

# Balagha

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*A Quarterly Newsletter of the African Association for Rhetoric*



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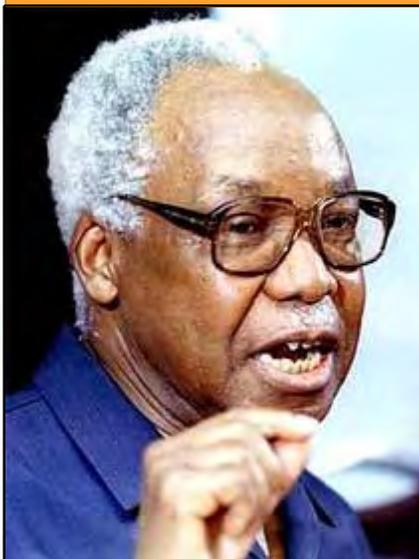
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*Balagha* is a KiSwahili/Arabic word for 'eloquence': the closest in meaning to the idea of rhetoric. This quarterly publication deals with a variety of themes and cover relevant events.

*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.

The second issue looks at the theme: Founding Voices. Given the direction that Africa is being steered at the moment, there arises the need to consider whether the voices of Africa's founding fathers still have any relevance to current developments.

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*Balagha*



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## Founding Voices

Post Colonial Africa has been shaped by numerous individuals who have made grave sacrifices to ending colonialism and all forms of oppression on the continent. We cannot rule out the human factor in the way that Africa has struggled with other moral forces that have shaped its current reality.

Africa's reality is diverse and plural in nature. While there are pockets of development which are comparable to first world

contexts, it is sad and disturbing to see a number of states still struggling the way they do with conflicts and internal displacement, deadly diseases, violence and even *coup d'etat* in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Poverty is endemic and current forces of globalisation militate against the genuine effort some leaders to improve the circumstances of their people. One needs no prophet to foretell that Africa has acute leadership crisis. It is either that those who are competent do not have the means to attain leadership positions, or that, those who manage to get there do not possess the sturdy character that helps them to maintain the stability of the state. If Africa is not short on good leaders, where then are the heroes now? Should we have any reason to revisit the values and philosophies that earned most African states their sovereignty? Today, we celebrate independence and freedom's day, but some leaders undermine the very essence of Africa's freedom and contend with the very thing that they are mandated to uphold? Jairo Kangira, Zimbabwean born Professor of Rhetoric at the University of Namibia, once asked a question at a conference: 'after independence, what do freedom fighters fight against?' (2007).

Benedict Anderson, the renowned historian and philosopher, in his famous work, *The Spectre of Nations* (1998), draws a time sequence for the construction and the establishment of the state: 'the past, the present and the future.' This is not as simple as it sounds. In these time zones, every generation contributes to the development of the state, namely, the dead, the living and the unborn. These three groups of citizens, or citizens to be, must separately within their time zones contribute to the building of the nation. In our own case, we live and reminisce on and pride ourselves in the contribution of our founding fathers. Will our unborn citizens be proud of the contributions that current Africans, or any leadership of any country is presently making? Are we making the burden lighter on generations to come or heavier?

In this issue of *Balagha*, we attempt to look at some two of the names that have shaped contemporary third world and feature an interview on rhetoric and African leadership. Do we perhaps need another wave of African Renaissance that will foster cohesion and development on the continent? We also inform you on some of the activities that the Association is seeking to undertake and lastly, report on similar events.

Reference

Anderson, B. (1998) *The Spectre of Nations: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World*. London: Verso.

# From the Press

**AFRICAN JOURNAL OF RHETORIC**

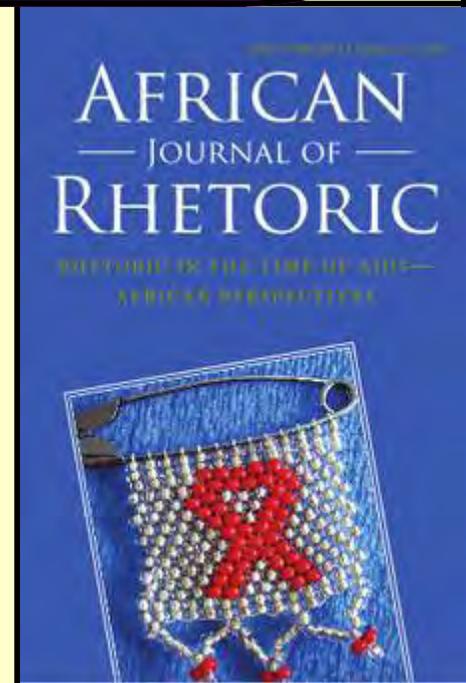
ISSN 1998-2054

**Volume 2 2010**

**RHETORIC IN THE TIME OF AIDS: AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES**

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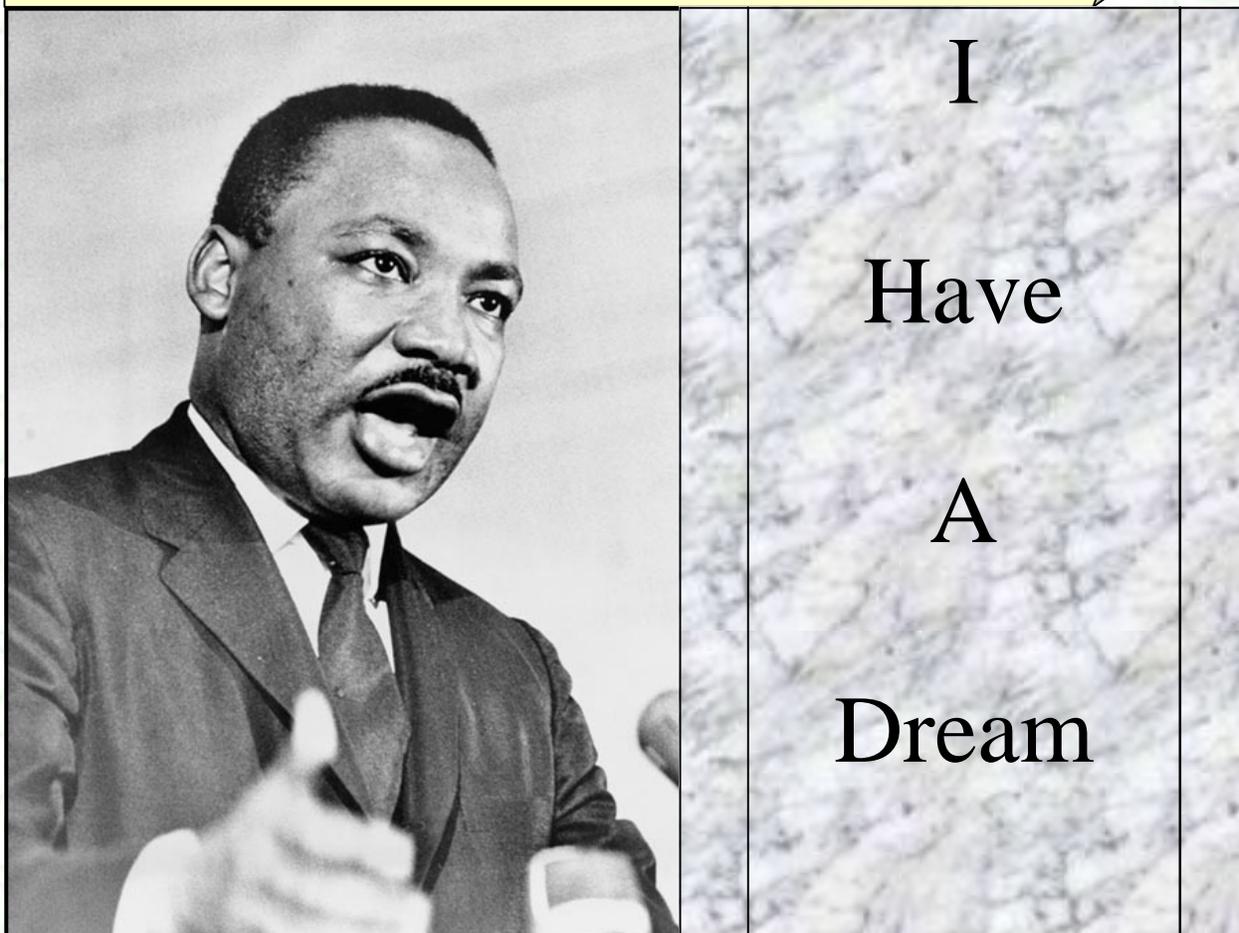
## Call for Sponsorship/Partnership

The Africa Rhetoric Project would be grateful for any support from well meaning individuals or organisations that believe in the vision of this nascent organisation. Rhetoric is not yet recognised in Africa as an important tool in the public domain and we would like to create an awareness and develop programs that can help enhance the capacity of those involved in research and practice of rhetoric on the continent.

Should you be interested in becoming a partner, please contact:

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Or donate directly to  
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Reference: Donation



## **2nd African Rhetoric Roundtable 7 October 2010**

### ***Rhetoric and Political Leadership***

The second African Rhetoric Roundtable will attempt to look at rhetoric and political leadership in Africa ranging from rhetorical presidencies to other forms of rhetorical transactions that occur at other layers and structures of government.

#### Aims and objectives

1. Commence coordinated research in and set research agenda for the interrogation of the concept of rhetoric and presidential leadership in Africa
2. Open up pertinent debates in rhetoric and presidential leadership
3. Encourage critical debates on comparative models of political uses of rhetoric at the realm of the presidency and other political structures

#### Theme

Understanding the Reality of Rhetoric and the African Political Space

Co-Facilitators: Prof Carel Jansen and Dr Segun Ige

Speakers: (confirmed speakers)

Professor Jaap de Jong, Professor of Linguistics University of Leiden, Holland

Professor Ph-J Salazar, Director, Centre for Rhetoric Studies, UCT, South Africa

Professor Richard Calland, Director, Democratic Rights and Governance Unit, UCT South Africa

Professor Michael Hogan, Co-Director Centre for Rhetoric and Deliberation, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Dr Michael Bürsch, Former Parliamentarian, Germany and Director Centrum für Corporate Citizenship

Others including eminent politicians: Awaiting confirmation

Venue: Cape Town International Convention Centre, Cape Town

Registration Fees: R2500

Date: 7 October 2010

Seats: Limited seats available

Enquiries Contact:

Dr Segun Ige: [ige.segun@gmail.com](mailto:ige.segun@gmail.com)





## Announces

### Its 3rd International Biennial Conference

#### *Inter-Cultural Negotiation of the Global Space*

This multidisciplinary conference will be of interest to specialists in, but not limited to, Rhetoric, Law, Philosophy and Ethics, Sociology, Gender Studies, Social Development Studies, Anthropology, Political Science, Leadership, Economic Policy, African Studies and Communication, Peace and Conflict Studies. Interested scholars and academics are invited to submit abstracts of about 250 words each.

#### AIM

The Conference aims to understand the institutional rhetoric that features in the transactions of governments of different nations across the globe, particularly, how these affect Africa.

#### Sub-themes:

The following are relevant sub-themes:

- Presidential Rhetoric and Diplomatic Negotiations
- Rhetoric in / of multilateral institutions
- Conflict and Peace Negotiations in Africa
- Trans-national migration and negotiation of space in host context
- African Identity, the Media and the Virtual World
- Cultural Rhetoric in the African Context
- Globalisation and rhetorical applications in multinational organisations and the corporate sector
- Africans speaking to Africa: Writings of African Authors and Orators
- The Rhetoric of African Renaissance and Pan-Africanism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Conference Date: 1-3 July 2011

#### Submission Deadlines:

Abstracts: November 2010

Papers: February 2011

Venue: South Africa (specific venue to be determined)

#### Target

Considering the multidisciplinary/multisectoral nature of the theme, the conference will target the following:

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| ◇ Academics/Researchers                          | ◇ Political Operatives              |
| ◇ Medical Practitioners and Humanitarian workers | ◇ NGO/CSOs representatives          |
| ◇ Diplomats                                      | ◇ Legal Experts                     |
| ◇ Business Executives                            | ◇ Representatives of International/ |
| ◇ Multinational Organisations                    | ◇ Funders                           |
| ◇ Diplomats                                      | ◇ Media Practitioners               |

Enquiries and abstracts should be sent to: [ige.segun@gmail.com](mailto:ige.segun@gmail.com)

# Rapporteur's Notes



## Workshop on Housing: From Reaction to Action

(Professor Ambrose Adebayo, School of Architecture, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa)

The group areas act under the apartheid government led to Housing being a major problem, not only for those considered as the 'other' in pre-independence South Africa, but also for the current government structures, from national down to municipal governments. Desperate citizens have resulted to living in shacks and informal settlements in order to live close to where they can secure a means of livelihood for

themselves. For the current South African government, Housing needs some degree of redefinition and re-interpretation, and so the Department of Housing has been renamed to the Department of Human Settlement. Is this perhaps just an onomastic strategy to impress those South Africans living in absolute desperation for reasonable housing, or is the government really genuine about the proper provision of quality Housing that dignifies human existence? While the genuiness thesis may be difficult to prove, SANPAD has occasioned an opportunity to advise the government on Housing and Human settlement, by funding a study that investigates health conditions of people living in four housing typologies in eThekweni region, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

Professor Ambrose Adebayo, a leading Architect and Housing Planner, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal along with Professor Myra Taylor, Professor Jinahbal (Nelson Mandela School of Medicine) and Dr Pauline Adebayo (School of Architecture Housing and Planning), UKZN were the three presenters and facilitators. The workshop had both theoretical and analytical components. The workshop was declared open by the then DVC College of Humanities, Professor Fikile Mazibhuko.

### **Professor Ambrose Adebayo**

Professor Ambrose Adebayo presented the project overview. He discussed the main objectives of the project, Research design and theoretical framework. According to Professor Adebayo, the overall aim of the project is fourfold: '1) to meet the challenge that AIDS posed to the built environment in South Africa; 2) integrate bio-psychosocial with built environment disciplines; address; 3) address housing and health care needs of people infected and affected by HIV/AIDS and 4) make policy, legislative and programme recommendations to relevant stakeholders'.

The workshop's research questions dealt with how housing impacts on the quality of life of HIV/AIDS infected and affected people, specifically in the eThekweni municipality in KwaZulu-Natal Province. Embedded in its main research question is the concern for improvements in housing and

and health conditions of the people, which could be enhanced through best practices, policy formulation and amended legislation. According to Adebayo, the project has three main objectives:

1. To review, assess and compare the existing health and housing policies and legislative framework with respect to HIV/AIDS regarding infected and affected individuals, families and communities in South Africa, with two other parallel country studies in Kenya and Netherlands;
2. To assess the built environment, HIV-related health and housing needs in area based settings and specific housing typologies (informal settlement, RDP housing, inner-city residential and rural housing), through a community diagnosis using objective indicators.
3. To conduct surveys of the subjective experiences of the built and social environment and its impact on the health related quality of life, within the area-based setting and social networks of HIV infected and affected individuals.

The project adopts three main theories, namely, existentialist theory, ecological theory and social capital theory. Adebayo explains that existentialism within the context of the built environment takes into consideration the material component of housing but uses the human dimension as its point of departure. This theory makes it possible for not only policy formulation, but also policy implementation since the latter actually deals with the existing structure on sites and targeted locations. The ecological theory helps to put into broader perspective the physical environment where the housing is situated, and lastly, Social Network theory which affirms the potency of the combination of housing and network of people to produce a community. The inter-relationship of the three theories points to the materiality of housing and occupants' low economic social status that causes them to interact with a contaminated environment. A paper has earlier been published in a scientific journal *Africa insight* entitled: *HIV/AIDS: Housing policy review in South Africa*. The paper is considered a white paper because it has directly influenced policy in South Africa.

Professor Myra Taylor

The second presentation was made by Professor Myra Taylor. The subject of her presentation was 'Community perceptions of housing and health during an HIV/AIDS epidemic in eThekweni'. The paper critically looks at the intersection of Housing and health. She claims that the government had built 1 million houses out of 10 million backlog.

While this is commendable, the issue of quality remains. For instance, there is inadequate water supply and 1/3 of the housing provided lacked appropriate ventilation. It therefore became rather compelling for the team to establish through empirical research housing and health conditions of the inhabitant of the four types of housing, namely RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) Houses, Informal settlements, Inner City flats (Albert Park) and apartments in Rural

traditional Housing (*Ubumbuli*). Respondents came from 300 households, and average age of 44 years old, and half of these were educated. On dissatisfaction assessment, 77 percent of the respondents from the people in RDP housing expressed dissatisfaction with the housing. In terms of the Health condition of the people, 44 percent enjoyed healthy condition while 54 percent had ailments. The project adopts the phase approach. While Phase 1 borders around the quality of housing, Phase 2 compares the quality of life of both negative and positive respondents.

The dissatisfaction of the people emanated from the apparent defects in the housing provided, namely, bad toilets, a quarter of the RDP housing lacks electricity supply (and this has since been addressed by the municipality concerned), bad roads, lack of access to clinics and varying degrees of general sanitation in all typologies examined. Other problems include overcrowding and inadequate housing. Of all the four typologies, the respondents that lived in the flats had higher satisfaction levels. A key problem of course is the wrong perception of housing and health.



Presenter: Prof Taylor (on behalf of Ms P. Nasai)  
Comparative Analysis of Quality of Life of HIV negative and positive respondents in eThekweni municipality, KZN  
In order to compare the quality of life of the population sample in the previous group, a new sample group selected from other provinces with lower HIV prevalence using similar housing typologies. The demographics are as follows: they were mostly singles; most of them possess high school education and they were mostly HIV negative. Some of the assessments that were conducted with the results include: mobility test which showed that HIV positive were less mobile than their HIV negative

counterparts, result for self-care is blurred, 63% of the negative population complained of pain and discomfort while 43% of positive group complain of pain. In comparison with other provinces in South Africa, the worst test results were recorded against KZN than other provinces. The study also uncovered other forms of social malaise, high alcohol content, vagrancy and homelessness, crime, inadequate support for recently immigrated occupants, lack of presence of social workers and lack of education about HIV/AIDS.

#### Discussion

This study has come at a critical time and has coincided with the South African government changing the name of the department from Department of Housing to the Department of Human Settlement. Housing has to take into consideration not only current issues in housing but also the history that is attached to it.

New debates need be brokered to expand the philosophical meaning, strategy of provision, and definition

of housing that will incorporate the current usage in policy circles as human settlement. The study interlocks with the vision of the new government in South Africa in the sense that it advocates for the provision of habitable houses for the citizens of South Africa, especially the historically deprived population groups. This vision becomes realizable if the government integrates to work of planners into the different stages of the supply of adequate and capacious housing with key amenities in place.

Provision of habitable housing is a major challenge for government and may not achieve quick results, like its Latin American counterparts. The South African government has a number of issues to grapple with very quickly in order to make housing / human settlement real to its people:

1. Rectification of budget to accommodate all housing needs
2. Emphasis should be as much on quantity as it is on quality
3. All necessary amenities should be within ten kilometre radius of residence
4. Environmental laws should be in place and housing environment should be user friendly not only to PLWAs only, but also to other people living with other forms of ailment, for instance, two story buildings should now have lifts for people living with disability. In essence, the government should provide special needs housing as well.
5. Housing should be considered a social good which can help stimulate economy
6. New patterns of housing should be developed

#### Deliberation and the Rhetorical Link

There was consensus among the participants that the dialogue should continue and that the organisers of the conference should organise a major conference where other stakeholders would participate. Will this perhaps be another talk shop? Talk in itself is good because as a philosopher has argued, it helps to keep our civilisation alive. However, two important scholars come to mind: Ann Glendon and Albert O. Hirshman. In the book, *Rights Talk: The Impoverishment of Political Discourse*, Glendon presents a catalogue of 'missing duty' arguments which demonstrate that every stakeholder sometime loses sight of his duty which results in gaps in not only, policy formulation, but also implementation. She actually uses housing as an example asserting that good housing impacts positively on the performance and well being of its occupants (cf. Popkin 2010: 43-63). Quality Housing comes at a cost, and the government always has a number of competing agendas to pursue. Perhaps this is the problem that the research team at UKZN are willing to help the government to figure out how to solve.

Hirschman in *The Rhetoric of Reaction* (1991) historicizes the deliberative schematics of public policy arguments over a period of 200 years, juxtaposes both reactionary and progressive arguments and sums them up as constituting the theses of perversity, futility and jeopardy:

Reactionary:	The contemplated action will bring disastrous consequences
Progressive:	Not to take the contemplated action will bring disastrous consequences
Reactionary:	The new reform will jeopardize the other one.
Progressive:	The new and old reform will mutually reinforce each other.
Reactionary:	The contemplated action attempts to change permanent structural characteristics ('laws') of social order; it is therefore bound to be wholly ineffective, futile.
Progressive:	The contemplated action is backed by historical forces that are already 'on the march'; opposing them would be utterly futile (Hirschman 1991: 167).

Deliberation in Hirschman's view has been reduced to intransigent contrary argument. Both progressives and reactionaries are allegedly involved in holding down debates with set contrary arguments. Admittedly democracy promotes complexity, and complexities are permanent features of democracies (cf. Bohman 1996: 195). These complexities have made anti-deliberation movements suggest that deliberative democracies are problematic, without proposing a reasonable alternative to deliberation in a functional democratic form of government. In the absence of an alternative, it remains for all to seek to consolidate and increase our knowledge on what deliberation is, and build necessary capacity in deliberative rhetoric. Hirschman (169) is however critical about the 'simplistic' definition of deliberation as:

. . . an opinion-forming process: the participants should not have fully or definitely formed opinions at the outset; they are expected to engage in meaningful discussion, which means that they should be ready to modify initially held opinions in the light of arguments of other participants and also as a result of new information which becomes available in the course of the debate. [Emphases mine]

If this definition is being contested by Hirschman, then political systems that seek to deliberate need to refine sharply their understanding of deliberation, conferencing and summits. In terms of policy formulation, deliberation is not just about words, it is someone's reality in the making.



Dr Pauline Adebayo and Prof Myra Taylor

Deliberative spaces are by nature contestatory. Individual parties want to demonstrate their argumentative prowess

and prove their brilliance to one another, or advance arguments the best way they know how to, within a context of collective reasoning. Today, contestation is not so much about deliberation, but the monetary worth of deliberation and clear thinking in some quarters. This is what some unscrupulous politicians seek to buy with money and render intelligent genuine voices silent. In Nigeria for example, there is the notion of money bag politics which has been caricatured as, 'Ghana must go bags'. This is simply a democratic/deliberative fraud, at worst a symbolism for democratic violence. Aside immoral distribution of money in the legislative structures in some countries, other competing factors include: ethnicity, gender, factionalism, ineptitude, ignorance, lack of sincerity among deliberators, social inequalities, intimidation and violence, third party interference, authoritarian tendencies of certain executives, and general corrupt practices that have perverted the so-called 'dialogic mechanisms'. The collapse of robust and productive deliberation is a recipe for tyranny (cf. Habinek 2005: 1-15). Lack of robust deliberation ultimately negatively affects public policy. The ancient philosopher, historian and rhetorician, Tacitus' warning 'that the neglect of rhetoric and dishonouring of the orator foretell profound social and political convulsions, speaks to later ages as well' (37). Given that the person of the public orator is inextricably linked to the stability of the state, it is high time we paid serious attention to rhetorical education on the African continent. Africa needs more leaders whose words are not disconnected from other forms of action that they use to shape the reality of poor nation states in Africa, including provision of quality housing.

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Responsible Leadership:  
A New Direction in Business Practice  
(Summary of Keynote Addresses)

(Dr Derrick de Jongh, Director, Centre for Responsible Leadership, University of Pretoria, Tshwane, South Africa)

The Centre for Responsible Leadership, University of Pretoria held its 1<sup>st</sup> Conference on Responsible Leadership, 18-21 May, 2010. The three day conference pooled together distinguished and emerging scholars from different parts of the globe to deliberate on pressing issues on leadership, namely, ethics, sustainability, climate change, shareholder/stakeholder tensions, curriculum development in Business schools and mentoring. The conference mainly focused on business leaders and how decisions are being made in big organizations and how those positively or negatively affect the environment in a broader sense. According to Dr de Jongh, 140 submissions were received out of which 50 papers were selected and prepared for presentation at the conference.

The conference was divided broadly into two streams, academic and professional. In the academic stream, presenter adopted the conventional approach to paper presentation, while in the practitioner's stream, in most cases, the academic regime did not prevail. Presenters were free to use any creative method of presentation that suited them the most. In addition, there were Keynote addresses [5], and roundtables [2]. Like in some other conferences, some presentations did not occur because of the ash cloud in the upper hemisphere that followed the volcanic eruption in Iceland.

In his opening address, Dr de Jongh notes that the reflection and action of leaders are apparent in the kind of societies that they create. De Jongh establishes three classical virtues as key ingredients to responsible leadership: courage, wisdom and ability to reflect. In his submission, de Jongh believes that reflection has a lasting impact on leaders. But reflection is also a function of time and discipline. As would be revealed later in the conference, most business people act more than they think, partly because there are cost implications on thinking time. Action is paramount in business, but before action, there must be reflection. This exactly is what the conference delegates did. Reflect.

Professor Carolina Koornhoof, Dean of Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences asserts that methods and knowledge are becoming rather obsolete too quickly and that generally a vacuum of trust has been created which requires someone or group of persons to take up the responsibility and fill this vacuum. For her, vision, passion, direction and



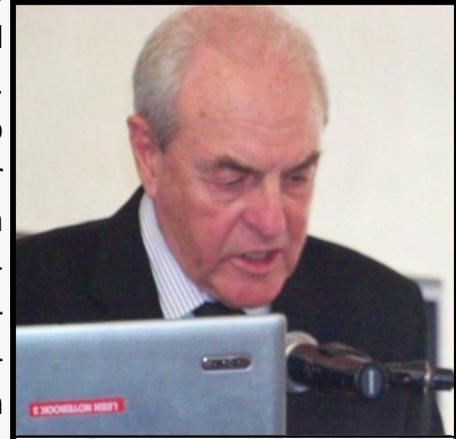


[Prof Carolina Koornhoof, Dean, Economic and Management Studies, UP]

courage rest with responsible leaders. She further encouraged the delegates to think through realistic theoretical framework and practical approaches that will assist in producing an increased number of responsible leaders, not only for this generation, but also for future generations.

Professor Mervyn E. King, the renowned judge who is reputed to have compiled three major reports [King 1, 2,

and 3] on corporate social responsibility in South Africa gave the first keynote address on the topic, *Developing the Next Generation of Leaders*. King's paper commences with his definition of a leader: 'ability to attract followers and needs to have influence based on how he operates.' 'How one operates' is underscored by the notion of responsibility. Great leaders lose credibility and followership dwindle when they cannot keep their word. According to King, great leadership is inextricably linked to foresight and integrity, these qualities help the leader match his deeds with action. This form of wholeness in business practice is an extension of one's personal morality and principle: the moral self who acts in good faith, understands issues and asks intelligent questions appropriately. For him, the notion of good leadership runs through all sectors of human endeavor, including politics. He argues that responsible leadership must ensure sustainability of systems and stop working on false notions.



Professor Mervyn E King SC

King corroborates his assertion with extensive examples that range from environmental degradation, to desertification in various regions and the Black sea saga, and water and food security matters that government across the world are currently dealing with. In his submission, governance and responsibility have become inseparable. There is that realization by some CEOs who are beginning to take initiatives and using alternative sources available to them. King believes that reporting and accountability make the leader more responsible.

In her presentation, *Humanity is at a Crossroad* Ms Wendy Luhabe, the prodigious South African female business executive speaks to the plight of women in the present age that their role is very critical in the imminent group impact on the global economy. Her pre-

sentation rests on the premise that given accentuated competitiveness and uncertainty that characterise the present age, there is need for a new form of thinking around leadership. She believes that the group impact on the world economy will increase but leaders have not yet realized the potential. She suggests the need to build a critical mass in this area. In her analysis and projection of the possible impact that women can make, she further suggests that the 1 billion women that are already currently empowered will increase to 3 billion by 2020, and the resources that are devoted to empowering more women are bound to have multiplier effects in the future. One of the three reasons that she identified toward realizing this potential is investment on and of women. She argues that women tend to spend their resources on the education of their children more than men. Women in unprepared status should also be assisted to realize their potential. For her, support for the 1 billion women is bound to achieve social and gender equity across the globe.



\*\*\*Wendy Luhabe,  
Chancellor,  
University of Johannesburg

The third Keynote address was presented by Mr Jacko Maree, Chief Executive of the Standard Bank Group, South Africa. Maree's presentation was entitled: *Building Sustainable Future for Standard Bank Through Responsible Leadership*. This presentation adopts as its starting point a quotation from Benjamin Franklin, *Doing well by doing Good*. He chose to share from his experience of leadership, and through that highlights parameters of responsible leadership. As an executive whose operation extends to 33 countries, 50 000 employees and \$22.6b asset and 20 years in existence, continuity is important to long term strategy concerning sustainability. He stresses the notion that that banking is not primarily about doing good but about facilitating banking services as a form of service to individuals, companies and a range of clients. In terms of the global financial crises and responsible leadership, he sees bank failure as simply a strategy failure which may have had no correlation with responsible leadership. He asserts that standard bank has been successful because of environmental and strategic factors: African economies and South African economies have faired well in recent past; their frontier markets, Nigeria and other African markets have proved to be positive strategic moves; internationalisation of employee composition and networking; growing leaders and taking governments seriously and lastly, maintaining steady strategies during difficult times.

Further in his address, Maree explicates that the key to maintaining a successful business is simply by getting the basics right: ('Doing the basics right and making money and doing good business'). Clear understanding of the local market and moral and cultural dynamics inform their business operation in places where Standard bank operates. In South Africa, there has been an increased number of black managers; in Nigeria, Standard Bank has made the



From left to right: Dr Derrick de Jongh, Mr Jacko Maree receiving presents after his presentation, from the Dean, Professor Carolina Koornhoof

effort to work with honest Nigerian businessmen. Fortitude have also yielded dividend for Standard Bank in the sense that they have chosen to see opportunities where others have seen despair, this led to its first move into Africa. For Maree, it is not simply a matter of where, but how one conducts business that matters. He suggests the following as important aspects of responsible leadership: thinking strategically beyond the bottom line, common sense application to academic knowledge, personal responsibility, consistency in fair and ethical practice, awareness of the social environment and understanding cross cultural issues and ability to balance short term and long term goals.

Leadership has its various complexities. Professor Thomas Maak's paper, *Leader Complexity and the Quest for Responsible Global Leadership*, and Keynote address (co-presented with Professor Esade *in absentia*), *Responsible Leadership in a connected World* give insight into the complexities associated with Leadership. In his presentation, Maak tried to unpack how a leader must interact with a whole range of stakeholders. The challenge that this poses is that the leader seems to be a 'superhuman being'. Maak suggests that the leader does not have to be a superhuman being but should be adequately skilled cross-sectorally to be able manage all the complexities involved in leadership. According to Maak, 'the mind of the leader should mirror the complexity which they find outside, otherwise they

would not be able to cope.' The leader should possess capacity to manage relationships that exist inside and outside the organization. For Maak, ethics, values and morality should guide the leader's actions in the way s/he deals with individuals within the organization. In other words, he should balance local differentiation with global integration.

Maak expands leadership beyond the ambit of the traditional roles assigned to leaders only. He establishes that idea of collective leadership which expects the followers to assume certain responsibilities. For instance, as it is necessary for the leader to change the way he does things, so also important it is for followers to change their

mindset from victim mode to service mode. For him shared leadership helps to achieve what a single leader cannot achieve on his own. The fact of the matter is, society has a lot of expectation on leaders that it does not actually trust (Maak: 'We don't trust leaders but we expect them to do more'). The trust gap requires responsible leadership to change its global, emotional and ethical mindset. Leaders in the past have been rather overwhelmed with self-interest, short-termism and greed. Some of them have operated on a twisted definition of greed which principally led to the global financial crisis. He quotes Goldman Sachs who once said, 'I am just a banker doing God's work'. He later retorts by quoting Al Gore, former USA vice-president who once said, 'Mother nature does not do any bail outs'. Banks he says should have a social purpose. He further suggests a change in MBA curriculum.



Prof Thomas Maak\*\*\*



\*\*\*Prof Pierre Tappi

Professor Pierre Tappi, the Chairman of the Globally responsible Leadership Initiative (GRLI) and President, ESSEC Business School (France) answers questions relating to curriculum in his Keynote address: *Truth and Lies regarding Responsible Leadership in Management Education*. Tappi proposes that 'trends' is a key driver of the current and future crises. The emerging trends from the East, China, will put pressure on energy, India's population will put pressure on the bus system; there is imminent under-population in Japan. The perennial trend is the consumption of rare resources for unlimited demand, e. g. fossil fuel. These trends he asserts could undermine the root of nations' sustainability. In other words, the social contract that exists between society and business has been broken. He traces the foundation of these crises to business education.

Education demands an understanding of truth and principles should help the students to become generators of sustainable values. The fundamental mindset about MBA needs to change. The current mindset has attracted lower intellectual pool who consider MBA as quick fix to unemployment. The disparity between the salaries of Business Professor and

Humanities Professor should also be removed. The overly expensive tuition for Business courses should be reconsidered. He further proposes MBA training for faculties who might not have had Management training. He observes the competitive challenge for the business school in the future. Arts and the Humanities are designed for public good which would cause Business Schools to lose their legitimacy to tackle some of the problems facing society. He calls for a re-introduction of humanities courses into Business School. He concludes his presentation with the following 19th Century Indian Prophecy: 'Only after the last tree has been cut down, only after the last river has been poisoned, only after the last fish has been caught will you find that money cannot be eaten.'

\*\*\*Ms Luhabe, Profs Maak and Tappi's pictures were taken from the navigation booklet supplied at the conference



### My People

KB : kilobyte@tuks.co.za

The way the soul is shaped  
 To speak to the mind that listens to the heart  
 Emerging from secrets between walls  
 Our wind carries us from corners of poverty  
 We are blessed with wings of reason,  
 My people,  
 Today our voices have faces,  
 Grounded to the earth we are a rising generation,  
 The warmth of your hands moulds the nation,  
 So in loving memory of our flaws,  
 Exiled from our fingertips,  
 We declare our happiness  
 A selfish emotion of peace we lead with visions,  
 Thriving on values,  
 Wisdom is a virtue,  
 My people,  
 Today our voices have faces,  
 As the next generation redefines the boundaries of a  
 new world  
 The past swept beneath our carpets of success,  
 I could care-less of failure's fate,  
 For today our voices have faces,  
 Kept together like braces,  
 We are a force forged into the skeleton of leadership,  
 A kingdom of hope,  
 The warmth of our hands mould the nation and heal  
 the universe,  
 So now with our voices amplified to speak to the inner  
 self in you,  
 I call upon,  
 My People

# One-on-One with Prof Biakolo



Professor Emevwo Biakolo, Dean, School of Media and Communication, Pan-African University, Lagos, Nigeria. Specialist in Rhetoric and Cultural Communication.

Balagha - What is your appraisal of the use of Rhetoric in African Leadership?

Biakolo - That's a very large question. Let me try and address it from the historical point of view in the way that Rhetoric as a discipline developed. If you go back to the Greek origin, fundamentally Rhetoric functioned in the Agora, if you like, you call it the citizens' parliament in Athens. Rhetoric was the tool for debating public policies, public actions, issues of war and national security. For instance, the participation of Athens in the Peloponnesian war, and various other issues that dealt with statecraft, and later on, when not only Aristotle but even earlier rhetoricians studied this discipline, it began to shape itself beyond the public political discourse and focused more intensely on forensic Rhetoric in the more traditional sense of legal advocacy. Perhaps some would look at issues the other way from the context of forensic rhetoric coming earlier than political discourse. It's neither here nor there. However there have been the forensic elements in Public Affairs. In our own situation in Nigeria I would say that rhetoric was really useful particularly in the first republic. There were a number of very articulate orators, people like Nnamdi Azikiwe for instance. He was a persuasive speaker from all account, and there were others such as Adelabu from the western region. It was an art that was practiced a little more then, but it tended to have its own flamboyant element than the purposeful and purposive use of rhetoric in political discourse. I will suggest that there was more attention to rhetoric in the first republic than the subsequent regimes that we have had. And it's not accidental that the more we have moved away from discourse and public debates, the more obvious signs of decay and corruption have tended to take over the political life of the country from rhetoric of discourse to the rhetoric of "Egunje", If I may put it that way. I would therefore conclude that there is not sufficient attention to the deployment of rhetoric as an art of public discourse, public persuasion, public decision making, and formulation of laws in our country.

Balagha - What should African Leaders be talking about right now?

Biakolo -African leaders should be talking about a lot of things. Don't forget that leadership is not merely about Political Economy. It's also about the dynamics of the society. It's about culture. It's about religion. It's about other things that allow the society to move forward. There is a clear danger which I may call something that derived from the historical materialist conception even when we are not Marxists. Many have tended to look at the world simply from the material terms, including the liberal frame of mind, liberalism itself tended to be quite materialistic. But I think African leaders have more than the economy to talk about. However in the context of the kind of focus we give to Political Economy, I think what the African Leaders should be working at right now, is how to stabilize Africa more and more and stabilize the society as individual countries, how to reconstruct the whole idea of development. There does not seem to me to be enough thinking going on political discourse in Africa, on the direction of development that we really want to go. There are a number of unsettled issues in that regard. I think by and large we've come to accept that we always play second fiddle, always follow where the west leads, moving away from the cold war into the subsequent era, where for a while is democracy and then Globalisation, now perhaps it's Obamanism. It doesn't seem to me that there is sufficient original thinking habit. We need to be thinking through where we are and where we really want to go, this lack of thought is for me the most pressing problem that we have.

In the past at least there were healthy debates and there were healthy discussions on what kind of direction we wanted to go on the African continent, but right now there doesn't seem to be any clear thinking at all. Development plans are all drawn up under elementary assumptions, unquestioned assumptions. We follow where the west leads and I think it doesn't help us at all.

Balagha - Is there a meeting point between Rhetoric and intellectualism?

Biakolo - That's precisely where it is. That is central to the matter; because discourse cannot operate without fundamental intellectual process. It's unthinkable to separate the exercise of the mind from the exercise of speech in communication. For instance among the Greeks, as soon as Rhetoric began to formalize itself in the courts and in the Greek "parliament", you saw that the Rhetoricians began to develop their manuals to try to teach and instruct people on how to plead their cases in court and how to debate, and of course when Aristotle produced that treaty on Rhetoric. You know that the master had to formalize some of the clearer things, and of course Plato's own complain is about rhetoric and how it was not serving the purpose of public good. It wasn't really forming the philosopher king that he proposed. I am therefore saying that you cannot therefore separate the whole business of political discourse from the exercise of the mind. By and large the academy has been instrumental in trying to teach the principles of oratory, political oratory, principles of forensic oratory and other forms of oratory. What I see going on here by and large, is that there is a bit of acuity in politics I have to say. It used to be merely contest for power, take an example of our own national assembly; the senate for instance, is anybody introducing fresh ideas? Is anyone introducing fresh discussions? Is anyone introducing some fresh serious issues as to the direction our country or the continent is going for development? So there is a hiatus gap between what the politicians are doing and what the Academy is doing, which I think is not healthy.

Balagha - What kind of training should be giving to leaders in Rhetoric to bring about the kind of development that we require in Africa?

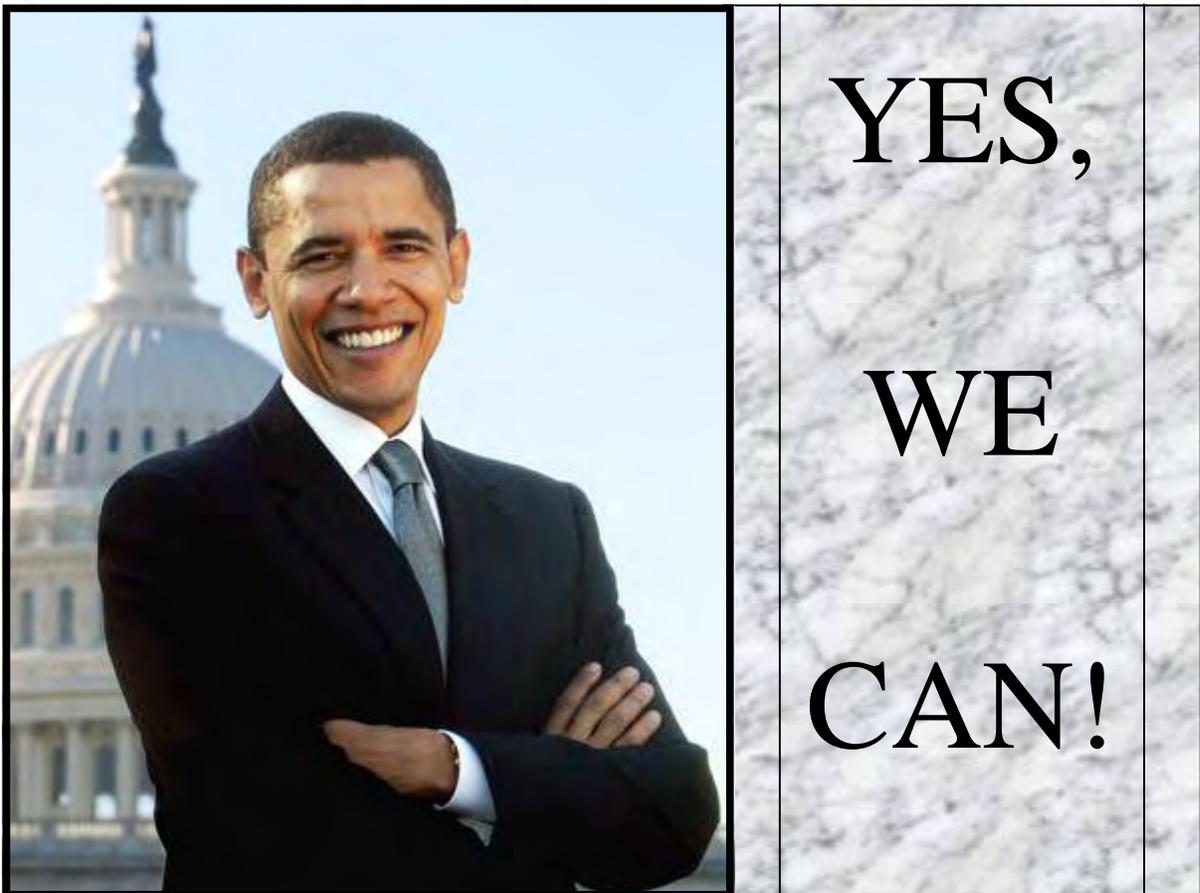
Biakolo - Now I am going to introduce something that may surprise you in this case, because there is every tendency to think of Rhetoric only in the technical sense, meaning to teach people how to acquire the art of persuasion, how to do an intro, how to conclude, and how to win cases, but you can see that Aristotle was very clear that there is an intimate connection between Rhetoric and ethics . Not just because ethics is part of the customary behavior of the society or because it's about the judgment of right and wrong, but because in fact persuasion cannot be thought of except in ethical terms. You don't persuade people for evil, you persuade people for good. You know that was Plato's own concern about what the rhetoricians were up to. My suggestion would be therefore to focus not so much on the technical aspect of Rhetoric, but on the intimate connection between Rhetoric and Ethics, because you really can't separate them. We should train our leaders first of all to be able to distinguish and understand the right from the wrong and do the right things. The whole business of ethics is so fundamental to rhetorical practice, not just in courtesies of speaking and how to be cour-

teous people; it's about the ability to understand the right and the wrong, moral questions will always arise in every rhetorical situation where you deal with judgment and action. So I think the training of people, particularly leaders and those who are into forensic Rhetoric, lawyers, we should think more about the centrality of ethics in Rhetoric. I think this is what our leaders need more than anything else. However, it's one thing to train people; it's another to put it into practice. You know that at the Pan- African University from the School of Media to the Business school, there is a lot of focus on ethics; you cannot take a certificate course, graduate course, degree courses without undergoing ethics, because this is central to everything that we do. Societies don't change because people are really brilliant but because of attitudinal change. The attitudinal change is what we should be focusing on in whatever Rhetorical curriculum we design.

Balagha- Should the teaching of ethics in Rhetoric affect all institutions across board?

Biakolo- The truth of the matter is that no component of the society is separate from the other. The society is systemic. Who constitutes the National assembly? People from the society! According to our constitution you need a minimum of a secondary school certificate to get into the position of power, how are these formed? You go to schools, and then the family systems, the media, the churches, all of these instruments of socialization and institutions of socialization should be involved in the teaching of ethics. The ethical culture is to me what I think we have lost.

Interview conducted by: Mr Yemi Ige, Director, [MediaLedge](#), Nigeria





## NEW MEDIA AND THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY IN AFRICA

The concept of the knowledge economy is more than that of an economy based on knowledge. It even goes beyond the notion of the (economic) management of knowledge and knowledge production in culture and society. The conceptual shift resides in the re-evaluation of production value away from the traditional combination of raw materials-machinery-capital, and towards greater emphasis on human capital, its development and its contribution to the value chain.

For us in the cultural industries, the commanding role that ICT plays in the value chain demands that we focus on new media as the platform of the knowledge economy. In real times, media are not merely channels of communication, not mere tools, but prime assets in the (re)production of knowledge. Thus they raise questions of skill-sets, competence even of skilled producers and the future direction of African economies and politics.

Against this background, this conference will address the place of new media and ICT in general in the production and reproduction of knowledge in Africa. How well are the universities and training institutions in Africa leveraging on the new media in knowledge production?

What is the state of library and information systems in our institutions in this regard? What are the policy options being pursued or implementation strategies adopted by national governments to push forward the empowerment of citizens through the new media platforms? How do the new media advance democracy in Africa? What impacts do the new media have on industrial production, service delivery and workflow practices? It is expected that at the 2010 conference, the publication of select papers from the 2009 conference (Journalism and New Media Technologies in Africa) will be launched. In 2010 the sub-themes have been organized along the lines below. The themes are provided only as suggestions. Scholars, industry experts and practitioners, policy makers and others who wish to organize special panels along themes other than those below should make proposals to the organizers. However, extra topics must be hinged on the central theme of the conference.

Paper proposals should be one page, and should list the author's name, address, university affiliations, telephone, fax, and e-mail, followed by the paper's title and an abstract of not more than 300 words. The abstract should specify the subject, questions asked, methodology and findings.

### Conference Sub-themes:

- a) Theoretical and conceptual issues on new media and knowledge economy
  - Definitions
  - Theories
  - Methodologies
  - Research paradigms and traditions
- b) Culture and the (re)production of knowledge in Africa
  - Endogenous/indigenous knowledge systems
  - New media and archiving of cultural knowledge
  - Cultural interfaces and dissonances in knowledge production
  - Knowledge production in central and peripheral societies
- c) Citizen empowerment and new media
  - E-Governance and democracy: framework for social and economic empowerment
  - Political and public communications and the new media
  - New media and public policy in Africa
  - Social media, social enterprises and social critiques in the new media
  - ICT and professionalism in public service delivery
- d) Business and economic philosophies and practices
  - Market economies and moral economies in the new media age
  - Marketing communications and the new media
  - Business and financial intelligence in new media contexts
  - Research and development in the ICT age
  - Intellectual property issues in the new media
- e) Tools and technologies: Educational networks, virtual universities
  - Infrastructure of knowledge production: Research and the new media
  - Education and e-competence: Preparing employable youths
  - Library and information services in Africa today
  - On virtual universities in Africa



GENERAL INFORMATION

Abstracts should be forwarded to [aagina@smc.edu.ng](mailto:aagina@smc.edu.ng)

Exhibition issues to [takinyede@smc.edu.ng](mailto:takinyede@smc.edu.ng)

Hospitality issues to [inwezeh@smc.edu.ng](mailto:inwezeh@smc.edu.ng)

The **deadline** for submission of abstracts is **31 March, 2010**.

Notification of acceptance is 30 April, 2010.

#### Venue:

Pan-African University, Lekki Campus

#### Date:

11 – 13 August, 2010

#### Conference fees:

N20,000.00 (\$130)

Students: 50% discount

PAU alumni: 25% discount

#### Conference convener:

Prof. E. A. Biakolo

Dean,

School of Media and Communication

Pan-African University, Lagos

## Gandhi and the Rhetoric of Non-violence

John S Moolakkattu\*

Gandhi-Luthuli Chair in Peace Studies, School of Politics,  
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Email: moolakkattu@gmail.com



What has rhetoric to do with non-violence? Rhetoric generally connotes a certain degree of aggressiveness, and speaking about non-violent aggressiveness may appear to be a contradiction in terms. Nazi rhetoric reflected in the fiery speeches of Hitler sought to instil hatred and generate values conducive to violence and divisiveness. Why is rhetoric so embedded in violence, or tends to assume a neutral position with regard to its use? This is partly because our ways of thinking, discourses and language assume violence as a given, as constituting the normal state of affairs, and non-violence, an aberration. When Gandhi speaks, it is seen by many as other-worldly or religious and not part of the realm of rhetoric. Same could be said about his followers like the Dalai Lama. Their words are straight, devoid of ambiguity, and delivered in a style and demeanour full of compassion, full of humility, something that does not seem to fit in with the conventional understandings of rhetoric where the subject displays high degree of confidence, self-righteousness and occasional arrogance. A non-violent activist would be careful in his speech so as to appear different from the way that upholders and promoters of violence would engage in their speech acts. Rhetoric inherently tends to marginalise the transformative possibilities that non-violence can offer. Gandhi was certainly not an orator even though he addressed crowds on numerous occasions. He did not care to weave his words together dexterously to impress his audience. His 1930 salt march was rhetorical in that it was a sort of creative accentuation of the larger conflict with the colonial system by taking up the issue of salt tax the proceeds of which constituted only a very small share of the revenue of the colonial government. The 241 mile march, moving from village to village, taking his own time, addressing large crowds, giving interviews to foreign journalists was a kind of rhetoric by other means that Gandhi had perfected quite well.

Since Gandhi always focused on means rather than ends in any social action, everything that one does, including ones personal behaviour, speech and symbols come to occupy a unity. His simple dress and life style was a powerful tool for communicating to his audience, which was perhaps more powerful than his words. In contrast, rhetoric can stand on its own, and need not have correspondence with life styles and behaviour of the rhetorician. Interestingly, Gandhi's famous quote, "Be the change that you wish to see in the world" is used rhetorically by many orators and writers. When Gandhi undertook his non-violent campaigns in South Africa, he had designated it as 'passive

resistance” for lack of a better word to describe them. This word is still used by many South Africans to denote Gandhian methods of struggle although Gandhi himself had changed the term to an Indian term known as *Satyagraha*, or soul force, which suggests that there is nothing passive about this method. Instead, it is an active method of resistance. Non-violent campaigns in South Africa in the early fifties under the leadership of Chief Albert Luthuli preferred to use the more potent word “defiance” to designate the campaigns and to distinguish it from any form of passivity.

What is rhetoric after all? It is the use of language to persuade people to change their views or to condition minds towards desirable social changes. Rhetoric employs a sort of persuasion with the rhetorician becoming an agent of social change. One can persuade by using the power of reason or appeal to emotions. There is another way of persuading people, through the power of the heart. In a rhetoric smacking of violence and competition, we never try to invoke the faculty of the heart, the faculty that is capable of generating compassion. Emotion is a double edged weapon, which can be used by the orator either to create hatred and resentment or generate positive life-preserving feelings. Non-violent rhetoric uses both the faculty of reason and the faculty of heart as the means to bring about social change, sometimes singly, sometimes in combination.

In nonviolent action every effort is made to educate and persuade the targeted audience, which consists of only ones own supporters, but more particularly ones opponents. Speech, written word and actions are all rhetorical in different senses. Consider Martin Luther King Jr. He was particularly known for his fiery speeches. Many students of rhetoric would be enamored of the style of his speech, but would not bother carefully to check the content of his message. The message and the demeanor with which it is delivered are important in non-violent rhetoric. When non-violent rhetoric sees conflicts as a form of truth contestation, one in which the relative truth as understood by either of the parties pitted against each other in a common search for truth, it comes fully round to the Aristotelian way of seeing rhetoric as a derivative of ethics. The rhetoric of Gandhian Satyagraha envisages a situation in which conversion of the adversary to the position that the Satyagrahi holds is expected to take place. It also does not rule out the possibility of the Satyagrahi himself getting transformed in the process. This dynamism is possible only if the means of engagement are non-violent. Such openness to conversion either way is impossible in violent form of social action because it is based on a belief that the truth the adherent of violence understands is the one and only truth to follow.

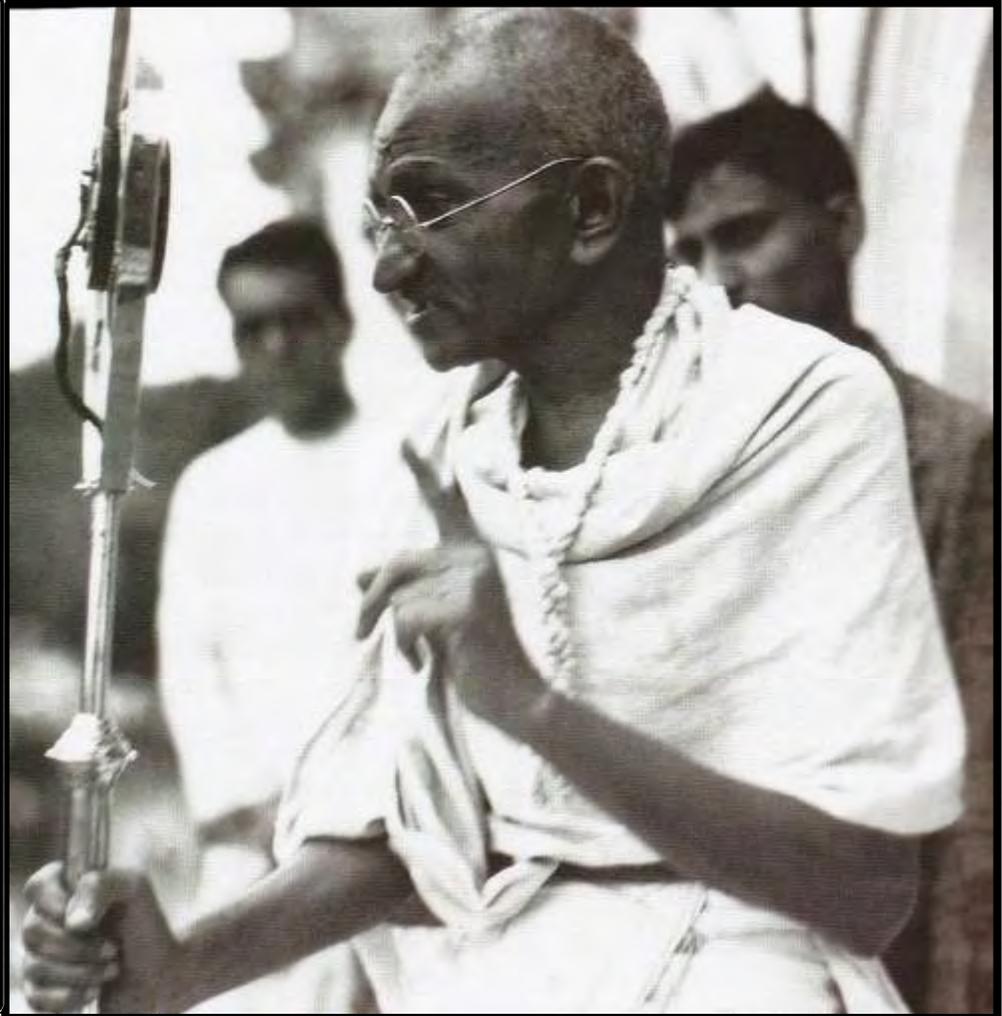
In many ways, Gandhian rhetoric is also intimately linked with similar forms of rhetoric such as forgiveness. A nonviolent rhetoric bases itself on a relational worldview that recognizes the humanity of all. What has Gandhi to tell the rhetoricians? He would say that one can communicate not only through the power of words, one can also do that through actions - through sacrifice, self-suffering and love. Non-violent action requires a high degree of determination, ability to suffer for the cause, patience when results are slow to come, openness to communication, willingness for self-change, and a recognition of the humanity of the adversary.

In *Hind Swaraj*(1909) Gandhi engaged in a wholesale condemnation of the modern civilization and all it entails. The little book was banned within months of its publication, not because it attacked the British, but because it attacked the materialist civilization that the British came to repres-

ent. Gandhi responded with an English translation. Both rhetorical studies and non-violent activists have looked at each other with skepticism. The time has now come for rhetoricians to look closely at nonviolence as a form of rhetoric and recognize its power in bringing about social change.

Rhetoric needs to be concerned with its Aristotelian roots. Whether it is a force for good or one that preaches hatred and dissension is an important point for consideration. It is here that rhetoric has to grapple with the content of the message and not assume neutrality about the message. Such neutrality, in some ways, is true of many communication theories. Further, rhetoric should not merely be aimed at humouring ones' own constituency, but should be addressed to a wider audience. The power of a message is dependent on how universal and unifying it is. For example, Gandhi met the aggrieved Lancashire textile workers who were affected by his boycott of foreign clothes and gained their confidence, ending his session with a photograph of the workers cheering him. Gandhi's approach to the power of the word can be best captured in his own words. He said: "Let us be clear regarding the language we use and the thoughts we nurture. For what is language but the expression of thought? Let your thought be accurate and truthful, and you will hasten the advent of *swaraj* (freedom) even if the whole world is against you". These are powerful words indeed, and pointers to a new form of rhetoric.

Mahatma Gandhi: Speeches that have Changed the World. Quercus Publishing



## Mandela's face and Two Images of Africa

Segun Ige

### Mandela's Face

Symbolic rhetoric has taught us to view images and objects as locations of interaction, where moments are captured, carrying with them numerous stories which lend themselves to interpretation based on the analyst's perspective. This aspect of rhetoric includes pictorial objects.

The compiler of Mandela's photo biography *Mandela: A Life* offers a range of encounters with Mandela which include two interesting pictures of Mandela's facial interaction with two little children, both probably under a year old: one a very playful healthy baby, and the other, a very sick baby (Figures 1 and 2 below). These pictures capture Mandela's countenance in response to the well being of the two babies under consideration.



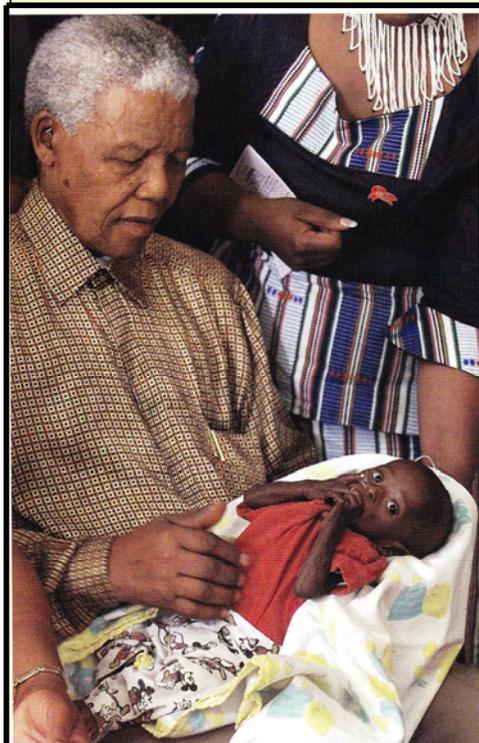
Figure 1

The child in Figure 1, whose face is not fully captured in the picture looks very healthy, and perhaps playful. One can only tell by the elder statesman's warm expression and perhaps an overture to the baby to engage in some form of Papa-grandchild playful interaction. The baby, as the author suggests may have been his grandchild (68). The other baby in Figure 2, a six month old baby who lived in a hospice, was HIV positive, and from his appearance, emaciated (80). The soberness on Mandela's face is a stark contradiction to what would have been on his mind in Figure 1. In each case we see a facial expression that responds to each child's state of the being. These are two of the children of Africa that Mandela has had to hold in his hands: to love, care for, think about, plan

for and pray for. Little wonder that he recently laid the foundation of a multi-million rand paediatric hospital.

But these two images bear resonance all across Africa. They are the contradictory images of Africa that African leaders have to deal with on a daily basis. First is a healthy, strong and prosperous Africa that the world rejoices to meet. The side of Africa is not altogether independent. It is an Africa that needs a strong leadership to maintain its well being, to ensure that it is not open to abuse of social and political miscreants. It is an Africa that portends the continuity of Africa as a politically and economically viable entity. This is the image of Africa that the world loves to see and play with. In the world cup that is around the corner, this is the Africa that plays with the rest of the world.

The other image is a pitiable Africa that requires support, nurture, love and a different kind of attention than the first. This Africa cries out for help daily. This Africa thinks about its future, beckons to a future, and does not know if that would come. This Africa is vulnerable, and requires a strong and responsible leadership decisively to make something happen for it. This Africa needs the certainty of a tomorrow.



**Figure 2**

#### **Mandela's Imperatives**

Mandela may not in any way consider himself a prophet. But in a speech in Tunis, 13-15 June 1994 at a session of the then Organisation of African Unity, now African Union, Mandela made the following pronouncement:

*. . . Thus do we give reason to the peoples of the world to say of Africa that she will never experience development and growth, that her children will forever be condemned to poverty and dehumanisation and that we shall for ever be knocking on somebody's door pleading for a slice of bread.*

*We know it is a matter of fact that we have it in ourselves as Africans to change all this. We must in action assert our will to do so. We must, in action, say that there is no obstacle big enough to stop us from bringing about a new renaissance. (Mand. Tunis 1994: 16-17)*

Just before the citation, Mandela has referred to the Rwandan genocide suggesting incidences of this nature as an excuse for the world to consider Africa eternally unstable. One is not sure if this call in Tunis led to what was later known as Mbeki's Renaissance. The last/current wave of African Renaissance was championed by South Africa's former President, Thabo Mbeki, and led to the establishment of NEPAD, the historic name change from Organisation of African Unity to African Union and several other structural and relational developments between and among African States.

These efforts were stained by what has been considered to be Mbeki's denialist rhetoric in relation to HIV/AIDS. Whatever the mundane outworking of the aftermath of Mandela's 1994 speech in Tunis, a wave of renaissance was birthed (cf. Landsberg 2007: 195-212). But can this renaissance or another solve Africa's Problems.

Towards a new Renaissance?

Part of the critique of the criticisms against the Mbeki's renaissance was that it was elitist, even though it provided a new framework for Africa and its move towards stronger collaborations between and among African states. One wonders if after Mbeki, the fire does not need to be rekindled. This is not a proposal for another top down approach, but a renaissance that emanates from the grassroots, that touches the lives of people in rural settlements and gives a better life and fair opportunities to everyone on the African continent. There exist comatose forms of leadership in some parts of Africa where citizens are not even aware of the presence of government, and in other places, governments are more of a burden than a blessing. Nkrumah believed that advancing into independence in African states, the vast riches of Africa would benefit the African people, and all who live in it but, Fanon's position remains clear, where colonialists left off, the bourgeoisie took over. This is something we need to change in the African story. There is need for a permanent reawakening in the consciousness of the African peoples and the leadership. Imagine! How is Mandela looking down on the African child at the moment?

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SOON!**

# SPEECHES



1 For centuries, Europeans dominated the African continent. The white man arrogated to himself the right to rule and to be obeyed by the non-white; his mission, he claimed, was to "civilise" Africa. Under this cloak, the Europeans robbed the continent of vast riches and inflicted unimaginable suffering on the African people.

2 All this makes a sad story, but now we must be prepared to bury the past with its unpleasant memories and look to the future. All we ask of the former colonial powers is their goodwill and co-operation to remedy past mistakes and injustices and to grant independence to the colonies in Africa....

3 It is clear that we must find an African solution to our problems, and that this can only be found in African unity. Divided we are weak; united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world.

4 Although most Africans are poor, our continent is potentially extremely rich. Our mineral resources, which are being exploited with foreign capital only to enrich foreign investors, range from gold and diamonds to uranium and petroleum. Our forests contain some of the finest woods to be grown anywhere. Our cash crops include cocoa, coffee, rubber, tobacco and cotton. As for power, which is an important factor in any economic development, Africa contains over 40% of the potential water power of the world, as compared with about 10% in Europe and 13% in North America. Yet so far, less than 1% has been developed. This is one of the reasons why we have in Africa the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty, and scarcity in the midst of abundance.

5 Never before have a people had within their grasp so great an opportunity for developing a continent endowed with so much wealth. Individually, the independent states of Africa, some of them potentially rich, others poor, can do little for their people. Together, by mutual help, they can achieve much. But the economic development of the continent must be planned and pursued as a whole. A loose confederation designed only for economic co-operation would not provide the necessary unity of purpose. Only a strong political union can bring about full and effective development of our natural resources for the benefit of our people.

6 The political situation in Africa today is heartening and at the same time disturbing. It is heartening to see so many new flags hoisted in place of the old; it is disturbing to see so many countries of varying sizes and at different levels of development, weak and, in some cases, almost helpless. If this terrible state of fragmentation is allowed to continue it may well be disastrous for us all.

7 There are at present some 28 states in Africa, excluding the Union of South Africa, and those countries not yet free. No less than nine of these states have a population of less than three million. Can we seriously believe that the colonial powers meant these countries to be independent, viable states? The example of South America, which has as much wealth, if not more than North America, and yet remains weak and dependent on outside interests, is one which every African would do well to study.

8 Critics of African unity often refer to the wide differences in culture, language and ideas in various parts of Africa. This is true, but the essential fact remains that we are all Africans, and have a common interest in the independence of Africa. The difficulties presented by questions of language, culture and different political systems are not insuperable. If the need for political union is agreed by us all, then the will to create it is born; and where there's a will there's a way.

9 The present leaders of Africa have already shown a remarkable willingness to consult and seek advice among themselves. Africans have, indeed, begun to think continentally. They realise that they have much in common, both in their past history, in their present problems and in their future hopes. To suggest that the time is not yet ripe for considering a political union of Africa is to evade the facts and ignore realities in Africa today.

10 The greatest contribution that Africa can make to the peace of the world is to avoid all the dangers inherent in disunity, by creating a political union which will also by its success, stand as an example to a divided world. A Union of African states will project more effectively the African personality. It will command respect from a world that has regard only for size and influence. The scant attention paid to African opposition to the French atomic tests in the Sahara, and the ignominious spectacle of the U.N. in the Congo quibbling about constitutional niceties while the Republic was tottering into anarchy, are evidence of the callous disregard of African Independence by the Great Powers.

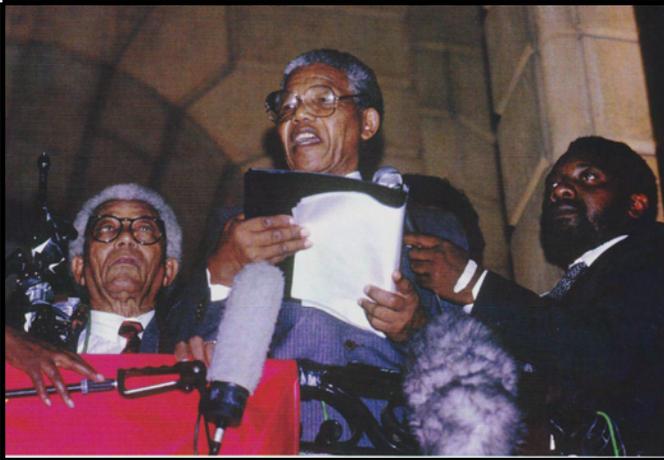
11 We have to prove that greatness is not to be measured in stock piles of atom bombs. I believe strongly and sincerely that with the deep-rooted wisdom and dignity, the innate respect for human lives, the intense humanity that is our heritage, the African race, united under one federal government, will emerge not as just another world bloc to flaunt its wealth and strength, but as a Great Power whose greatness is indestructible because it is built not on fear, envy and suspicion, nor won at the expense of others, but founded on hope, trust, friendship and directed to the good of all mankind.

12 The emergence of such a mighty stabilising force in this strife-worn world should be regarded not as the shadowy dream of a visionary, but as a practical proposition, which the peoples of Africa can, and should, translate into reality. There is a tide in the affairs of every people when the moment strikes for political action. Such was the moment in the history of the United States of America when the Founding Fathers saw beyond the petty wranglings of the separate states and created a Union. This is our chance. We must act now. Tomorrow may be too late and the opportunity will have passed, and with it the hope of free Africa's survival.

From Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1961), pp. xi-xiv.

Source: *Modern History Sourcebook*.

## February 11 1990, RELEASE FROM PRISON



**From right: the late Elder Statesman Walter Sisulu, President Nelson Mandela and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa**

1 Friends, Comrades and fellow South Africans, I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all. I stand here before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people. Your tireless and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today. I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands.

2 On this day of my release, I extend my sincere and warmest gratitude to the millions of

my compatriots and those in every corner of the globe who have campaigned tirelessly for my release. I extend special greetings to the people of Cape Town, the city which has been my home for three decades. Your mass marches and other forms of struggle have served as a constant source of strength to all political prisoners.

3 I salute the African National Congress. It has fulfilled our every expectation in its role as leader of the great march to freedom. I salute our president, Comrade Oliver Tambo, for leading the ANC even under the most difficult circumstances. I salute the rank-and-file members of the ANC: You have sacrificed life and limb in the pursuit of the noble cause of our struggle. I salute combatants of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* (the ANC's military wing) who paid the ultimate price for the freedom of all South Africans.

4 I salute the South African Communist Party for its sterling contribution to the struggle for democracy: You have survived 40 years of unrelenting persecution. The memory of great Communists like Bram Fisher and Moses Mabhida will be cherished for generations to come. I salute General Secretary Joe Slovo, one of our finest patriots. We are heartened by the fact that the alliance between ourselves and the party remains as strong as it always was.

5 I salute the United Democratic Front, the National Education Crisis Committee, the South African Youth Congress, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, and COSATU, and the many other formations of the mass democratic movement. I also salute the Black Sash and the National Union of South African Students. We note with pride that you have endured as the conscience of white South Africans, even during the darkest days of the history of our struggle. You held the flag of liberty high. The large scale mass mobilization of the past few years is one of the key factors which led to the opening of the final chapter of our struggle.

6 I extend my greetings to the working class of our country. Your organized strength is the pride of our movement. You remain the most dependable force in the struggle to end exploitation and oppression. I pay tribute to the many religious communities who carried the campaign for justice forward when the organizations of our people were silenced.

7 I greet the traditional leaders of our country: Many among you continue to walk in the footsteps of great heroes. I pay tribute for the endless heroism of youth: You, the young lions, have energized our entire struggle. I pay tribute to the mothers and wives and sisters of our nation: You are the rock-hard foundation of our struggle. Apartheid has inflicted more pain on you than on anyone else.

8 On this occasion, we thank the world, we thank the world community for their great contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle. Without your support, our struggle could not have reached this advanced stage. The sacrifice of the front-line states will be remembered by South Africans forever.

9 My salutations will be incomplete without expressing my deep appreciation for the strength that has been given to me during my long and gloomy years in prison by my beloved wife and family. I am convinced that your pain and suffering was far greater than my own.

10 Before I go any further, I wish to make the point that I intend making only a few preliminary comments at this stage. I will make a more complete statement only after I have had the opportunity to consult with my comrades.

11 Today, the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognize that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security. The mass campaigns of defiance and other actions of our organizations and people can only culminate in the establishment of democracy. The apartheid's destruction on our subcontinent is incalculable. The fabric of family life of millions of my people has been shattered. Millions are homeless and unemployed. Our economy lies in ruins and our people are embroiled in political strife. Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 with the formation of the military wing of the ANC (*Umkhonto We Sizwe*) was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid. The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created soon, so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle.

12 I am a loyal and disciplined member of the African National Congress. I am therefore in full agreement with all of its objectives strategies and tactics. The need to unite the people of our country is as important a task now as it always has been. No individual leader is able to take all this enormous task on his own. It is our task as leaders to place our views before our organization and to allow the democratic structures to decide on the way forward. On the question of democratic practice, I feel duty-bound to make the point that a leader of the movement is a person who has been democratically elected at a national congress. This is a principle which must be upheld without any exceptions.

13 Today, I wish to report to you that my talks with the government have been aimed at normalizing the political situation in the country. We have not yet begun discussing the basic demands of the struggle. I wish to stress that I myself have at no time entered negotiations about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the government.

14 Mr. de Klerk has gone further than any other nationalist president in taking real steps to normalize the situation. However, there are further steps, as outlined in the Harare declaration, that have to be met before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin. I reiterate our call for, inter alia, the immediate ending of the state of emergency and the freeing of all - and not only some - political prisoners. Only such a normalized situation, which allows for free political activity, can allow us to consult our people in order to obtain a mandate.

15 The people need to be consulted on who will negotiate and on the content of such negotiations. Negotiations cannot take their place above the heads or behind the backs of our people. It is our belief that the future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis. Negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid will have to address the overwhelming demands of our people for a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa. There must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic sys-

-tems to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed, and our society thoroughly democratized.

16 It must be added that Mr. de Klerk himself is a man of integrity who is acutely aware of the dangers of a public figure not honouring his undertaking. But as an organization, we base our policy and our strategy on the harsh reality we are faced with, and this reality is that we are still suffering under the policies of the nationalist government.

17 Our struggle has reached a decisive moment: We call on our people to seize this moment, so that the process toward democracy is rapid and uninterrupted. We have waited too long for our freedom. We can no longer wait. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive. The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts.

18 It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured. We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you, too. We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime. To lift sanctions now would run the risk of aborting the process toward the complete eradication of apartheid.

19 Our march toward freedom is irreversible. We must not allow fear to stand in our way. Universal suffrage on a common voters roll in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is the only way to peace and racial harmony.

20 In conclusion, I wish to go to my own words during my trial in 1964 - they are as true today as they were then:

I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

#### Reference

Edition: Kader Asmal, David Chidester and Wilmot James (eds) (2003) *Nelson Mandela. In His Own Words* Great Britain: Abacus.

Source: *Modern History Sourcebook*.



# **Founding Voices**

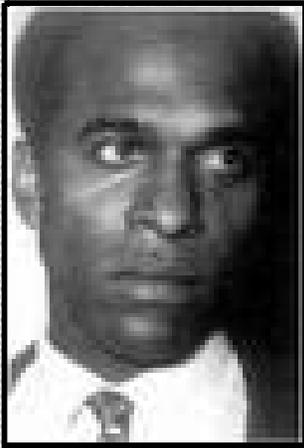
**What did they say then?**



**Kwame Nkrumah**



**Samora Machel**



**Franz Fanon**



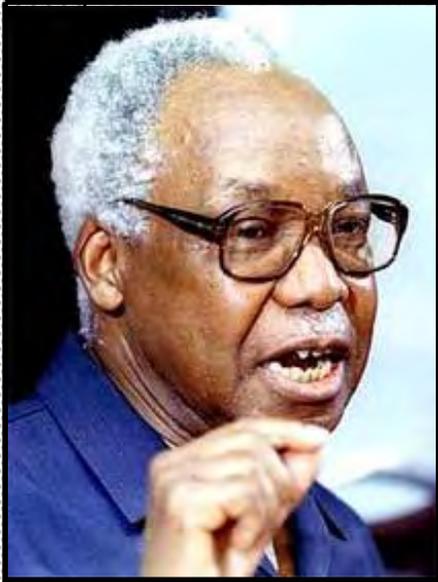
**Nnamdi Azikwe**



**Leopold Senghor**



**Patrice Lumumba**



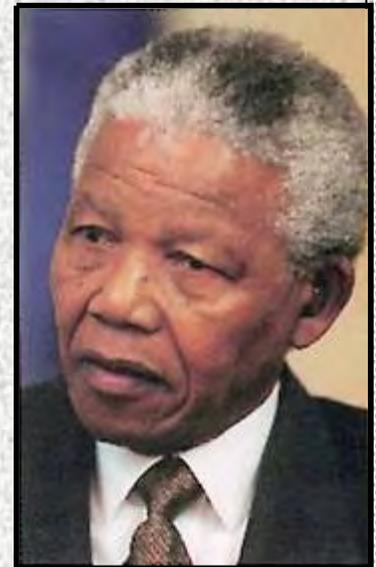
**Julius Nyerere**



**Obafemi Awolowo**

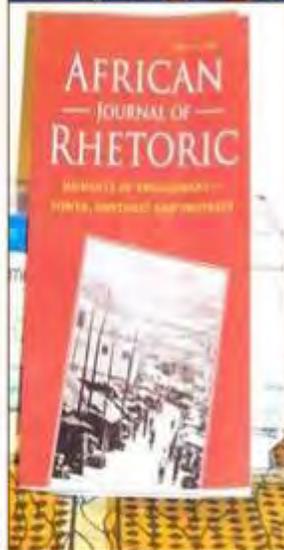
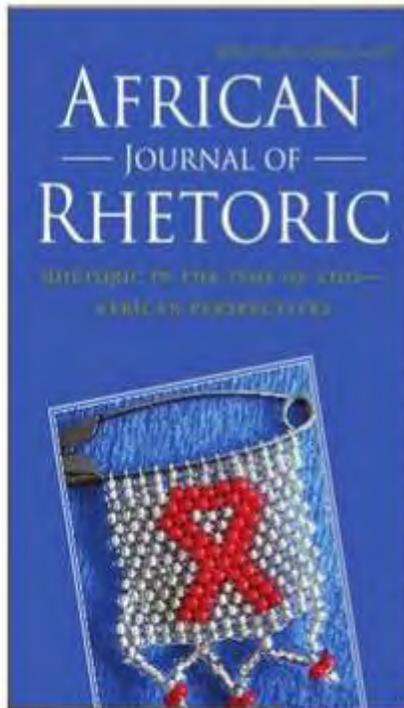


**Amilca Cabra**



**Nelson Mandela**

What are they saying now?



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## Debate: Interfaith Dialogue



Seldom would one find a debating context that involves Christianity and Islamic religion. Jubilee Community Church, Cape Town, a member of New Frontiers, recently hosted a debate entitled: *Identifying Christ: Is HE Man, or Both Man and God?* The debaters were Dr William Lane Craig of Reasonable Faith, USA and Mr Yusuf Ismail, South African legal luminary, both distinguished theologians and apologists of their respective faiths. The umpire was Judge Smith, a respectable South African judge. There was a time keeper who ensured that the speakers did not exceed the time and the auditorium was packed full of a mixed audience of Christians, Muslims and atheists.

In his proposition that Jesus was both man and God, drawing from John Meyer, Dr Craig sets out the criteria upon which textual interpretation and every day live experiences could help establish the credibility of the personality of historical Jesus, namely, multiple independent sources, dissimilarity, embarrassment, rejection and execution and issues of coherence in different accounts. He vigorously attempts to establish what he dubbed as Jesus' 'radical self concept', using the Book of Daniel and the parable of the wicked tenants (Mk 12. 1-11). For him, sources that bear immediate memory of Jesus are more reliable than those that were written some centuries after Christ.

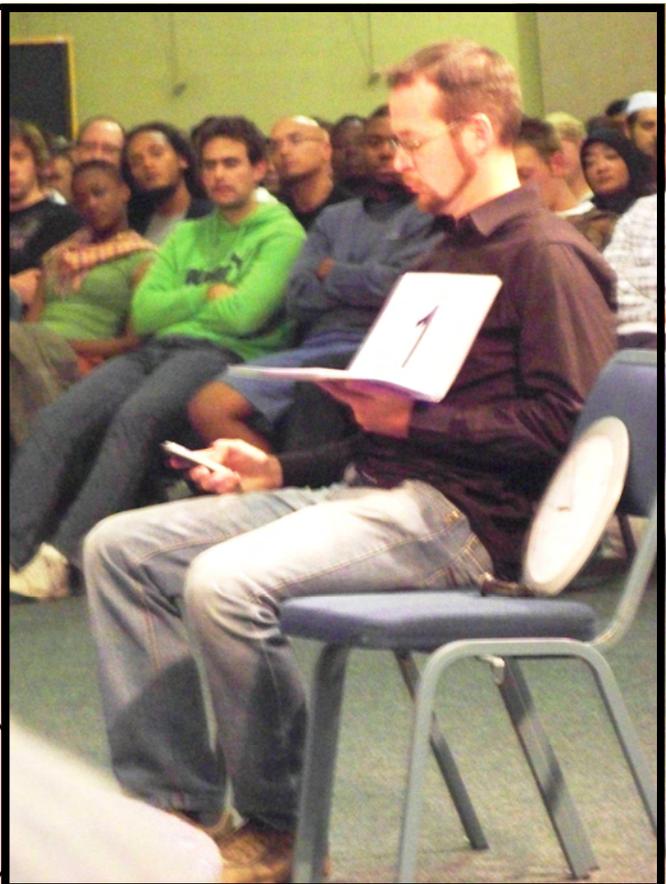


Mr Ismail however focuses on what he sees as the incoherence of the Bible to challenge the position of Dr Craig. Reading from the Quran, he suggests that the Quran only establishes the humanity of Jesus of Jesus Christ and that 'decontextualisation' would do injustice to the personality of Jesus Christ. Mr Ismail demonstrates his acquaintance with both the Bible and the Quran by express citation from both books.

There was a sequence of presentations, rebuttals and counter-rebuttals. This gave the disputants the room to clarify their points and throw counter challenge at the each other. At the end of the debate, the audience was given the chance to ask some questions.

Mr. Yusuf Ismail; Above: Dr William Craig

It appeared though that the legitimacy and validity of the new testament narratives of Jesus Christ constituted the bone of contention. Each speaker managed to open up a perspective within which the story of Jesus could be considered. The two speakers hugged each other after the debate and encouraged the audience to read the New testament, for both experiential and informative purposes. Ismail later said, there are two clear constructs of the personality of Jesus: one of the Bible, and the other, of the Quran.



**Time Keeper**



**Cross-section of the audience**





ISSN 1998-2054 2011 edition

## 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?

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