African Association for Rhetoric (AAR)  
5th International Conference  
On the theme  

*Transitions and Transformative Rhetoric (s)*  

*July 2-4, 2014*  

**International Organising Committee**  
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JOI Consulting, Cape Town, RSA  
Professor Kermit Campbell  
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University of South Africa, RSA  

The Cape Sun Hotel, Strand Street, Cape Town
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Welcome Address

Dear Delegate,

On behalf of the organising committee of the 5th conference of the African Association for Rhetoric (AAR), I welcome you to Cape Town.

This conference is very auspicious, because, not only is the Association contemplating its own transformation, but also, that the host country is celebrating its 20 years of independence. This suggests to us that South Africa has undergone perhaps the most radical transformation in the past two decades and a half.

The theme, *Transitions and Transformative Rhetoric (s)* has a multidisciplinary appeal and is here represented by the several abstract proposals that were received for paper presentation at this conference. We are happy to welcome new participants and are grateful to all who have supported the Association from its inception in 2007.

Members of the organising committee have worked tremendously hard to ensure that this year’s conference goes itch free. We thank you for your cooperation and support. We are here, and that is what matters. Like the classical symposium, we are here for an intellectual feast: to bring, to share and to learn.

Networking is important to scholarly endeavours and we encourage individual delegates to network with the hope that the new relationships will materialise in meaningful collaborations.

Once again, welcome to Cape Town and enjoy the breath-taking beauty of Cape Town.

Segun Ige PhD, is a specialist in Rhetoric and Public Communication. His interests include, Rhetoric and Gender, Executive Deliberation in Multilateral Institutions, Presidential Rhetoric, Ethics. Segun is CEO/Consultant, JOI Consulting Cape Town, South Africa and editor of the *African Journal of Rhetoric* (AAR); Editor *Balagha: African Rhetoric Quarterly* [online]. Dr Ige co-edited (with Tim Quinlan) a book entitled: *African Responses to HIV/AIDS: Between Speech and Action*. UKZN Press: 2012. He is a part-time Lecturer in Public Relations Management, Durban University of Technology.
Kermit E. Campbell is an Associate Professor of Rhetoric and Chair of the Department of Writing & Rhetoric at Colgate University, where he teaches courses in first year writing, the history of rhetoric, argumentation, classical western literature, and African American language and oral tradition. He received his PhD in English from The Ohio State University in 1993, and he has published a book entitled *Getting our Groove: On Rhetoric, Language, Literacy for the Hip Hop Generation*. He has also published several articles on writing pedagogy, Hip-Hop and African American Rhetorics. Professor Campbell is a member of the International Society for the History of Rhetoric and was Chair of African Renaissances of Rhetoric at the 2013 ISHR conference in Chicago.
Dr Omedi Ochieng earned his PhD at Bowling Green University in Ohio and is currently Associate Professor of Communication Studies at Westmont College, Santa Barbara. He specialises in the rhetoric of philosophy of rhetoric. He has published articles on African Philosophy and African American Rhetoric in such journals as *Radical Philosophy*, *International Philosophical Quarterly*, and the *Western Journal of Communication*. He has just completed a book manuscript tentatively entitled ‘The Good Life in African Philosophy.’ The book is a critical and comparative explorations of what constitute the good life as it is lived on the African continent.
Professor Michelangelo Kgomotso Masemola, PhD (Sheffield, U.K.) was the Chair of the English Department at North-West University’s Mafikeng Campus. His primary interest is in the representational time of transnational writing, especially autobiography and travel writing. Some of his recent articles appear in The Journal of Literary Studies, Current Writing: Text & Reception in Southern Africa, and has previously penned the odd review for The English Academy Review. He has also contributed several chapters in books, the latest of which is Trauma, Resistance, Reconstruction in Post-1994 South African Writing (London & Brussels: Peter Lang, 2010) edited by Rajendra Chetty & Jaspal K. Singh. Masemola is currently Professor of English at the University of South Africa, Pretoria.
Mr Trevor Manuel, MP
Honourable Minister in the Presidency

[INSERT BIO]
Professor Adam Habib, PhD., is an astute academic and prolific writer and researcher. He has served on a number of executive positions, including, Head of Department, Department of Politics, University of Durban Westville, Durban; Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal Durban, Deputy Vice Chancellor, University of Johannesburg and currently, Vice Chancellor, University of Witswatersrand, Johannesburg. Professor Habib is a orator of note, political analyst and commentator. Habib has published extensively. His most recent book is (insert book title)
ROUND TABLE

TOPIC
Transforming Public Discourse: The Rhetorician’s Role

Panelists

Facilitator: Professor Richard Ikiebe, Director, Institute of Journalism, Pan African University Lagos, Nigeria

Professor Kermit Campbell, Colgate University, USA
Professor Tarez Graban, Department of English, University of Florida, USA
Professor Jairos Kangira, University of Namibia, Namibia
Mr Yemi Ige, MD Medialedge/Martinsons Development Foundation, Nigeria
Professor Mike Masemola, Chair, Department of English Studies, UNISA, RSA

Roundtable Facilitator

Richard O. Ikiebe
Snr. Fellow & Director,
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Speaking about South Africa’s economic development strategies: The Theoretical and Rhetorical Limits of modernist policies

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Abstract
This paper addresses rhetoric in relation to macroeconomic development and its ability to address the development challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality in South Africa. These issues of rhetoricism here are the definitionals of the concept of rhetoric as understood in the field of Development Studies, the theoretical basis of the macroeconomic policies of GEAR and NGP; the contrast between these two macroeconomic policies; and the way in which South Africa hopes to finance its development efforts. This paper argues that the theoretical underpinnings of the new macroeconomic policy are fundamentally those of modernisation i.e. neo-liberal growth theories. The paper therefore argues that, at the theoretical level, there is little difference between the old macroeconomic policy of GEAR and the newly adopted policy of NGP in that the environment in which these policies are conceptualised are the very same neo-liberal and characterised in particular by fundamentals of mass-propertilessness among the victims of marginalisation, dispossession and exploitation among other things. This paper further argues the modalities of the financing of the NGP. The paper therefore concludes that the policies, as they stand, although struggling, revolve around the rhetoric of growth, development and fight against poverty and inequality in South Africa.
The Rhetoric of National Interest Nigerian Government Transformation Agenda

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Abstract
The concept of the national interest remains an effort to describe the underlying rationale for the behaviour of states and statesmen in a domestic and international milieu. Indeed, the centrality of the national interest as a concept by which the behaviour of states, statesmen, policymakers as well as their governments could be understood cannot be doubted. It is a fact that in an uncertain and threatening milieu, statesmen and policymakers have little choice but to put the interests of their own entity above those of others in the international system. Nevertheless, the concept of the national interest has been abused and misused by the statesmen for their different interests and agendas. As a result, the concept has become a phrase serviceable in public rhetoric, and has become part of the rhetoric of foreign policy. It has been argued that policy justification is an invitation to use of rhetorical theory, and this has proved effective in that of the national interest. It is against this backdrop that this paper seeks to examine the rhetoric of the national interest in the current Nigerian Government Transformation Agenda. The paper will examine among others, the varied interpretation of concept of the national interest and the rhetoric that surrounds the policy output in the Transformation Agenda.
FROM SCOPOPHILIA TO SOFT PORN: 
Transgressing the Rhetoric of Transformation  in West African Cinema

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Abstract 
What is transformative rhetoric? Are all transformative rhetorics propitious? Drawing on the film industries in West Africa (i.e. Nollywood and Ghallywood), I argue that our contemplations of the rhetoric of transformation/transition ought to question discourses of transgression. In this paper, I trace the historicity of salacious content and sexually graphic scenes in Ghanaian and Nigerian films from the dawn of the new millennium over a decade. The paper will show that despite the perceived economic growth and grandeur of Ghanaian and Nigerian films, the industry seems to be making progress by relying chiefly transitioning not only from depiction of scopophilia, but also by actively producing soft porn. This transgression of African moral values, if not checked, portends the rewriting of what constitutes sexual normativeness among the youth, the moral codes of society, will eventually result in the representation of all kinds of sexual orientations. Whether these trajectories signify the harvest of democratic ideals is yet another question worth asking.
Rhetoric, Autobiography, and Iconography:  
A Critical Decolonial Ethical Tribute to Political Formation of Nelson Mandela as Global Icon

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Abstract

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela’s autobiography entitled, Long Walk to Freedom reveals him as a master in the use of symbolism and rhetoric which privileged the paradigm of peace, humanism, and love over the imperially racist apartheid paradigm of hatred and war. This article deploys critical decolonial ethics which posits that white-settler-colonial-apartheid South Africa emerged 1652 dripping with blood as it was driven by the desire to conquer, colonize, and exploit those peoples who were considered to be inferior to white settlers. Consequently, the institutionalization of colonial-apartheid form of governance was informed by this paradigm of war, impossibility of co-presence between races, and the imperatives of primitive accumulation of wealth. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela emerges within this milieu as a political actor, orator, and African leader whose rhetoric and actions provided an antidote to the Euro-North American-centric modernity’s master morality predicated on racial profiling and hierarchization of people. His iconic status emerged and crystallized around his active participation in an epic people’s struggle against racism and colonialism backed up by a powerful and persuasive political-humanistic rhetoric as well as effective use of symbolism. This is evident from Mandela’s practical and symbolic overtures to the erstwhile white racists and post-1994 reconciliatory politics which were aimed at hailing them back to a new humanity predicated on inclusive non-racial democratic society.
A Decolonial Analysis of Reactions to Rhetoric of Gender Transformation in Africa

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The African Union as a body representing the continent adopted a number of international frameworks of gender for improving “gender equality” on the continent. The AU has further made a call to African heads of states to adopt in their governments these frameworks. This is done as a response to the international call to all regions, countries and organisations to respond to a need for gender mainstreaming which will bring the transformation in the gender equality discourse. Gender transformation discourse in Africa has and continues to be a problem in how it is defined and therefore addressed.

This paper argues that the main problem is a focus on women as the subject of change in gender transformation and/or mainstreaming and a focus on fitting women into the status quo rather than transforming the status quo. It understands the dimensions of gender as related to other structural inequalities that are faced in Africa and these structural inequalities are situated in the broad context of Race, Power and Class. The frameworks adopted to address the gender inequalities that are faced will be problematized as instruments whose aim is to deliberately not change the status quo but rather concentrate on fitting women into the existing status quo as opposed to addressing the structural problem that are as a result of the three broad contexts.

It will use decoloniality to provide critical analysis of the gender discourse and barriers to the transformation required. The decoloniality analysis will take into cognisance both males and females as subject to be appropriated in order to achieve gender transformation. The Modern/Colonial Racial and Gender Matrix will be used as the method of analysis to unpack the rhetoric and will show how the existing instruments may not be able to achieve the transformation.
To speak of transitional forms of justice is to foreground vexing questions about a politics oriented by contestations over the future. It would follow, then, that political systems that seek to enact transitional forms of justice would be particularly keen to articulate a robust praxis of the imagination. But what is the imagination? In this paper, I want to invite discussion and conversation about theories of the imagination. I will engage in a rhetorical critique of the implicit theories of the imagination embedded in the futural visions articulated by various African states. Against these theories, I will then proffer what I argue is a richer theory of the imagination capable of orienting Africans toward robust practices of the good life.
“The Archival Repetition of the Rhetorical Scripts of Black Atlantic Struggles in President Obama’s Tribute to Nelson Mandela: Re-Indexing Martin Luther King, Jr.”
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Abstract
This paper argues that President Obama’s Tribute to Nelson Mandela was nothing but an archival repetition of the rhetorical scripts of Black Atlantic Struggles which were re-indexing Martin Luther King, Jr. In his tribute, President Obama catalogues a number of issues which were very central to Martin Luther King, Jr. In light of these issues, this paper will examine freedom, human dignity, faith and hope, human rights, justice, and racial reconciliation which are not only compatible, but also pervade Martin Luther King’s speeches. Obama declares in his speech ‘Like King, he would give potent voice to the claims of the oppressed, and the moral necessity of racial justice.’ Correlated to this, King argues “now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice,’ which makes one’s argument justifiable if one claims that indeed Obama’s tribute to Nelson Mandela was merely an archival repetition of rhetoricised scripts of Black Atlantic Struggles that were re-indexing Martin Luther King Jr.
Transformative Rhetoric:
Argumentation and Evaluative Meanings in Zimbabwean Parliamentary Debates
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Abstract
Delving into the semantics of a notion in order to resolve an impasse between parties with differing stand points worsen the problem. An argument that could have started with a minor difference of opinion can degenerate into a controversy (Dascal 2008). Thus, this paper opines that efforts to define the notion ‘hero’ or ‘heroism’ in order to determine who is supposed to be buried at the Zimbabwean National Heroes Acre makes the problem ‘irresolvable’ between the political parties in government. Debates on conferment of hero status in the Zimbabwean parliament are examined. These debates are selected on the basis of their controversiality and representativeness of the major political parties in government. We make a critical analysis of the rhetorical, pragmatic and forms of evaluation realised in the discourse of parliamentarians advancing stand points in an effort to resolve the problem. The analysis of these debates is couched within the Extended Pragma Dialectic Theory (van Eemeren 2010), Controversy Analysis (van Eemeren and Garssen 2008) and Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005). This multi-theoretic approach to controversial debates will unearth essential discursive and linguistic insights on parliamentary discourse and transformative rhetoric.
‘Just a bunch of unbearable, useless individuals’: 
A Decolonial Critique on the Performance of the South African National Soccer Team—Bafana Bafana

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ABSTRACT

The reaction of the South African Minister of Sports, Honourable Fikile Mbalula, to the defeat of the South African national soccer team, Bafana Bafana, by the Nigerian national team, the Super Eagles, during the group stages of the Orange African Nations Championship on the 19th of January 2014 at Cape Town Stadium is something that must not be allowed to escape academic scrutiny of a decolonial kind. This is mainly because the minister’s emotional outburst at the performance of what was supposed to be the best performing national soccer team in Africa, mainly because of South Africa’s political and economic status among the nations of the world, contained a rhetoric that is worth revealing about how the black subject has come to understand his/her being within the modern world. Thus, among the accusations that the minister levelled against the vanquished South African soccer team are those of mediocrity, complacency, lack of patriotism and respect towards the nation and soccer fans. What is even interesting about both the failure of the South African team to reach the quarter-finals and the minister’s reaction to the defeat is that this took place at a time when the same national team had recently succeeded in beating the national team of Spain in a friendly match that took place on the 19th of November 2013 at Soccer City Stadium in Johannesburg. Thus, even though the South African win over Spain took place within the context of a friendly match, the fact the Spain is the reigning soccer world champion means the game raised the minister’s expectations to level of not doubting a South African win over any of African teams contesting for the Orange African Nations Championship of 2014. This paper is decolonial critique on the rhetoric of ‘useless individuals’ within the South African national soccer team. The paper argues that the discourse of a ‘useless people’ is not a new phenomenon in the understanding of the behaviour of the black subject within the modern world system and as such, the minister’s reaction needs to be decoded within the broader context of being and becoming a black subject in age of Euro-centred modernity.
Can the African Speak? The rhetoric of Africanity and the logic of colonial identities in the textuality of Thabo Mbeki, Max Du Preez and Okello Oculi

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Thabo Mbeki in his celebrated ‘I am an African’ speech defines an African as a creature of the physical and historical geography of Africa who is marked by struggles against imperialism and knows no race. Max Du Preez argues that even the “pale natives,” meaning the whites who carry the historical guilt of colonialism in Africa can be Africans if they identify with the aspiration of a non-racial Africa. Both Mbeki and Du Preez, in their different vantage points as struggle stalwarts, one as a black South African and another as a white one, seek to diminish the problematic of race in the formation of the identity of an African. However, Okello Oculi, a Nigerian novelist asks a fundamental question in the essay ‘can a Boer be a Pan-Africanist?’ Oculi questions the possibility of whites to be fully African. Using the prism of decolonial critical analysis and its aspirations for critical cosmopolitanism and pruriversal identities in place and in time, the present paper seeks to defend Mahmood Mamdani’s emphatic suggestion that by a shift of the geographies of reasoning, settlers and natives can graduate into citizens with a common destiny. By transcending race as a biological and ontological marker that has been used since conquest as a signifier of asymmetrical relations that divided the superior peoples from the inferior ones, this paper argues, citizens can achieve, in Africa, decolonised identities and experience political, cultural and social conviviality in a ‘world where other worlds are possible’.
The paper seeks to examine the three-pronged dimension of transition, rhetoric, and political transformation in Nigeria since the first coup d’état of January 15, 1966 which truncated Nigeria’s First Republic. This is against the backdrop of the various speeches of coup plotters promising to right the wrongs of the ‘overthrown regimes.’ Indeed, the paper tends to focus on the various transition programmes either initiated by the military or civilian regimes in Nigeria since 1966. Thus, the paper will interrogate the content of the various speeches of successive military regimes since 1966 and the subsequent civilian interregnums between 1966 and 2007. This will be done in order to assess and evaluate the strength and weakness of ideas of political transformation of the Nigerian state. Essentially, forms of language or choice of words as carefully deployed by coup plotters or civilian propagandists, help to accentuate the false feeling of ‘messianic’ ideas in society. The tendency has been an attempt to mainstream ‘falsehood’ into political transformation using rhetorics. The paper will do this research within the context of desk research and minimal oral interview with some language practitioners in Lagos, Ile-Ife, and Kaduna. The findings will be that; transitions in Nigeria since 1966 have been fraught with inconsistency, lack of continuity, and insincerity. Therefore, it has not engendered the needed political transformation.
Effects of conflicting transformation objectives on South African higher education research.

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Abstract:
The redress of inequalities is cited as a mandatory imperative in transforming the system of higher education in South Africa, to eradicate the effects of apartheid. Parallel to this expectation is a two pronged competition initiated by government; 1) international competition prompted by the need to reposition the country globally and 2) local institutional competition evoked through government funding policies. The former introduced the drive for international institutional ratings. The latter involves selective funding of research, which would be based on “demonstrable research capacity”, informed by “performance indicators of research” and displayed through “competitive success and output”. This idea places emphasis on the existing research strength of an institution available in previously privileged institutions. This clearly defeats plans and efforts of ‘strengthening weaker universities,’ resulting in a wider inequality gap.

Simultaneous fulfilment of these important national priorities seems to have contradictory effects on research across the system of higher education. Although international standards are preferred for pace-setting of quality productivity, competition may deter crucial local developments. This paper suggests that the transition from apartheid has to precede competitiveness in order to advance the efforts of transformation. This will not only promote equality but will also increase research base for local services and for future competition, when the country is ready. Evaluation strategies that probe beyond performance indicators are essential to oversee all efforts.
Gender-based violence has emerged as a salient topic in today’s global society. It has been viewed as a key health risk for women globally and more specifically in South Africa. South African rape statistics confirm that a woman is raped every 17 seconds; this startling and alarming statistic indicate that females born in South Africa are more likely to get raped as opposed to receiving an education. Despite attempts made by civil society groups to raise awareness against the scourge of gender-based violence, statistics appear to still be on the rise. Thursdays in Black is one of the many campaigns executed by the South African Civil Society group to help fight the plight of gender-based violence in the country. Diakonia Council of Churches started this campaign in 2008 in their fight against women and children abuse. Thursdays in Black campaign creates awareness by urging citizens to wear black every Thursday to show support. This paper sets out to investigate the use of communication during the Thursdays in Black campaign by comparing the findings received from respondents to the theoretical underpinning of social marketing campaigns. The findings the study aims to offer an opportunity to reflect on the progress made towards women empowerment and to pave the way for future generations of women.
Abstract

The article seeks to stimulate debate about Zimbabwe’s liberation struggle, with a special focus on engagements in and around the rhetoric on the transformation that the transition of the promises of independence would usher in. It further asserts that the principal aim of the struggle was the rhetoric of land redistribution in the post-independence era imbued in the current dialectic between transition and transformation. With this research, it is hoped that such stimulation on the rhetoric of transformation on the African continent as depicted through African literature’s subsequent contributions reveal a deeply contested terrain which fosters the development of a balanced account of the struggle for the benefit of posterity. This selected war literature mirrors a period of national reconstruction that is characterised by writers who register not only the joys and pains of national rebirth, but writers who begin to constitute a critical consciousness embedded within the context of developmental politics.

This literature laments the failure to fulfill most of the aspirations after Zimbabwe’s independence. It examines the consequence of the regression of the liberation movement into nationalism that focused on the transfer of power from the Rhodesian regime to the African nationalists, rather than the transformation of society to realise the ideals of the liberation struggle. This left all the despotic Rhodesian institutions and statutes intact could hardly have facilitated the outcome of what the struggle stood for. It is intriguing that the chosen literature deliberately eulogises the contribution of the war veterans who negate what the liberation movement stood for before and after independence. It is through this rhetoric of transition and transformation that Zimbabwe’s current socio-political dire straits are no more than the inevitable consequence and outcome of two decades of misguided economic policies founded on populism, politics of patronage, mismanagement, incompetence and corruption.
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The Diaspora and Transformational Leadership in Nigeria

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Abstract
Since the end of colonization, most African countries, including Nigeria have been grappling with the problem of leadership. In spite of the enormous human and material resources spread all over, Africa is undeniably, the poorest continent in the world providing home to 35 of the 50 poorest countries. The problems of failed states, underdevelopment and violent conflicts, many have argued, are all traceable to the failure of leadership in Africa.

In Nigeria, the inability of the ruling elite to provide transformational leadership since independence has become the most important obstacle to development and institutional growth. As the 2015 general elections draws closer, the search for new leaders has effectively commenced especially amongst the over 17 million Nigerians living in the Diaspora, many of whom are leading professionals in their various fields. With over $10 billion in international remittances in 2012, the role of the Nigerian Diaspora in providing a solid platform for economic and political transformation of Nigeria has become of great interest, especially to the academia and intellectual pundits.

This paper is an attempt to analyze the relevance of the Diaspora both as a potential source of good leadership and also as a facilitator of social and attitudinal change within the Nigerian Society. The paper critically examines the problems preventing the Diaspora from coming back and explores ways that the government can encourage those who are willing, but afraid, to return.
The Rhetoric of Contesting Transitions and Transformations in Post-2000 Zimbabwean Popular Songs

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The paper analyses the rhetoric of political and socio-economic transition and transformation in post-2000 Zimbabwean popular songs and its effect on the Zimbabwean collective national imaginings. The onset of the millennium ushered complex imaginings about the state and future of the Zimbabwean nation not only by the citizens of the country but also by outsiders. Triggered from 1999 by the new aggressive and vociferous opposition offering an alternative political and economic transition, the country was plunged into a transition dilemma – were the people to follow the opposition alternative of re-democratization and economic liberalism or Zanu-PF’s economic nationalism entailing aggressive fast-track land redistribution and the indigenization of country’s resources or another different alternative? The ideological and physical confrontation of Zimbabwe’s two main political parties set the stage for a decade of rhetorical contestations which split the country into two hostile camps right up from the political leaders to the ordinary people. One of the modalities extensively exploited by both the opposition Movement of Democratic Change (MDC) and Zanu-PF to communicate their competing rhetoric was popular music. Song and dance punctuated both parties’ rallies, with Zanu-PF having an added advantage of using state controlled radio and television to perform its songs. Now with the rhetorical contestations thawing after the July 2013 elections, I intend to explore the nature of the pre-election rhetoric as it was marshalled via the popular song in order to understand the notions of transition and transformation constructed and their implications on post-2000 Zimbabwean society. What was the socio-political and economic impact of the rhetoric? How did the ordinary people conceptualize transitions as constructed in the songs? Is the post-election scenario the transition they envisaged? Did rhetoric contribute to the resolution of or complicate Zimbabwe’s challenges of national transition and transformation?
Is there an African in the newspaper?
The case of continental identity formations in Southern Africa

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Abstract

“We can’t think like Africans in Africa generally…” Jacob Zuma.

Newspapers are arguably a reflection of the values of a given society. To a large extent newspapers play a pivotal role in shaping peoples aspirations and identities. This paper seeks to establish whether newspapers are playing a role in shaping the identity of Africans in Southern Africa. A sample of 30 newspapers with five newspapers from each country: South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia, Botswana and Malawi will be purposively selected for a content analysis aimed at answering the following research questions. How are Africans described in Southern African newspapers? What kind of African identity is dominant in newspapers in Southern Africa? Do newspapers in Southern Africa portray Africans in the same way? By assessing how Africans are being portrayed in Southern Africa this paper seeks to establish whether newspapers are being used to foster either a positive or negative image of Africans in Southern Africa. This should draw a clearer picture on whether newspapers are influencing how Africans think about Africa generally.
Mandela’s Long Walk to Sasa

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In *African Religions and African Philosophy*, John S. Mbiti distinguishes between two ancestral regions: Zamani and Sasa. For Mbiti, Zamani is an abode of the deceased who have been forgotten by the living, while Sasa is the residence of the deceased who are still remembered by the living. Using Paul Ricoeur’s phenomenology, we argue that ancestors are past human experiences which have been sedimented into texts. We further argue that an ancestor is not a univocal but a polyphonous text. African belief systems imagine these experiences travelling from Zamani to Sasa. This interpretive journey is characterized by a struggle as different social forces try to elevate some ancestral aspects (voices) to Sasa while relegating others to Zamani. Using Mandela’s memorial and funeral services’ recordings, we argue that there is a struggle between at least two interpretations of Mandela: Mandela as a radical who destabilizes the *status quo*, and / or Mandela as a disciplined, conformist cadre of the African National Congress. It is the struggle between these two competing interpretations of Mandela’s legacy that marks his long journey to Sasa.
Rhetoric, History, and Dialogue of Socio-Political Climates in Olu Obafem’s *Night of Mystical Beasts*

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**Abstract**

Apparently, the political climate in Nigeria at this daunting moment, when the momentum is gearing towards rounds of electioneering campaigns for 2015 elections; the political climate is cloudy and uncertain. Forces are fomenting both intra-party and inter-party feuds and crises, witnessing orgy of violence, mundane muscle flexing, unorthodox deflections, dispersion and re-grouping of devious means to attain or snatch power beyond democratic means. This paper seeks reasons from the foregoing to examine the imperatives of political rhetoric(s) in time-space transition from colonial through memory of independence to postcolonial Nigeria; espousing rhetoric, history and dialogue in the play of Olu Obafemi, *Night of Mystical Beasts*. Our critical perception will enable the need to rely on Billig’s (1996) social psychology as cited in Campbell & Scott (2010). Besides, we shall discuss the ‘concreteness’ of the dramatic action and the‘ interconnectedness’ of the characters to bring about the rhetoric of ‘truth’ as against the rhetoric of ‘lie’ for a renewed transformative agenda.
The Mandela Project- an Africanist’s reflection on post-apartheid South Africa, its transformation agenda and Pan-Africanism

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Abstract
Africa waited for a long time for South Africa to gain its independence and complete the process of liberating the entire African continent from colonialism and apartheid. The arrival of this in 1994, was the pan-Africanists’ dream come true as this economic giant of Africa joined ranks with the rest of liberated Africa with the promise of a united African peoples working towards a future they themselves would co-create. As Nelson Mandela is largely credited for the relatively peaceful transition, I call post-apartheid South Africa, ‘The Mandela Project.’ In this paper, I reflect on the reconciliatory transition of South Africa to democracy and the leadership schizophrenia of fulfilling its transformation mandate on the one hand and participating in the pan-African agenda with the rest of the continent. I discuss the leadership challenges involved and offer some thoughts on African consciousness and its role in pan-Africanism today.
Nigeria will be holding its next presidential election in 2015. During such political transitions, deep consideration is usually given to where the candidates come from: North or South. This issue is now threatening the survival of the ruling party – PDP – which prides itself as the biggest political party in Africa. The ongoing PDP crisis, which has different colorations, revolves around whether or not President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan should be given the second term ticket. While the northern members of the party are claiming that there is an existing agreement that Jonathan would not run in 2015 but have power transferred to the North, the Niger Deltans from the South-South region where the President come from are saying no such agreement exists and that the President is protected by the Constitution of the land to seek a second term. PDP has not been able to manage this problem well and this has led to the decampment of some of its key Governors and parliamentarians from the North to the opposition party, APC. But the rest of the ‘battles’ continues at public functions where northern and Niger Delta ‘activists’ swap threats on making Nigeria ungovernable if their regions is denied power in 2015. These threats create palpable fear in Nigeria today and heighten the belief that the country could break apart in 2015 as predicted by some early warning systems around the world. My paper will analyse these inflammatory speeches, locate them within the existing regional politics in Nigeria, and discuss their national security implications. Recommendations would be made on better management of political rhetoric in Nigeria as the nation moves towards the controversial 2015 elections.
THE COMPLICATED MEMORY OF OBAMA’S ‘MIDDLE GROUND’ RHETORIC OF COLORBLINDENESS VERSUS THE REALITY OF ‘STAND YOUR GROUND’ POLICING

The Silent Return of Race in the aftermath of Treyvon Martin’s Shooting in the USA’s Zones of Exception and Non-Being

Lead Paper
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Abstract

This paper charts the complications arising out of the rhetorical markers of ‘Middle Ground’ colorblindedness in the unitary fervour attending Barack Obama’s 2004 Democratic National Convention Speech, wherein the *E pluri-bus unum* dictum was planted into both memory and public consciousness through rhetorical features such as Parallelism and Anaphora, both of which resonate with the vision of one diverse American family. Yet, this paper argues, his cautionary response in the aftermath of the Treyvon Martin, attests to a shift to a rhetorical flourish hinged on the Aristotelian *antilogiai*, in Latin, *in umterumque partem*” principle that puts race ‘under erasure’ through the rhetorical device of variation, whereby he allows public memory to reimagine Treyvon Martin as not only a younger version of Barack Obama but also Treyvon as his son. The paper concludes that between the orotund anaphora of hope and the cautionary diction of despair carried by variation lies hidden the partition of America’s cosmetic colorblindedness that paradoxically plays out in profiled, if fatal, racial spectacle of the clash between the ‘middle ground’ rhetoric and gruesome ‘stand your ground’ policing. The said clash, in styled rhetoric and historical content, renders America as both the country of dreams for all and a zone of exception and non-being for young, black males.
Renewing a Sense of *Ubuntu*: Critical Irony, Interruption, and Disruption in Johnson-Sirleaf’s Political Discourse

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Abstract
In his analysis of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf’s presidential oratorical strategies, Adeyemi Adegoju creates a critical backdrop for observing the “asymmetrical relations” between rhetor and audience, noting how “language could be deployed to mediate what the audience ... know[s], believe[s] and perhaps think [s] in political processes” (66). With that backdrop in mind, what is at stake in Johnson Sirleaf’s discourse becomes not only what our analytical methods can about her complex performance in an unprecedented discursive space, but also whether her discourse – and feminist historical accounts of it – can be remembered as restoring or renewing a sense of *Ubuntu* (humanity, or human-ness towards others). Johnson Sirleaf has been said to embody Africa’s own “iron lady” trope, and hence navigate between performances of mastery and manipulation (Richards, 2011; PBS, 2007). However, I argue that – when read through the lens of critical irony – her feminist discourse serves best as a site for historical interruption and disruption of transnational assumptions about how *Ubuntu* is employed to reconstruct a situation or rebuilt a national ethos. More specifically, I rely on critical irony (Hutcheon, 1995) to examine Johnson Sirleaf’s political discourse for evidence of the following:

1. how, from a western feminist viewpoint, she imbues the female diplomatic role with a sense of hopefulness, comfort, and strength requisite to a post-conflict revival;
2. whether this viewpoint propagates or disrupts a “transnational iron lady” trope, where “transnational” means giving an international context to prose that had traditionally been read or received in nationalist terms (Richards, 2011);
3. how her discourse establishes rhetorical counterpublics (Kaufer and Al-Malki, 2009) and promotes a way of reading that transcends certain conflicts of memory and history (Scott, 2011);
4. and finally, where feminist historiography in rhetoric studies might be at risk of propagating rather than disrupting certain tropes of remembering (Foner, 2002; Scott, 2011; Maitra, 2013). Ultimately, I argue that she better demonstrates the need for a figurative site to theorize both the rhetor and the forms and topoi in which she has been remembered to perform.

Works Cited
The Writer’s Speech:
JM Coetzee’s Allegory of Self-figuring in his Nobel Prize Lecture
(“He and His Man”)

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J.M. Coetzee’s rather cryptic, heavily coded Nobel Peace lecture, delivered to the Nobel academy on 7 December, 2003 is interesting as both text and performance. It provides a rather unusual starting point for exploring how Coetzee creates a discourse for himself (and of himself) of self as write in a way that shows both his theoretical acumen as literary academic, and his ongoing struggle as writer/to be writer that can be said to produce the writing.

My paper will examine (with detailed textual/contextual analysis) a number of issues arising out of “He and his Man”, including:
1. The identity of the writer/academic and the discourse of fictionality
2. Allegorical figuring and the intertextual play of the signifier
3. The significance of Defoe’s Crusoe (and Crusoe’s Defoe) as point of reference
4. Coetzee’s Nobel prize lecture in the context of his writing, and of the context of his audience
5. Precision, history, memory, metaphor and the motifs of death and transformation.
6. Writing and the location of the secret self.
The Rhetorical Markers of Nation-building in Presidential Speeches.

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Abstract:
Twenty years ago South Africa’s transition to democracy was characterised by numerous attempts to de-racialise and bring together a diverse society, which had lived through many years of forced segregation and racial antagonism. Part of this transition involved writing a new Constitution, and engaging in endeavours such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the National Conference on Racism in 2000 and the World Conference Against Racism and Xenophobia in 2001. These national projects were aimed at promoting an awareness of the atrocities that occurred under apartheid.

On a smaller scale, laws were introduced in various sectors of society, such as education and the workplace, with the intention to promote equality and create an atmosphere of tolerance and non-discrimination. The situation calls for continuous analysis and examination of the course of events rather than despair. It is the opinion of the researcher that only through vigorous steps necessary adjustments could be made and realistic steps be taken in the crafting of effective paths to national unity and development for the benefit of all South Africans.

This paper explores the broad theoretical issue of nation-building agenda in the South African political and media discourse. The paper also asks whether the nation-building sentiment has been influenced the political discourse related to the process of nation-building and democratisation in South Africa since 1994.

The researcher attempts to examine the presence of the national democratic ideals in the nation-building elites’ discourse in South Africa, using the presidential rhetoric as the main indicator of the nation-building direction of a country and also to assess the three main periods of Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma’s leadership. In order to assess if the presidential rhetoric has changed in regard to the main nation-building directions, the researcher will conduct a textual and discourse analysis of the selected sample of Presidents of South Africa speeches given throughout their term in office.
The Martinsons Institute

Revolutionising the World of Ideas
The Pitfalls and Pyrotechnics of Interpreting Live Speeches: From Church Sermons to Political Speeches

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Abstract

Recognizing Austin’s notion of “the total speech act in the total speech situation” and the warning against “oversimplifying complexities of meaning, in particular, by reducing meaning to descriptive meaning” (Oishi, 2006: 2), this paper examines the pitfalls and pyrotechnics of simultaneous interpreting by presenting examples from speeches in the high-pressure contexts of politics (where power and votes are at stake) and churches (where power and souls are at stake). In this paper, the fluid and influential nature of interpreting on speeches is further illustrated by highlighting issues such as a) the language proficiency of the speaker, interpreter and audience b) the expertise and experience of the interpreter c) affective considerations as well as d) other situational variables in a South African multilingual multi-ethnic context where a myriad of languages are spoken, 11 of which are official. Thus, in many public fora it is not unusual for there to be speakers of different languages.

Speeches, in a context of diverse languages, are often interpreted to ensure that the audience grasps the content as well as the thrust of the message. Interpreting plays a crucial part of mediating meaning, effect and affect in a given speech so as to fulfil the purposes of the speaker for the receptors. In interpreted speeches, therefore, audiences not only imbibe the contents of the speech, but they do so through a vessel that is laden with variables. No matter how eloquent the orator is, then, an interpreter can make or break a speech. Interpreting can add to the brilliance of the speech, making the speaker dazzle with appeal. In other instances, however, interpreting can lead not only to distorted messages, but also to disgruntled audiences who might either take their discomfiture out on the speaker or lead to the speaker being overshadowed by the antics of the interpreter.
Words and Sentences of Postures, Peace and reconciliation:  
An Examination of Nelson Mandela’s Rhetorical Style in Clint Eastwood’s  
Invictus 

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Abstract  
The paper seeks, among other tasks to explore the relationship between rhetoric and film from the political point of view, drawing our attention to the remarkable essence of the former president of South Africa, Late Nelson Mandela’s postures shortly after the insidious and tragic experience of the historical and yet precarious conundrum of apartheid in South Africa. What is at stake is to view through the effect of the ‘moving image’ (film), the production of Clint Eastwood’s Invictus which features Morgan Freeman as the subject of discourse in the visual representation at the highest pedestal, built upon the backdrop of ‘humanitarian ideals.’ The essay seeks to explore and examine the import of such humanitarian ideals, through the effective rhetorical speeches, conversation, dialogues, talks etc of Nelson Mandela, and their expressive as well as deliberate, firm, frank as well as their inevitable postures in the ‘film text’, Invictus. The rhetorical critique will not just be on Mandela’s reflection of malodorous consequences of white domination and inhumanities, or apartheid; but also against ‘black’ inhibition: as a result of hatred and antipathy for the white (for historical reasons) in the process of Mandela’s quest for and to seek reconciliation. Using the theories of rhetoric as brought to limelight by exponents such as Aristotle, Cicero, Longinus and more recently Segun Ige, I shall supply proof from the stand point a deeply rooted essence in both “text” and “context” that the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela through speeches, conversation, dialogues, talks, conversations and confabulations with both ‘blacks and whites’ and the world audience at large represents for humanity, is a deliberate rhetorical truth based on uncontorted integrity of thoughts and actions, to unite, and work in harmony, towards a universal perspective of humanity.
Beyond Transitional Justice: 
Power, Contestation and Politics at Nigeria’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

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In 2000, former President Olusegun Obasanjo inaugurated the Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission (HRVIC), popularly called the Oputa Panel, after its Chairman. The commission was mandated to investigate cases of human rights abuses from January 1966 to June 1998 and to recommend ways that would bring about healing and national reconciliation. This paper examines the interplay of power, politics and the consequent contestation that characterized the commission. In doing so it raises several questions: What particular purpose or interest was the exercise primed to serve? What were the underlying factors that underpinned this interplay? Why did the entire exercise generate so much public contestation against the conduct of the proceedings? And what are its implications for understanding the power and power limitations of the actors involved? For instance, the impunity with which some major actors, especially the generals and some past military dictators, refused to honour the invitation of the commission to appear before it, coupled with the blatant “denials and arrogance [of those who appeared] that smacked of remorselessness (Aaron, 2005), generated public outcry and contestation across the country. Consequently, critics argued that the constitutional inadequacies of the commission were exploited by the powerful in order to escape accounting for their past misdeeds. Another conclusion was that constitutional and legal loopholes were deliberately embedded in the commission to ensure that some powerful interests, who provided political backing for Obasanjo’s presidential ambition, were not publicly embarrassed or offended. It was against this backdrop of public outrage and contestation that the government decided not to make the report of the commission public.

By way of conclusion, the paper notes that Nigeria’s truth and reconciliation exercise did have important implications for understanding power, politics and power limitations of actors, including the rulers and the led.
Resistance-*cum-revolution*:
Strategies for New Social Movements in Post-apartheid South Africa

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Social movements have a long history in fighting the oppressive practices and policies of the apartheid state. Dating back to the mid-1970s, around the formation of the United Democratic Front, social movements played a tremendous role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. The unity of various social movements behind a single vision for freedom allowed them a level of resistance that was enough to launch a formidable attack against the apartheid state. The demise of apartheid, without having to resort to neither a *coup de tart* nor a civil war, has thus notably been hailed as a revolutionary achievement.

The victory, however, no matter how glorified, is widely acknowledged as a partial triumph given the socio-economic challenges that continue to plague the country. The fight against apartheid was undoubtedly not only aimed at toppling an oppressive regime; but was equally a battle against relative and absolute poverty and deprivation. The results of centuries of racist capitalist accumulation and dispossession remain the core characteristics of post-apartheid South Africa. Producing one of the highest gini-coefficients in the world, the rise of new social movements has indeed been an inevitable part of the trajectory towards transformation.

The *modus operandi* of new social movements within the civil society space, as witnessed through street protests and other activities, is a critical aspect of South Africa's socio-economic transition. The extent to which social movements can attain the goal of a transformed society depends on how their resistance is able to surmount the oppression exerted upon them. The paper discusses the different forms of resistance that have been popularly employed by new social movements; exploring whether they sustain, encourage, or detract from a state of perpetual transition in South Africa.

It is argued that even though radical displays of resistance suffice to maintain socio-economic transition, it is dubious that resistance alone can act as a catalyst for genuine transformation. Whilst resistance does not necessarily beget revolution, anti-apartheid social movements have certainly showed the link between the two. Realising the vision of transformation in contemporary South Africa therefore can benefit greatly from new social movements engaging in strategies of *resistance-cum-revolution*. As Frantz Fanon asserted: when the vanguard party becomes obsolete, the masses will take over the revolution.
In this article, Thabo Mbeki’s ‘Two Nations Speech’ which argued that South Africa is a country of two nations will be re-read by applying Frantz Fanon’s concept of Manicheanism. The central argument is that the speech articulated the existential reality of South Africa and it digressed from the myth of the Rainbow Nation by touching the fault line of the nation – that is, the scandal of race. To serve as testimony to this, the encoding and decoding of ‘Two Nations Speech’ reflected the racial divide and the standpoint of Mbeki as the speaking subject was the direct confrontation with the lived reality of race as opposed to “obsession with race”. In the speech, having articulated the true reflection of the nation, Mbeki was castigated by the chorus of the liberal consensus for dividing the nation and playing what is popularly known as “the race card”. In re-reading “Two Nations Speech”, the debate that surrounds it will be revisited and it will be argued that the so-called “black bourgeoisie” were used as an alibi in order to deviate from the scandal of race. Furthermore, the conception of non-racialism will be engaged and to examine whether it is a contradiction or not in the realm of the content of the speech. It will, therefore, be argued that Mbeki as the speaking subject engaged to some extent in Fanonian meditations which really called for the end of the divisions which determine the existential conditions located in the binaries of the zone of being and the zone of non-being. Therefore, it is the contention of this article that Mbeki had the right to be the speaking subject and his speechmaking and speechwriting affirmed him as the vox populi. The article also criticises Mbeki as the speaking subject, arguing that he was faux pas in some areas of the content of the speech qua Fanon’s meditations of zone of being and zone of non-being.
THE POLITICAL RHETORIC OF BISHOP DOMENI IN THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE ERA IN NAMIBIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a rhetorical analysis of the speeches of Bishop Kleopas Dumeni of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia. The main purpose of the paper was to analyse Bishop Dumeni’s selected speeches based on the five canons of Aristotle namely, invention, arrangement, style, delivery and memory, and his persuasion modes of *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*. This paper examined the English and Oshiwambo speeches which Bishop Dumeni delivered at meetings locally and internationally from 1979 to 1988. A total of twenty sampled speeches were analysed to obtain information on the use of the five Aristotelian canons and the three modes of persuasion within the framework of Aristotelian theory. This theory was supplemented by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), semiotic theory and Nida’s theory. The CDA deals with an oppositional study of structures and strategies of the discourse and their cognitive and social conditions as well as with the discourses of resistance against such domination. The semiotic theory was used to interpret the non-verbal behaviour and Nida’s theory was used to examine the translation techniques used by Bishop Dumeni. In addition, interviews were conducted with thirty respondents drawn from three groups: the supporters of colonial authorities, ordinary people and pastors to obtain further information on the responses of the audience to the speeches of Bishop Dumeni. The study revealed that Bishop Dumeni effectively used the five Aristotelian canons. Invention was used to formulate arguments, and opinions on the speeches. Arrangement was used to organize the speeches in a particular manner to make them appealing to the audience. Style was intended to maximise the correctness, clarity, appropriateness and ornament of their message to achieve the greatest level of acceptance by the audience. The canon of delivery helped the speaker to present the speeches in a way that was most effective for the audience. Memory was employed to help the audience retain the messages in their minds. It was further revealed in this study that Bishop Dumeni successfully used the three modes of persuasion - *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* - to persuade the audience to support the liberation of Namibia. Ethos was used to demonstrate honesty, intelligence, and goodwill of Bishop Dumeni as an astute religious cum-political who stood for the emancipation of the oppressed in Namibia during the time of apartheid rule. *Logos* was employed to advance strong arguments supported by facts, figures and examples to woo the audience to support his intentions.
This form of appeal was combined with pathos which was employed to stir up emotions of the audience to support him. The analysis further revealed that Bishop Dumeni used the combination of epideictic (ceremonial) rhetoric to either praise his supporters or blame the colonial authorities, deliberative rhetoric to exhort or persuade the audience to promote good and avoid the harmful and to a lesser extent, forensic rhetoric was employed with specific reference to the verdict of the International Court of Justice on the Namibian question. It was also found that Bishop Dumeni mostly used formal equivalence type of translation with some elements of dynamic equivalence type of translation and free translation which affected the intelligibility of the speeches.
“Politics of Enunciation”: Jacob Zuma’s genitals in The Spear

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Abstract
The Spear painting by White South African Artist Brett Murray portrays current South African President Jacob Zuma with his genitals exposed. The spear sparked controversies around racism – some readers constructing racist readings from the painting, others insisting on non-racist undertones in deducing meaning from the artistic piece. But was The Spear a racist piece of artwork? Could other readings unrelated to the racist/non-racist binary be constructed from Murray’s piece of artwork? It is the objective of this paper to analyze ‘The Spear’ in relation to Kobena Mercer’s concept of “politics of enunciation”. In so doing I argue that a continuum of readings (not necessarily relating to the racist/non-racist binary) could be deduced from Murray’s painting if readers hook the painting to the author, text, reader relations, and social context in the process of meanings constriction.
AFRICA’S TRANSFORMATIONAL POST-COLONIAL LEADERSHIP AND COLONIAL ANTI-NOMIES: SIR QUETT KETUMILE JONI MASIRE OF BOTSWANA

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Abstract

This article offers a critical engagement of Sir Quett Ketumile Masire’s eighteen years in power (1980–1998). Masire epitomises the kind of transformational political leadership that has sustained Botswana’s political stability since independence. By presenting a discussion of Masire’s political philosophy, his leadership style, and the underlying internal and external factors, the paper concludes by drawing lessons from his leadership style for the benefit of political leadership development in Africa. Most discussions about Botswana’s leadership; its philosophy and style tend to conclude that Botswana is a ‘citadel’ of democracy in Africa without providing details of the various political factors that have contributed to the country’s current configurations and its leadership style, which exists as a form of state capture.
Using marketing as a means to ‘sell’ Salvation

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Abstract
In spite of the misunderstandings regarding overall use of marketing communication methods by the church in achieving its goals, the adoption of marketing communication strategies by certain churches is becoming more prevalent in our immediate environment. In addition, the expansion of the marketing discipline to include non-profit, non-business, and social marketing has received considerable attention in recent years. This extends beyond the selling of personal goods as many non-profit organizations have become much more aggressive about the use of marketing communication. However, this study is positioned to draw a contradistinction between motivational speaking and preaching, and whether the former can be used as a means to ‘sell’ salvation similar to selling a product or service to consumer. Motivational speaking in the 21st century has been commoditised and is gradually being carved out as a profession by professional speakers. Also, the study will seek to resolve the tension around the use of marketing technique by the church, and to what extent some churches in the Durban area have used marketing technique. The theoretical framework for this study is integrated marketing theory which will be narrowed down to two of its components; direct marketing/selling and personal selling. Integrated marketing communication suggests that achieving the objectives of a marketing campaign can be tailored toward a well-coordinated use of different promotional methods that are intended to reinforce each other. In order to gather the data necessary for this study, qualitative methodology will be used. 15 churches in Durban will be selected for the study. This study will not be executed on denominational basis, but rather interested churches that are willing to offer information about their marketing practices.
Press Rhetoric in Transitions and Political Complications:
Re-evaluating the 1941 Crisis in the Nigerian Youth Movement

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Abstract:
The intra-party candidate selection process of the Nigerian Youth Movement may have qualified as nothing more than a historical footnote. Political pundits thought that the process, which preceded the Legislative Council election of 1941, would be ‘a mere ritual, with a predictable result,’ But it became, perhaps, the crisis point in time at which ethnicity, as a complication-inducing factor, demonstrably invaded the Nigerian body politic.

The irony is that many contemporary narratives celebrate the event, viewing the era as one in which Nigerian politics was free of over bearing ethnic considerations. This view is understandable; the candidates – Samuel Akisanya and Ernest Ikoli – received across ethnic supports. (Chief Awolowo backed Ikoli, a non-Yoruba from Eastern Nigeria and Dr Azikiwe backed Akisanya, a non-Ibo from Western Nigeria.) However, the reporting language of the partisan press of the day reflected the bearing of political events in the aftermath.

One immediate consequence was that Azikiwe with his fellow Ibos in tow, and Akisanya with his Ijebu supporters walked out of fledgling national party. The Movement was broken; it never contested another election as a united party. Out of its ashes, regional splinter parties emerged. Thus, the alignment of tribal or ethic support behind prominent political leaders may have been one of the cardinal results of press rhetoric during and after 1941 election.

This paper sets out to investigate the extent to which political rhetoric as amplified or originated by the press may have caused followers to line up more solidly behind their ethnic champions. The paper will also explore if the press contributed in significant measures to accentuate ethnic or tribal fault lines.
Mighty in Word and Deed: The Last Great Rhetors of Our Time

Lead Paper
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In August of 2013, America commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the March on Washington and Martin Luther King, Jr.’s famous “I Have a Dream” speech. Months later, in December, America joined many other nations to memorialize the passing of another iconic figure in struggle for civil rights South Africa's beloved native son, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. On both of these ceremonial occasions, Americans unabashedly acknowledged the extraordinary lives and legacies of these two men. With King, Americans took stock of his grand oratory, his prophetic dream that one day America would be true to its ideals. With Mandela, Americans were awed by his grand gesture, his bold statement of sacrifice without bitterness or retribution.

And yet, there is a rather cruel irony in these grand epideictic displays, for throughout much of King’s life as an advocate for civil rights the vast majority of white Americans were suspicious of him and unpersuaded by his campaign against racial segregation. Similarly, in spite of the patently perverted system of apartheid, many Americans had little regard for Mandela when he was unjustly sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. Even some twenty years into his prison term it took many activists and students (both black and white) to persuade the United States government more concerned about communism in the ANC than apartheid to divest from South Africa and force change.

King dreamed of a day when black people would be judged by the content of their character and not the color of their skin. In this paper, I argue that King was a living testimony of the content of character, for even in his short life he embodied the words he so eloquently spoke. And when Mandela testified at the Rivonia Trial and spoke of the ideal he hoped to live for, the ideal of a democratic and free society void of white or black domination, he too embodied the articulation of that ideal in his imprisonment and in his presidency. In his memorial address, President Obama called Nelson Mandela the last great liberator of the twentieth century, and undoubtedly he was that for South Africa and for the world. But more than that, Mandela was in many respects like King a great rhetor, perhaps the last great rhetor of our time. If, as Plato writes, the art of rhetoric is leading souls to truth by means of words, then Mandela did just that in word and in deed. And in doing so, he proved the transformative power of a true rhetor.
Transformational Rhetoric: A Framework

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Africa’s transformation project has met with a number of setbacks. This is due, partly, to the overpowering influence of the established order: status quo, which someone has translated to be ‘the mess we are in.’ Rhetoric has contributed significantly to series of transformation projects and its execution since inception in classical Athens, and more in recent memory in the USA. Africa can benefit immensely from the meaningful contribution that rhetors and rhetoricians can make in helping the continent realise its achieving its transformation goals. This relevance of rhetoric to Africa’s transformation requires a frame work. In this paper, I shall present the Constructive Instrumental Rhetoric Model, which holds that significant transformation can occur in society and politics if there is a careful integration of rhetoric into social and political structures.
The particulars of desperation by political aspirants intending to occupy various cadres of political offices in Nigeria have never been more diverse. Traditionally, aspirants on various platforms wishing to boost their chances before the electorates have always deployed outdoor media like posters, billboards and handbills. Already, the political firmament is alive, shadow advertisements for the 2015 election are looming while two states in Nigeria, Ekiti and Osun have already been wrapped in campaign posters preparatory to their Governorship elections in June and August 2014 respectively.

During the 2007 general election campaign, political party candidates indulged in cheap blackmail, propaganda and other underhanded tactics to undermine the chances of opposing party candidates. But never until the pronouncement of politics as a do-or-die affair by former President, Olusegun Obasanjo in 2011 have the desperation schemes associated with political campaigns assumed a higher temperature. The trend, pervasive under the currently prevailing culture, is such that neither the personal dignity of the individual aspirant nor that of his party is considered or spared in the summary sacrifice of all at the altar of political ambition.

One of the many cases in point was a recently erected billboard declaring that a political aspirant from Ogun state, Hon. Jelili Kayode Amusan, alias JKA, would again run “FOR GOVERNOR” of Ogun state in the approaching 2015 general election. The curious thing about this billboard is that it was the encore of an extraordinarily curious advertisement of his political ambition.

Back in late 2010, Hon Amusan was one of the many politicians who began scheming to run “FOR GOVERNOR” of Ogun state under the People’s Democratic Party’s campaign flag. Several months later, his billboards were re-issued calling the people to vote for him “FOR SENATE”, but by the time the general election held in mid 2011, his billboards had already notified the electorates that he was finally running “FOR FEDERAL HOUSE OF REPS”. Though an opposition candidate from the Action Congress of Nigeria, ACN, rather than a PDP candidate eventually emerged governor of the state in 2011, Hon Amusan’s political ambition exemplified the new generation of politicians whose ambition and political posturing is spectacular. With the revival of Hon. Amusan’s political ambition the central theme of my paper appears ready-made. Having collected outdoor political campaign literature...
in the forms of posters and billboards across Nigeria since 2007, by the 2015 election, my collection would have amounted to a copious body of information, useful for study, research and presentation. However, this presentation is an instalment that examines posters and billboards as a communication tool for political campaigns. It focuses particularly at the politics of campaign posters, its influence on political aspiration, its effect on the electorate and its potential as a tool of deception.

Therefore, this collection would enable me to effectively examine and dissect the curious, interwoven and intricate patterns characterizing the politician/electorate encounter in Nigeria. My purpose is to establish how the Nigerian electorate have fared as desperate politicians target and assail their sensitivity with election campaign propaganda, disinformation and half-truths.

Furthermore, it would be instructive and interesting to interrogate the kind of brazen communicative inconsistency that Hon. Amusan’s cycle of posters have exemplified. Of particular bearing to my paper is the need to consider how posters and billboards affect would be electorates and how have they have reacted. The paper would try to further enable us better understand how political parties in Nigeria process their candidates. The paper would treat the messages and distribution pattern of poster as a gauge of the character traits of Nigerian politicians and

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Abstract
One of the major complications in the struggle against the genocidal mentality in Africa is the near-absence of theoretical works on the subject from which to build on a cannon of critical work for scholars interested in the subject. This ideological silence communicates the negative view that African scholars do not care to write about African genocide in ways that would expose and critique the perpetrators. It is a silence that also sanctions the continuation of genocide since it is assumed that no one would raise concern. However, most of the writing on genocide in Africa has been and continue to be conducted by western scholars, thereby sustaining the mythology that Europeans care about Africans more than Africans care or can care about themselves. This view is confirmed in Adam Hochschild’s book, *King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (2006). Whether it is because western scholars have research funds to carry out research on African genocide, or that westerners are genuinely concerned with the welfare of Africans, the result is that there is an intellectual domination of Africans in the area of knowledge production on genocide in Africa. This article critiques Hochschild’s book, noting that in some important sense, the scholarly work positively plugs the gap on genocide scholarship in Africa. However, this article also argues that the lack of interest on the part of African scholars to engage the theme of genocide not only communicates that Africa is a heart of intellectual darkness; it also empowers western scholars to become pundits of an experience that they cannot experience vicariously.
Deconstructing the phrase ‘at-risk students’:
Risk, Rhetoric and Transformation in the South African Higher Education

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Abstract

The phrase ‘at-risk student’ has become a category commonly associated with discourse on widening access and participation in the higher education. At-risk student’ is generally defined or used to refer to students that have been identified as predisposed to failing, withdrawing and dropping out of university. Research on ‘at-risk student’ has also generally focused, rightly so, on the cultural capital and inequality in society. In this paper I examine the discursive power of the rhetoric of the phrase ‘at-risk student’ on student identity and its impact on student learning. Using discourse analysis, the paper seeks to answer a critical question relating to the impact of the phrase on students disposition to learning in the multicultural, multilingual and multiracial South African context. This paper attempts to answer the question: how does the new label ‘at-risk’ influence students’ and others’ perceptions and/or define or redefine the students and what is the impact on for learning? For the purposes of this study, I adapt the concept of Risky Rhetoric to argue that ‘at-risk identity’ is tantamount to endangering/risking teaching and learning activities. The paper further points out that this phrase and many others coined in the transformation process in higher education can be destructive and counterproductive in addressing and redressing diversity in demographic composition of students in a context like South Africa.
Rhetoric of Transition to Transformation: Civil Society and Democratic Transition in Nigeria

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Abstract
Democratic transitions in Nigeria have led to opportunities for those outside government to contribute to the decision-making process. Civil Societies occupies a vintage/strategic position in complementing government effort in meeting citizens’ aspirations and strengthening democracy, but political rhetoric seems to hinder their effort. This paper examines the contribution of civil society to democratic transition in Nigeria. It assesses the relationship between democratization and development of civil society in Nigeria. It further examines the role of civil societies to influence political systems. It examines problems encountered by civil societies in the process of improving democratic politics. Using purposive sampling technique, 86 members of staff of the selected civil societies were administered copies of questionnaire. Also 12 management staff of the various civil societies was interviewed.

The findings revealed that civil societies have contributed immensely to democratic transition in Nigeria. The results showed a positive and significant relationship between democratization and development of civil society in Nigeria. Also, the medium - high average mean values of 2.61 to 4.52 shows that civil societies influences political systems. The findings revealed a positive correlation between contribution of civil societies (r = 0.683, p< .05) and democratic transition and stability (r=.609, p<.05). The study identifies weak civil society capacity to participate in democratic process, inability of civil society to access information on democratic transition and lack of legal bases for enforcing democratic process often reflecting the lack of political and bureaucratic will, as problems encountered by civil societies in the process of improving democratic politics. The study concluded that civil societies have contributed significantly to strengthening democracy and decision making process in Nigeria.
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