantial and if calling in to question party positions jeopardises one's chances to get on the list then not too many are foolhardy and opt for silence to become voting cattle for the party.

In the struggle days it was exhilarating because they spoke of a mandate – you had to justify your position in vigorous exchanges. That seems no longer to be the case. It seems sycophancy is coming into its own. I would have wished to see far more open debate in the ANC, for instance, of the HIV/AIDS views of the President. Truth cannot suffer from being challenged and examined. There surely can't have been unanimity from the outset. I did not agree with the President but that did not make me his enemy. He knows that I hold him in high regard but none of us is infallible and that is why we are a democracy and not a dictatorship. The government is accountable, as are all public figures, to the people. I would have hoped for far more debate and discussion.

Let us look to the rock from which we are hewn. We should lower the temperature in our public discourse and hopefully thus increase the light. We should not impugn the motives of others but accept the bona fides of all. If we believe in something then surely we will be ready to defend it rationally, hoping to persuade those opposed to change their point of view. We should not too quickly want to pull rank and

to demand an uncritical, sycophantic, obsequious conformity. We need to find ways in which we engage the hoi polloi, the so-called masses, the people, in public discourse through indabas, town hall forums, so that no one feels marginalised and that their point of view matters, it counts. Then we will develop a national consensus. We should debate more openly, not using emotive language, issues such as affirmative action, transformation in sport, racism, xenophobia, security, crime, violence against women and children. What do we want our government to do in Zimbabwe? Are we satisfied with quiet diplomacy there? Surely human rights violations must be condemned as such whatever the struggle credentials of the perpetrator. It should be possible to talk as adults about these issues without engaging in slanging matches. My father used to say, “Don’t raise your voice; improve your argument.”

What is black empowerment when it seems to benefit not the vast majority but a small elite that tends to be recycled? Are we not building up much resentment that we may rue later? It will not do to say people did not complain when whites were enriched. When was the old regime our standard? And remember some of the most influential values we spoke about, “The people shall share”. We were involved in the struggle because we believed we would evolve a new kind of society. A caring, a compassionate society. At the moment many, too many, of our people live in gruelling demeaning, dehumanising poverty. We are sitting on a powder keg. We really must work like mad to eradicate poverty. We should talk about whether spending all that money on arms is morally justifiable in the face of the poverty which poses the most immediate threat to our safety and security. We should discuss as a nation whether BIG is not really a viable way forward. We should not be browbeaten by pontificating decrees from on high. We cannot glibly on full stomachs speak about handouts to those who often go to bed hungry. It is cynical in the extreme to speak about handouts when people can become very rich at the stroke of a pen. If those are not massive handouts then what are? We can, many of us, make a

difference by adopting a family to which we give a monthly gift of R100 or R200 – very few poor people want a handout; they are proud but they also need a leg up. We can adopt a child whose school fees we pay for, we know our government can’t be expected to do everything.

We should be able to say whilst it has been important to build over one million housing units that many of these are just not acceptable. People call them Unos like the Italian car. They are our next generation of slums. The public schemes have provided some good models. Habitat for Humanity have shown what is possible. An Irish millionaire every year brings out at their own cost 300 or so fellow Irish and they build 50 beautiful houses in a week costing R48,000 each. Why can’t South Africans do the same?

We want a new quality of society – compassionate, gentle and caring. The kind of society where the President sits on the floor to talk to his people in their modest house, where the President gives a lift in the Presidential cavalcade to a woman so she can attend a presidential reception for Charlize Theron to celebrate her Oscar – actions recently carried out by our President which say he has a heart as well as a head. It is the kind of society where a widow cups the president’s face in the palms of her hands and looks into his eyes after he has spoken movingly in Afrikaans at the funeral of her wonderful husband – Beyers Naudé – the picture of the two of them speaks so eloquently of the kind of nation we want to be. A nation where all belong and know they belong; where all are insiders, none is an outsider, where all are members of this remarkable, this crazy, country, they belong in the rainbow nation.

CONCLUSION

Yes, we are a scintillating success waiting to happen. We will succeed because God wants us to succeed for the sake of God’s world. For we are so utterly improbably a beacon of hope for the rest of the world.

During the administration of William Jefferson Clinton, the United States of America enjoyed more peace and economic well being than at any time in its history. He was the first Democratic president since Franklin D. Roosevelt to win a second term. He could point to the lowest unemployment rate in modern times, the lowest inflation in 30 years, the highest home ownership in the country's history, dropping crime rates in many places, and reduced welfare rolls. He proposed the first balanced budget in decades and achieved a budget surplus. As part of a plan to celebrate the millennium in 2000, Clinton called for a great national initiative to end racial discrimination.

After the failure in his second year of a huge programme of health care reform, Clinton shifted emphasis, declaring "the era of big government is over." He sought legislation to upgrade education, to protect jobs of parents who must care for sick children, to restrict handgun sales, and to strengthen environmental rules.

President Clinton was born William Jefferson Blythe III on August 19, 1946, in Hope, Arkansas, three months after his father died in a traffic accident. When he was four years old, his mother wed Roger Clinton, of Hot Springs, Arkansas. In high school, he took the family name.

He excelled as a student and as a saxophone player and once considered becoming a professional musician. As a delegate to Boys Nation while in high school, he met President John Kennedy in the White House Rose Garden. The encounter led him to enter a life of public service.

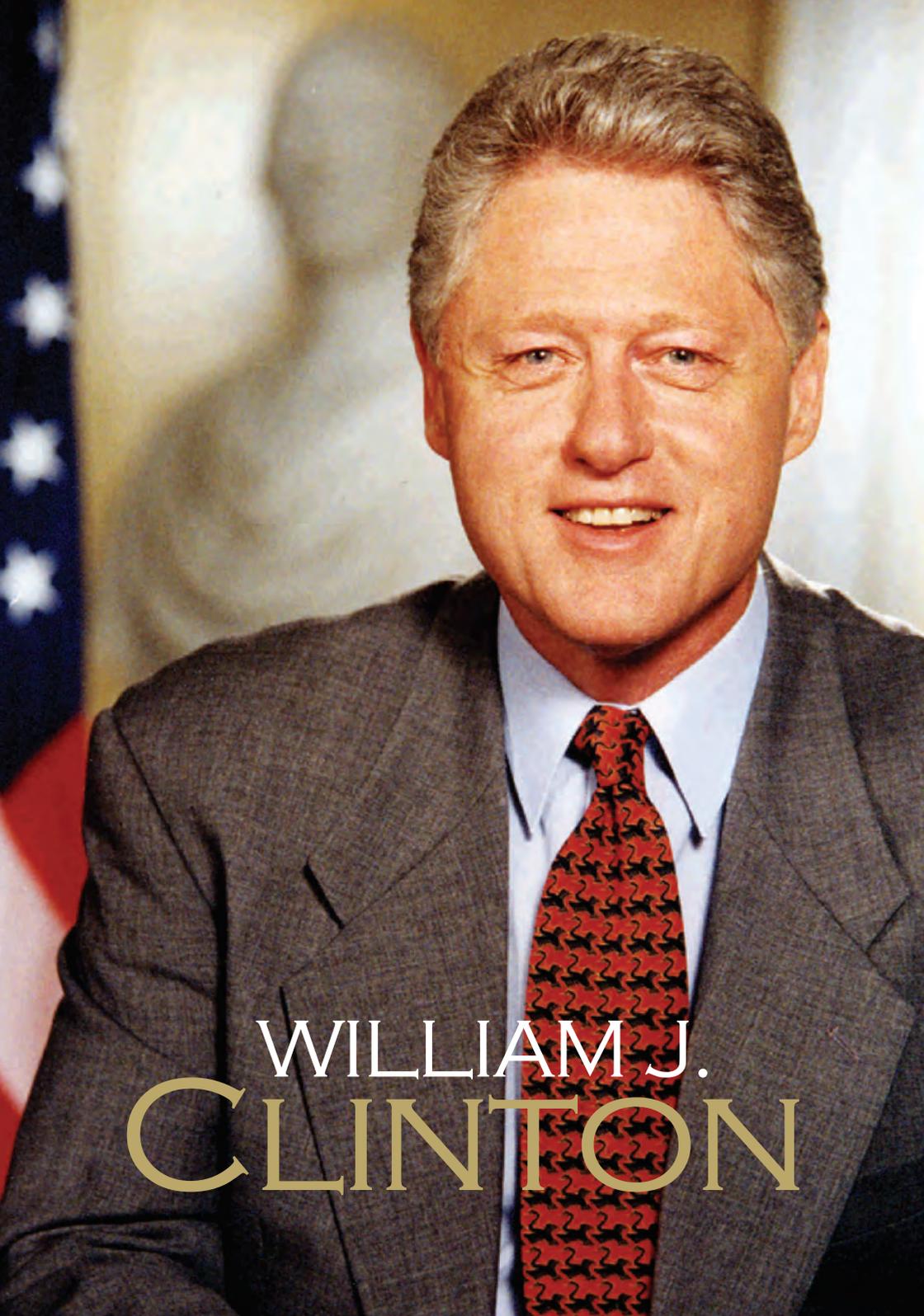
Clinton was graduated from Georgetown University and in 1968 won a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford University. He received a law degree from Yale University in 1973, and entered politics in Arkansas.

He was defeated in his campaign for Congress in Arkansas's Third District in 1974. The next year he married Hillary Rodham, a graduate of Wellesley College and Yale Law School. In 1980, Chelsea, their only child, was born.

Clinton was elected Arkansas Attorney General in 1976, and won the governorship in 1978. After losing a bid for a second term, he regained the office four years later, and served until he defeated incumbent George Bush and third party candidate Ross Perot in the 1992 presidential race.

Clinton and his running mate, Tennessee's Senator Albert Gore Jr., then 44, represented a new generation in American political leadership. For the first time in 12 years both the White House and Congress were held by the same party. But that political edge was brief; the Republicans won both houses of Congress in 1994.

In the world, he dispatched peace keeping forces to war-torn Bosnia and bombed Iraq when Saddam Hussein stopped United Nations inspections for evidence of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. He became a proponent for an expanded NATO, more open international trade, and a worldwide campaign against drug trafficking. He drew large crowds when he travelled through South America, Europe, Russia, Africa and China, advocating U.S.A. style freedom.



WILLIAM J.
CLINTON



THE WORLD IS LOOKING TO YOU

William J. Clinton
United States of America

Former President of the United States
of America

THE NELSON
MANDELA ANNUAL
LECTURE

2003

Thank you Graça, President Mandela, Professor Gerwel, Mr Samuel, ladies and gentlemen.

It is a great honour for my family and I to be here, with a lot of people from around the world to honour President Mandela. I thank Graça for her public work especially on behalf of the world's youngest victims of war and I thank you for keeping Madiba young at 85.

I feel as if I'm in a natural history museum, this is what an 85 year old man looks like? I won't look that good when I'm 60!

Let me say I have followed this long celebration with great interest. I think it has added years to Madiba's life. It was two weeks ago that we were in London together, for a preliminary birthday present to Madiba, with our friend Tony Blair, to honour the 100th Anniversary of the Rhodes Scholarships, with a remarkable gift by the Rhodes Trustees to create the new Mandela Rhodes Scholarships to provide education to outstanding young South Africans here in this country. And to finally bring back some of the fortune that Cecil Rhodes made in South Africa, to the country where the money was made.

When I was invited to give this Inaugural Lecture I could hardly have said no. You know in my position in life this is probably the last inauguration I get to attend! And besides I have always loved President Mandela. On the day that Nelson Mandela was released from prison it was very early on a Sunday morning in Little Rock, Arkansas, where I was living and serving as Governor. I remember it as if it were yesterday. I got my then 10-year-old daughter up, and I took her down to the kitchen, and I sat her up on the kitchen counter because we had the television on top of a high food cabinet, and I turned the TV

on and we watched together as Nelson Mandela made the last steps on his walk to freedom. As much as I love and admire President Mandela I may be only his third biggest fan in my family. It's not too much to say, Madiba, that Hillary and Chelsea adore you, and I am honoured that they would come on this trip. We will forever be thankful for the kindnesses you have given to all our family over the years on dark and sunny days.

After all President Mandela has endured and given to South Africa, to the people of this continent and to the world, no one would have begrudged him a quiet and peaceful retirement. But that was not for him. Like the old man in Dylan Thomas's famous poem, "he refused to go gentle into that good night", yet neither did he rage against the dying of the light. Instead he simply soldiered on, raging instead against injustice and leading us toward the light.

Toward protecting the environment, reducing poverty, inspiring young people to civic service, resolving conflicts in Africa and the world over, fighting AIDS and most important of all reminding us every step of the way, that the most difficult changes in life involve changing ourselves from the inside out. Though his step may be a bit slower now, his voice still soars with conviction and vision, his eyes still burn with spirit and resolve, and his work still inspires the world.

His work involves things that people like me care a lot about. Whether he is advocating for better rural schools in South Africa, or for conservation and eco-tourism through the Trans-Frontier Peace Parks, or for peace in Burundi through the Arusha Accord he brokered. Or for the development of new South African leaders through the establishment of the Clinton Democracy Fellows with the assistance of the friends from City Year in America. The second class of these

fellows recently came to the United States and were in my office in Harlem in New York City, just a few weeks ago. They are impressive young people from all backgrounds, who should make you confident about the future of this great nation.

None of these projects of course could be done without dedicated staff and volunteers and contributors who make the Nelson Mandela Foundation a success. So, I would like to thank all of you too for what you do, to help President Mandela continue on his mission.

The life and work of Nelson Mandela has done much to help the rest of us to see the promise as well as the problems of Africa. The promise manifests in more democratically elected governments than ever, in a new generation of leaders committed to understanding and unleashing your economic potential. Especially President Mbeki with his leadership of NEPAD (The New Partnership for African Economic Development), which renewed efforts to resolve the continent's conflicts and to insist on respect for the Rule of Law and Human Rights as the price of admission to the community of new African Nations, and with more leaders than ever on this continent as committed as Madiba is to reversing the destruction of AIDS, TB and malaria.

AIDS is the most maddening of all the continents' challenges, because it is completely preventable, because there are medicines which block most mother-to-child transmissions and other medicines that enable people to live longer healthier lives. But outside of the United States and Brazil, out of the over 40 million people with HIV and AIDS, only forty to fifty-thousand of them are getting any of this medication. More than 40 million people have HIV and AIDS with 15 000 more infected everyday, 25 million have died with 8 000 more dying everyday,

while 14 million boys and girls have lost one or both parents to AIDS. Seventy percent of the world's AIDS cases are in Africa, but it is no longer an African problem. The fastest growing rates are in the former Soviet Union on Europe's backdoor, the second fastest growing rates are in the Caribbean on America's front-door, and the next fastest growing rates are in China and India, the two biggest nations in the world.

If we want the world, I believe we do, for the 21st century children, if we want to improve global health and education and reduce poverty and promote stability, advance democracy and prosperity in Africa and across the earth, we must deal with AIDS and so I begin with that today, and this simple proposition: the best birthday present we can give Nelson Mandela is to expand the promise and stem the problems for South Africa, this continent and the larger world.

AIDS is more than a health crisis, more than a human crisis, more than all the funerals people are required to attend.

Over the last 35 years, Botswana had the world's fastest growing income per capita - it has been derailed by the world's highest HIV infection rate.

In some countries there are no longer enough healthy adults to bring in the crops, keep the factories open, teach the children, staff the hospitals and clinics, preserve law and order.

We know we can do better, we know from the successes of Uganda and Senegal and Cambodia and Brazil, we know that we can do better.

My Foundation is now working in Rwanda, Mozambique, and Tanzania and all the countries in the

Caribbean, to help people establish health care networks that can care for all HIV infected people and dramatically increase the number of people receiving medicine and other vital treatment. Our strategic plan for Mozambique was just approved by the Government with the goal of bringing care and treatment to more than 350 000 people in that country in the next three to five years.

Recently the World Health Organisation has asked us to broker the sale of inexpensive generic medicine to any country that can get the resources from any place to buy it. The Governments of Ireland and Canada have agreed to help us and there are others on the way.

President Mandela and I have been working on this together since I left Office, and we agreed to serve as the Honorary Chairs of the International AIDS Trust working to develop leaders in every sector across the world for this cause, and to raise more money.

When I was in politics, I had 12 or 13 rules of politics, I called them Clinton's Laws of Politics. Some of them were funny :

- Everyone is for change in general, but against it in particular;
- If you are really having a good time, you are supposed to be somewhere else;
- When someone tells you it's not a money problem, they're talking about someone else's problem.

This is in part, a money problem. I commend President Bush for proposing to triple American funding to combat HIV and AIDS. I hope Congress will appropriate the money, and even if it does, I hope the United States will do much more to channel

funds through the Global Fund on AIDS, TB and malaria, making it available for more comprehensive purposes for all African countries and for the other nations which are afflicted. This is especially important because this year's AIDS money in America is coming in part by reducing our commitment to TB, malaria and other child survival initiatives. But we also have to recognise that this problem will never be stemmed entirely until we develop first a vaccine and then a cure, so I hope that my fellow countrymen, through public and private donations, will support a global effort, to find a AIDS vaccine, just as we had a global effort to sequence the human genome.

The second challenge this continent faces is to unleash the economic potential of the hundreds of millions of people who get up and work hard everyday, and who are just as intelligent as any other people on earth. There have been unprecedented efforts in the last few years to help Africa's economies, beginning with the adoption of the Millennium Debt Relief Initiative first embraced by the G7 countries in Germany in the late 1990s and funded by the United States Congress in 2000 thanks in no small measure to another of Madiba's great friends, Bono, who is here with us today, and I thank you for what you did on that. Thank you so much.

Debt relief has had an enormous impact in the 25 countries which have qualified. Education spending has gone from being less than what the nations were paying to their foreign creditors to more than twice that amount. Health care spending has increased by 70%. Now I believe we need another round of debt relief and I believe more countries should be made eligible. Countries that are too rich to be poor, and too poor to be rich. Countries that look rich because there are a few very wealthy people that push the average up but it doesn't really tell the story of how

people live. When I was raised up in political discourse I was always taught to be careful when people talk about the average this and the average that. Sometimes it means just what it seems to mean, and other times it doesn't. As one man said to me once, he said: "If averages tell the tale then if you stand in one pail of hot water and one pail of cold water why don't you feel just right?" So we need another round of debt relief. We need to include more countries. For different reasons I think South Africa and Nigeria should be covered. The whole future of Sub-Saharan Africa depends on what happens in South Africa and Nigeria. Bono and I were talking about this last night. Look at the burden you have from health costs alone because of HIV and AIDS. A per capita income measure can never assess the impact of the massive migration into South Africa because of the problems in Zimbabwe. So we need another round of global debt relief and I can tell you, politically it is easier to get than direct aid because of the way all the rich governments in the world calculate the cost of debt relief. Everyone of them prefers to do it in their budgets because no one ever thinks they are going to get their money back, so if they relieve lets say \$10 million dollars in debt it may only cost them \$3 million in a budget year. So this is something that really ought to be done, and done right away. It is an affordable way to unleash massive sums of money for the most important human needs in Africa and throughout the world.

The African Growth and Opportunity Act which I supported and signed in 2000 has led to an increase in African exports just to the United States of more than 60% in two-and-a-half years. That means \$8 billion more in Trade and \$1 billion dollars more in investment for Africa. Still, if you set aside South Africa and its particular relationship to the export market, Africa's share of world trade is a mere 1.2%. I believe the life of the African Growth and Opportunity Act should be extended. And I think

more products should be covered. I'm glad President Bush talked about Trade on his recent trip, I hope he will push for these changes. There are members of our Congress, and both parties, who want to lengthen the life of this Trade Bill and broaden its reach. And this is more than money. This is about how people feel about America, about the West, about the future, about the market system.

Last year I was in Ghana, on a mission I'll mention in a moment, and I was walking to my aeroplane on the tarmac at the airport in Accra, and this lady began screaming at me, behind me saying: "President Clinton, President Clinton don't go, wait", so I turned around and this lady was running towards me waving a package, and she came up and said, "I am one of 400 women who have jobs in a shirt factory here, because of the African Growth and Opportunity Act, so here's your shirt". And I figured, I'm not in Office anymore – I took the shirt. And I brought it home, and put in a place in my private quarters where I literally look at it every morning of my life, I look at this shirt every morning of my life, why? Because in a world where we are consumed with worries about terror and racial and tribal and religious conflicts and chaos, that shirt reminds me that woman is not mad at me, she does not hate my country, she does not want her child to grow up and fight in an African tribal war. She believes her child can get an education and get a better job than she has and build a stronger country and a better future for her grandchildren. Why? Because in a simple act of enlightened self-interest we passed a Bill that said to her: "We want you to be a part of our common future." So, I think we should have more debt relief and more trade.

The third thing we should do on the economic front is to promote more internally generated economic growth in every African country. Through greater

micro-credit lending and land-title reforms. I have seen whole villages in Senegal and Uganda transformed by micro-credit loans, but the wealthy world has not given enough of them to lift the economy of any nation. When I was President of the United States, we gave two million micro-credit loans a year – we funded them. But if we funded twenty million it wouldn't cost very much, and if the world matched it, we could actually have a discernable impact on the economy of some nations. Of even greater potential significance is land-title reform.

In Ghana, President Kufour invited me to work with the great Peruvian Economist, Hernando de Soto, to set up a Foundation on working capital for the poor, supported by all the Tribal Chiefs, who nominally supervised the holding of property in common, in much of Ghana. The idea is to give ordinary people, no matter how poor, some clear evidence of title in their homes, their farms, and their businesses, so that their assets can be used cheaply without hiring a lawyer or waiting forever for some government process, to be collateral for loans. When de Soto did this in Peru, and completed the process, for three years in a row, the country had growth rates of 10% or higher. Just last week I was on the phone to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, arguing that what we are doing in Ghana should be speeded up and that we should offer a continental package of land-title reform to any African nation that wishes to participate. Even in the greatest trading nations, most growth is internally generated. In the end we have to find a way for Africans to make more money from each other, if we are going to maximise the potential of South Africa and every other African nation.

On the challenge of education what we have to do is simple. There are somewhere between 120 and 130 million children who never go to school. In a global information society which has a great premium on

education, in every developing country in the world even one year of schooling can add 10 – 15% to annual income for life. So we should put the kids in school and make the school worth attending. This is not rocket science. In 2000, my last year as President, we sent \$300 million to the World Food Organisation in Rome, to give to countries, to give a good meal once a day to children in poor countries, but only if they came to school to get the food. Guess what? In the participating nations, school attendance increased by seven million children. If you extrapolate from that for somewhere between \$6 or \$7 billion from the world, we could put the rest of the children of the world in school. For modest other amounts of money we could actually improve the schools, we could make sure they have learning materials, up-to-date maths and other things that will make the schools function better. I don't know how many times President Mandela has told me stories of calling people on the phone to get them to give him money to build rural schools in South Africa, and then, oh by the way the teacher needs to have some place to live. But he simply cannot call someone for every village in Africa, in every village in the world that needs a school and a place for the teacher to live. If you want to generate more internal economic growth, putting the 120 to 130 million children in school will do it as quickly as just about anything you could do, besides the two initiatives I just mentioned, the land-title reform and micro-credit.

On security, I think that the rest of the world has more work to do with Africa. We should invest in Africa's capacity to fight terror, to provide good law enforcement, to strengthen its borders and financial institutions and to engage in peace keeping. The Africa Crisis Response Initiative which began under our Administration has done a lot of good work using American Soldiers to train African Peace-keepers. I am very grateful for the work, especially what

troops from the Okinawa Islands did, when I was President, and what your own troops are doing today in Burundi, to keep the peace that President Mandela brokered. When you put your troops on the ground, the rest of the world should make sure you have the necessary training, the resources and the support for the forces to serve effectively. And the rest of the world does need to be prepared under extreme circumstances to serve in peace-keeping missions on African soil, including Liberia. I commend President Bush's openness to sending troops there, and if he does it, I will strongly support it. Promoting stability in western Africa may be the best way to keep that region and its mineral wealth out of the hands of terrorists and organised criminals who all too often have fed off the chaos of civil wars and human suffering there, to get the natural resources.

Finally, let me just talk a little bit about the need for us to support greater democracy. Before 1990 when you talked about democracy in Africa, you were essentially talking about Gambia, Senegal, Botswana and Mauritania. Now there are far more than 20 countries that by any good standard have democratic governments. In the last three years we have seen peaceful changes of government in Senegal, Mauritius, Ghana and Cape Verde. The re-election of President Obasanjo in Nigeria. We are making progress in resolving long-standing conflicts in Sierra Leone and Angola. The Eritrea and Ethiopia historic Peace Agreement that I worked hard on after a mindless and bloody conflict. Throughout Africa we are seeing a growing belief in the rights of all people to participate in their nations' futures, to choose their leaders, to hold them accountable. And an understanding that all of you have in South Africa because of your history, which is that democracy is more than majority rule. It is majority rule with minority rights, the rule of law, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom to criticize.

So, that is what we have to have in Zimbabwe and every other country on the continent if we are going to really maximise the potential of the African people.

There are other things that time does not permit me to address today; I wish we could talk more about the water shortage, malnutrition and the continuing need for peace and stability. But the main point I want to make is this – if you want to give Mr Mandela a birthday present do something to deal with Africa’s challenges, do something to tap Africa’s promise. It is not as if we don’t know what to do, it is not as if we have no evidence that what we can do will work. Africa abounds with evidence of what works. What we have to do is take what works and spread it across the continent. That is our job.

For the first time in history the rest of the world is interested in working not for or against Africa, but working with Africa, listening to you, looking to you, and learning from you. One lesson we all have to learn from Mr Mandela is how to build a community across divisions of race, religion and tribe.

We do live in a world so interdependent that more email is sent everyday than postal mail, and a sneeze in Hong Kong leads to a quarantine in Toronto. But the very advances that have brought our world together – transportation, open borders, the internet – have been exploited by terrorists to tear our world apart.

So, this is an exciting, but still unequal and unstable world. Yes, globalisation has lifted more people out of poverty in the last 20 years than any point in history, but half the world’s people still live on less than \$2 a day and a billion of them will go to bed hungry tonight.

Yes, economic growth leads to a cleaner environment at home but in the aggregate because of the way

we generate growth, it contributes to global warming which is causing malaria to move to higher altitudes in Africa. Global warming will flood whole Pacific Islands over the next 50 years and will take 50 feet of Manhattan Island away. It will change agricultural production patterns in a way that can make hunger much more pronounced than in Africa, meaning more civil wars, more disruption, more terror. Yes, we’ve sequenced the human genome and those of you who may have children in the future, in Johannesburg, may give birth to children with life expectancies of 90 years but still every year we loose 10 million children to completely preventable childhood illness.

Yes, we have great Universities and unprecedented global access to the internet and the fastest growing business in Bangladesh is the cell-phone businesses in rural villages, where women borrow money and buy cell-phones and then rent them to their neighbours for a fee to call their kinfolks in America and Europe who are sending money home every month.

But a billion of the world’s people are hungry, a billion of the world’s people cannot read a single word. In short, in our interdependent but unequal and unstable world, our simple job is to move from interdependence to an integrated global community, of shared benefits, shared responsibilities and shared values.

Madiba, the title of Senator Clinton’s first book, not this best-seller but her first book, which was also a best-seller, was taken from the old African proverb, “It takes a village to raise a child”. If we live in a global village we are all responsible for every child. If we truly understand the nature of the modern world then America and Europe and Australia and Asia and Africa are in the same village. And therefore, we are all part of our common endeavour to raise every child in the world.

We have to be bound by simple strong values across every religious tradition. Everybody counts, everybody deserves a chance, everybody has a responsible role to play, we all do better when we work together. Our differences make life interesting. Look around this room. Pretty interesting looking room, I wish you could see yourselves. Life is a lot more interesting because of our differences but our common humanity matters more. The only way we will be able to honour and celebrate our differences in the world in which we live, is if our common humanity matters more.

That is the lesson of Mandela's monumental life. Ancient wisdom in modern form. My Bible says, "All the Law is fulfilled in one word even this, love thy neighbour as thyself". The Koran says, "Requite evil with good and he who is your enemy will become your dearest friend". The Talmud says, "That man is a hero who can make a friend out of a foe"; in the Dhammapada the Buddhist says, "Never does hatred by hatred cease but by love alone". Easy to say, hard to do. But we live in a world without walls and we cannot own the future of that world unless we share it.

Last year in Rwanda I saw powerful proof of that. I went first to the Genocide Memorial in Gikongoro where the bones of more than 260 000 people are kept of the some 700 000 who were butchered in 90 days in the holocaust there a decade ago. And just a short ride away I went to the new reconciliation village established by the government to give people housing only on the condition they agree to live with the people who had been on the other side of the slaughter. And I met a Hutu woman carrying Tutsi brothers who were dying of a rare disease. And I saw two women standing side by side as friends and neighbours. One of them had lost a husband, a brother and a brother-in-law in the slaughter, the other one had a husband in jail awaiting a war crime's trial for leading the slaughter. I saw the

children of the Hutu and the Tutsi laughing together and dancing together and holding hands together for the first time. When that path, the path of Mandela, of South Africa, of Rwanda, is taken at last in Zimbabwe, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, the Congo, Sudan, then the African village, Mandela's village, will be the inspiration of the entire world. We have to build a world of more partners and fewer terrorists. We cannot kill or jail or occupy everyone in the wide world who disagrees with us. We cannot do it. We must build a village along the lines of the trail blazed by Mr Mandela, who in the face of severest adversity refused to harden his heart or poison his mind with hatred and vengeance and gave other people, including me, more courage to make the same effort. He went into prison an angry young man in a righteous cause, he came out of prison a loving free man, committed to humanity's cause.

Ever since human beings first rose up on this earth on the African Savannah over a hundred thousand years ago, we have constantly struggled each in our own little way with fear and hatred and hurt, with selfishness and short-sightedness, we constantly struggled to get beyond the narrow confines of our own experience to the larger truth of our common humanity. All of history in a way is the story of that struggle.

In my lifetime only two people have made that personal journey as the leaders of their nations, in the rough and tumble world of politics, Mahatma Gandhi and his worthy successor, Nelson Mandela.

And so I say to you Madiba, for whatever time I have on this earth, my birthday present to you is to try to help build that village, for every African child, every child in the Middle-East, every child in my home country, and God willing, when we come back here in 10 years for your 95th birthday party, we will all be closer to your dream.

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