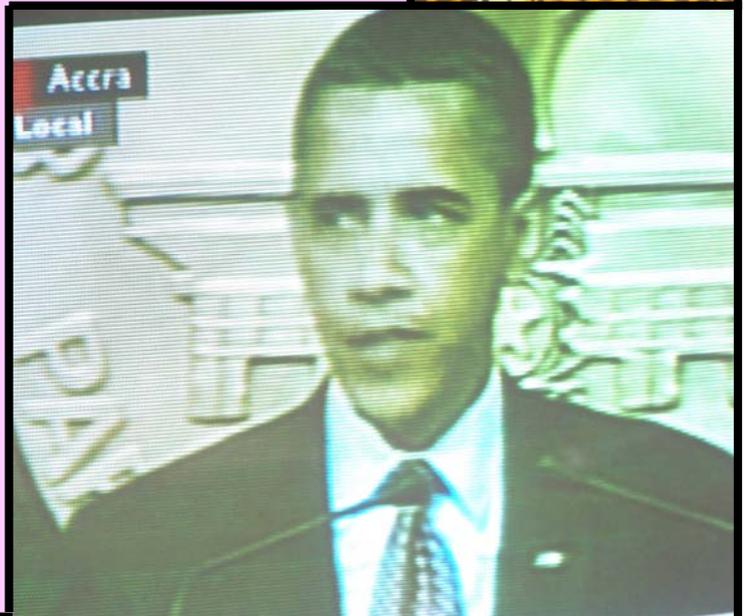
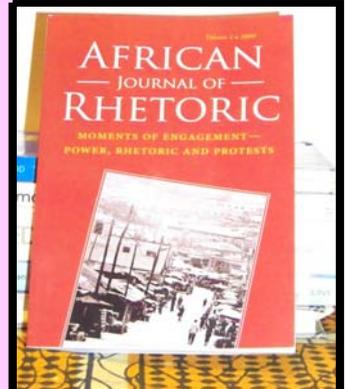


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Balagha is a KiSwahili/Arabic word for 'eloquence': the closest in meaning to the idea of rhetoric.

This quarterly publication will deal with a variety of themes and cover relevant events. The maiden issue takes its theme mainly from the conference organised by the African Association for Rhetoric in July 2009, entitled, *Rhetoric in the Time of AIDS: African Perspectives*. *Balagha* publishes reviews, commentaries, speeches, short articles and reports on events that are considered to have rhetorical importance. Submissions are welcome from potential contributors. Articles submitted to *Balagha* should not be more than 1, 500 words in length.

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Towards Instrumental Rhetoric AIDS and the African Condition

Segun Ige



HIV/AIDS has bedevilled the continent for the past three decades and by the admission of the African Union, has caused the death of over 25 million people. While Public Health policy has been effective in dealing with some of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in a few countries on the continent, the majority have had numerous problems in dealing with the pandemic. The latter is due to the pre-existing conditions in society, namely: political conflicts, corruption, risky sexual behaviour, migration, inefficient or collapsed health systems, incorrect and/or insufficient approaches, erroneous cultural myths about the pandemic, poverty and a range of other socio-economic problems.

This epidemic has stretched most political and health systems beyond their imaginable resource limits. The turning point for the epidemic on the continent within the broader society came terribly late and at a high cost. Undoubtedly, there were pockets of responses in some states like, Uganda, Senegal, Morocco and Namibia. Even, this was few and far between. The African continent is home to 53 countries, out of which, only five can be said to have stable democracies and even less can be said to have functional health systems. At policy level, AIDS has generated its own rhetoric(s) and transited with it since it gained momentum in the late 80s. This leads one to ask the question: What role has rhetoric played in this era of HIV/AIDS?

Rhetoric has always been mistakenly counterpoised with myth. Rather, rhetoric shapes our reality: either as a negative or positive force of myth that guides our behaviour, or, as the means by which we attempt to solve our problems. In the three decades that the world has experienced the AIDS debacle, the different concomitant rhetorics have blinded us to the true nature and depth of AIDS cataclysmic effect. Experts always believe that solution progresses from the point of identification, but AIDS is perhaps one of the disasters that would defy the logic of identification.

Solving the AIDS problem becomes multidimensional and densely complicated which requires, *inter alia*, robust rhetorical engagements at different levels and sectors of society. This kind of plurality requires a well orchestrated context of speech and action that is compatible with the solution in view for the pandemic.

One of the main articles in this maiden issue of *Balagha* proposes the need for a new rhetoric in dealing with the pandemic. The first step of course is for African states and systems to acknowledge the instrumentality of rhetoric within the context of social mobilisation, policy formulation and implementation, and then take processes of deliberation and social contestation seriously.

An ongoing research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban reveals that the impact period of the African Union resolution regarding AIDS is 15 years. The former Secretary General, Chief Kofi Annan has admitted that responses from state and supra state institutions were 'shamefully delayed and ill resourced' (UN 2004: 9). Perhaps a lesson that AIDS has taught the world is that a raging epidemic requires decisiveness and precision of approaches and intervention. Africa has been rather unfortunate even in the way that certain social discourses have emerged, which, in some cases, have diminished the seriousness of the pandemic in Africa.

Opportunities

Since rhetoric is hardly studied in African Institutions, very few Public Speaking and Speech Communication courses exist at levels that support a firm grounding in rhetorical theory, classical and modern. African Rhetoric Project needs to consider the following as one of its main goals: the injection of the notion of responsibility into the public performance of rhetoric. Rhetoric is rhetoric because of its responsibility clause. While a number of leaders on the continent have and still do enjoy the performance, and the glamour associated with the performance of rhetoric, it is high time that we paid some attention to responsible speechmaking. The multidisciplinary nature of rhetoric and its application in almost every endeavour of life makes it imperative for its inclusion in the curriculum and that scholars engage more critically with rhetoric, theory and practice on the continent. The idea of New Rhetoric helps to go beyond speech production, but engage constructively with the contemporary issues and policy related matters and all manners of discourse, speech performance and written texts: [McKeon 1971] 'Rhetoric provides the devices by which to determine the characteristics and problems of our times and to form the art by which to guide actions for the solution of our problems and the improvements of our circumstances'.

Rhetoric has been pejoratively viewed in many quarters and periods in history as dangerous to the stability of the state. The antithesis of this is that cohesion is fostered through the use of what can be dubbed 'instrumental rhetoric'. From ancient times, rhetoric has been seen as the only means of ending the use of physical violence through assertive rhetorical engagement and strategies. It has been used in constitutional drafting, congressional and deliberative contexts, and other social, economic, political and cultural transactions. Scholars in African Rhetoric need to begin to look seriously into the instrumentalisation of rhetoric in order to provide valuable insight on the use, misuse and abuse of rhetoric not only within and between African countries, but also between African countries and the rest of the world. Opportunities abound if the right kind of stakeholders are targeted and made aware of the importance of what McKeon has again dubbed, 'architectonic productive art.'

The current momentum needs to be sustained and interested scholars should heighten their research and publishing in this area in order to ensure that adequate knowledge is produced to create a solid foundation for curriculum development and training in African rhetoric. The only challenge and threat to a flourishing African rhetoric project is funding. This of course may lead to other forms of complica-

tions. With the right kind of funder education and marketing, one hopes that funders will begin to appreciate the usefulness of rhetoric and support rhetoric related projects. Perhaps leaders in the field should appeal to donor agencies and embassies to earmark funding for rhetoric related projects. Collaborations and networking with other similar bodies or scholars should also be encouraged in order to access resources that would not normally have been made available for rhetoric projects.

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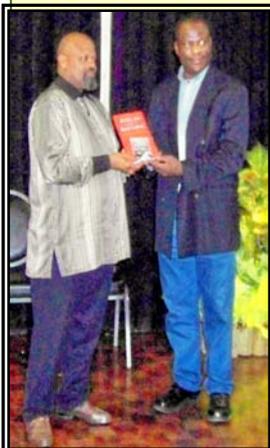
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Rhetoric in the Time of AIDS: African Perspectives 1-3 July 2009

Feedback from participants on the Second International conference of the African Association for Rhetoric



Mayor Obed Mlaba and Dr Segun Ige

was positive. The conference was entitled: *Rhetoric in the Time of AIDS African Perspectives* (1-3 July 2009). The conference held at the Innovation Centre, Durban with support from Health Economics and AIDS Research Division (HEARD), EtheKwini Municipality (Durban) and Corporate Relations, University of KwaZulu-Natal Durban. The conference was attended by seasoned scholars from about 11 countries who presented papers on diverse issues relating to HIV/AIDS. Two issues received special attention, namely, *AIDS and Disability* and *AIDS and Ethno-pharmacology*.

There were presentations at the intersection of rhetoric and law, psychology, media, built environment, life history, Human factor and institutional advocacy on AIDS. The papers made a series of observations including how we employ rhetoric in every day discourse: media rhetoric is ambiguous and sometimes confusing, there are policy gaps that require urgent attention by government, some auto/biographical narratives do not adequately present the subject's situation, and some of public's assumptions about sexuality negate the realities of people living with disability. Cultural norms of communication that we consider to be detrimental like silence can be either considered to be therapeutic or complicit in familial setting (Leana Uys). There is need for the intensification of dialogue and critical thinking around HIV/AIDS (Catherine Campbell).

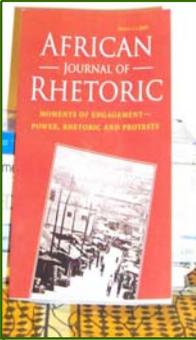
The three day conference was well supported by three main establishments. HEARD Economics and AIDS Research Division (HEARD, UKZN) provided funding for the transportation of keynote speakers, scholarships for two African scholars and conference supplies. The Mayor of Durban, His worship, Councillor Obed Mlaba gave the Association a Welcome reception where he himself talked about the importance of persuasion in politics and other forms of social interaction. The Association made a presentation of the first issue of the Journal to the Mayor as a token of their appreciation for the generosity of the city of Durban. Corporate Relations, UKZN provided free logistical support through its subdivision, Professional Conferencing Services which was headed by Ms Twane Palmer.

Membership

At this year's conference, about 22 people signalled their interest in becoming members of the Association. These range from senior academics and graduate students. This is in addition to those who had previously attended AAR's conference and have been supporting the Association since its inauguration. Members are encouraged to contribute toward the development of the Association. \$75 has been fixed as membership fees, which caters for the Association's publication and the maintenance of the website. This amount includes postage of hard copies of the journal.

2011 conference

The African Association for Rhetoric will in the near future be making a call for papers for the next biennial international conference. This forthcoming conference will be the third in the four part conference series that was to be organised to help in firmly establishing the Association. The theme for the 2011 conference is: *Intercultural Negotiation of the Global Space*. Like the previous conferences, we hope that this conference will appeal to scholars, professionals, activists and graduate students from different fields of study. Details on the conference will be publicised in due course. However, depending on funding, the Association might hold a Roundtable in 2010 in relation to the theme of the 2011 journal publication: *African Presidential Rhetoric*.



The Journal: African Journal of Rhetoric

The African Journal of Rhetoric (AJR), the premiere rhetoric journal on the continent, was released from the press a couple of weeks before the conference. The Journal was published by Electric Book Works, Cape Town. Free copies of the journal were distributed at the conference (1-3 July 2009). The printing of the journal was sponsored by the Corporate Affairs and Communications Unit, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. The papers contained in the Journal were those selected from the debut conference of the African Association for Rhetoric in July 2007.

Other solicited articles were also published. The free distribution of the Journal at the conference was based on the agreement with the sponsor. Feedback has however been positive and a number of people and institutions have requested the subscription details. Individual subscription has been fixed at \$35 and Institutional at \$400. Institutional subscription will include limited online open access. This will help more academics to access the articles. For now, AJR will remain an annual publication until such a time that the publishing infrastructure has been well consolidated. The journal is the property of the African Association for Rhetoric (AAR). The journal has a high profile editorial Committee and has a blind editorial review policy. Since the Journal is based in South Africa, SAPSE accreditation is being processed in the first instance. ReadHill Publishing has since the beginning of October 2009 taken over the management of the journal from Electric Book Works. Enquiries may be directed to the Editor: ajr@af rhet.org.za or ige.segun@gmail.com or ReadHill Publishing Cape Town info@mousehand.co.za; www.publishbooks.co.za

Moments of Engagement— Power, Rhetoric and Protests

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African Rhetoric Roundtable
'Africa's Responsibilities to Africa: Current Issues in HIV/AIDS'

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How effective is Africa's response to HIV and AIDS? What perspectives and what possible partnerships have failed to be acknowledged? Whose voices are missing and how can they make themselves heard? These are some of the questions that shaped discussions at a one-day roundtable on the theme: *Africa's responsibilities to Africa* within the context of HIV and AIDS.

Participants were gathered from a wide segment of society, each offering a particular perspective of the situation facing Africa as it enters another decade of a disease that has ravaged economies, societies and households. Members of civil society, government and academia were all represented at the roundtable and offered critical analyses of the rhetoric on HIV and AIDS.

Dr Warren Parker argued that the rhetoric was devoid of representation from those most affected. Professor Tim Quinlan, of the Health Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division, said that the dominant discourses have severed the link between poverty and AIDS. He emphasised that HIV/AIDS is largely a disease of poverty and consequently rhetoric needs to be more pro-poor.

Professor Catherine Campbell, of the London School of Economics and Political Science, echoed these thoughts. The unwillingness on the part of the political elite to recognise the connections between gender inequality and HIV/AIDS has hampered an effective response. Female voices are critical, yet they are rarely given a platform to contribute to the rhetoric on HIV and AIDS. She said that re-invigorating gender empowerment and rights back into the discussion will lay a path towards an effective response to the crisis.

But before such a response can emerge, education needs to become effective. Professor Senyo Abjibolooso, Fermanian School of Business, USA, argued that a great deal of knowledge about HIV and AIDS already exists but it has yet to achieve a real social change, because the information has not translate into education. In his attempt to advocate for transformational education, He draws a distinction between schooling, which focuses on information delivery, and education which empowers people to think critically, become leaders and therefore bring about change. Professor Abjibolooso said that responses therefore cannot merely be information driven; they require an understanding of what changes we want and how this can be achieved. A similar idea on education and learning was presented by Professor Grace Sokoya of the Federal University of Agriculture in Nigeria. She argues that the importance of positive parenting cannot be overestimated as it engenders open and frank discussions about the world with children. This, however, is missing - especially when it comes to sex and sexuality. Households therefore need to be supported in order for them to take responsibility for their own health, where they have the ability to do so, and this will require knowledge dissemination.

Leadership and political will from all levels of government is also equally crucial. This is currently lacking despite government signalling their intentions to engage more meaningfully and inclusively with communities and civil society. To what extent they are able to achieve this, or whether gov

ernment really wants to, are questions that were raised. Another key actor, that so far has been neglected, is the private sector. Brad Mears, Director of the South African Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS, stated that businesses in South Africa have largely been uninvolved in HIV and AIDS prevention and treatment programmes. This has occurred because either businesses do not believe that they will be affected (such as through reduced labour productivity) or that there has been no incentives for them to do so. The role of public-private-partnerships in healthcare was put forward as an under utilised opportunity to bring good quality primary health care for South Africans.

What was clear was that Africa needed a new rhetoric on HIV/AIDS. The current discourses fail to sufficiently or adequately address essential issues owing to a lack of understanding of the drivers of the disease and unwillingness to take the necessary steps for reform. HIV and AIDS affect communities in different ways and this heterogeneity needs to be acknowledged. African leaders should not wait for guidance from the North, instead they should take ownership of programmes and use the knowledge they already possess. Furthermore, if research really is to bring positive long-lasting benefits to communities, they themselves need to drive research efforts in order to make their voices heard.



Discussants From left to right: Professor Catherine Campbell, Mr Brad Mears, Dr Warren Parker, Professor Tim Quinlan, Professor Grace Sokoya and Professor Senyo Adjibolooso at the Council Chambers, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.



From left to right: Mr Khaled Ahmed and Dr Kwaame Owusu-Ampomah

Transforming AIDS Policy in South Africa
Dr John Lengwe Kunda
Post Doctoral Fellow, Cultural, Communication and Media Studies, UKZN

HIV/AIDS continues to exert a heavy disease burden on South Africa. For a long time, effective political response to the epidemic has been lacking. But now there is realisation that HIV/AIDS must be taken very seriously. This is a direct instruction from present administration led by Mr Jacob Zuma. But a critical factor in re-establishing credibility within the public sphere will be a strategic repositioning of HIV/AIDS agenda. This can be done through public political restitution. Some questions perhaps need to be asked. What happens to the voices of Thabo Mbeki, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, and the Jacob Zuma trial revelations? Will silence heal the public wounds inflicted on the credibility of the public policy attempts? Should we just let the sleeping dogs lie? Are there lessons that we can learn from the state's approach to establishing Truth and Reconciliation? I, at the end of my article, will propose that in order for HIV to be repositioned in South Africa, a form of a truth and reconciliation public forum needs to occur in order to transpose onto the national agenda a coherent message about the seriousness of the epidemic. An admission of error is not enough but it is the first step.

South Africa is yet to make a breakthrough in stemming the tide of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The country is dealing with a prevalence of almost 5.5 million people living with HIV (Sishana et al. 2009). Today, the country seems to have awoken to the reality of HIV AIDS, as if, from an induced slumber. The President and ministers are now calling for urgent measures to tackle the epidemic because it has reached alarming proportions without showing signs of abating. Scientists and civil society have for long called upon the government to act but their calls fall on deaf policy ears. Why has it taken the government so long to realise the deadly impact of an epidemic that has been festering for slowly but surely for years? This festering found an enabling environment for the growth of the epidemic due to the nostalgic effects of apartheid, political bickering of a new and 'democratic' government, and an overwhelming public denial that saw the erosion of public credibility in response to HIV/AIDS. The failure of public health policy in this regard, and the triumph of rhetoricry (cf Booth 2004) have bequeathed upon a nation the burden of a disease whose effects have been rather devastating. One hopes we have learnt all necessary lessons, when so many people have died, and so many more are still dying.

The *Lancet*, together with some South African scientists, has taken a comprehensive audit of the South African healthcare status and has made recommendations for the way forward. Yet conspicuously missing in these recommendations is a call for the restoration of the credibility of government in health related matter, which somewhat has been eroded due to years of irresponsible lip service. I should like to call for a form of mechanism that fosters restitution in South Africa and repositions HIV/AIDS as a serious threat to the nation's health.

The Lancet series notes the reluctance under former President Mbeki, and the bizarre approach of Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, then Minister of health. Their conclusion with regard to the government response to HIV is that "...the translation of evidence into local policies is hampered by *ineffective leadership*, inexperienced and unaccountable managers, and a weak health system" (Lancet, 2009). On leadership, the perception of the credibility of the leaders is critical in setting public policy agenda. The government is a key stakeholder in setting public agenda. But who is the government? Of course, the people of a given country constitute a government but when it comes to services, the face of the government is in the President and his or her ministers (Brooks, 1999; Jones, 2005). Lack of credibility by these faces goes to erode the needed public confidence in government and consequently democracy itself. Public figures have access to the media, who are also a critical stakeholder in the process of agenda setting. In the case of South Africa, the media helped position the agenda of denial in the public domain.

Apartheid has bequeathed upon South Africa a legacy that led to devastating effects on the epidemic (Fassin & Schneider, 2003; Schneider & Fassin, 2002). This is true of many other social determinants of health in South Africa that continue to fuel the embers of the epidemic. Yet the response of government has been by far inadequate. Former President Thabo Mbeki enmeshed himself in a debate that did not serve the greater good of the South African people. His minister of Health, he late Manto Tshabalala-Msimang led the ministry along paths of denial and bizarre claims that through hampered service delivery (Lancet, 2009). The current President Jacob Zuma found himself in a situation whose response might have caused more public damage to the battle against HIV. Dealing with this past is as crucial as starting up a new campaign strategy. The media was also huddled up in this controversy as they did little to offer an alternative view, though they represented the counter voice of civil society. In the case of Jacob Zuma, the media concentrated more on chastising Jacob Zuma and ridiculing his responses at the expense of offering a credible view of prevention and dangers of HIV.

It is unfortunate that current efforts to undo this past prefer silence as a *modus operandi*. They have sought to take a no-notice attitude. This comes out as a hypocritical stance since HIV/AIDS has had devastating consequences, and failure to take responsibility would suggest an act of defiance against re-establishing a credible order. It is in the name of restitution that South Africa held the TRC. Rwanda, today, still tries people accused of genocide. These efforts are meant to re-establish a form of social order based on forgiveness and 'truth'.

Taking the epidemic seriously means also the re-institution of the *authorite morale*. Health policy advocates cite legitimacy, feasibility and support as critical process in policy implementation (Hall, 1975). Lack of public support for government on a particular issue may result in difficulties in implementation of a potentially efficient policy. Public figures play a significant role in achieving social cohesion within the public domain. Our political leaders did little to offer a credible public record, and have not done anything publicly to apologise or set the record straight.

The appointment of Dr. Aaron Motsoaledi is indeed a great stride in correcting the attitudes of the past in the ministry of health (Lancet, 2009). And the call to marshal up the resources of the country is long overdue. The need for the government to move beyond lip service is now. This is a time to work with civil society, traditional healers, academics and all researchers to come up with a coherent public image of the seriousness of the epidemic in South Africa. The first step in this process is, acknowledging the mistakes of the previous administration and the consequent damage caused to public trust before moving forward.

Taking the epidemic seriously is more than offering more money, more talk in conferences and the media. But it is building social support for a collective effort in fighting this epidemic. There is an erroneous notion that HIV/AIDS became as a result of a conspiracy against South Africa. But some young people have the wrong idea that HIV is a myth which may have emanated from the behaviour of the current president during his trial (Kunda, 2009). Yet no effort is being made to redress this imbalance. Choosing to move on silently goes further as to legitimise a discourse of denial and reticence in the public domain. This is true of the need to redress the wrongs of apartheid in South Africa so that public anger is confronted to avoid free-floating hostilities. Why should the damages of denial and deliberate wrong behaviour with regard to HIV be treated differently? Why should these cases be different when so many people have died? When so many children have been infected?

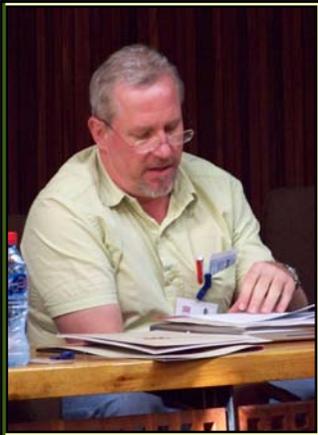
The call to renewal is two-fold: first, a recommitment to the fight against an escalating epidemic is of utmost importance and secondly, public restitution in the form of apology and retraction of public sentiments inimical to HIV prevention would not only offer a reframing of the epidemic but reinforce the current seriousness that is being given to the epidemic.

Government leaders have a moral responsibility to shape the face of the policy response to a health challenge. South Africa, under the leadership of President Thabo Mbeki, together with the then minister of health took an antagonistic approach that was detrimental to prevention, treatment and care. More than the physical loss of life, an ambience of denial was created coupled with suspicion as to the nature of the epidemic as well as the approaches to treatment. Today, under the current government, changes are being fostered. Laudable as this may be, we do need to revisit the past and publicly set the record straight.

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*AIDS, Rhetoric, and the Silence of Lived experience:
Reflections on the South African Epidemic*



(Paper presented at the African Rhetoric Roundtable discussion hosted by HEARD, UKZN. 6 July 2009)

Dr Warren Parker
Public Health Communications Consultant
Warren Parker and Associates

Over two Decades the South African HIV epidemic has grown from a small and fragmented pool of AIDS cases to one of the most severe-country level epidemics in the world. One in six people living with HIV globally, are living in South Africa.

Alongside this rapid trajectory of HIV infections, has been a growth in response accompanied by the investment of billions of rands and the unfolding of countless interventions that are shaped through rhetoric as appropriate, worthy, effective and impactful approaches.

In the context of this unfolding epidemic, what is it that we hold in frame as symbolic of the meaning of this crisis? Is it the Image of the tens of thousands of babies who have died through acquiring HIV in their earliest moments of their lives? Is it the mourning of their parents who themselves, are living with the virus? Is it the children who confront illness and death and who set aside grieving to fend for themselves and their siblings? Is it the lifting into the foreground, the dark secrets of child sexual abuse, or the vulnerability of the blind, deaf and otherwise marginalised who are more vulnerable than most? Is it the quiet darkness of rape? Is it the dim opportunity of survival that may be achieved through the exchange of sex for goods and favours? Is it the naïve pursuit of commodities glorified through globalised reification of what is necessary for life and that can be attained through the same pathways along which HIV travels? Is it the obviousness of the fact that it is overwhelmingly the poor and the marginalised that are most affected by this epidemic?

More than five million South Africans are living with HIV. Where are their voices? We know the truth already. They are markedly, and overwhelmingly silent. And we would be right to ask why?

AIDS and Ideology

The concept of ideology relates to the clustering of ideas in a way that allows particular notions to be generalised throughout society. Dominant ideologies provide coherence to societies, and are structured in such a way that their dominance is not readily contested or overwhelmed.

Ideology can be understood in a neutral way as a systematic and elaborated set of ideas with a relative coherence, or alternately, critically, as ideas that involve subjectivities that include contradictions and distortion. As Lull (2000: 13-14) observes: 'Organised thought is never innocent; it always serves a purpose. Ideologies are implicated by their origins, their institutional associations, and the purposes to which they are put. . . '

While ideology usually relates to economic and structural aspects of society, and the classes and social formations linked to them, I use the concept as a means to understand the dominance of ideas in society in the context of the AIDS epidemic. This application of ideology relates to how organisations and interventions have structured and perpetuated particular ideas in order to achieve dominance, which in turn has benefits in terms of securing funding and other aspects of longer-term organisational survival. At the same time, these voices crowd out, at every turn, the experience of AIDS as it is lived by many in our society.

Social response to the AIDS epidemic includes mechanisms for simplifying and making coherent complex and rapidly changing material and social phenomena through discourses about the disease. Through processes of organising and articulating ideas about AIDS, particular interpretations are constructed. These constructions function ideologically in ways that give rise to dominance.

When we take stock of the fact that in South Africa, we are living in one of the most severe epidemics in the world, what is it that we see and from what do we create meaning? What we see probably has very little to do with the lived experience of the epidemic, because we are alienated from it. The points from which we leverage meaning are at best, symbols of the commodification of AIDS by dominant groups and organisations, or dominant ideas about how AIDS 'should' be understood'.

The starting point often, and I have used it here, are the statistics that provide some sense of scale of the epidemic. But these statistics are, at the same time, just numbers divorced from reality in such a way that it is impossible to imagine the singular units from which that are derived. Beyond this, is the commodification of AIDS through branding. The underlying organisation and the people in it are valorised as 'doing good' and together, worthy vessels for the flow of money and recognition, as if every intervention, every moment of response, should be symbolised by a name and an icon that should be remembered by all. In this construct of dominant imagination, the struggle against AIDS is being led in a rational, systematic and sustained way, and that every step is a step forward in progress. In this world, how could it not be so?

Yet why is it that we are so starkly failing to make progress? And why is it so seldom that we point to the naked emperor?

We might ask how particular ideas about AIDS have become dominant. On one level, they have developed with a view to making sense of the emerging epidemic. For example, through the use of research and other knowledge-related discourses, in the process of their simplification and reiteration, there are ideas that have come to constitute a common-sense framework of the epidemic. These have been further legitimated by statements emanating from elite individuals and organisations that frame the understanding of the disease, articulate contemporary knowledge, and direct policy and forward movement. This process of articulation is led by a wide range of international institutions including research bodies, United Nations governments and the like, as well as government, and other organisations, and it is through this process that a dominant world view (in the global sense), and the resultant common-sense, have been constituted around the epidemic. Because such knowledge emanates from seats of power, it is viewed as rational and trustworthy.

There are contradictions:

- There are continuing global calls for massive investment in centralised and top-down interventions for HIV/AIDS. Yet, the earliest examples of successful HIV/AIDS intervention have been grassroots oriented, low-cost bottom-up locally organised activities, for example, the mobilisation of gay men in the US in the 1980s and amongst Ugandan communities in the late 1980s and early 1990s. (See Shilts 2000; Low Beer & Stoneburner, 2004a, 2004b)
- Much has been made of the need to focus on Antiretroviral Therapy (ART) for HIV. ARV programming is a long-term initiative, and whether or not ART programmes are in place tens of thousands of people are dying of AIDS. The provision of palliative care is a long established intervention for providing care and pain relief in chronic illness and end of life care, yet there is no concentrated global mobilisation around this humanitarian need (See Selwyn 2005).
- Large mining and industrial corporates are feted and championed as a product of their uptake and the implementation of ART programmes in the workplace, yet analyses and critiques of their role in a range of processes functional to HIV – notably labour migration and informal housing are muted (See Lurie 2003).
- Youth have been positioned as a driving force of the HIV epidemic as a product of sex between young people (see UNAIDS 2004), yet the role of adult to youth transmission and other factors that disempower young people and make them vulnerable to sexual exploitation are seldom articulated (See Gupta 2002).
- For more than a decade massive investment in research into microbicides as a means for HIV prevention among women have been positioned as a necessary pursuit to allow women to control 'prevention', yet what kind of control is it if the assumption is that they should remain in oppressive sexual relationships that perpetuate their vulnerability? (See Parker and Colvin 2005)

Such contradictions are often hidden, and even when articulated, their power is diminished through more powerful and dominant discourses. Why is critique so muted? Why has social theory not been integrated into our approach to understanding HIV/AIDS? Why have description and assertion of what we need to do which have always been led by the powerful, dominated over any attempts at critical analysis? Or indeed, why are those who experience AIDS directly so seldom heard?

All AIDS interventions require resources for their activities to be sustained, and larger national and international level programmes are often resource intensive. Similarly, at most levels of intervention, a competition exists between programmes and groups to secure acceptance of their activities, and in some cases there is a strong emphasis on expansion and dominance within the broad response to the epidemic. The direction towards dominance whether formal or informal, overt or covert, involves ideological dimensions – specifically it involves the public sphere of the ideas that constitute a given programme or intervention through discourses that are oriented towards dominance. Ideology thus intersects with discourse processes.

HIV/AIDS work carries with it a sense of social purpose that is interconnected with moral purpose, of contributing positively to society, and as a result AIDS programmes, related foundations and donors are assumed to be functioning primarily with social good in mind. This makes AIDS programmes and ideas around AIDS less susceptible to critique.

In addition, what sets some approaches apart is an intensive concerted direction towards securing competitive advantage through employing a range of strategies that are intrinsically ideological. These processes are situated both within and beyond discourse, extending to a complex arrangement of alliances, partnerships and structural relations that intersect with access to communicative power.

Low cost community-based approaches to addressing HIV/AIDS have been marginalised in favour of high cost centralised top-down interventions because the former lack communicative power. In the sense, it is those who are most affected by the epidemic who are singularly lacking in communicative power.

The contemporary environment of HIV/AIDS is one of consolidating dominance of particular strategies, policies and interventions, and the concretisation of these through investment. The HIV/AIDS discourse environment fosters largely uncritical perspectives of dominant ideas in spite of contradictions.

In the context of our lived experience in a contemporary epidemic, we need to reassert the role of critical analysis, of theoretical perspectives informing action and of critical debate, and a re-shaping of understanding that draws directly from the spaces and places where AIDS occurs. In short, we need a new rhetoric for HIV/AIDS.

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A UNIQUE PARTNERSHIP
BIOMEDICINE AND TRADITIONAL MEDICINE ON HIV & AIDS



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The HIV/AIDS epidemic has affected negatively the stability and integrity of families and communities across the globe. The disease has in many places exacerbated the impact of poverty on households, and placed undue and early burden of household management on children and young adults. Numerous children have been orphaned and in some cases, formerly flourishing settlements have completely been destroyed.

Africa has been worst hit by the AIDS epidemic. There is of course higher concentration of these states in Southern and Eastern parts of Africa and some parts of West Africa. In Southern Africa, culture has been seen as catalyst to the wild spread of the disease which has led to some countries been labelled as 'red' or AIDS states. While we sometime view culture as the harbinger of bad or evil things, with the right resources and strategy, culture can be used to arrest whatever pollution that has been injected into it.

The recognition of the impact of AIDS on and decimation of African communities has led to interventions from various quarters: government, NGOs, Institutional intervention and research oriented programmes. At the University of KwaZulu-Natal, there is an emerging project that seeks to harness the potency of the intricate balance between traditional medicine and biomedicine. This project not only relies on the involvement of bio-medical fraternity, but also the traditional healers, *sangomas*, who are considered to be custodians of culture.



A Sangoma at the HIV Prevention

The recognition of the impact of AIDS on and decimation of African communities has led to interventions from various quarters: government, NGOs, Institutional intervention and research oriented programmes. At the University of KwaZulu-Natal, there is an emerging project that seeks to harness the potency of the intricate balance between traditional medicine and biomedicine. This project not only relies on the involvement of bio-medical fraternity, but also the traditional healers, *sangomas*, who are considered to be custodians of culture.

At the core of successful implementation of any strategy, communication and advocacy become crucial. These indeed require careful strategic planning and tooling that ensure maximum coverage and high impact. Critical engagement is required in creating awareness on prevention, treatment, care and support services and in minimising the impact of HIV and AIDS. There is also a need for communication between the communities, programme planners, implementers and a culture of building on the community knowledge and their inherent ways of managing epidemics, and in this case, HIV and AIDS. Information need not only be disseminated, but also discussed, debated and geared toward behavioural change.

The aim of the project is to create an enabling environment where Biomedical and Indigenous Practitioners can critically engage with each other as a team in mitigating the impact of HIV and AIDS through promotion of the preventative ABC creed (A) abstinence (B) Be Faithful (C) Condomize.

The objective of the project is summed up in the integration of traditional healing and western medicine in managing the AIDS epidemic. Moreover, the social, economic and cultural context of AIDS, and the sexual moral values of the local communities will be critically engaged with in an attempt to foster a system whereby traditional healers directly influence policy and programmes on HIV/AIDS. This approach does not subvert the already mainstreamed VCT and established antiretroviral therapies.

Multimedia and Traditional AIDS Prevention Campaigns

The project has developed multi-media tools aimed at communicating prevention messages to increase its reach. These include an integrated series of programming which can be configured for delivery across several media such as MMS.

Messaging is designed to capture the interest of users and is shared virally. Messages can be uploaded or sent on to 3 (industry average 3-5%) or more users over time. Recipients are normally encouraged further to post the messages. It is reasonable to assume a potential audience of 100,000 plus users over the course of the campaign. Since delivery is subscription based, it is possible to determine from the database the number of original users.

1. The distribution network of MMS includes:
2. UKZN Mobile Server & Home Page
3. UKZN College Home Page
4. Celebrity (DJ's) Databases
5. Confederations Cup Public Viewings
6. THP Associations
7. Healers who have completed the training programme
8. Stream video messaging to department's website

Messages are distributed via Bluetooth facility and they can also be viewed at public places, for example, restaurants, hospitals, taxi ranks, stadia, etc. In the future, these messages will be sent to healers for onward distribution to patients.

Plans are on the way to collaborate with two major radio stations. Agreements have been reached for the message to be integrated to talk show programming on UKHOZI FM, 'Siphilisa Ithemba' and Gagaza FM, 'Youth Show'. The collaboration is intended to broaden the coverage of the project.

TV PSA (Public Service Announcement)

The project has formed partnership with KZN Provincial 2010 World Cup, and the committee has agreed to air all our multi-media prevention messages in all public viewing during the world cup. They have also committed to produce with us the TV ad/PSA which will be aired in all SABC channels

Ambassadors

The project has patrons/ambassadors to help with the campaign: Ihhashi Elimhlophe, Busi Mhlongo, Macbeth Subway, Zulu Boy, Robert Marawa, and Bolus Nzimande.

Launch of the Multi-Media Messaging Campaign (MMS): The launch took place during the month of June 2009, hosted by the University of KZN (Nelson R Mandela). Core focus will be to drive exposure about the community Outreach/Public Campaign on radio newspapers. There was a Presentation for 2 Hours at Impala Boardroom within the University of KwaZulu Natal, Durban.

HIV and AIDS Prevention Awareness Campaigns in 3 Districts

On the 25th of July the first Public awareness campaign was undertaken in the uMgungundlovu District and was attended by 9786 people. In attendance were representatives of relevant municipalities, who work in collaboration with the germane government departments such as health and Social Development, and all the community structures including local and traditional leadership. The campaign has also facilitated treatment of other illnesses other than HIV/AIDS.

The following are the figures generated from the various activities undertaken:

Screening Statistics:

The screen facilities were available and the following number of people accessed the services:

Number of people screened for Blood Pressure	109
Number of people screened for Blood Sugar Level:	89
Reading Glasses Issued:	85
Referral to the Hospital:	21
Number of clients screened for eyes:	200

VCT

Clients counselled:	44
Clients tested negative:	38
Clients tested positive:	6

The next series of public campaign will take place in iLembe District 2010, preparations are currently underway and all relevant stakeholders have been recruited. The third and final campaign will be taking place in Ethekewini District. Provisional date is February 2010.

This Project is mainly funded by PEPFAR.

Africa's Future Up to Africans

Mr Barak Obama, President of the United States of America



Introduction

Presidential leadership under democracy lends itself to constant performance of rhetoric. Democracy by nature is rhetorically driven, through incessant persuasions and deliberations. While the rhetorical president articulates his vision, plans and defence of his action through the use of rhetoric, the civil society on the other hand uses the same mechanism to seek social justice and equity. This logo-centric ('word based') form of democratic interaction is

what differentiates democracy from other forms of government which encourages the use and abuse of violence.

Since attaining one of the most powerful offices in the world today, Barak Obama has undoubtedly proved that rhetorical leadership is possible, and potentially offers meaningful solution to problems that democracy faces, especially in Africa where in most cases, it is still at an experimental stage.

Obama's second speech presentation on the African continent, to the joint sitting of the Ghanaian Parliament on 11 July 2009, deals with some of the key issues to which African leaders need to pay serious attention, namely, democracy (18-26), opportunities particularly for young Africans (27-34), health (35-40) and peace and conflict on the continent (40-48). The speech is valuable particularly for the Africa project because of its resonance with the rhetoric of responsibility (17). Obama's rhetoric in Ghana is a practical demonstration of the sociological function of rhetoric: rhetoric of responsibility is about impacting lives and restoring people's dignity (17, 34). Robert Paine (1981) has argued that rhetoric can achieve its sociological function only if the audience is assured that the orator is genuinely addressing its interest. Obama's balancing act in this speech can be seen in his appeal to politics of friendship based on mutual interest and commitment (1, 4, 5, 27, 32, 46, 53). Theory perhaps is one thing, practice another.

Obama's speech in Ghana rests on his strong *ethos*: his identification with the African continent (8) and positioning as the president of the United States of America, ('in my country', 50). This

ethical appeal, in a rhetorical sense, lends a symbolic meaning not only of ownership to Africa's problem but also a keen interest in seeing the problems solved. One cannot be remiss, however, to suggest that Obama would undertake any or all of Africa's problems, as he articulates in two strategic sections of the speech: 'Africa's future belongs to Africans' (4, 48). It would seem that African leaders will have to create a platform for further engagement with the United States of America in ways that foster mutual respect and progress for both the continent and United States of America. Perhaps the seriousness of this speech to both the government of the United States of America and leaders of African countries can be captured in his own maxim, in the speech delivered in Prague on 12 April 2009, 'words must mean something.'

Below is the transcript of the actual speech delivered by President Barak Obama to the joint session of the Ghanaian Parliament: July 11, 2009.

1. Good afternoon everybody! It is a great honor for me to be in Accra, and to speak to the representatives of the people of Ghana. I am deeply grateful for the welcome that I've received, as are Michelle, Malia, and Sasha Obama. Ghana's history is rich, the ties between our two countries are strong and I am proud that this is my first visit to sub-Saharan Africa as President of the United States of America.
2. I want to thank Madam Speaker and all the members of the House of Representatives for hosting us today. I want to thank President Mills for his outstanding leadership. The former President, Jerry Rawlings, former President Kufor, Vice President, Justices; thanks to all of you for your extraordinary hospitality and the wonderful institutions that you've built here in Ghana.
3. I am speaking to you at the end of a long trip. I began in Russia, for a Summit between two great powers. I traveled to Italy, for a meeting of the world's leading economies. And I have come here, to Ghana, for a simple reason: the 21st century will be shaped by what happens not just in Rome or Moscow or Washington, but by what happens in Accra as well. [applause]
4. This is the simple truth of a time when the boundaries between people are overwhelmed by our connections. Your prosperity can expand America's prosperity. Your health and security can contribute to the world's health and security. And the strength of your democracy can help advance human rights for people everywhere.
5. So I do not see the countries and peoples of Africa as a world apart. I see Africa as a fundamental part of our interconnected world — as partners with America on behalf of the future that we want for all our children. That partnership must be grounded in mutual responsibility and mutual respect. And that is what I want to speak with you about today.
6. We must start from the simple premise that Africa's future is up to Africans.
7. I say this knowing full well the tragic past that has sometimes haunted this part of the world. After all, I have the blood of Africa within me, [applause] and my family's own story encompasses both the tragedies and triumphs of the larger African story.

8. Some of you know my grandfather was a cook for the British in Kenya, and though he was a respected elder in his village, his employers called him "boy" for much of his life. He was on the periphery of Kenya's liberation struggles, but he was still imprisoned briefly during repressive times. In his life, colonialism wasn't simply the creation of unnatural borders or unfair terms of trade - it was something experienced personally, day after day, year after year.

9. My father grew up herding goats in a tiny village, an impossible distance away from the American universities where he would come to get an education. He came of age at a moment extraordinary of promise for Africa. The struggles of his own father's generation were giving birth to new nations, beginning right here in Ghana. Africans were educating and asserting themselves in new ways and history was on the move.

10. But despite the progress that has been made — and there has been considerable progress in many parts of Africa - we also know that much of that promise has yet to be fulfilled. Countries like Kenya, had a per capita economy larger than South Korea's when I was born, they have badly been outpaced. Disease and conflict have ravaged parts of the African continent. In many places, the hope of my father's generation gave way to cynicism, even despair.

11. It is easy to point fingers, and to pin the blame for these problems on others. Yes, a colonial map that made little sense helped to breed conflict, and the West has often approached Africa as a patron, or source of resources rather than a partner. But the West is not responsible for the destruction of the Zimbabwean economy over the last decade or wars in which children are enlisted as combatants. In my father's life, it was partly tribalism and pa-

tronage and nepotism in an independent Kenya that for a long stretch derailed his career, and we know that this kind of corruption is still a daily fact of life for far too many.

12. Now we know that's also not the whole story. Here in Ghana, you show us a face of Africa that is too often overlooked by a world that sees only tragedy or the need for charity. The people of Ghana have worked hard to put democracy on a firmer footing, with repeated peaceful transfers of power even in the wake of closely contested elections. [applause] And for that I say that the minority deserves as much credit as the majority [applause] And, with improved governance and an emerging civil society, Ghana's economy has shown impressive rates of growth.

13. This progress may lack the drama of the 20th century's liberation struggles, but make no mistake: it will ultimately be more significant. For just as it is important to emerge from the control of another nation, it is even more important to build one's own.

14. So I believe that this moment is just as promising for Ghana - and for Africa — as the moment when my father came of age and new nations were being born. This is a new moment of great promise. Only this time, we have learned that it will not be giants like Nkrumah and Kenyatta who will determine Africa's future. Instead, it will be you - the men and women in Ghana's Parliament, and the people you represent. It will be the young people - brimming with talent and energy and hope - who can claim the future that so many in my father's generation never realised.

15. To realize that promise, we must first recognize a fundamental truth that you have given life to in Ghana: development depends upon good governance. [hail] That is the ingredient which has been missing in far too many places, for far too long. That is the change that can unlock Africa's potential. And that is a responsibility that can only be met by Africans.

16. As for America and the West, our commitment must be measured by more than just the dollars we spend. I have pledged substantial increases in our foreign assistance, which is in Africa's interest and America's interest. But the true sign of success is not whether we are a source of perpetual aid that helps people scrape by - it is whether we are partners in building the capacity for transformational change. [applause]

17. This mutual responsibility must be the foundation of our partnership. And today, I will focus on four areas that are critical to the future of Africa and the entire developing world: democracy, opportunity, health, and the peaceful resolution of conflict.

18. First, we must support strong and sustainable democratic governments.

19. As I said in Cairo, each nation gives life to democracy in its own way, and in line with its own traditions. But history offers a clear verdict: governments that respect the will of their own people that govern by consensus, and not coercion; they are more prosperous, they are more stable, and more successful than governments that do not.

20. This is about more than holding elections — it's also about what happens between elections. Repression can take many forms, and too many nations, even though they've gone to elections, are plagued by problems that condemn their people to poverty. No country is going to create wealth if its leaders exploit the economy to enrich themselves, or if police can be bought off by drug traffickers. No business wants to invest in a place where the government skims 20 percent off the top, or the head of the Port Authority is corrupt. No person wants to live in a society where the rule of law gives way to the rule of brutality and bribery. That is not democracy. That is tyranny. And, now is the time for that style of governance to end, even if occasionally you sprinkle election in there.

21. In the 21st century, capable, reliable and transparent institutions are the key to success—strong parliaments and honest police forces; independent judges and independent press; a vibrant private sector and civil society. Those are the things that give life to democracy, because that is what matters in peoples' everyday lives.

22. Time and again, Ghanaians have chosen Constitutional rule over autocracy, and shown a democratic spirit that allows the energy of your people to break through. We see that in leaders who accept defeat graciously,(the fact that President Mills was standing beside him [opposition leader] last night to greet me when I came off the plane spoke volumes about Ghana) and victors who resist calls to wield power against the opposition in unfair ways. We see that spirit in courageous journalists like Anas Aremeyaw Anas, who risked his life to report the truth. We see it in police like Patience Quaye, who helped prosecute the first human trafficker in Ghana. We see it in the young people who are speaking up against patronage, and participating in the political process.

23. Across Africa, we have seen countless examples of people taking control of their destiny, and making change from the bottom up. We saw in Kenya, where civil society and business came together to stop post election violence. We saw it in South Africa, where over three quarters of the country voted in the recent election— the fourth

since the end of Apartheid. We saw it in Zimbabwe, where the Election Support Network braved brutal repression to stand up for the principle that a person's vote is their sacred right.

24. Make no mistake: history is on the side of these brave Africans, and not with those who use coups or change Constitutions to stay in power. [hail] Africa doesn't need strongmen, it needs strong institutions.

25. Now, America will not seek to impose any system of government on any other nation — the essential truth of democracy is that each nation determines its own destiny. What America will do is increase assistance for responsible individuals and responsible institutions, with a focus on supporting good governance — on parliaments, which check abuses of power and ensure that opposition voices are heard; on the rule of law, which ensures the equal administration of justice; on civic participation, so that young people get involved; and on concrete solutions to corruption like forensic accounting, automating services, strengthening hotlines, and protecting whistleblowers to advance transparency and accountability.

26. As we provide this support, I have directed my Administration to give greater attention to corruption in our Human Rights reports. People everywhere should have the right to start a business or get an education without paying a bribe. We have a responsibility to support those who act responsibly and to isolate those who don't, and that is exactly what America will do.

27. Now, this leads directly to our second area of partnership — supporting development that provides opportunity for more people.

28. With better governance, I have no doubt that Africa holds the promise of a broader base for prosperity. We have witnessed the extraordinary

successes of Africans in my country. They are doing very well. They've got the entrepreneurial spirit. The question is how do we make sure that they are succeeding here in their own country.

The continent is rich in natural resources. And from cell phone entrepreneurs to small farmers, Africans have shown the capacity and commitment to create their own opportunities. But old habits must also be broken. Dependence on commodities — or on a single export — has the tendency to concentrate wealth in the hands of the few, and leaves people too vulnerable to downturns.

29. So, in Ghana, for instance, oil brings great opportunities, and you have been responsible in preparing for new revenue. But as so many Ghanaians know, oil cannot simply become the new cocoa. From South Korea to Singapore, history shows that countries thrive when they invest in people and their infrastructure; when they promote multiple export industries, develop a skilled workforce, and create space for small and medium-sized businesses that create jobs.

30. As Africans reach for this promise, America will be more responsible in extending our hand. By cutting costs that go to Western consultants and administration, we want to put more resources in the hands of those who need it, while training people to do more for themselves. That is why our \$3.5 billion food security initiative is focused on new methods and technologies for farmers - not simply sending American producers or goods to Africa. Aid is not an end in itself. The purpose of foreign assistance must be creating the conditions where it is no longer needed. I want to see Ghanaians not only self sufficient in food. I want to see you export food to other countries. You can do that.

31. America can also do more to promote trade and investment. Wealthy nations must open our doors to goods and services from Africa in a meaningful way. That will be a commitment of my administration. And where there is good governance, we can broaden prosperity through public-private partnerships that invest in better roads and electricity; capacity-building that trains people to grow a business; and financial services that reach not just cities but poor and rural areas. This is also in our own interest - for if people are lifted out of poverty and wealth is created in Africa; guess what, new markets will open for our own goods. So, it's good for us both.

32. One area that holds out both undeniable peril and extraordinary promise is energy. Africa gives off less greenhouse gas than any other part of the world, but it is the most threatened by climate change. A warming planet will spread disease, shrink water resources, and deplete crops, creating conditions that produce more famine and conflict. All of us - particularly the developed world - have a responsibility to slow these trends - through mitigation, and by changing the way that we use energy. But we can also work with Africans to turn this crisis into opportunity.

33. Together, we can partner on behalf of our planet and prosperity, and help countries increase access to power while skipping, leapfrogging the dirtier phase of development. Think about it. Across Africa, there is bountiful wind and solar power; geothermal energy and bio-fuels. From the Rift Valley to the North African deserts; from the Western coast to South Africa's crops -Africa's boundless natural gifts can generate its own power, while exporting profitable, clean energy abroad.

34. These steps are about more than growth numbers on a balance sheet. They're about whether a young person with an education can get a job that supports a family; a farmer can transfer their goods to the market; or an entrepreneur with a good idea can start a business. It's about the dignity of work. It's about the opportunity that must exist for Africans in the 21st century.

35. Just as governance is vital to opportunity, it is also critical to the third area that I will talk about - strengthening public health.

36. In recent years, enormous progress has been made in parts of Africa. Far more people are living productively with HIV/AIDS, and getting the drugs they need. I just saw a wonderful clinic, a hospital that is focused particularly on maternal health. But too many still die from diseases that shouldn't kill them. When children are being killed because of a mosquito bite, and mothers are dying in childbirth, then we know that more progress must be made.

37. Yet because of incentives - often provided by donor nations — many African doctors and nurses go overseas, or work for programs that focus on a single disease. And, this creates gaps in primary care and basic prevention. Meanwhile, individual Africans also have to make responsible choices that prevent the spread of disease, while promoting public health in their communities and countries.

38. So, across Africa, we see examples of people tackling these problems. In Nigeria, an Interfaith effort of Christians and Muslims has set an example of cooperation to confront malaria. Here in Ghana and across Africa, we see innovative ideas for filling gaps in care - for instance, through e-Health initiatives that allow doctors in big cities to support those in small towns.

39. America will support these efforts through a comprehensive, global health strategy. Because in the 21st century, we are called to act by our conscience and our common interest. When a child

dies of a preventable illness in Accra, that diminishes us everywhere. And when disease goes unchecked in any corner of the world, we know that it can spread across oceans and continents. 40. That is why my Administration has committed \$63 billion to meet these challenges. \$63 billion. Building on the strong efforts of President Bush, we will carry forward the fight against HIV/AIDS. We will pursue the goal of ending deaths from malaria and tuberculosis, and we will work to eradicate polio. We will fight neglected tropical disease. And we won't confront illnesses in isolation — we will invest in public health systems that promote wellness, and focus on the health of mothers and children.

41. Now, as we partner on behalf of a healthier future, we must also stop the destruction that comes not from illness, but from human beings — and so the final area that I will address is conflict.

42. Let me be clear. Africa is not the crude caricature of a continent at perpetual war. But, if we are honest, for far too many Africans, conflict is a part of life, as constant as the sun. There are wars over land and wars over resources. And it is still far too easy for those without conscience to manipulate whole communities into fighting among faiths and tribes.

43. These conflicts are a millstone around Africa's neck. We all have many identities - of tribe and ethnicity; of religion and nationality. But defining oneself in opposition to someone who belongs to a different tribe, or who worships a different prophet, has no place in the 21st century. [applause] Africa's diversity should be a source of strength, not a cause for division. We are all God's children. We all share common aspirations - to live in peace and security; to access education and opportunity; to love our families, our communities, and our faith. That is our common humanity.

44. That is why we must stand up to inhumanity in our midst. It is never justifiable, never justifiable to target innocents in the name of ideology. It is the death sentence of a society to force children to kill in wars. It is the ultimate mark of criminality and cowardice to condemn women to relentless and systemic rape. We must bear witness to the value of every child in Darfur and the dignity of every woman in the Congo. No faith or culture should condone the outrages against them. All of us must strive for the peace and security necessary for progress.

45. Africans are standing up for this future. Here, too, in Ghana, we are seeing you help point the way forward. Ghanaians should take pride in your contributions to peacekeeping from Congo to Liberia to Lebanon, and in your efforts to resist the scourge of the drug trade. We welcome the steps that are being taken by organizations like the African Union and ECOWAS to better resolve conflicts, keep the peace, and support those in need. And we encourage the vision of a strong, regional security architecture that can bring effective, transnational force to bear when needed.

46. America has a responsibility to work with you as a partner to advance this vision, not just with words, but with support that strengthens African capacity. When there is genocide in Darfur or terrorists in Somalia, these are not simply African problems — they are global security challenges, and they demand a global response. That is why we stand ready to partner through diplomacy, technical assistance, and logistical support, and we will stand behind efforts to hold war criminals accountable. And let me be clear: our Africa Command is focused not on establishing a foothold in the continent, but on confronting these common challenges to advance the security of America, Africa and the world.

47. In Moscow, I spoke of the need for an international system where the universal rights of human beings are respected, and violations of those rights are opposed. That must include a commitment to support those who resolve conflicts peacefully, to sanction and stop those who don't, and to help those who have suffered. But ultimately, it will be vibrant democracies like Botswana and Ghana which roll back the causes of conflict, and advance the frontiers of peace and prosperity.

48. As I said earlier, Africa's future is up to Africans.

49. The people of Africa are ready to claim that future. In my country, African-Americans — including so many recent immigrants — have thrived in every sector of society. We have done so despite a difficult past, and we have drawn strength from our African heritage. With strong institutions and a strong will, I know that Africans can live their dreams in Nairobi and Lagos; Kigali and Kinshasa; in Harare and right here in Accra.

50. You know, fifty-two years ago, the eyes of the world were on Ghana. And a young preacher named Martin Luther King traveled here, to Accra, to watch the Union Jack come down and the Ghanaian flag go up. This was before the march on Washington or the success of the civil rights movement in my country. Dr. King was asked how he felt while watching the birth of a nation. And he said: "It renews my conviction in the ultimate triumph of justice."

51. Now, that triumph must be won once more, and it must be won by you. [applause] And I am particularly speaking to the young people all across Africa and right here in Ghana. In places like Ghana, you make up over half of the popula-

tion. Here is what you must know: the world will be what you make of it.

52 You have the power to hold your leaders accountable, and to build institutions that serve the people. You can serve in your communities, and harness your energy and education to create new wealth and build new connections to the world. You can conquer disease, end conflicts, and make change from the bottom up. You can do that. Yes you can! Because in this moment, history is on the move.

53. But these things can only be done if all of you take responsibility for your future. It won't be easy. It will take time and effort. There will be suffering and setbacks. But I can promise you this: America will be with you every step of the way [applause]: as a partner, as a friend. Opportunity won't come from any other place, though —it must come from the decisions that all of you make, the things that you do, and the hope that you hold in your hearts.

54. Ghana, Freedom is your inheritance. Now, it is your responsibility to build upon freedom's foundation. And if you do, we will look back years from now to places like Accra and say that this was the time when the promise was realized - this was the moment when prosperity was forged; when pain was overcome; and a new era of progress began. This can be the time when we witness the triumph of justice once more. Yes you can. God Bless you. Thank you.

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News and Awards

Professor Philippe-J Salazar, recipient of the prestigious Harry Oppenheimer Award 2009

(Photograph: Sarah Rippart; Background: Venus and the mouth of Truth)

Philippe-Joseph Salazar is a Distinguished Professor of Rhetoric and a Life Fellow of the University of Cape Town and holds an A-rating from the National Research Foundation. He is director and founder of the Centre for Rhetoric Studies.

Prof Salazar was awarded the Harry Oppenheimer award based on his excellence in scholarship. Salazar is one of the foremost professors of Rhetoric on the continent and has been an inspiration to a number of scholars and researchers in rhetoric, philosophy and general humanities and social science programs. He is founder of the African Association for Rhetoric and Communication in Southern Africa (ARCSA) and Director of Centre for Rhetoric Studies at the University of Cape Town, (UCT). Salazar is a consummate orator and has given keynote speeches at several conferences including AAR's first conference on the theme: *Rhetoric, Protests and the Economy*, July 3 2007.

His publications include: *African Athens* (2002), *Amnistier l'Apartheid* (2004) and *Mahomet* (2005). He is currently at work on a rhetorical ethnography of France and on Islamic rhetoric (Baylor University Press). In 2007, he co-authored (with Erik Doxtader, South Carolina), *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: The Fundamental Documents* (David Philip).

Balagha 2010 Issues

ISSN 2074-1448

We hope to publish *Balagha* four times in 2010, and we seek your support. Some people have been contacted to submit articles on relevant topics. Prospective contributors are encouraged to submit articles, commentaries and review of books on the following topics: the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr, NOISE, Islamic Rhetoric and Rhetoric and the Environment. These forthcoming issues of *Balagha* will be complemented by printed versions for wider distribution. Special Editions of *Balagha* may also be published depending on the volume of submissions.

Funding and/or Advertising

For the purposes of continuity, *Balagha* will require reliable funding to continue. We appeal to individuals and organizations who know or have useful ideas may contact *The Editor, Balagha, A5 Schoon-gezicht*, 264 Main Road, Kenilworth, 7708, Cape Town, or ige.segun@gmail.com

In future, we will also make spaces available for advertising.

AAR 2009 Photo Gallery



Clockwise from Top: Ms Fronckan and Prof Phil Shawlkyk, Prof Tim Quinlan, Prof Senyo Adjibolosoo, Prof Leana Uys, Prof Will Akande, Prof Piet Swanepoel, Some delegates with the Durban Mayor, Dr Jairos Kangira

Photos Cont'd



Clockwise from Top: Prof Carel Jansen, Dr Segun Ige, Prof Maes Fons, Mrs Juliet Pasi Sylvia, Dr Adonis Touko, Dr Jill Hancock, Dr Kaymarlin Govender, Mr Philemon Sinwaba, Some Delegates having Dinner

'The Debaters' and the New Rhetoric of Advertising

Yemi Ige, Communications Consultant,
Director, MediaLedge, Lagos, Nigeria

The advertising industry is perhaps the most creative segment in the communications world. Aside the lurid graphics and sophisticated artworks, new ideas are constantly being generated to maintain the *status quo*, even if they have to resort to unconventional but effective means. In search of higher visibility, corporate organizations and brands have devised new means of communicating with their consumers. Traditional advertising has not been able to deliver adequate returns on Investment (R. O. I). Reality TV shows have become an option. Immediately after the success of Big Brother Africa in South Africa, stakeholders in the media and communications industry realized that reality T. V. show is another medium through which talents can be exhibited, ideas displayed, cultures interplay and brands attain visibility. Some that has been successfully held in Nigeria are Big Brother Nigeria, The Entrepreneur, The Apprentice Africa, Malta Box office and other similar shows.

The Concept

The debaters is like any other reality T. V. show where participants are housed in a venue for several weeks (2-3 months). Qualified candidates are required to signify interest by applying to the project website over a period of time. Usually the applications are numerous since it's a widely advertised program, a fair number of them, about 100 are selected and they are subjected to one on one auditioning which ultimately trims them to 12. Candidates are expected to identify a topic that has some policy relevance, such as HIV/AIDS, Corruption, foreign policy, child abuse, employment have taken centre stage.

The Team

A panel of judges is constituted to conduct the auditioning process. The panel of judges which is peopled by experts in rhetoric and other communication sciences auditions a candidate for about 3 minutes where he discusses a selected topic. The adjudicators also double as coaches for the candidates. They recommend the more acceptable manner of presentation both in content and conduct. Significant improvement is expected thereafter.

The Facilities

For the smooth running of the project, certain facilities are provided. An important part of the project is the provision of an adequate library. This will help participants in their research towards every presentation. The library is also to be internet ready as this will allow the candidates up to date information. The facility is usually borrowed from an established institutional library or research center. The key thing is the ability to record their activities while there.

The presentation

Candidates are to appear formal in their presentation. It could either be English or Native. Being formal gives the show a level of credibility. It also imposes public etiquette on the participants. Some of the cues judges and coaches look out for the presentations are: enunciation, use of space, eye contact, voice projection, knowledge of subject matter, confidence, dressing, attitude and other elements of effective speech communication.

The Ultimate Plan

The Ultimate agenda of the concept is to come out with a project out of the winning topic. Whosoever wins, will have his topic developed into a project which will be financed by the sponsor till next year when another edition holds.

Eviction strategies

Candidates are evicted from the show on the basis of the grading of the judges and the number of responses of viewers through their text messages. It follows that if a Telecoms company invests in it, the show will automatically drive the sales of its services during the show, based on the traffic of the text messages.

Commercial Opportunities

Multinationals and Brands can take advantage of the show which is usually popular to promote their goods and services. In some cases, a single company can decide to sponsor the entire show. In the case of 'The Debaters' Guaranty Trust Bank had wanted to be the sole sponsors of this program, but due to the global economic recession, the budget contracted. Sponsorship areas will include production cost of all the audio/visual team and facilities, provision of location, allowances of all project persons. Newspaper adverts and website, sponsorship of airtime in various T. V. Channels. Final prize inner and consolation prizes for the participants. Also included in the budget is the financing of the project that emanates from of the winning topic.

Return on Investment

In making sure that the whole investment is not a rip off on the company, sponsors also enjoy physical branding of the location. Guests of such companies are brought to the show to project the goods and services of the organization. It also allows such corporate entity to apply all its efforts in corporate social responsibility.

Star Host

Famed stars in music, entertainment and leadership are brought on the show to boost their morale and share with housemates lifetime experiences.

The debaters is aired on DSTV Africa Magic and on the Nigerian National network, NTA.



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Call for Papers *African Presidential Rhetoric*

The *African Journal of Rhetoric* (AJR) seeks papers on different aspects of African Presidential Rhetoric. There is need for us to discuss African Presidential rhetoric in all its forms, particularly under democratic civilian regimes. What are the roles that speechwriters play in ideological construction of a state? What is the general character of executive politics in Africa? How is the notion of the rhetoric of crisis linked to executive politics in Africa? Who are the iconic orators among African leaders and what can the concept of rhetorical leadership offer African States? How does rhetoric facilitate and enhance the relationship between African leaders and their Parliaments and publics?

These and other pertinent questions crave answers.

Manuscript Length: maximum 6000 words

Deadline: August 2010

Editorial Policy

Articles sent to *AJR: African Journal of Rhetoric* are subject to a blind review process. Each article will be refereed by two members of the Editorial committee or our anonymous editorial consultants. The Journal has a high profile Editorial committee who will offer constructive suggestions about how to improve the quality of the submissions. Contributors will be notified in due time if their submissions are successful or not.

AJR is a publication of the African Association for Rhetoric.

Subscription:

Members: included in membership fees
Non-members: US \$35 (including postage)
Institutional: \$400

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