



A MOOD ANALYSIS OF THE ENGLISH VERSION OF NICOLA SARKOSY'S DAKAR SPEECH

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Abstract

This work is about a systemic functional analysis of Nicola Sarkozy's Dakar speech, with an emphasis on the theory of mood: interpersonal meaning (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). Precisely, the paper focuses on the exploration of mood and adjunct types on the one hand, and on the other hand it analyses the system of modality so as to highlight the basic messages or information conveyed through the exchange and the various judgements and attitudes behind this exchange. The qualitative and quantitative analysis of mood patterns reveals that the speech is basically about information giving by means of declarative moods; that some orders or command are expressed through imperative moods; and that a few questions are asked. These questions highlight some relevant choices instead of demanding information. Additionally, it comes out from the analysis that there is an abundant use of modulator, which suggests that many judgements in terms of necessity, obligation and inclination are expressed. President Sarkozy talked with conviction by using modalisers. In short, he had the attitude of an expert who knows and understands African challenges and who is able to give recommendations regarding these challenges. The exchange was carried out in a context of unequal power and there was no familiarity between the speaker and the audience. This study has shown that systemic functional linguistics enables researchers to avoid interpretations based on extra linguistics facts.

Key words: mood patterns, systemic functional linguistics, unequal power, familiarity, extra linguistic facts.

Introduction

Because of the colonial experience, the relationship between France and francophone African countries is complex and tricky, tinged with suspicion. France is notably accused of keeping some kind of influence on its former colonies affairs through its diplomatic and industrial network (Leboeuf. A and Quenot-Surarez, 2014). Actually, many Africans, including intellectuals, consider that France applies a policy of domination or exploitation-neocolonialism- in francophone Africa, imposing its ideology based on some alleged political and economic interests. This ideology, mainly designed and carried out by French presidents, always varies depending on geopolitical realities but not on African basic priorities in terms of development in general. Thus, each French president seems to have his African policy generally

defined through addresses delivered in African capitals (Ouagadougou, Lagos, Dakar, etc.).

On July 26th 2007, Nicolas Sarkozy gave a speech in the Senegalese capital Dakar that gave rise to virulent criticisms on the part of the African intelligentsia. Ndembe (2007) and Foutoyet (2009) are among other researchers who criticized the French president for having distorted some historical facts about Africa and Africans. Precisely, Ndembe (2007) considered that Sarkozy described a debasing image of Africans, representing them as powerless people without any interest for progress or development. As regards Foutoyet (2009), he more or less adopted the same position as Ndembe (2007); he argued that Sarkozy has had a racist and ethnocentric vision of Africa and that the French president has had a paternalist attitude.

A discourse analysis may be biased if it is not focused on linguistic proofs, for discourse analysts can have their own interpretation based on their observation of social facts; they may be selective according to their interests and position (Gielis, 2014). Thus, this paper focuses on language itself, especially on the interpersonal function of language as defined by Halliday (2004) and Eggins (1994), so as to demonstrate that Sarkozy's speech can have another meaning if analyzed from the systemic functional perspective. Particularly, the article analyses the mood types, the adjunct types and the system of modality in the speech so as to reveal its deep meaning from the systemic functional linguistic perspective.

1. Theoretical Framework

One of the functions of language is to enact our personal and social relationship with the society (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). While expressing some doing or happening, saying or sensing, being or having, with their various participants and circumstance, the clause of the grammar is also a proposition or a proposal through which we inform or ask question, give an order or make an offer, and voice our appraisal or attitude towards our interlocutors or what is being talked about. Here language is not considered as a reflection of our experience but as an action, and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) call this function the interpersonal metafunction.

The Mood theory enables us to perceive how the clause is structured to realize interpersonal meanings. Indeed, when we carry out a Mood analysis of a text, we describe how language is used to make meanings about interpersonal dimensions such as power or solidarity, extent of intimacy, level of familiarity, attitudes and judgments. These dimensions are realized through the different Mood types with their various constituents, and the system of modality. Here are the five major Mood types (Eggins, 1994: 153):

- ✓ The declarative Mood: it is used to make statements;
- ✓ The interrogative Mood: we use it to ask questions;
- ✓ The imperative Mood: this Mood types is used to make commands;

- ✓ The Modulated interrogative Mood: it is used to offer something;
- ✓ Modulated imperative Mood: used to get something done by somebody.

These five Mood types correspond to specific speech roles and functions as explained by Eggins (1994).

Regarding adjuncts, they are adverbial or prepositional elements which supply some additional information (but not indispensable) to the clause, and which do not have the possibility to become subject. Put differently, Adjuncts “**cannot be elevated to the interpersonal status of modal responsibility**”. (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 123). They fall into three subgroups: Circumstantial Adjuncts, modal Adjuncts, and textual Adjuncts, which contribute experiential, interpersonal, and textual meanings respectively.

Finally, the system of modality enables speakers to express various kinds of indeterminacy or uncertainty that lies between *yes* and *no*, such as *sometimes*, *maybe*, *often*, etc. Modality refers to these intermediate degrees between the positive and the negative, and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) point out:

In between the certainties of ‘it is’ and ‘it isn’t’ lie the relative probabilities of ‘it must be’, ‘it will be’, ‘it may be’. Similarly, in between the definitive ‘do!’ and ‘don’t!’ lie the discretionary options ‘you must do’, ‘you should do’, ‘you may do’. The space between *yes* and *no* has difference significance for propositions and for proposals. (p.147)

When modality is used in proposition, to exchange information, it is referred to as modalization. According to Eggins (1994), it is a complex area of the English grammar which concerns the various ways in which we express our attitudes and judgments of different types, as regards probability and usuality. As a matter of fact, this area of grammar is the means through which the speaker gets into the text by expressing his judgment concerning the likelihood, the certainty, or frequency of what happens or what is. As for modulation, it is the other aspect of modality, which deals with obligation and inclination and which is realized through items like *must* or *required to*, *should* or *supposed to*, *may* or *allowed to*. In fact, modulation can either be expressed by means of verbal operators (e.g: you must come tomorrow); or through an adjectival item followed by an infinitive clause (e.g: the president is determined to carry on with the reforms); or through a passive expansion of the Predicator: e.g: you are obliged to finish your work.

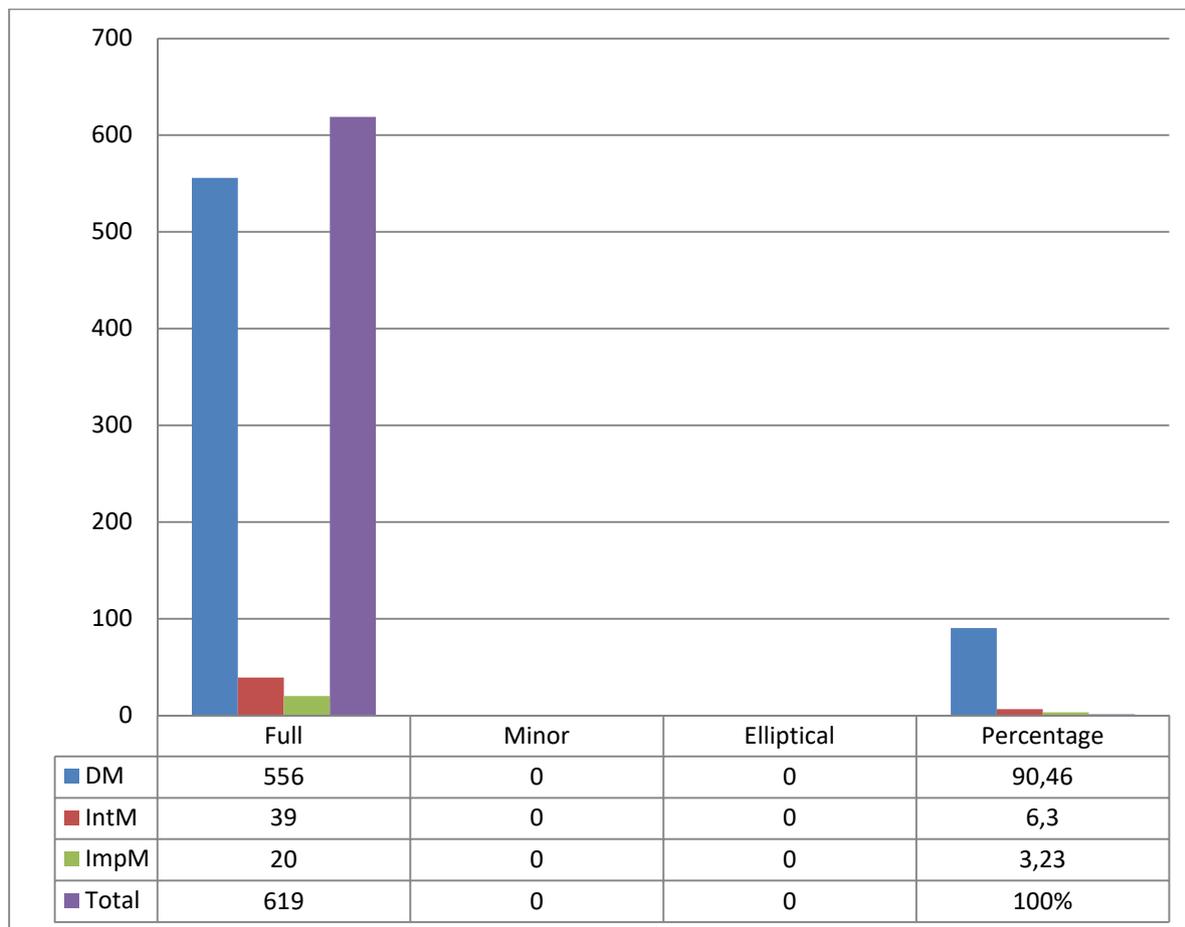
2. Methodology of the Study

This study has been carried out on the basis of both the quantitative and qualitative methods, which, in Creswell’s (2014) terms, consists in combining or integration of qualitative and quantitative data in a research study. Indeed, the text has been split into numbered clauses and mood patterns have been identified quantitatively and analyzed qualitatively. The importance of such a method resides in the principle that

all methods have bias and weakness, and the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data minimizes the weaknesses of each form of them.

2.1. Mood types Analysis

Graph 1 represents the occurrence of mood types in the speech.



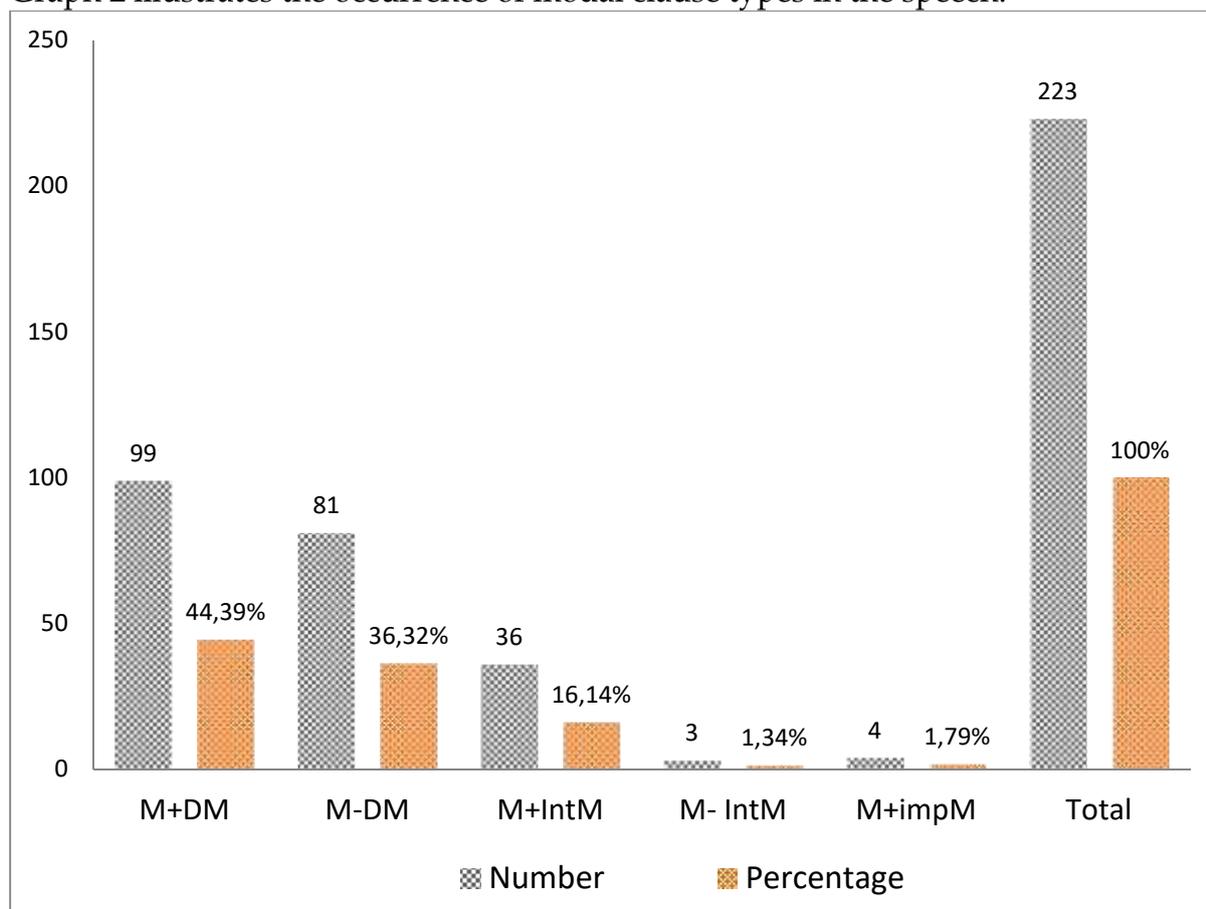
Graph 1. Occurrence of Mood Types in the Speech

As can be checked through the graph above, declarative moods predominate in the speech with a figure of 560 representing 90.46%, which means that the text is basically about information giving. Interrogative moods are used 39 times (6.30%), meaning that some pieces of information are asked. In the context of a formal speech, these are simple rhetorical questions; the speaker does not certainly expect them to be answered. Concerning imperative moods, they occur 20 times, corresponding to 3.23%. This implies that some orders or commands are somehow expressed. At that level of analysis the interpersonal significance of the exchange cannot really be revealed given that there is no turn-taking. Indeed, in ordinary exchanges, the turn-taking would be monopolized by the person or people in position of power; but a speech is a particular genre of exchange in which there is no possibility of immediate

debate and feedback. Thus, it can be argued that the speaker, in this context, is an information giver, somebody who is supposed to have knowledge about the topic he deals with; somebody with some experiences about the subject of the exchange.

2.2. Analysis of Modality

Graph 2 illustrates the occurrence of modal clause types in the speech.



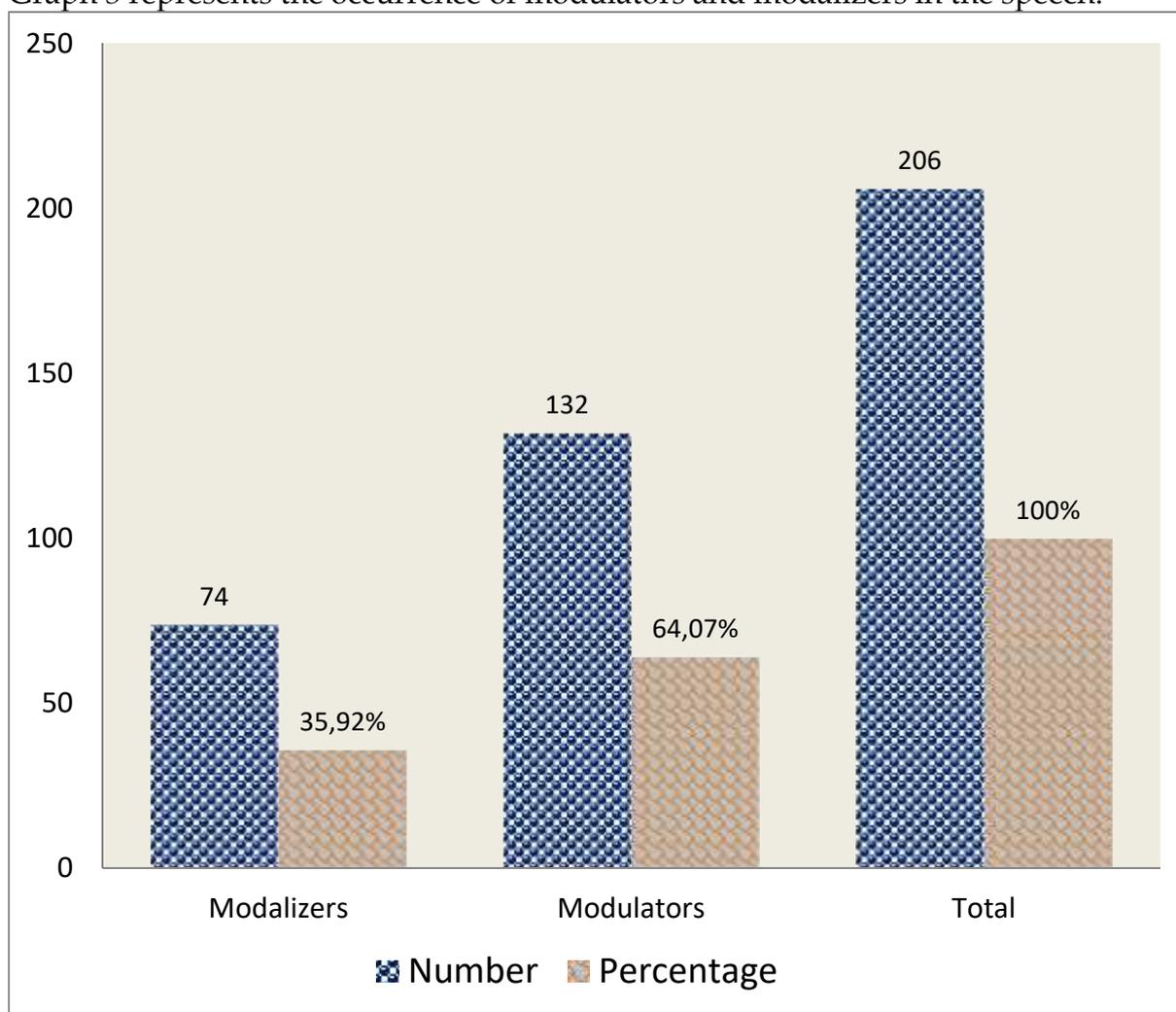
Graph 2. Modal Clause Types Occurrence

It should be noted that modal clauses are important linguistic elements in the analysis of interpersonal meaning, for they express attitude regarding what is being talked about in an exchange. The graph displays a significant number of modulated and moralized clauses, which accounts for the speaker intention to emphasize some necessities, obligations, inclinations, and permission on the one hand, and on the other hand this highlights various attitudes as regards the probability and usuality related to the subject of the exchange.

The graph shows that modal clauses are predominant in the speech: modulated declarative moods occur 99 times, corresponding to 44, 39%; modulated

interrogatives 36 times, representing 16,14%; and modulated imperatives 04 times, that is, 1,79%. As can be noted through the graph, there is an important proportion of modalized clauses with a preeminence of modalized declaratives (81/223) [36,32%]. Modalized interrogatives are used only 3 times, corresponding to 1, 34%. The interpersonal implication of these linguistics items will be discussed in the section on interpretation.

Graph 3 represents the occurrence of modulators and modalizers in the speech.

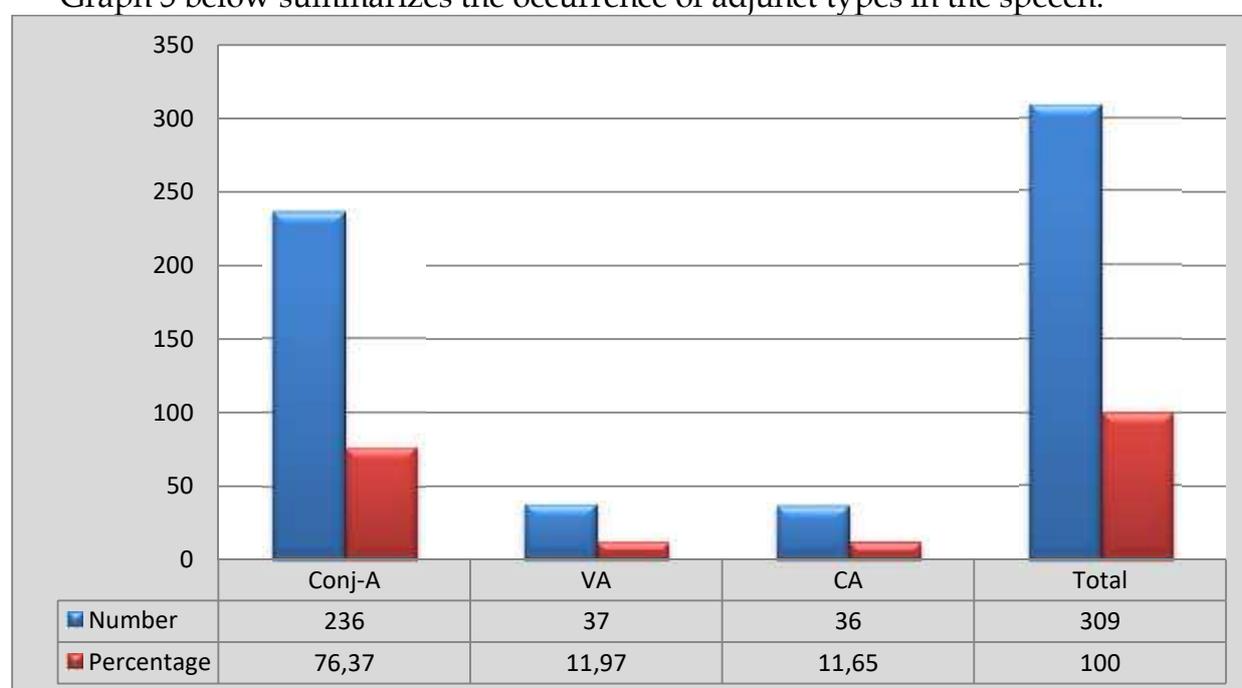


The above statistics confirm what has been said about modal clauses, that is, the speech is more concerned with modulation than with modalization. The graph presents a predominant use of modulators in comparison to modalizers, and this, as mentioned earlier, shows that various judgments are expressed. Precisely, modulators occur 132 times, corresponding to 64, 07%. Whereas some of the

modulators are used in imperative clauses to tone down some statements or to voice certain respect in clauses (1, 2, 3), many of them express some necessities or obligations that take the form of emergencies (*must, should, need, have to*) in clauses (346, 471, 474, 481, 485, 486, 487, 488, 500, 513, 548, etc.) Modalizers are used 74 times, that is, 35, 92%; and they have served to actualize some nuances as regards probability and usuality, demonstrating clearly the speaker's idea to insist on some racist postulates that justified the colonization of Africa, and to suggest some possible solutions to the problems of Africa. This is actualized through expressions such as *believe, will, know, shall, if, ever*, in clauses (394, 402, 404, 450, 453, 455, 458, 460, 468, 470, 515, 536, etc.).

2.3. Analysis of Adjuncts

Graph 5 below summarizes the occurrence of adjunct types in the speech.



Graph 5. Occurrence of Adjunct Types in the Speech

The above graph shows that conjunctive adjuncts are dominant in the speech, and this means that it is a profoundly written speech. Each idea developed in the text is logically linked to the preceding idea through conjunctive adjuncts in terms of elaboration, enhancement and extension expressed through items such as *first, and, but, still, therefore, because, or, without, then, when, since, after*; etc. in clauses (4, 9, 10, 38, 60, 67, 76, 193, 214, 391, 398, 400, 404, 408, 433, 566, etc.).

Moreover, there is a considerable number of vocative adjuncts, which stresses relevant interpersonal meaning within the framework of this analysis. The term *youth*

of Africa or *African youth* is used 32 times in clauses (1, 32, 34, 36, 62, 69, 72, 73, 187, 190, 192, 195, 202, 223, 240, 244, 309, 311, 317, 320, 322, 324, 329, 382, 386, 400, 427, 513, 517, 520, 538, 568) and the term *my dear friend* occurs only twice in clauses (586, 612). There are basically two implications of such elements: first, they are used by the speaker to capture the attention of the audience given that the speech is relatively long; second, these vocative adjuncts may carry interpersonal meanings of authority, tinged with some kind responsibility that this youth should be aware of, as regards African plights. Regarding the use of *my dear friend*, it may realize some affective involvement towards the African youth, showing the author's intention to sensitize in a friendly manner

3. Discussion of the Findings

To start with, it is important to note that the analysis of mood patterns has been done on a quantitative basis, but, here, we will qualitatively discuss some of these linguistic elements. The analysis revealed that declarative moods are dominant in the speech, which means that the text is basically concerned with propositions, that is, the exchange of information. There are no elliptical or minor clauses in the text, implying that the exchange was carried out in a formal context and that there was no familiarity between the speaker and the audience. 560 out of 619 clauses are declarative moods. Thus, the speaker made a great deal of statements about Africa and what he considered as Africa's problems in such clauses as: *This evening, I want to address all Africans, who are so different from one another, who don't have the same language, who don't have the same religion, who don't have the same customs, who don't have the same culture, who don't have the same history and yet recognize each other as Africans.*(15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22). While recognizing the cruelties perpetrated during slavery and colonization in Africa, the President insisted on the fact that these are not responsible for the dramatic situation in the continent in clauses such as: *Colonization is not responsible for all the current difficulties of Africa. It is not responsible for the bloody wars which Africans wage among themselves. It is not responsible for the genocides. It is not responsible for the dictators. It is not responsible for the fanaticism. It is not responsible for the corruption. It is not responsible for the prevarication. It is not responsible for the waste and the pollution* (152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160). Talking of the realities of the continent, he pointed out, for example, that it was demographic growth that is very high in comparison with the economic growth; that it was a lot of famine and misery; that it was scarcity which causes violence; it was development that is too low; it was agriculture that produces too little; and it was the scarcity of roads, schools, hospitals, in clauses (409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421).

It might be inferred that President Nicola Sarkozy had had an attitude of an expert, somebody who knows and understands African challenges and who is able to

propose some solution for the African renaissance by means of imperative moods that functions as recommendations through expressions such as *do not do this* or *do that* in clauses (309, 311, 317, 320, 324, 329, 382, 386, 387, 389). The absence of politeness formulas or modulation shows some kind of authority or power. Actually, as a president of the Republic of France, as a father or an elder brother talking to young people at university, this kind of attitude can consciously or unconsciously be adopted. The vocative adjunct *youth of Africa*, used in clauses (1, 32, 34, 36, 62, 69, 72, 73, 187, 190, 192, 195) corroborates this postulate but also highlights the gravity of the African realities described earlier. Basically, the President seemed to stress the responsibility of the youth of Africa to react, to take matters into their own hands if the situation is to change.

The solutions also take the form of necessities, inclinations, and obligations expressed through modal items such as *must, need, should, want, it is necessary, it is up to you, it is for you*, in clauses (113, 202, 471, 474, 478, 481, 485, 486, 487, 488, 492, 499, 513, 579, 586). Furthermore, the author emphasized some orientations by using modulated rhetorical questions aimed essentially at drawing the attention of the African as regards some relevant choices they should make in terms of priorities for the development of the continent. Democracy, freedom, justice, law are among other important factors that will foster this development: *African youth, do you want democracy, do you want freedom, do you want justice, do you want law* (509, 510, 512). Such questions are not aimed at getting answers but meant for raising awareness or sensitizing. All this is expressed with a firm conviction by means of modalized items like *believe, know, will* in clause (399, 401, 402, 404, 434, 436, 439, 446, 448, 450, 453, 458, 460). In fact, President Sarkozy insisted on the results such choices will surely bring about and the commitment of France to make these become a reality.

Conclusion

This paper has proposed an interpersonal analysis of President Sarkozy's Dakar speech. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the speech with an emphasis on mood patterns has enabled us to come up with valuable findings about its tenor and the basic pieces of information conveyed through the exchange, for, here, language has been viewed as exchange through which various attitudes and judgements can be conveyed. The text is basically about information giving by means of declarative clauses that essentially accentuate important facts about the African continent, a continent that is described as being economically, politically and socially in a very dramatic situation; whereas imperative moods have conveyed meanings in terms of possible solutions to that situation. And this requires urgent reorientations that take the form of modulated clauses, particularly expressed through necessities, obligations, and inclinations. The interrogative moods used in the text have not served to get answers but to stress the choices the African youth is faced with, which

concerns universal values of democracy, justice, and freedom. All this is actualized with an attitude of power and authority, that of a man of experience, a President talking to young people whom he felt the obligation of informing, encouraging or even educating. Vocative adjuncts have emphasized this attitude and added a connotation of emergency. Some of the problems listed by President Sarkozy may be caused by colonial, imperialist and capitalist exploitation in Africa, and some of the statements may be debatable; but many of them, notably related to the economic, political, and social situation of Africa, can be verified by facts and are therefore real. They require urgent reactions. In this era of globalization, this era of partnership in all domains, no matter who contributes or how she/he does so provided that is relevant. Actually, no country or continent can pretend to solve its problems alone; Africans need to get rid of complexes and listen without prejudices.

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Appendix (translated by Gielis, 2014)

[^(VA)₁**Ladies and gentlemen**, ^(M+)₁**Allow** me first of all, to thank the Senegalese Government ^(Conj-A)₁**and** people for their warm welcome]^{M+ImpM_{full}}. ²[^(M+)₂**Allow** me to thank the University of Dakar]^{M+ImpM_{full}} ³[that ^(M+)₃**allows** me for the ^(CA)₁**first** time to address the elite of the youth of Africa in the capacity of President of the French Republic.] ^{M+ImpM_{full}} ⁴[I have come to talk to you with the frankness ^(Conj-A)₂**and** sincerity that one owes to friends] ^{DM_{full}} ⁵[that one appreciates] ^{DM_{full}} ⁶[^(Conj-A)₃**and** respects.] ^{DM_{full}} ⁷[I love Africa.] ^{DM_{full}} ⁸[I respect] ^{DM_{full}} ⁹[^(Conj-A)₄**and** love the Africans.] ^{DM_{full}} ¹⁰[Between Senegal ^(Conj-A)₅**and** France, history has woven ties of a friendship] ^{DM_{full}} ¹¹[that no one ^(M+)₄**can** undo.] ^{M+DM_{full}} ¹²[This friendship is strong ^(Conj-A)₆**and** sincere.] ^{DM_{full}} ¹³[It is for this reason] ^{DM_{full}} ¹⁴[that I ^(M+)₅ **wanted** to address, from Dakar, the fraternal greeting of France to all of Africa.] ^{M+DM_{full}} ¹⁵[This evening, I ^(M+)₆**want** to address all Africans,] ^{M+DM_{full}} ¹⁶[who are so different from one another,] ^{DM_{full}} ¹⁷[who don't have the same language,] ^{DM_{full}} ¹⁸[who don't have the same religion,] ^{DM_{full}} ¹⁹[who don't have the same customs,] ^{DM_{full}} ²⁰[who don't have the same culture,] ^{DM_{full}} ²¹[who don't have the same history] ^{DM_{full}} ²²[^(Conj-A)₇**and** yet recognize each other as Africans.] ^{DM_{full}} ²³[Here one finds the first mystery of Africa.] ^{DM_{full}} ²⁴[^(Cont-A)₈Yes, I ^(M+)₇ **want** to address all the people of this wounded continent ^(Conj-A)₉**and** in particular the youth,] ^{M+DM_{full}} ²⁵[you who have fought each other ^(CA)₂**so** much ^(Conj-A)₁₀**and** have ^(M-)₁**often** hated each other ^(CA)₃**so much**,] ^{M-DM_{full}} ²⁶[who ^(M-)₂ **at times** ^(Conj-A)₁₁ **still** fight] ^{M-DM_{full}} ²⁷[^(Conj-A)₁₂**and** hate each other] ^{M-DM_{full}} ²⁸[^(Conj-A)₁₃**but** ^(Conj-A)₁₄**still** recognize each other as brothers, brothers in suffering, brothers in humiliation, brothers in revolt, brothers in hope, brothers in the sentiment of a common destiny, brothers through this mysterious faith] ^{M-DM_{full}} ²⁹[that binds you to the African soil,] ^{DM_{full}} ³⁰[a faith that is being transmitted from generation to generation] ^{DM_{full}} ³¹[^(Conj-A)₁₅**and** which ^(Conj-A)₁₆**even** exile ^(M+)₈ **cannot** erase.] ^{M+DM_{full}} ³²[I have not come, ^(VA)₂**youth of Africa**, to lament with you the misfortunes of Africa.] ^{DM_{full}} ³³[^(Conj-A)₁₇**Because**, Africa has no ^(M+)₉ **need** of my laments.] ^{M+DM_{full}} ³⁴[I have not come, ^(VA)₃**youth of Africa**, to take pity on your fate,] ^{DM_{full}} ³⁵[^(Conj-A)₁₈**because** your fate is first of all in your hands.] ^{DM_{full}} ³⁶[What ^(M+)₁₀**would** you do, proud ^(VA)₄**youth of Africa**, with my pity?] ^{M+IntM_{full}} ³⁷[I have not come to erase the past,] ^{DM_{full}} ³⁸[^(Conj-A)₁₉ **because** the past ^(M+)₁₁ **cannot** be erased.] ^{M+DM_{full}} ³⁹[I have not come to deny mistakes ^(Conj-A)₂₀**or** crimes -] ^{DM_{full}} ⁴⁰[mistakes were made] ^{DM_{full}} ⁴¹[^(Conj-A)₂₁**and** crimes committed.] ^{DM_{full}} ⁴²[There was the black slave trade,] ^{DM_{full}} ⁴³[there was slavery,] ^{DM_{full}} ⁴⁴[men, women ^(Conj-A)₂₂ **and** ^(VA) children bought] ^{DM_{full}} ⁴⁵[^(Conj-A)₂₃ **and** sold as merchandise.] ^{DM_{full}} ⁴⁶[^(Conj-A)₂₄ **And** this crime was not ^(CA)₄**only** a crime against the Africans,] ^{DM_{full}} ⁴⁷[it was a crime against man,] ^{DM_{full}} ⁴⁸[it was a crime against all of humanity.] ^{DM_{full}} ⁴⁹[^(Conj-A)₂₅**And** the black man that eternally "hears rising from the ship's hold the chained curses,] ^{DM_{full}} ⁵⁰[the sobs of the dying, the noise of someone they throw into the sea",] ^{DM_{full}} ⁵¹[this black man that ^(M+)₁₂**can't** help repeating endlessly] ^{M+DM_{full}} ⁵²[^(Conj-A)₂₆**and** this country cried for centuries]

DM_{full} 53[that we are brutal beasts",] DM_{full} 54[this black man, 55[I (M+) 13want to say it here in Dakar,]M+DM_{full} has the face of all humanity.] DM_{full} 56[This suffering of the black man -(Conj-A) 27and I don't speak here in the sense of gender,] DM_{full} 57[I speak of man in the sense of a human being (Conj-A) 28and of course of women (Conj-A) 29and of men in a general sense] DM_{full} 58- [this suffering of the black man is the suffering of all men.] DM_{full} 59[This open wound in the soul of the black man is an open wound in the soul of all men.] DM_{full} 60[(Conj-A)30But no one (M+)14can ask of the generations of today to expiate this crime perpetrated by past generations.]M+DM_{full} 60[No one (M+)15can ask of sons to repent for the mistakes of their fathers.]M+DM_{full} 62[(VA) 5Youth of Africa, I have not come to talk to you about repentance.] DM_{full} 63[I have come to tell you] DM_{full} 64[that I consider the slave trade (Conj-A)30and slavery as crimes against humanity.] DM_{full} 65[I have come to tell you] DM_{full} 66[that your pain (Conj-A)31and your suffering are ours] DM_{full} 67[(Conj-A) 32and (Conj-A)33therefore are mine.] DM_{full} 68[I have come to propose to you to look together, (VA) 6Africans (Conj-A)34and (VA) 7French, beyond this division (Conj-A)35and this suffering.] DM_{full} 69[I have come to propose to you, (VA) 8youth of Africa, not to forget this division (Conj-A) 36and this suffering] DM_{full} 70[which (M+)16cannot be forgotten,]M+DM_{full} 71[(Conj-A)37but to move beyond them.] DM_{full} 72[I have come to propose to you, (VA) 9youth of Africa, not to dwell on the past, (Conj-A) 38but for us to draw together lessons from it in order to face the future together.] DM_{full} 73[I have come, (VA) 10youth of Africa, to face with you our common history.] DM_{full} 74[Africa is partly responsible for its own misfortune.] DM_{full} 75[People have killed each other in Africa at least as much as in Europe.] DM_{full} 76[(Conj-A) 39But it is true] DM_{full} 77[that once, the Europeans came to Africa as conquerors.] DM_{full} 78[They took the land of your ancestors.] DM_{full} 79[They banished the gods, the languages, the beliefs, the customs of your forefathers.] DM_{full} 80[They told your forefathers] DM_{full} 81[what they (M+) 17had to think,]M+DM_{full} 82[what they (M+)18 had to believe,]M+DM_{full} 83[what they (M+)19 had to do.]M+DM_{full} 84[They have cut your forefathers from their past,] DM_{full} 85[they have torn their souls (Conj-A) 40and their roots.] DM_{full} 86[They stole Africa's spell.] DM_{full} 87[They were wrong.] DM_{full} 88[They did not see the depth (Conj-A) 41and the wealth of the African soul.] DM_{full} 89[They believed that they were superior,] DM_{full} 90[that they were more advanced,] DM_{full} 91[that they were progress,] DM_{full} 92[that they were civilisation.] DM_{full} 93[They were wrong.] DM_{full} 94[They (M+)20wanted to convert the African,]M+DM_{full} 95[they (M+)21wanted to make him in their image.]M+DM_{full} 96[They believed that they had all the rights,] DM_{full} 97[they(M-)3believed] M-DM_{full} 98[that they were all powerful,] DM_{full} 99[more powerful than the gods of Africa,] DM_{full} 100[more powerful than the African soul,] DM_{full} 101[more powerful] DM_{full} 102[than the sacred ties that men had woven patiently during thousands of years with the sky (Conj-A) 43and earth of Africa,] DM_{full} 103[more powerful] DM_{full} 104[than the mysteries that came from the depths of time.] DM_{full} 105[They were wrong.] DM_{full} 106[They ruined a way of life.] DM_{full} 107[They ruined a marvellous imaginary world.] DM_{full} 108[They ruined an ancestral wisdom.] DM_{full} 109[They were wrong.] DM_{full} 110[They created

anguish (Conj-A) ⁴⁴**and** misery.] DM_{full} 111[They fed hatred.] DM_{full} 112[They made it more difficult to open up to others, to exchange (Conj-A) ⁴⁵**and** to share] DM_{full} 113[(Conj-A) ⁴⁶**because** in order to open up oneself, to exchange, to share one (M+) ²²**must** be sure of one's own identity, values (Conj-A) ⁴⁷**and** convictions.] M+DM_{full} 114[(Conj-A) ⁴⁸**Before** the coloniser, the colonised lost all confidence in himself,] DM_{full} 115[did not know] DM_{full} 116[who he was anymore,] DM_{full} 117[let himself be overwhelmed by fear of the other,] DM_{full} 118[by fear of the future.] DM_{full} 119[The coloniser came,] DM_{full} 120[he took,] DM_{full} 121[he helped himself,] DM_{full} 122[he exploited,] DM_{full} 123[he pillaged resources,] DM_{full} 124[wealth that did not belong to him.] DM_{full} 125[He stripped the colonised of his personality, of his liberty, of his land, of the fruit of his labour.] DM_{full} 126[The coloniser took,] DM_{full} 127[(Conj-A) ⁴⁹**but** I (M+) ²³**want to** say with respect,] M+DM_{full} 128[that he also gave.] DM_{full} 129[He built bridges, roads, hospitals, dispensaries and schools.] DM_{full} 130[He turned virgin soil fertile.] DM_{full} 131[He gave of his effort, his work, his know-how.] DM_{full} 132[I (M+) ²⁴**want to** say it here,] M+DM_{full} 133[not all the colonialists were thieves (Conj-A) ⁵⁰**or** exploiters.] DM_{full} 134[There were among them evil men] DM_{full} 135[(Conj-A) ⁵¹**but** there were also men of good will,] DM_{full} 136[people who believed they were fulfilling a civilising mission,] DM_{full} 137[people who believed they were doing good.] DM_{full} 138[They were wrong,] DM_{full} 139[(Conj-A) ⁵²**but** some were sincere.] DM_{full} 140[They (M-) ⁴**believed** to be giving freedom,] M-DM_{full} 141[(Conj-A) ⁵⁴**but** they were creating alienation.] DM_{full} 142[They (M-) ⁵**believed**] M-DM_{full} 143[they were breaking the chains of obscurantism, of superstition, of servitude.] M-DM_{full} 144[They were actually forging (CA) ⁵**much** heavier chains,] DM_{full} 145[they imposed a more burdensome servitude] DM_{full} 146[(Conj-A) ⁵⁵**because** it was the spirit,] DM_{full} 147[it was the soul] DM_{full} 148[that was enslaved.] DM_{full} 149[They (M-) ⁶**believed**] M-DM_{full} 150[they were giving love (Conj-A) ⁵⁶**without** seeing] M-DM_{full} 151[that they were sowing revolt (Conj-A) and hatred.] DM_{full} 152[Colonisation is not responsible for all the current difficulties of Africa.] DM_{full} 153[It is not responsible for the bloody wars] DM_{full} 154[which Africans wage among themselves.] DM_{full} 155[It is not responsible for the genocides.] DM_{full} 156[It is not responsible for the dictators.] DM_{full} 157[It is not responsible for the fanaticism.] DM_{full} 158[It is not responsible for the corruption.] DM_{full} 159[It is not responsible for the prevarication.] DM_{full} 160[It is not responsible for the waste (Conj-A) ⁵⁷**and** the pollution.] DM_{full} 161[(Conj-A) ⁵⁸**But**, colonisation was a huge mistake] DM_{full} 162[that was paid for by the bitterness (Conj-A) ⁵⁹**and** the suffering of those] DM_{full} 163[who (M-) ⁷**believed**] M-DM_{full} 164[they had given all] M-DM_{full} 165[(Conj-A) ⁶⁰**and** did not understand] DM_{full} 166[why they were so hated.] DM_{full} 167[Colonisation was a huge mistake] DM_{full} 168[that destroyed the colonised's self-esteem] DM_{full} 169[(Conj-A) ⁶¹**and** in his heart gave birth to this self-hatred] DM_{full} 170[that (M-) ⁸**always** results in hatred of others.] M-DM_{full} 171[Colonisation was a huge mistake,] DM_{full} 172[(Conj-A) ⁶²**but** from it was born the embryo of a common destiny.] DM_{full} 173[(Conj-A) ⁶³**And** this idea is of particular importance to me.] DM_{full} 174[Colonisation was a mistake] DM_{full} 175[that changed the destiny of Europe (Conj-A) ⁶⁴**and** the destiny of Africa] DM_{full} 176[(Conj-A) ⁶⁵**and** intertwined them.] DM_{full} 177[(Conj-A)

66 **And** this common destiny was sealed by the blood of Africans] DM_{full} 178 [that came to die in European wars.] DM_{full} 179 [(Conj-A) 67 **And** France does not forget this African blood spilled for its liberty.] DM_{full} 180 [No one (M+) 25 **can** pretend] M+DM_{full} 181 [that nothing happened.] DM_{full} 182 [No one (M+) 26 **can** pretend] M+DM_{full} 183 [that this mistake was not committed.] DM_{full} 184 [No one (M+) 27 **can** pretend] M+DM_{full} 185 [that this history did not transpire. (CA) 6 **For better** (Conj-A) 68 **or** (CA) 7 **for worse**.] DM_{full} 186 [colonisation has transformed the African man (Conj-A) 69 **and** the European man.] DM_{full} 187 [(VA) 11 **Youth of Africa**, you are heir to the most ancient African traditions] DM_{full} 188 [(Conj-A) 70 **and** you are heir to all] DM_{full} 189 [that the West has placed in the heart (Conj-A) 71 **and** in the soul of Africa.] DM_{full} 190 [(VA) 12 **Youth of Africa**, European civilisation was wrong to believe itself to be superior to that of your ancestors,] DM_{full} 191 [(Conj-A) 72 **but** now, European civilisation belongs to you (Conj-A) 73 **too**.] DM_{full} 192 [(VA) 13 **Youth of Africa**, do not yield to the temptation of purity] ImpM_{full} 193 [(Conj-A) 74 **because** it is a disease,] DM_{full} 194 [a disease of the intellect that is among the world's most dangerous.] DM_{full} 195 [(VA) 14 **Youth of Africa**, do not cut yourself off from] ImpM_{full} 196 [that which enriches you,] DM_{full} 197 [do not amputate a part of yourself.] ImpM_{full} 198 [Purity is confinement,] DM_{full} 199 [purity is intolerance.] DM_{full} 200 [Purity is a fantasy] DM_{full} 201 [that leads to fanaticism.] DM_{full} 202 [I (M+) 28 **want to** say to you, (VA) 15 **youth of Africa**] M+DM_{full} 203 [that the tragedy of Africa is not in the so-called inferiority of its art,] DM_{full} 204 [its (M-) 9 **thought**, its culture.] M-DM_{full} 205 [(Conj-A) 75 **Because**, in what concerns art, thought (Conj-A) and culture] DM_{full} 206 [it is the West] DM_{full} 207 [that learnt from Africa.] DM_{full} 208 [Modern art owes almost all to Africa.] DM_{full} 209 [The influence of Africa contributed to changing not (CA) 8 **only** the idea of beauty itself, not (CA) 9 **only** the sense of rhythm, of music, of dance,] DM_{full} 210 [(Conj-A) 76 **but** as Senghor said (Conj-A) 77 **even** the way of walking (Conj-A) 78 **or** laughing of the world in the 20th Century.] DM_{full} 211 [I therefore (M+) 29 **I want to** say, to the youth of Africa,] M+DM_{full} 212 [that the tragedy of Africa does not come from the idea] DM_{full} 213 [that the African soul (M-) 10 **would** be impervious to logic (Conj-A) 79 **and** to reason.] M-DM_{full} 214 [(Conj-A) 80 **Because**, the African man is as logic (Conj-A) and as reasonable as the European man.] DM_{full} 215 [It is by drawing from the African imaginary world] DM_{full} 216 [that your ancestors have left you,] DM_{full} 217 [it is by drawing from their stories, their proverbs, their mythologies, their rites,] DM_{full} 218 [by drawing from all these forms that (Conj-A) 81 **since** the dawn of time were transmitted (Conj-A) 82 **and** enriched generation (Conj-A) 83 **after** generation,] DM_{full} 219 [that you (M-) 11 **will** find the imagination (Conj-A) 84 **and** the power to invent a future] M-DM_{full} 220 [which is suitable for you,] DM_{full} 221 [a unique future that does not resemble any other,] DM_{full} 222 [where you (M-) 12 **will** (CA) 10 **at last** feel free,] M-DM_{full} 223 [free, (VA) 16 **youth of Africa**, to be yourselves,] DM_{full} 224 [free to decide for yourselves.] DM_{full} 225 [I have come to tell you] DM_{full} 226 [that you don't (M+) 30 **have to** be ashamed of the values of African civilisation,] M+DM_{full} 227 [that they do not drag you down] DM_{full} 228 [(Conj-A) 85 **but** elevate you,] DM_{full} 229 [that they are an antidote to the materialism (Conj-A) 86 **and** the individualism] DM_{full} 230 [that enslave modern man,] DM_{full} 231 [that they are the most precious of legacies against the

dehumanization (Conj-A) 87 **and** the uniformization of the world.] DM_{full} 232 [I have come to tell you] DM_{full} 233 [that modern man, 234 [who experiences the need to reconcile himself with nature,] DM_{full} has (CA) 11 **much** to learn from the African man] DM_{full} 235 [who has lived in a symbiotic relationship with nature for thousands of years.] DM_{full} 236 [I came to tell you] DM_{full} 237 [that this division between two parts of yourselves is your greatest force, (Conj-A) 88 **or** your greatest weakness,] DM_{full} 238 [according to the extent to which you bring yourself to unite them, (Conj-A) 89 **or** not.] DM_{full} 239 [But I also came to tell you] DM_{full} 240 [that there are in you, (VA) 17 **youth of Africa**, two legacies, two wisdoms, two traditions] DM_{full} 241 [that have struggled with each other for a long time: that of Africa (Conj-A) 90 **and** that of Europe.] DM_{full} 242 [I came to tell you] DM_{full} 243 [that this African part (Conj-A) 91 **and** this European part of yourselves form your torn identity.] DM_{full} 244 [I did not come, (VA) 18 **youth of Africa**, to lecture you.] DM_{full} 245 [I did not come to preach,] DM_{full} 246 [(Conj-A) 92 **but** I came to tell you] DM_{full} 247 [that the part of Europe 248 [that is in you] DM_{full} is the fruit of a great sin of pride of the West,] DM_{full} 249 [(Conj-A) 93 **but** that this part of Europe in you is not unworthy.] DM_{full} 250 [(Conj-A) 94 **Because** it is the call of freedom, of emancipation (Conj-A) 95 **and** of justice (Conj-A) 96 **and** of equality between women (Conj-A) 97 **and** men.] DM_{full} 251 [(Conj-A) 98 **Because** it is the call to reason (Conj-A) 99 **and** to the universal conscience.] DM_{full} 252 [The tragedy of Africa is that] DM_{full} 253 [the African man has not sufficiently entered into history.] DM_{full} 254 [The African peasant, who for thousands of years has lived according to the seasons,] DM_{full} 255 [whose life ideal is to be in harmony with nature,] DM_{full} 256 [only knows the eternal renewal of time, rhythmized by the endless repetition of the same gestures (Conj-A) 100 **and** the same words.] DM_{full} 257 [In this imaginary world where everything starts over (Conj-A) 101 **and** over again,] DM_{full} 258 [there is no place for human adventure (Conj-A) 102 **or** for the idea of progress.] DM_{full} 259 [In this universe where nature commands all,] DM_{full} 260 [man escapes from the anguish of history] DM_{full} 261 [that torments modern man,] DM_{full} 262 [(Conj-A) 103 **but** he rests immobile in the centre of a static order] DM_{full} 263 [where everything seems to have been written beforehand.] DM_{full} 264 [This man (M-) 13 **never** launches himself towards the future.] M-DM_{full} 265 [The idea (M-) 14 **never** comes to him to get out of this repetition (Conj-A) 104 **and** to invent his destiny.] M-DM_{full} 266 [The problem of Africa, (Conj-A) 105 **and** 267 [(M+) 31 **allow** a friend of Africa to say it,] M+ImpM_{full} is to be found here.] DM_{full} 268 [Africa's challenge is to enter to a greater extent into history, to take from it the energy, the force, the desire, the willingness to listen (Conj-A) 106 **and** to espouse its own history.] DM_{full} 269 [Africa's problem is to stop (M-) 15 **always** repeating, (M-) 16 **always** mulling over, to liberate itself from the myth of the eternal return.] M-DM_{full} 270 [It is to realize] DM_{full} 271 [that the golden age 272 [that Africa is (CA) 12 **forever** recalling] (M-) 17 **will** not return] M-DM_{full} 273 [(Conj-A) 107 **because** it has (M-) 19 **never** existed.] M-DM_{full} 274 [Africa's problem is] DM_{full} 275 [that it lives the present (CA) 13 **too much** in nostalgia for a lost childhood paradise.] DM_{full} 276 [Africa's problem is] DM_{full} 277 [that (M-) 18 **too often** it judges the present in terms of a purity of origin] M-DM_{full} 278 [that is totally imaginary]

DM_{full} 279[(Conj-A) 108and that no one (M⁺)³²can hope to achieve.] M⁺ DM_{full} 280[Africa's problem is not to invent for itself a more (Conj-A) 109or less mythical past to help it to support the present, (Conj-A) but to invent the future with suitable means.] DM_{full} 281[Africa's problem is not to prepare itself for the return of misfortune,] DM_{full} 282 [(conj-A) as if that is supposed to repeat itself indefinitely,] DM_{full} 283[(Conj-A) 110but to (M⁺)³³want to give itself the means to combat misfortune,] M⁺DM_{full} 284[(Conj-A) 111because Africa has the right to happiness like all the other continents of the world.] DM_{full} 285[Africa's problem is to remain true to itself (Conj-A) 112without remaining immobile.] DM_{full} 286[Africa's challenge is to learn to view its accession to the universal not as a denial 287[of what it is] DM_{full} (Conj-A) 113but as an accomplishment.] DM_{full} 288[Africa's challenge is to learn to feel itself to be heir to all] DM_{full} 289[that which is universal in all human civilizations.] DM_{full} 290[It is to appropriate for itself human rights, democracy, liberty, equality (Conj-A) 114and justice as the common legacy of all civilizations (Conj-A) 115and of all people.] DM_{full} 291[It is to appropriate for itself modern science (Conj-A) 116and technology as the product of all human intelligence.] DM_{full} 292[Africa's challenge is that of all civilizations, of all cultures, of all peoples] DM_{full} 293[that (M⁺)³⁴want to protect their identity (Conj-A) 117without isolating themselves] M⁺DM_{full} 294[(Conj-A) 118because they know] DM_{full} 295[that isolation is deadly.] DM_{full} 296[Civilizations are great to the extent] DM_{full} 297[that they participate in the great blending of the human spirit.] DM_{full} 298[The weakness of Africa, 299[which has known (CA)¹⁴so many brilliant civilizations on its soil,] DM_{full} was for a long time not being (M⁺)³⁵able to participate fully in this great blending.] DM_{full} 300[Africa has paid dearly for its disengagement from the world] DM_{full} 301[(Conj-A) 119and that has rendered it so vulnerable.] DM_{full} 302[(Conj-A) 120But from its misfortunes Africa has drawn new strength as, in turn,] DM_{full} 303[it has blended itself.] DM_{full} 304[This blended nature, regardless of the painful conditions of its origin, is the real force (Conj-A) 121and the real chance for Africa at the moment] DM_{full} 305[(Conj-A) 122when the first global civilization is emerging.] DM_{full} 306[The Muslim civilization, Christianity (Conj-A) 123and colonization, 307[beyond the crimes (Conj-A) 124and mistakes that were committed in their name] DM_{full} 308[(Conj-A) 125and that are not excusable,] DM_{full} have opened the African heart (Conj-A) 126and mentality to the universal (Conj-A) 127and to history.] DM_{full} 309[(VA)¹⁹Youth of Africa, don't let your future be stolen by those] ImpM_{full} 310[who only know how to combat intolerance with intolerance (Conj-A) 128and racism with racism.] ImpM_{full} 311[(VA)²⁰Youth of Africa, don't let your future be stolen] ImpM_{full} 312[by those who (M⁺)³⁶ want to deprive you of a history] M⁺DM_{full} 313[that also belongs to you] DM_{full} 314[(Conj-A) 130because it was the painful history of your parents,] DM_{full} 315[of your grandparents] DM_{full} 316[(Conj-A) 131and those who went before.] DM_{full} 317[(VA)²¹Youth of Africa, don't listen to] ImpM_{full} 318[those who (M⁺)³⁷ want to remove Africa from history in the name of tradition,] M⁺DM_{full} 319[(Conj-A) 132because an Africa where nothing changes anymore (M⁻)¹⁹would again be condemned to servitude.] M⁻ DM_{full} 320[(VA)²²Youth of Africa, don't listen to] ImpM_{full} 321[those who (M⁺)³⁸ want to prevent you from taking

your part in the human adventure,] M+DM_{full} 322[(Conj-A) 133**because** without you, (VA)₂₃**youth of Africa**, who are the youth of the world,] DM_{full} 323 [the human adventure (M-)₂₀**will** not be as beautiful.] M- DM_{full} 324[(VA)₂₄**Youth of Africa**, don't listen to] ImpM_{full} 325[those who (M+)₃₉ **want to** deprive you of your roots (Conj-A) 134**and** your identity, erase]M+DM_{full} 326[all that is African, all the mystique, the religiousness, the sensitivity, the African mentality,] M+DM_{full} 327[(Conj-A) 135**because** in order to exchange, it is necessary to have something to give,] DM_{full} 328[(Conj-A) 136**because** to talk to others, it is necessary to have something to say to them.] DM_{full} 329[(VA)₂₅**Youth of Africa**, rather listen to the great voice of President Senghor,] ImpM_{full} 330[who tried his whole life to reconcile the legacies (Conj-A)₁₃₇**and** cultures at the cross-roads]DM_{full} 331[of which chance (Conj-A)₁₃₈**and** the tragedies of history had placed Africa.] DM_{full} 332[(VA)₂₆**He**, the child of Joal, ₃₃₃[who had been cradled by the rhapsodies of Griots] said: "We are cultural half-breeds,] DM_{full} 334[(Conj-A)₁₃₉**and** (M-)₂₁**if** we feel "in black",] M- DM_{full} 335[we express ourselves in French,] DM_{full} 336[(Conj-A)₁₄₀**because** French is a language of universal vocation] DM_{full} 337[that addresses our message as (CA)₁₅**much** to the French of France as to other peoples".] DM_{full} 338[He also said: "French has given us the gift of its abstract words - so scarce in our maternal languages[...].]DM_{full} 339[Our words are naturally haloed with vigour (Conj-A) ₁₄₁**and** blood;] DM_{full} 340[French words radiate with a thousand fires, like diamonds.] DM_{full} 341[Rockets that light up our night".] DM_{full} 342[Thus spoke Léopold Senghor,] DM_{full} 343[who honoured all]DM_{full} 344[that which humanity holds in terms of intelligence.] DM_{full} 345[This great poet (Conj-A) ₁₄₂**and** African wanted] DM_{full} 346[that Africa (M+)₄₀**should** start talking to all of humanity] M+DM_{full} 347[(Conj-A) ₁₄₃**and** wrote on its behalf poems in French for all people.] M+ DM_{full} 348[These poems were songs]DM_{full} 349[that spoke to all men of fabulous beings] DM_{full} 350[that guard fountains, sing in the rivers (Conj-A) ₁₄₄**and** hide in the trees.] DM_{full} 351[Poems that made them hear the voices of the dead of the village (Conj-A) ₁₄₆**and** their ancestors.] DM_{full} 352[Poems that lead through forests of symbols to return to the sources of the ancestral memory] DM_{full} 353[that every people hold at the core of its conscience] DM_{full} 354[like an adult holds at the core of his conscience the memory of childhood happiness.] DM_{full} 355[(Conj-A) ₁₄₇**Because** every people has known this time of the eternal present] DM_{full} 356[where they search not to dominate the universe] DM_{full} 357[(Conj-A) ₁₄₈**but** to live in harmony with the universe. The time of feeling, of instinct, of intuition.] DM_{full} 358[The time of mystery (Conj-A) ₁₄₉**and** initiation.] DM_{full} 359[Mystical times where the sacred was everywhere,] DM_{full} 360[where everything was signs (Conj-A) ₁₅₀**and** connections.] DM_{full} 361[It's the time of magicians, sorcerers (Conj-A) ₁₅₁**and** shamans.] DM_{full} 362[The time of the spoken word which was important] DM_{full} 363[(Conj-A) ₁₅₂**because** it was revered (Conj-A) ₁₅₃**and** repeated from generation to generation,] DM_{full} 364[(Conj-A) ₁₅₄**and** transmitted, from century to century, of legends as ancient as the gods.] DM_{full} 365[Africa has reminded all] DM_{full} 366[that they shared the same infancy.] DM_{full} 367[Africa has reawakened peoples of the earth the simple joys thereof, the ephemeral happiness (Conj-A) ₁₅₅**and** this need,] DM_{full} 368[this need in which I

believe ^(CA)₁₆**so much**, this need to believe rather than to understand, this need to feel rather than to reason, this need to be in harmony rather than to conquer.] ^{DM_{full}}₃₆₉[Those who consider African culture to be backward,] ^{DM_{full}}₃₇₀[those who consider Africans to be big children,] ^{DM_{full}}₃₇₁[all those have forgotten that ancient Greece,] ^{DM_{full}}₃₇₂[which has taught us ^(CA)₁₇**so much** about the use of reason,] ^{DM_{full}}₃₇₃[also had its sorcerers, its diviners, its mysterious cults ^(Conj-A)₁₅₆**and** secret societies, its sacred woods ^(Conj-A)₁₅₇**and** its mythology] ^{DM_{full}}₃₇₄[that came from the depths of time] ^{DM_{full}}₃₇₅[^(Conj-A)₁₅₈**and** from which we ^(CA)₁₈**still** draw today an inestimable treasure of human wisdom.] ^{DM_{full}}₃₇₆[Africa, which also has its great dramatic poems ^(Conj-A)₁₅₉**and** tragic legends,] ^{DM_{full}}₃₇₇[^(Conj-A)₁₆₀**when** listening to Sophocles, has heard a more familiar voice] ^{DM_{full}}₃₇₈[than it ^(M-)₂₂**would** have thought possible,] ^{M-DM_{full}}₃₇₉[^(Conj-A)₁₆₁**and** the West has recognized in African art forms of beauty] ^{DM_{full}}₃₈₀[that had ^(M-)₂₃**once** been its own ^(Conj-A)₁₆₂**and**] ^{M-DM_{full}}₃₈₁[that it felt the need to resuscitate.] ^{DM_{full}}₃₈₂[Listen ^(Conj-A)₁₆₃**then**, ^(VA)₂₆**youth of Africa**,] ^{ImpM_{full}}₃₈₃[^(CA)₁₉ **how much** Rimbaud is African] ^{DM_{full}}₃₈₄[^(Conj-A)₁₆₄**when** he places the colours on the vowels] ^{DM_{full}}₃₈₅[as your ancestors put colours on their masks. "Black mask, red mask, [...] black and white masks".] ^{DM_{full}}₃₈₆[Open your eyes, ^(VA)₂₇**youth of Africa**,] ^{ImpM_{full}}₃₈₇[^(Conj-A)₁₆₅**and** don't look anymore,] ^{ImpM_{full}}₃₈₈[as your elders have done ^(M-)₂₄**too often**, at global civilization as a threat to your identity] ^{M-DM_{full}}₃₈₉[^(Conj-A)₁₆₆**but** look at global civilization as something] ^{ImpM_{full}}₃₉₀[that belongs also to you.] ^{DM_{full}}₃₉₁[^(Conj-A)₁₆₇**When** you ^(M+)₄₁**would** recognize within the universal wisdom also part of the wisdom] ^{M+DM_{full}}₃₉₂[you received from your forefathers,] ^{DM_{full}}₃₉₃[^(Conj-A)₁₆₈**and** [^(Conj-A)₁₆₉**when** you ^(M+)₄₂**would** have the will to make it grow,] ^{M+DM_{full}}₃₉₄[^(Conj-A)₁₇₀**then** ^(M-)₂₅**will** start the African Renaissance] ^{M-DM_{full}}₃₉₅[which I am calling for.] ^{DM_{full}}₃₉₆[^(Conj-A)₁₇₁**When** you ^(M+)₄₃**would** proclaim] ^{M+DM_{full}}₃₉₇[that the African man is not doomed to a tragic fate] ^{M+DM_{full}}₃₉₈[^(Conj-A)₁₇₂**and** that everywhere in Africa there ^(M+)₄₄**would be** no other goal ^(Conj-A)₁₇₂**but** happiness,] ^{M+DM_{full}}₃₉₉[^(Conj-A)₁₇₃**then** the African Renaissance ^(M-)₂₆**will** start.] ^{M-DM_{full}}₄₀₀[^(Conj-A)₁₇₄**When** ^(VA)₂₉**you**, ^(VA)₂₈**youth of Africa**, ^(M+)₄₅**would** declare] ^{M+DM_{full}}₄₀₁[that there ^(M-)₂₇**will** be no other objective for an African policy ^(Conj-A)₁₇₅**but** African unity, ^(Conj-A)₁₇₆**and** the unity of the human race,] ^{M-DM_{full}}₄₀₂[^(Conj-A)₁₇₇**then** the African Renaissance ^(M-)₂₈**will** start.] ^{M-DM_{full}}₄₀₃[^(Conj-A)₁₇₈ **When** you ^(M+)₄₆**would** fully face the reality of Africa ^(Conj-A)₁₇₉**and** come to grips with it,] ^{M+DM_{full}}₄₀₄[^(Conj-A)₁₈₀**then** the African Renaissance ^(M-)₂₉**will** start.] ^{M-DM_{full}}₄₀₅[^(Conj-A)₁₈₁**Because** the problem of Africa is] ^{DM_{full}}₄₀₆[that it has become a myth] ^{DM_{full}}₄₀₇[that everyone reconstructs for the requirements of their cause.] ^{DM_{full}}₄₀₈[^(Conj-A)₁₈₂**And** this myth prevents one from facing the reality of Africa.] ^{DM_{full}}₄₀₉[Africa's reality is demographic growth] ^{DM_{full}}₄₁₀[that is ^(CA)₂₀**too high** for an economic growth] ^{DM_{full}}₄₁₁[that is too low.] ^{DM_{full}}₄₁₂[Africa's reality is that there still ^(CA)₂₁**too much** famine, ^(CA)₂₂**too much** misery.] ^{DM_{full}}₄₁₃[Africa's reality is scarcity] ^{DM_{full}}₄₁₄[that provokes violence.] ^{DM_{full}}₄₁₅[Africa's reality is development] ^{DM_{full}}₄₁₆[that is ^(CA)₂₃**too slow**,] ^{DM_{full}}₄₁₇[it is agriculture] ^{DM_{full}}₄₁₈[that produces

(CA)₂₄**too little**,] DM_{full} 419[it's the shortage of roads,] DM_{full} 420[it's the shortage of schools,] DM_{full} 421[it's the shortage of hospitals.] DM_{full} 422[Africa's reality is a great waste of energy, of courage, of talent (Conj-A)₁₈₃**and** of intelligence.] DM_{full} 423[Africa's reality is that of a great continent]DM_{full} 424[which has everything to succeed]DM_{full} 425[(Conj-A)₁₈₄ **and** which does not succeed] DM_{full} 426[(Conj-A)₁₈₅**because** it (M⁺)₄₇**cannot** free itself from its myths.]M+DM_{full} 427[You and you only, (VA)₃₀**youth of Africa**, (M⁺)₄₈**can** achieve the Renaissance]M+DM_{full} 428[that Africa (M⁻)₃₀**needs**] M-DM_{full} 429[(Conj-A)₁₈₆**because** only you have the force to do so.] DM_{full} 430[I came to propose this Renaissance to you.] DM_{full} 431[I came to propose it to you] DM_{full} 432[so that we (M⁺)₄₉**can** achieve it together,]M+DM_{full} 433[(Conj-A)₁₈₇**because** on the African Renaissance depends to a large extent the Renaissance of Europe (Conj-A)₁₈₈**and** the Renaissance of the world.] DM_{full} 434[I (M⁻)₃₁**know** the desire to leave] M-DM_{full} 435[that (CA)₂₅**so many** amongst you experienced, confronted with the difficulties of Africa] DM_{full} 436[I (M⁻)₃₂ **know** the temptation of exile]M-DM_{full} 437[that pushes (CA)₂₆**so many** young Africans to go to look elsewhere] DM_{full} 438[for what they don't find here to maintain their family.] DM_{full} 439[I (M⁻)₃₃**know**]M-DM 440[(CA)₂₇**how much** (M⁻)₃₄**will** it takes,]M-DM_{full} 441[(CA)₂₈**how much** courage it takes to attempt this adventure, to leave one's homeland,] DM_{full} 442[the land where one was born,] DM_{full} 443[where one grew up, to leave behind the familiar places] DM_{full} 444[where one was happy, the love of a mother, a father or a brother (Conj-A)₁₈₉**and** this solidarity, this warmth, this communal spirit]DM_{full} 445[which are so strong in Africa.] DM_{full} 446 [(M⁻)₃₅I **know** (CA)₂₉**how much** strength of soul]M-DM_{full} 447[it requires to confront this expatriation, this separation, this solitude.] DM_{full} 448[I (M⁻)₃₆**know**] M-DM_{full} 449[what the majority of them (M⁺)₅₀**must** confront in terms of trials, in terms of difficulties, in terms of risks.]M+DM_{full} 450[I (M⁻)₃₇**know**] M-DM_{full} 451[that (M⁻)₃₈**sometimes** they (M⁺)₅₁**would** go as far as to risk their lives to reach]M-DM_{full} 452[what they believe to be their dream.]DM_{full} 453[(Conj-A)₁₉₀**But** I (M⁻)₃₉**know**] M-DM_{full} 454[that nothing (M⁺)₅₂**would** hold them back.]M+DM_{full} 455[(Conj-A)₁₉₁**Because** nothing (M⁻)₄₀**ever** holds back the youth]M-DM_{full} 456[(Conj-A)₁₉₂**when** they believe] DM_{full} 457[they are carried by their dreams.] DM_{full} 458[I do not (M⁻)₄₁**believe**] M-DM_{full} 459[that the African youth are pushed to leave only by the need to flee misery.]M-DM_{full} 460[I (M⁻)₄₂**believe**] M-DM_{full} 461[**that** the African youth leave,]M-DM_{full} 462[(Conj-A)₁₉₃**because**, like all youth, they (M⁺)₅₃**want to** conquer the world.] M+DM_{full} 463[Like all youth they have a taste for adventure (Conj-A)₁₉₄**and** the open sea.]DM_{full} 464[They (M⁺)₅₄**want to** go (Conj-A)₁₉₅**and** see how people live,] M+DM_{full} 465[how people (M⁻)₄₃**think**,]M-DM_{full} 466[how people work,] DM_{full} 467[how people study elsewhere.] DM_{full} 468[Africa (M⁻)₄₄**will** not achieve its Renaissance by cutting the wings of its youth.]M-DM_{full} 469[(Conj-A)₁₉₇**But** Africa needs its youth.] DM_{full} 470[The African Renaissance (M⁻)₄₅ **will** start by teaching the African youth to live with the world, not to refuse it.]M-DM_{full} 471[The African youth (M⁺)₅₅ **must** feel]M+DM_{full} 472[that the world belongs to them] DM_{full} 473[as it does to all the youth of the world.]DM_{full} 474[The African youth (M⁺)₅₆**must** feel]M+DM_{full} 475[that all (M⁻)₄₆**will** be possible,] M-DM_{full} 476[as all seemed possible to the men of the Renaissance.] DM_{full}

477[Now, I (M-)47know well] M-DM_{full} 478[that the African youth (M+)57must not be the (CA)30only youth in the world confined to home.]M+DM_{full} 479[They (M+)58cannot be the (CA)30only youth of the world]M+DM_{full} 480[that (CA)31only have a choice between living clandestinely (Conj-A)199and withdrawing into themselves.] DM_{full} 481[They (M+)59must be able to acquire, outside of Africa,] M+DM_{full} 482[the competence (Conj-A)200and knowledge that they (M+)60would not find in their country.]M+DM_{full} 483[(Conj-A)201But they (CA)32also owe it to Africa to place at its service the talents] DM_{full} 484[that they (M-)48will have developed.]M-DM_{full} 485[(M+)61It is necessary to return to build Africa,] M+DM_{full} 486[(M+)62It is necessary to bring to the continent the knowledge, the competencies (Conj-A)202and the dynamism of these managers.] M+DM_{full} 487[(M+)63It is necessary to put an end to the pillaging of the African elite] M+DM_{full} 488[which Africa (M+)64needs in order to develop.] M+DM_{full} 489[What the African youth (M+)65wants is not to be at the mercy of unscrupulous human traffickers]M+DM_{full} 490[who play with their lives.] DM_{full} 491[What the youth of Africa (M+)66want is] M+DM_{full} 492[that their dignity (M+)67should be preserved.]M+DM_{full} 493[To be (M+)68able to study, to work, to live decently.]M+DM_{full} 494[That is (CA)33basically]DM_{full} 495[what all of Africa (M+)69want.] M+DM_{full} 496[Africa does not (M+)70want charity.] M+DM_{full} 497[Africa does not (M+)71want aid.] M+DM_{full} 498[Africa does not (M+)72want privileges.] M+DM_{full} 499[What Africa (M+)73wants] M+DM_{full} 500[(Conj-A)203and what it (M+)74should be given is solidarity, understanding (Conj-A)204and respect.]M+DM_{full} 501[What Africa (M+)75wants, is not that one takes charge of its future,]M+DM_{full} 502[it's not that one (M-)76thinks in its place,] M-DM_{full} 503[it's not that one decides in its place.] DM_{full} 504[What Africa (M+)77wants is]M+DM_{full} 505[what France wants:] M+DM_{full} 506[it's cooperation,] DM_{full} 507[it's association,] DM_{full} 508[it's a partnership between nations equal in rights and in duties.] DM_{full} 509[(VA)31African youth, (M+)78do you want democracy,]M+IntM_{full} 510[(M+)79do you want freedom,]M+IntM_{full} 511[(M+)80do you want justice,]M+IntM_{full} 512[(M+)81do you want law?] M+IntM_{full} 513[(M+)82It is up to you to decide this.] M+DM_{full} 514[France (M-)49will not decide in your place.]M-DM_{full} 515[(Conj-A)205But (M-)50if you choose democracy, freedom, justice (Conj-A)206and law,]M-DM_{full} 516[(Conj-A) 207then France (M-)51will join forces with you to build them up.]M-DM_{full} 517[(VA)32Youth of Africa, globalization 518[such as it manifests itself]DM_{full} does not please you.] DM_{full} 519[Africa has paid (CA)34too high a price for the mirage of collectivism (Conj-A) 208and progressivism to yield to that of laissez-faire.] DM_{full} 520[(VA)33Youth of Africa, you (M-)52believe] M-DM_{full} 521[that free trade is beneficial] M-DM_{full} 522[(Conj-A) 209but that it is not a religion.] DM_{full} 523[You (M-)53believe] M-DM_{full} 524[that competition is a means (Conj-A)(210) but not (Conj-A) 211and end in itself.] M-DM_{full} 525[You (M-)54don't believe in laissez-faire.] M-DM_{full} 526[You (M-)55know] M-DM_{full} 527[that (M-)56if Africa is too naïve]M-DM_{full} 528[it (M-)57would be condemned to become the prey of predators from all over the world.]M-DM_{full} 529[(Conj-A) 212And you (M+)83don't want that.] M+DM_{full} 530[You (M+)84want a different globalization, with more humanity, with more justice, with more rules.]M+DM_{full} 531[I came to tell you] DM_{full} 532[that France (CA)35also (M+)85wants this.] M+DM_{full} 533[France (M+)86wants to fight along

with Europe, along with Africa (Conj-A) 213 **and** along with all those in the **world** M+DM_{full} 534 [**who** (M+)87 **want to** change globalization.] M+DM_{full} 535 [(M-)58 **If** Africa, France and Europe together want this,] M-DM_{full} 536 [we (M+)88 **shall** succeed.] M+DM_{full} 537 [(Conj-A) 214 **But** we (M+)89 **cannot** express this desire in your place.] M+DM_{full} 538 [(VA)34 **African youth**, you (M+)90 **want** development,] M+DM_{full} 539 [you (M+)91 **want** growth,] M+DM_{full} 540 [you (M+)92 **want** a higher standard of living?] M+DM_{full} 541 [(Conj-A)215 **But**, do you really (M+)93 **want** it?] M+IntM_{full} 542 [(M+)94 Do you **want**] M+IntM_{full} 543 [that injustice, corruption and violence end?] M+IntM_{full} 544 [(M+)95 Do you **want** that property be respected,] M+IntM_{full} 545 [that money be invested instead of embezzled?] M+IntM_{full} 546 [(M+)96 Do you want] M+IntM_{full} 547 [that the state (M+)97 **should** again fulfill its responsibilities,] M+IntM_{full} 548 [that it (M+)98 **should** be freed from the bureaucracies] M+DM_{full} 549 [**that** smother it,] M+IntM_{full} 550 [that it (M+)99 **should** be liberated from parasitism, from clientelism,] M+IntM_{full} 551 [that it (M+)100 **should** authority be restored,] M+IntM_{full} 552 [that it rules the feudal powers,] M+IntM_{full} 553 [that it rules the corporate lobbies?] M+IntM_{full} 554 [(M+)101 Do you want] M+IntM_{full} 555 [that the rule of law (M+)102 **should** govern everywhere,] M+IntM_{full} 556 [(M+)103 **allowing** everyone to know reasonably what to expect from others?] M+IntM_{full} 557 [(M-)59 **If** you want this,] M-DM_{full} 558 [(Conj-A) 216 **then** France (M-)60 **will** be at your side to demand it,] M-DM_{full} 559 [(Conj-A) 217 **but** no one (M-)61 **is going to** want it in your place.] M-DM_{full} 560 [(M+)104 **Do you want**] M+IntM_{full} 561 [that there (M+)105 **should** be no more famine on African soil?] M+IntM_{full} 562 [(M+)106 Do you want ,on African soil,] M+IntM_{full} 563 [there (M-)62 **will** (M-)63 **never** again be a single child] M-IntM_{full} 564 [who dies of hunger?] M-IntM_{full} 565 [(Conj-A) 217 **Then** find a way to be self-sufficient in food production.] ImpM_{full} 566 [(Conj-A) 218 **Then** develop food crops.] ImpM_{full} 567 [Africa first and foremost needs to produce food to feed itself.] M+DM_{full} 568 [(M-)64 **If** that is what you want, (VA)35 **youth of Africa**,] M-DM_{full} 569 [you hold between your hands the future of Africa] DM_{full} 570 [(Conj-A) 219 **and** France (M-)65 **will** work with you to build this future.] M-IntM_{full} 571 [(M+)107 **Do you want to** fight against pollution?] M+IntM_{full} 572 [(M+)108 **Do you want** that development be sustainable?] M+IntM_{full} 573 [(M+)109 **Do you want**] M+IntM_{full} 574 [that the current generations (M+)110 **should** no longer live to the detriment of future generations?] M+IntM_{full} 575 [(M+)111 Do you **want**] M+IntM_{full} 576 [that everyone (M+)112 **should** pay the real cost of] M+IntM_{full} 577 [what he or she consumes?] M+IntM_{full} 578 [(M+)113 Do you **want** to develop clean technologies?] M+IntM_{full} 579 [(M+)114 **It is for you to** decide this.] M+DM_{full} 580 [(Conj-A) (220) **But** (M-)66 **if** you decide,] M-DM_{full} 581 [France (M-)67 **will** be at your side.] M-DM_{full} 582 [(M+)115 Do you **want** peace on the African continent?] M+IntM_{full} 583 [(M+)116 Do you **want** collective security?] M+IntM_{full} 584 [(M+)117 Do you **want** the peaceful settlement of conflicts?] M+IntM_{full} 585 [(M+)118 Do you **want** to put an end to the infernal cycle of vengeance (Conj-A) 221 **and** of hate?] M+IntM_{full} 586 [(M+)119 **It is for you**, (VA)36 **my African friends**, to decide this.] M+DM_{full} 587 [(Conj-A) (222) **And** (M-)68 **if** you decide,] M-DM_{full} 588 [France (M-)69 **will** be at your side like an unwavering friend,] M-DM_{full} 589 [(Conj-A) (223) **but** France (M+)120 **cannot** want it in the place of the youth of Africa.] M+DM_{full} 590 [(M+)121 Do you **want** African unity?] M+IntM_{full} 591 [France (CA) 36 **also** wants it]

DM_{full} 592[(Conj-A) (224)**because** African unity (M-)70**will** return Africa to the Africans.]M-DM_{full} 593[What France (M+)122**wants to** do with Africa is to confront the realities head-on,] M+DM_{full} 594[it's to conduct policies based on realities (Conj-A) (225)**and** no longer policies based on myths.] DM_{full} 595[What France (M+)123**wants to** do with Africa is co-development,]M+DM_{full} 596[that is to say shared development.]DM_{full} 597[France (M+)124**wants to** have joint projects with Africa, joint poles of competitiveness, joint universities, joint laboratories.]M+DM_{full} 598[What France (M+)125**wants to** do with Africa is to design a joint strategy on globalization.]M+DM_{full} 599[What France (M+)126**wants to** do with Africa is a jointly negotiated policy on immigration,decided together]M+DM_{full} 600[so that the African youth (M+)127**can** be received in France (Conj-A) (226)**and** in all of Europe with dignity (Conj-A) (227)**and** respect.]M+DM_{full} 601[What France (M+)128**wants to** do with Africa is an alliance between French youth (Conj-A) (228)**and** African youth]M+DM_{full} 602[so that the world of tomorrow (M-)71**will** be a better one.]M-DM_{full} 603[What France (M+)(129)**wants to** do with Africa is to prepare the advent of "Eurafrique", this great common destiny] M+DM_{full} 604[that awaits Europe (Conj-A) 229**and** Africa.] DM_{full} 605[To those in Africa who regard with suspicion the great project of the Mediterranean Union,] DM_{full} 606[which France has proposed to all countries bordering the Mediterranean,] DM_{full} 607[I (M+)(130) **want to** say]M+DM_{full} 608[that in France's spirit it is not at all about side-lining Africa,]DM_{full} 609[which extends south of the Sahara.] DM_{full} 610[On the contrary, it is about making this Union the pivotal point of Eurafrique, the first stage of the greatest dream of peace (Conj-A) 230**and** prosperity] DM_{full} 611[that Europeans (Conj-A) 231**and** Africans are capable of conceiving together.] DM_{full} 612[(M+)131**Well** (conj-A)232**then**, my (VA)37**dear friends**, the black child of Camara Laye on his knees in the silence of the African night (M-)72**will** know (Conj A)233 and understand]M-DM_{full} 613[that he (M+)(132)**can** raise his head (Conj-A)234**and** look with confidence to the future.]M+DM_{full} 614[(Conj-A) 235**And** this black child of Camara Laye (M-)73**will** feel in himself the two parts of himself, reconciled.]M-DM_{full} 615[(Conj A) 236**And** he (M-)74**will** at last feel like a human being, like all members of humanity.]M-DM_{full} 616[I thank you.] DM_{full}