

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESSES OF
SAMORA MACHEL, ROBERT MUGABE, SAM NUJOMA AND
NELSON MANDELA

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
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ABSTRACT

This study provides a rhetorical analysis of four inaugural addresses delivered by Samora Machel, Robert Mugabe, Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela during their inauguration ceremony as the first presidents in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, respectively. The aim of the study was to examine how the four speakers employed the three canons of rhetoric, namely invention, arrangement and style to persuade the audience. The study is the first of its kind in the countries mentioned above and in the region to undertake a rhetorical analysis of four inaugural addresses ever delivered in liberated countries in Southern Africa. The study adopted a qualitative method, which is explorative in nature, and based on a purposive sampling, because the selected sample shares some traits with the whole population to this study and facilitates analysis between different groups. The major findings of the study reflect that four dominant ideological preoccupations emerging from the analysis were: (a) political independence in their countries, (b) national unity and nation-building, (c) economic emancipation and (d) self-dependence and empowerment. The results revealed further that Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela employed and possessed the faculties of invention (*inventio*), arrangement (*dispositio*) and style (*elocutio*) in constructing their first inaugural addresses, which confirm the ancient classical tradition that a skilful rhetorician must possess the faculties of canons of rhetoric in order to persuade an intended audience.

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I thank you.

DEDICATION

To my wife, Ana and children: Lisa, Kelvin and Kensani.

DECLARATION

I, Lázaro Pedro Chissano, hereby declare that this study is a true reflection of my own research, and that this work, or part thereof has not been submitted for a degree in any other institution of higher education.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Orientation of the study

This study provides a rhetorical analysis of four inaugural addresses delivered by four freedom fighters during their inauguration ceremonies as the first Presidents in Southern Africa. The fighters are: Samora Machel, who delivered his message of proclamation of independence in Mozambique on 25 June 1975; Robert Mugabe, who delivered his message of independence in Zimbabwe on 18 March 1980; Sam Nujoma, who delivered his first inaugural address on 21 March 1990; and Nelson Mandela, who delivered his inaugural statement in South Africa on 10 May 1994. The study aims to examine the most common classical rhetoric techniques employed to persuade an audience by the speakers known as the Aristotelian Five Canons of Rhetoric that “provide a method for building a speech that produces such form” (Crick, 2014, p. 52).

The author of *Rhetoric ad Herennium* (as cited by Crick, 2014, p. 9), which is attributed later to the works of Cicero, argues that:

The speaker, then, should possess the faculties of invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. Invention is the devising of matter, true or plausible that would make the case convincing. Arrangement is the ordering and distribution of the matter, making clear the place to which each thing is to be assigned. Style is the adaptation of suitable words and sentences to the matter devised. Memory is the firm retention in the mind of the

matter, words, and arrangement. Delivery is the graceful regulation of voice, countenance, and gesture.

The canons of rhetoric provide a summary of faculties and methods that a speaker must follow to achieve success in persuading an audience. These faculties do not merely guarantee success, but it is the hard work of a speaker to find out what exactly how and when to persuade a certain audience. The study did not simply aim to describe the canons of rhetoric employed in the inaugural addresses, but to examine how the speakers employed these faculties to persuade the intended audience and under what circumstances or situation the speakers delivered the inaugurals. Blitzer (1968, p. 5) contends that:

Rhetorical discourse comes into existence as a response to a situation, in the same sense that an answer comes into existence in response to a question or a solution in response to a problem.

Although it could be argued that the inaugural addresses of Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela were delivered in response to a problem or situation given the political environment at the time, it should be noted that the answer was not pre-emptive enough to reach such a conclusion. A research into the rhetorical situation would also require discovering the problem faced by the speakers, their actions, relations, attitudes and beliefs, and constraints that form an integral part of the rhetorical analysis.

Inaugural addresses are instances of epideictic or ceremonial oratory. According to Valenzano and Braden (2012), an epideictic oratory commemorates an occasion and celebrates elements of the scene, and the language used to describe the event highlights special qualities in a way that it evokes more emotion than when a person simply informs the audience. For Crick (2014), ceremonial speeches establish or reinforce bonds between audience members by praising something or someone that a speaker believes reflects their shared values. The relations between the speakers and the audience in the inaugurals will only be revealed by analysing at how faculties of rhetoric employed in the inaugural addresses function together to give form and meaning to the rhetorical act.

Benoit (2009) maintains that “inaugurals are given by a particular rhetor, the President, but the situation in which inaugurals are given distinguishes this kind of speech from other presidential discourses, such as campaign speeches or the State of Union Addresses” (p. 86). He adds that inaugurals mark a shift from the old administration to the new while at the same time signal a beginning of a new administration. Given the nature of inaugurals, it will be important to examine how the speakers attempted to address the power shift relation by analysing closely the arguments and claims provided in the canons of rhetoric, which offers a method for the rhetorical analysis of inaugural addresses in particular.

1.2. Statement of the problem

In the last decade, many scholars carried out few studies on presidential oratory and also on rhetorical criticism in general that provide an excellent historical data and background on the post-independence rhetoric both in Namibia and in the region as a whole. These include the

works of Mathe (2006, 2009), Kangira and Mungenga (2012), Nayeni (2014) and Mbenzi (2014). However, these studies do not offer a detailed rhetorical analysis of inaugural addresses of freedom fighters beyond Namibia. The proposed rhetorical analysis of freedom fighters is the first study of its kind in Namibia that attempted to undertake a rhetorical analysis of inaugural addresses delivered in four liberated countries in Southern Africa: Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa between 1975 and 1994.

According to Windt Jr. (1986), a rhetorical analysis is extrinsic in the sense that the analysis must collect raw materials for an enriched knowledge of how a particular president used his persuasive powers to get done what he wanted to be done. The underlying proposition of this study was that the first inaugural addresses of Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela were significantly rhetoric and unique given the features, context and relevance they portray at both national and regional levels, which lies on how the canons of rhetoric were employed by the speakers. For the purpose of this study a discussion of the aspects of the last two canons of rhetoric (memory and delivery) would render irrelevant since the study focused solely on written products. Hence, the study was informed by only three canons of rhetoric: invention, arrangement and style. Also, the manner in which the speakers employed these three canons was fundamental to understand the real world of rhetoric and how such elements of rhetoric function together and may contribute to the global speeches. It was within this scope that the study proposes to address the question below.

1.3. Research question

The study proposed to undertake a rhetorical analysis of the inaugural addresses of Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela delivered during their inauguration as the first presidents in post-liberated Southern Africa. The study sought to find answers to the following main question:

- how did Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela employ and develop the three canons of rhetoric (Invention, arrangement and style) to persuade the audience?

1.4. Significance of the study

According to Sonja (1989), rhetorical analysis serves many purposes. First, rhetorical analysis intends to help form or shape public opinion. Most importantly, rhetorical analysis inspires and aims at promoting shared community values by highlighting ideas of value and morality. A rhetorical analysis of selected first inaugural addresses will thus contribute to the audience's understanding of how politics functions and how people think politically.

It is the assumed thesis of this study that the inaugural addresses of the freedom fighters post-1945 decolonization share many traits and are significantly rhetorical given the rhetorical situation at hand and their role in leading a transition to full independent states. Therefore, this study will augment the existing literature and provide a better understanding of the presidential inaugurals.

1.5. Limitation of the study

This study was limited by some factors, which included the nature of written products and the size of the population. It is worth noting that the speeches were analysed only in their written format and given the scarcity of audio and video recording pose some challenges. As stated in this chapter, the study was informed by three canons of rhetoric: Invention, Arrangement and Style, thus putting aside the process of memory and delivery that complements the other three canons. The second limitation was related to the size of the sample, taking into account that it excluded other Southern African countries that gained independence through peaceful means namely: Botswana, Malawi, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland. It was likely that the results drawn from the sample of this study would be rooted in the liberation struggle. Hence, the findings could be generalized across the entire region.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The literature review addresses three areas related to the rhetorical analysis of inaugural addresses. The first section lists some studies conducted on presidential rhetorical criticism in the country and in the region in the last two decades. The second section looks at different concepts of rhetoric applicable to the study of rhetoric and the current thinking on the topic. Finally, the third section discusses in detail the genre or types of rhetoric, with a particular focus on epideictic oratory, the five canons of rhetoric (invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery), and the rhetorical framework guiding the present study.

2.2. Literature survey

Political speeches have always regenerated interest for many scholars in many fields of knowledge that include rhetoric. Studies conducted on presidential rhetoric and also on rhetorical analysis in general in Namibia include the works of Mathe (2006, 2009), Kangira and Mungenga (2012), Nayeni (2014) and Mbenzi (2014), providing an excellent, rich and historical data and background on the post-independence rhetoric both in Namibia and in the region. At the regional and continental level, studies covered a variety of speeches varying from budget, State of the Nation and to inaugural addresses conducted mainly in South Africa, Mozambique and Ghana. These include the works of Ngesi (2001, 2014), WynSculley (2004), Bucher (2005), William (2008); Darch and Hedges (2013) and Mensah (2014). Although the studies do not offer a

comprehensive rhetorical analysis of inaugural addresses of freedom fighters in Southern Africa, they provided an insightful starting point for the present study.

2.3. Classical rhetoric

The origin of classical rhetoric is credited to the ancient city of Athens. For Vickers (1989), “Both the mechanics of ancient civilization and its primary expression remained oral, in politics, all business were conducted by debate, at whatever level of importance; in law complaints were brought before magistrates verbally and litigates pleaded their cases in public before a jury of citizens. Also, Greek law required every citizen to speak on his behalf in prosecution or defences. Thus, every Athenian citizen had to live as an effective public speaker” (p. 17). Consequently, small schools of rhetoric began to mushroom. The first schools of rhetoric commenced in the 5th century B.C. among a group of teachers called the Sophists that contributed hugely to the growth of rhetorical consciousness.

According to Kennedy (1999), “Pure sophists were teachers of rhetoric who taught their students some theory, but from Philostratus’s account and other sources their emphasis seems clear to have been on declamation” (p. 47). The Sophists would travel from one place to other teaching young men in public places how to speak and debate particularly on how to analyse poetry, defining parts of speech, and instruction on argumentation styles. These teachers were capable of winning any debate on any subject even if they had no clear understanding of the topic through the use of confusing analogies, flowery metaphors, and clever wordplay. Their focus was on style and presentation even at the expense of truth.

Isocrates (436-338 BC) also taught public speaking as a means of human perfection but differed from the Sophists. Isocrates (1980) holds that:

Formal training makes such men more skillful and more resourceful in discovering the possibilities of a subject; for it teaches them to take from a reader source the topics which they otherwise hit upon in haphazard fashion. But it cannot fully fashion men who are without natural aptitude into good debaters or writers, although it is capable of leading them on to self-improvement and to a greater degree of intelligence on many subjects. (p. 173)

Isocrates also believed that practice in speaking publicly about themes and important questions would contribute to improving the personality of both speaker and audience while also offering the best service to a city. His contributions included speeches written for his students to be able to imitate in the same way that poets would imitate poems as to inspire in them a desire to attain fame through civic leadership. Isocrates marked huge influence on Cicero and Quintilian.

Plato (427-347 BC) was a philosopher in Classical Rhetoric and founder of an academy in Athens. He established the differences between true and false rhetoric in many dialogues. Plato disputed the sophistic notion that the art of persuasion could exist independent of the art of dialectic. While condemning, Plato suggested the possibility that a typical rhetoric would be based on the knowledge produced to appeal to the main character, *Phaedrus*, to take up philosophy dialectically.

Aristotle (384-322 BC) remains the best-known rhetorician of classical Greek, Plato's student, whose contributions include the treatise on rhetoric that is still effective today. He criticized the

Sophists for abusing of rhetoric though he saw rhetoric as a useful tool in helping the audience to understand and uncover the truth. Aristotle (2007) established a system for effective persuasion that includes the three steps or “offices” of rhetoric (invention, arrangement, and style), the three means of persuasion (*logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos*), the three genre or types of rhetoric (deliberative, forensic, and epideictic); the parts of speech and the effective use of style. All these aspects will be discussed at length in the next sections.

Cicero (106-43 BC) was a political theorist and orator whose contributions are regarded as the most significant masterpieces of all times. His works include the influential the *De Inventione* often read alongside the *Ad Herennium* as the two fundamental texts of rhetorical theory and the *De Oratore*. Cicero also wrote many speeches and letters that would establish eloquence and style for generations. Cicero was instrumental in the teaching of Greek rhetoric that influenced the many fields of study and underlined the importance of all forms of appeal in rhetoric.

Quintilian (35-100 AD) was also one of the most influential in the classical rhetoric. His works include the *Institutio Oratoria*. The *Institutio Oratoria* is a detailed treatise on training of orator, in which Quintilian discusses the training of the good orator from birth to old age and, in the process, reviews the doctrines and opinions of many influential rhetoricians who preceded him (Askbeta, 2014). The rhetorical training established the five canons of rhetoric that are still useful today: *inventio* (invention), *dispositio* (disposition or arrangement), *elocutio* (style), *pronuntiatio* (presentation) and *memoria* (memory), *actio* (delivery).

2.4. Rhetoric: Definition

There are many different and popular definitions of rhetoric. However, the most notable definitions of rhetoric offered so far and central to this study include that of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian. Kangira and Mungenga (2012) provide a summary of four definitions made by these scholars:

Plato defines rhetoric as the art of winning the soul by discourse while Aristotle came up with the most quoted definition that, rhetoric is the faculty of discovering in any particular case all the available means of persuasion. Cicero identifies the five parts of rhetoric, which are invention, disposition, elocution, memory and pronunciation. Another scholar, Quintilian, argues that rhetoric is “the art of speaking well”. The fourth definition of rhetoric is taken from the scholar Hauser, which states that rhetoric is the instrumental use of language, whereby one person engages in another person in an exchange of symbols to accomplish some goal. He goes on to say that communication attempts to coordinate social action. (p. 110)

In line with Aristotle, Burke (1969) argues that “rhetoric is the art of persuasion or a study of the means of persuasion available for any given situation” (p. 46). This is, therefore, the context in which rhetoric should be understood and will be employed in this study. This definition, as well as the proper understanding of rhetoric, is essential in the analysis of the inaugural addresses of Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela. Furthermore, Burke (1969) observes that:

You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your way with his. Persuasion by flattery

is but a special case of persuasion in general. But flattery can safely serve as our paradigm if we systematically widen its meaning, to see behind it in the conditions of identification or consubstantiality in general. And you give the signs of such consubstantiality by deference to an audience's opinions. (p. 55)

Drawing also on Aristotle, Yoos (1984) claims that:

Yet, in defining rhetoric as the art of finding all the available means of persuasion, Aristotle must recommend selecting, compiling, and arranging arguments to gain a maximum persuasive advantage. Such strategies to gain the prize need to hide the weakness of one's position. They need to divert an audience's attention away from the strength of an opponent's argument. They need at times to instil in the audience the illusion of trust and confidence in the rhetor. Finally, they need to put the audience in a receptive form of mind that will lull their natural reason. (p. 96)

Given this background on rhetoric, there is a dire need for us to understand the techniques used by Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela if we are to examine the importance or validity of their arguments correctly.

2.5. Branches of rhetoric

Despite many advances in the studies of rhetoric to date, modern rhetoric remains firmly rooted in the works of Aristotle. According to Condit (1985), Aristotle's contributions to rhetoric remain vigorous masterpieces to many social sciences disciplines to date. In his approach, Aristotle identifies three types or genres of civic rhetoric: *forensic*, also known as judicial,

concerned with *past* events; *deliberative*, also known as legislative, concerned with *future* events, and; *epideictic*, also known as ceremonial concerned with *present* events.

Aristotle (2001) establishes the difference between the three kinds of rhetoric:

The political orator is concerned with the future: it is about things to be done hereafter that he advises, for or against. The party in a case at law is concerned with the past; one man accuses the other, and the other defends himself, with reference to things already done. The ceremonial orator is, properly speaking, concerned with the present, since all men praise or blame in view of the state of things existing at the time though they often find it useful also to recall the past and to make guesses at the future. (p. 15)

2.5.1 Judicial oratory

Judicial Oratory also known as “forensic” oratory originally had to do exclusively with the courts of law, and it was directed towards the purposes of defending or accusing. The word *forensic* is known today as either criminal or civil law, which are fields of forensic science. However, the term forensic associated with criminal investigation exists because forensic (or judicial) rhetoric first existed (Kennedy, 1981). In the ancient times, the judicial orator made arguments about past events and did so on two special topics of invention described by Aristotle as appropriate for this branch of oratory, the justice and the injustice.

2.5.2 Deliberative oratory

Deliberative oratory is also known as “legislative” oratory, which originally had to do exclusively with that speaking typical of political legislature. According to Burton (2011):

Deliberative oratory is a rhetorical genre used to convince an audience to complete or not complete an action. This sort of oratory was oriented towards policy and thus considered the future and whether given laws would benefit or harm society. Aristotle considered four special topics of invention, grouped in pairs, to pertain to deliberative oratory: the good and the unworthy, the advantageous and the disadvantageous.

2.5.3 Epideictic oratory

According to Condit (1985), epideictic addresses occur more than people realize. Every graduation ceremony, presidential appearance, retirement event, welcomes, and wedding toast or eulogies provide an opportunity for the commemorative address. Importantly, these addresses are less static, more emotional and have a focus on the event's importance.

An epideictic address commemorates an occasion and celebrates elements of the scene. Valenzano and Braden (2012) argue that even when the occasion observes someone's death, the address is intended to celebrate the person's life. Most importantly, epideictic addresses seek to achieve four goals. Firstly, they attempt to commemorate the occasion or object. Secondly, they establish a connection between the object being honoured, the people gathered to pay tribute and the event that brought them together. Next, the speeches construct a narrative about the commemorated thing that presents it in a positive light. Finally, an epideictic address conveys the importance of the act of paying tribute to the object.

Osborn and Osborn (1994) maintain that a ceremonial speech stresses the sharing of identities and values that unite people into communities. WynSculley (2004) contends that an epideictic speech does not seek to present an argument even if deliberative elements exist. The epideictic

speech represents values, a vision. Consequently, this genre of speech seeks unification, aims to indicate how people are unified under a common set of values. Inaugural addresses delivered by Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela, attempt to unify the audience under shared principles that will lead to the incoming government or administration.

Crick (2014) argues that “speeches of commemoration establish or reinforce bonds between audience members by praising something or someone that the speaker believes reflects their shared values” (p. 64). He goes on to say that the underlining components of commemorative speeches include “value”, which is an abstract and universal concept, and the “subject matter”, which is a specific and concrete thing.

Inaugural address of Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela, are instances of epideictic oratory, a form of rhetoric that praises or blames on ceremonial occasions, a form that addresses the audience that evaluates the speaker’s skills.

2.5.3.1 Inaugural addresses

Inaugurals addresses of Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela bring people together to honour values that unite them in commemoration of independence. Campbell and Jamieson (1989) classify inaugurals as instances of epideictic oratory. They hold that:

Presidential inaugurals are epideictic speeches because they are delivered on ceremonial occasions, fuse past and future in present contemplation, affirm or praise the shared principles that will guide the incoming administration, ask the audience to "gaze upon" traditional values, employ an elegant, literary language, and rely on "heightening of effect," that is, on amplification and reaffirmation of what is already known and believed.

The special character of the presidential inaugural address is defined by these general epideictic features and by the nature of the inauguration ceremony. Inauguration is a rite of passage, a ritual of transition in which the newly-elected president is invested in the office of the presidency. (p. 395)

While a more detailed analysis of the inaugural addresses will be outlined later in this research, it is important to note that inaugural addresses are distinct from other subspecies of epideictic oratory. Campbell and Jamieson (1989) propose five elements that distinguish presidential inaugurals from other types of epideictic discourse:

The presidential inaugural: 1) unifies the audience by reconstituting its members as “the people” who can witness and ratify this ceremony; 2) rehearses communal values drawn from the past; 3) sets forth the political principles that will govern the new administration; 4) demonstrates that the President appreciates the requirements and limitations of his executive functions; and 5) achieves these ends through means appropriate to epideictic address, i.e., while urging contemplation not action, focusing on the present while incorporating past and future, and praising the institution of the presidency and the values and form of the government of which it is a part. (p. 396)

The selected inaugural addresses were intended to an audience for the occasion and invited to endorse the ceremony while drawing on the past and shared values of the liberation struggle. The speakers enunciate their new vision of the new government or administration while acknowledging the functions conferred upon through “literary style that heightens experiences, prompts contemplation, and speaks to the “people” through all time” (Lott, 1969, p. 243).

2.6. The five canons of rhetoric

The canons of rhetoric were first formalized in the Roman work *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, written by an anonymous, but later credited to be the work of Cicero. They represent the five essential methods to employ in creating a successful rhetorical act. These include invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery.

2.6.1 The first canon: Invention (*inventio*)

Invention is a method used for the discovery of arguments, a word which is derived from the Latin, meaning “invention” or “discovery”. According to Glenn and Goldthwaite (2008), *inventio* is the central, indispensable canon of rhetoric, and traditionally involves a systematic search for arguments. Invention is the first step in an attempt to generate ideas or create an argument that is persuasive to the audience. WynSculley (2004) argues that:

Inventio consists of an orator shaping her thoughts around some or all of the following: three special topics that are the main types of speeches, namely the deliberative, forensic and epideictic. There are also common topics such as definition, creating relationships, explaining the circumstances, and providing testimony. Arguments specifically can be divided into Fallacies, Syllogisms, and Enthymemes. (p. 18)

Mathe (2006) contends that invention deals with discovering and formulating arguments on any subject, opinions when attempting to provide an answer to a problem or reasons for a proposed action. Before engaging in stylistic ornaments, the speaker must formulate arguments upon which to rely on.

Crick (2014) holds that neglect of invention is one of the most reasons for speech's failure, usually in the assumption that on the part of the speaker his or her claim is so obviously true and persuasive that it needs no further backing by extensive research and creative argumentation. He adds that one of the best resources to begin a speech is to resort to public memory. West (2001) states that:

The study of memory encompasses not just ideas of memory at a particular historical moment, but entire regimes of memory, ways of privileging certain types of knowledge, certain values, certain ideas, beliefs, symbols - in short, and entire cultural ethnography coalesces around the apparently innocuous ability to remember the past. Memory serves as the locus of personal history and individual identity. (p. 483)

According to Crowley and Hawhee (1999), "invention is the division of rhetoric that investigates the possible means by which proofs can be discovered. It supplies the speaker and writers with sets of instructions or ideas that help them to find and compose arguments that are appropriate for a given rhetorical situation".

2.6.1.1 The rhetorical situation

A speech is not created in a vacuum. Blitzer (1968) defines a rhetorical situation generally as "the context in which speakers or writers create rhetorical discourse" (p. 382). He goes on to say that rhetorical situation is "a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential *exigence* which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the *exigence*" (p. 386).

Blitzer (1968) argues that understanding the situation is important because the situation invites and largely determines the form of rhetorical work that responds to it. He adds that “rhetorical discourse comes into existence as a response to a situation, in the same sense that an answer comes into existence in response to a question, or a solution in response to a problem” (p. 385-386).

In as far as many situations might exist, not all situations can be defined as rhetorical situations. The reason is that a speech cannot resolve or answer a problem or a question alone. With this in mind, Blitzer (1968) makes reference to the *kairos*, which must talk about the situation to resolve or answer a problem or question. In his definition, *kairos* is made of the occasion itself, the historical circumstances that contributed to existence, the oral or written conventions of the form fit for the occasion, the manner of delivery the audience anticipates, their attitudes to the speaker and the outside world. The following are three constituent parts that form a rhetorical situation:

- a) *exigence* or a problem existing in the world is not rhetorical when it cannot be changed by human interaction, such as a natural disaster or death. However, *exigence* is rhetorical when it is capable of positive modification and when that positive modification calls for the act of persuasion;

- b) *audience* - rhetorical discourse promotes change through its influence on an audience's decision and actions. A rhetorical situation requires that the members of an audience can function as an agent of change; and

- c) *constraints*, which are made up of persons, events, objects, and relations that limit decisions and action. The speaker also brings about a new set of constraints through what is termed as the Aristotelian means or modes of persuasion: *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*.

2.6.1.2 Appeals or means of persuasion

Aristotle proposes three means or modes of effecting persuasion internal to the communication itself: the first, typically designated “ethos”, is the appeal to the character of the speaker; the second, “pathos”, is the appeal to the emotions of the audience; and the third, usually called “logos”, is the rational appeal through the speech itself as it demonstrates the argument.

2.6.1.2.1 Ethos

The concept of *ethos* deals with an aspect of credibility and authority of the speaker. For Magyar (2010) *ethos* is the art of using the credibility of a person or group to persuade the audience. *Ethos* appeals to the conscience, ethics, morals, standards, values and principles. Aristotle (2007) believes that out of the three rhetorical proofs (ethos, pathos and logos), ethos is the most powerful:

There is persuasion through character whenever the speech is presented in such a way as to make the speaker worthy of credence; for we believe fair-minded people to a greater extent and more quickly than we do others on all subjects in general and completely so in cases where there is not exact knowledge but room for doubt . . . character is almost, so to speak, the controlling factor in persuasion. (p. 38)

Although Aristotle (2007) recognized the impact of ethos, he also saw the difficulty of establishing ethos and its three components. He holds that:

There are three reasons why speakers themselves are persuasive; for there are three things we trust other than logical demonstration. These are the practical wisdom [*phronesis*], and virtue [*arête*], and goodwill [*eunoia*]: for the speakers make mistakes in what they say through failure to exhibit, all, or one of these; for either through lack of practical sense they do not form opinions rightly; or character; or they are prudent and fair-minded but let goodwill, so that it is possible for people not to give the best advice although they know what it is. These are the only possibilities. (p. 112)

Crick (2014) establishes the distinction between the three components of *ethos* namely: practical wisdom, virtue and goodwill. He argues that:

Practical wisdom refers to “a proven ability to size up problematic situations and make judgements that show prudence and forethought, as military commander might possess due to actions during past battles”; virtue refers “an excellence in performance in performing particular activities that are held in high regard and embody the best cultural values, as one might think of virtues of motherhood”; and goodwill refers “the presence of conscious and thoughtful consideration of the audience’s well-being, as we would expect from good friend rather than from a stranger”. (p. 99)

2.6.1.2.2 Pathos

Pathos, or emotional appeal, appeals to the audience's emotional sensibilities. In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle (2007) provides a concept of emotions that is a valuable resource for understanding the function in rhetoric. He argues that:

The emotions [*pathê*] are those things through which, by undergoing changes, people come to differ their judgements and what emotions are accompanied by pain and pleasure, for example, anger, pity, fear, and other things and their opposites. There is a need to divide the discussion of each into three headings. I mean, for example, in speaking anger, [one should describe] what is their state of mind when people are angry, and against whom are they usually angry, and for what reasons. (p. 113)

Crick (2014) emphasizes that in order to understand someone's emotions according to Aristotle, we only need to ask that person to make a description of three things: a) his or her state of mind; b) the people, objects, events, or actions that produce the state of mind; and c) the reasons he or she feels this way. Knowing these emotions, a speaker can then reproduce them in others by speaking about them to the people, objects, events, or actions in a way that brings about the state of mind.

2.6.1.2.3 Logos

Logos appeals to the logic, numbers, explanations and facts. According to Magyar (2010), *logos* appeals to logical reasoning, on the assumption that the argument must appear to be sound to the audience. Logos makes use of inductive or deductive reasoning. Aristotle (2007) holds that:

The example is an induction; the Enthymeme is a syllogism. I call the Enthymeme a rhetorical syllogism, and the example a rhetorical induction. Everyone who effects persuasion through proof does, in fact, use either Enthymemes or examples; there is no other way... When we base the proof of a proposition on a number of similar cases, this is induction in dialectic, example in rhetoric; when it is shown that certain propositions being true, a further and quite distinct proposition must also be true in consequence whether invariably or usually, this is called syllogism in dialectic, Enthymeme in rhetoric. (p. 40)

Duke (1990) establishes the difference between two forms of rhetorical demonstration deemed as follows: Enthymeme is an inferential argument that states some conviction regarding human affairs and a reason for this conviction should be accepted.

2.6.2 The second canon: Arrangement (*dispositio*)

Dispositio constitutes the next problem after invention facing the orator or writer to select various arguments and organize them into an effective discourse. According to Crick (2014), resources for arrangement consist of templates that indicate where certain types of things should go and in what sequence.

Aristotle (2007) proposes two essential parts of a discourse: the statement of the case and the proof of the case. For example, in a legal argument, a prosecutor must first declare the charges against the defendant and provide the relevant facts; then he must present the evidence that proves guilt. Aristotle allowed that in practice most discourse also requires an introduction and a conclusion.

According to Crowley and Hawhee (2004), Cicero and Quintilian refined this organizational scheme even further, so that there were eventually six parts:

- a) introduction (*exordium*): the term *exordium* comes from the Latin term meaning “to urge forward”. In the *exordium*, the speaker gives their main argument and all the relevant information;
- b) statement of Facts or *narratio*: Quintilian explained that in the *narratio* “We shall, for instance, represent a person accused of theft as covetous, charged with adultery as lustful, charged with homicide as rash, or attribute the opposite qualities to these persons if we are defending them; further, we must do the same with place, time and the like”;
- c) division (*partitio*), which serves two functions: names the issues in dispute and lists the arguments to be used in the order they will appear;
- d) proof (*confirmatio*): it confirms or validates the material given in the *narratio* and *partitio*;
- e) refutation (*refutatio*) of possible opposing arguments: if the rhetor anticipates that certain people in his audience may disagree with his speech, he must be prepared to refute the argument that could be presented in opposition to his original speech; and
- f) conclusion (*peroratio*): Cicero taught that a rhetor can do three things in this step: sum up his arguments, cast anyone who disagrees with him in a negative light, and arouse sympathy for himself, his clients, or his case.

Crowley and Hawhee (2004), argue that *dispositio* was also seen as an interactive process, particularly in conjunction with *inventio*. The very process of organizing arguments might lead to

the need to discover and research new ones. An orator would refine his arguments and their organization until they were properly arranged. He would then proceed to those areas that we associate with rhetoric today - the development of the style and delivery of the arguments.

2.6.3 The third canon: Style (*elocutio*)

Elocutio deals with the choice of the words. According to Crick (2014), style is the complement of invention. It fills out the form with the material gathered through invention. Furthermore, Crick (2014) outlines two kinds of style: a formal style concerned with genre, in this case with the genre of inaugural addresses whether they fit a certain type and if they carry certain feelings of inaugurals; and a figurative style, representing specific elements of the speech aimed at arousing the audience's attention and seduce the ear of the audience in order to engage with what is being said and creating more feeling of continuity and unity. In this category tropes and figures play a critical role.

2.6.4. The fourth canon: Memory (*memoria*)

In ancient times, speeches were not read off, but were delivered from the memory. Crick (2014) claims that memory is the skill to memorize a text and reproduce it in a manner that seems natural than artificial. It is "the act of absorbing the content and form of the speech so fully into oneself that the speech feels like an unforced expression" (p. 42). Lawrie (2006) argues that "Memory seems less relevant today because we make more use of written word, and even speeches are read off from a text" (p. 18). He goes on to say that even at the classical tradition this cannon received less attention than others did.

2.6.5 The fifth canon: Delivery (*actio*)

Delivery deals with “the manner in which a speaker physically performs the speech through crafted use of the voice and gesture” (Crick, 2014, p. 43). For Lawrie (2006), delivery concerns the control of the voice and tone, gesture and body language.

As indicated in Chapter 1, the analysis of the inaugural addresses will be informed by the first three canons (invention, arrangement and style), on the basis that the study relies solely only on published written format of the speeches.

2.7. Rhetorical criticism

Rhetorical critics have various reasons and purposes for criticism. Foss (1996) defines rhetorical criticism as "the investigation and evaluation of rhetorical acts and artefacts for the purpose of understanding rhetorical processes" (p. 5). She goes on to say that a critic can use an existing method or create one. The decision to create one will be informed by the rhetorical act itself.

Brockriede (as cited by Kuyupers, 2009, p. 13) claims that:

By ‘criticism’ I mean the act of evaluating or analysing experience. A person can function as a critic either by passing judgment on the experience or by analysing it for the sake of a better understanding of that experience or of some more general concept of theory about such experiences.

It is worth mentioning that the purpose of this study is not to evaluate one’s experience, but to analyse how Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela employed the three canons of rhetoric to persuade the audience. This is, therefore, the context in which rhetoric criticism should be

understood and will be employed in this study. The above definition of the analysis of one's experience, as well as the proper understanding of rhetorical criticism, forms the basis of analysis of the inaugural addresses.

The present study will adopt an existing method of rhetorical analysis proposed by Hephzibah and Jollifee (2009) known as Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework. The framework is based on the rhetorical Aristotelian Triad. According to Kaplan (2014), the triad has some parallel to the rhetorical triangle of author, audience and message. For effective communication, the message conveyed by the author needs to be logically sound and based firmly on reason. Aristotle (2007) classifies *logos* as an appeal to logical reasoning. The author needs also to be credible and must be presented as an ethical deliverer of the message (*ethos*). Lastly, the author is more successful appealing to the audience's emotions (*pathos*). While it is the author's role to establish *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* the audience is also requested to use critical thinking to decipher the message conveyed by the author.

Jollifee's rhetorical criticism framework takes into account the Aristotelian Triad, but it includes another component known as the context that influences the author to understand, analyse and generate the *persona*, the appeals and the subject matter material.

In identifying the context, the critic is faced with a challenge to identify the aim, the purpose, or an intention. Following that, the critic considers what aim the speaker strives to achieve through the use of a particular genre. In short, the framework starts with a descriptive analysis of the strategies to see clearly what is being said and how the rhetor is saying. The description takes places at three levels: rhetorical situation (*exigence*, audience, constraints); means of persuasion

(ethos, logos and pathos) and lastly, the organization, structure and form according to the three techniques of rhetoric (invention, arrangement and style).

2.8. Conclusion

The research literature indicates that major contributions from the classical rhetorical proposed by Aristotle (means of persuasion, genres or kinds of rhetoric) and by Cicero and Quintilian (Canons of Rhetoric) remain valid for the study of rhetoric today. The studies conducted in Namibia evaluated in this section provide a starting point for the analysis of inaugural addresses proposed for the study. Additionally, the chapter provided familiarity with the current thinking of rhetoric that continues to be rooted in the work of classical rhetoric. The chapter discussed in detail the canons of rhetoric in an attempt to shape the rhetorical framework for the study. Lastly, the chapter reviewed Jolliffe's rhetorical criticism framework that falls within the scope of this study and deemed appropriate for the analysis of inaugural addresses delivered by Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela during their inauguration as the first Presidents in their respective countries in Southern Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the research design for the study and discusses the methods and instruments and the procedures used for data collection, population and sampling technique including the ethical considerations.

3.2. Research design

According to Jang (1980), the purpose of a research design is to provide a plan of study that permits accurate assessment of cause and effect relationships between independent and dependent variables. In an attempt to address the research question, four inaugural addresses delivered by Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela during their inauguration as the first presidents in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, during 1975 and 1994 were rhetorically analysed.

The study is an exploratory desktop study, which uses a qualitative approach to examine the rhetorical strategies employed by the speakers in the inaugural addresses in their respective countries in Southern Africa. The study relied solely on the published and written speeches.

3.3 Sample

Four inaugural addresses of African freedom fighters or presidents delivered during their inauguration as the first presidents in their countries in Southern Africa were selected. These

were: Samora Machel of Mozambique, Robert Gabriel Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Sam Nujoma of Namibia and Nelson Mandela of South Africa. Firstly, a descriptive analysis of the selected texts is done to identify the major ideological and thematic preoccupations, followed by a rhetorical analysis of the texts to discover the persuasive strategies employed in the speeches. The sample covers only countries that attained independence through liberation struggle in Southern Africa, (excluding Angola) between the 1970s and 1990s. The study adopted a purposive sampling because the selected sample shares some traits with the whole population to this study and facilitates comparisons between different groups.

3.4 Sampling procedure

There are two main types of sampling methods that include probability sampling and non-probability sampling (Leedy and Ormrod, 2010, p. 205). In this study, purposive probability sampling technique was used to select the sample frame. Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005) argue that purposive probability sampling enables each member of the population to have the same chance of being included in the sample. The primary consideration in purposive sampling is the judgement of the researcher as to who can provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study. The researcher only goes to those subjects who in the researcher's opinion are likely to have the required information and be willing to share it (Horn, 2009). In this study, inaugural addresses of Samora Machel of Mozambique, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Sam Nujoma of Namibia and Nelson Mandela of South Africa from the published magazines and the internet websites were selected for this research on the basis of relevance to the theory or issue being investigated and privileged knowledge or experience about the research topic. Purposive sampling was chosen as the researcher already knows something about the specific

universe or events and deliberately selects the particular universe because they are classified as instances that are likely to produce the most valuable data (Denscombe, 2010). This procedure was used to ensure that each participant had a chance of being included in the sample.

However, although purposive sampling may be very appropriate for certain research problems, it can result in sample bias as the selection of the participants is determined by the researcher. It is, therefore, impossible to evaluate the extent to which such samples are represented by the relevant population thus not possible to generalize the results (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, 2005).

In this context, the researcher collected all authentic selected first inaugural addresses from the published magazines and the internet. These include Africa Today Magazine (Samora Machel Address), www.jstor.org. (Robert Mugabe and Nelson Mandela addresses) and www.swapoparty.org (Sam Nujoma). After collection, each address that constitutes part of the sample to this study was transcribed on a separate sheet for ease of reference. The researcher, however, analysed each address separately. In analysing the addresses, the researcher examined and identified the major themes, and the rhetorical strategies, which might be evident in each address. For example, colonization and nation building could be compared and contrasted with all other selected addresses. By so doing, the researcher paid attention to language, style, and stylistic devices used to provide a concise picture of how these linguistic elements attempt to accomplish the speakers' persuasive goals.

3.5 Data analysis

In this section, the ideologies inherent in the various speeches followed by the analysis of the rhetorical strategies employed in texts were examined. Interpretive researchers attempted to develop their data through direct interaction with the case being studied (Thomas, 2010). An important aspect of data analysis in qualitative case study is the search for meaning through direct interpretation of what is observed by them as well as what is experienced and reported by the subjects. Bogdan and Biklen (2003) defined qualitative data analysis as “working with the data, organising them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesizing them, and searching for patterns”.

The aim of qualitative data analysis is to discover features, concepts, themes and meanings. In case study research, Yin (2003) discusses the need for searching the data for “patterns” that may explain or identify causal links in the database. In the process, the researcher concentrates, on the whole, data first then attempts to take it apart and reconstructs it again more meaningfully. Thomas (2010) argues that categorization helps the researcher to make comparisons and contrasts between patterns, to reflect on certain patterns and complex threads of the data deeply and to make sense of them. The process of data analysis begins with the categorization and organisation of data in search of patterns, critical themes and meanings that emerge from the data. A process sometimes referred to as “open coding,” is commonly employed whereby the researcher identifies and tentatively names the conceptual categories into which the phenomena observed would be grouped. The goal is to create descriptive, multi-dimensional categories that provide a preliminary framework for analysis (p. 371).

These emerging categories are critical as qualitative researchers tend to use an inductive analysis. In a study of this nature, the data collection and analysis can also be done in an interactive manner where the results of the analysis guide the subsequent collection of data. The collected data was interpreted and explained against the main research question.

For the purpose of this study, data were analysed only qualitatively. The process followed in analysing and presenting the data is according to the logical model approach for event sequence analyses. The model (developed by Abell (1987) and Heise (1989) does not predict what will happen next but instead offers developmental accounts indicating what events must have preceded a major event. A narrative of events is elicited from a culturally-competent consultant who also defines prerequisites of the events regarding other events within the happening. Data analysis included the following stages:

- a) **stage 1:** Validation of data for accuracy of information. In this process, the researcher validated the accuracy of the data (inaugural addresses) of the four presidents of independent Southern Africa, by reading through each inaugural address several times comparing them against the respective speeches of the four presidents;
- b) **stage 2:** The researcher carefully read through all raw data of the speeches several times to get a general sense of the information and to reflect its overall meanings and identify themes and sub-themes emerging from the speeches;
- c) **stage 3:** The researcher organized and prepared the data for analysis by sorting and organizing the data into different categories/themes as per sub-objectives formulated from the main research objectives;

- d) **stage 4:** The researcher read all data carefully once again. The reasons were to find out the rhetoric style emerging, what ideas emerge from the data and what is the impression of the overall depth, credibility, and use of the information. At this stage, the researcher started to look for general patterns, similarities and differences emerging from the addresses;
- e) **stage 5:** At this point, themes and sub-themes were identified. The researcher focused on themes and sub-themes predetermined from the objectives of the research by organizing the material into segments of text before bringing meaning to information; Data were then fit into these themes and sub-themes through sentence construction. The procedure involved organizing the data according to a data analysis memo/summary, by tabulating it under the sub-questions of the main questions. Themes were formulated based on the questions under each objective; and
- f) **stage 6:** The data were interpreted using reading and understanding what emerged from the themes and the sub-themes according to the information provided by the subjects' personal opinions, experience and appreciating the study based on the inaugural addresses of the four presidents.

A summary of the overall analysis of the speeches was given under each sub-question based on the information gathered under each theme and sub-theme. Discussion of the findings was based on an integration of the researcher's personal interpretation with a meaning derived from a comparison of the findings with information assembled from the literature or theories. This could result in either a confirmation of past information or a divergence from it or could also suggest new questions that could be asked – questions raised by the data and analysis that the researcher had not foreseen earlier in the study. However, these are discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Data was examined separately and categorized regarding major themes, sub-themes and patterns. For instance, the researcher identified the modes of persuasion used in selected inaugural addresses, while drawing from the available literature. Findings were presented under major headings and sections to ensure accuracy and quality. As part of a narrative description, key pieces of evidence such as quotations from multiple sources that support the major themes were included. Moreover, quantifiable data was used to complement the narrative description.

3.6. Research ethics

Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005,) stated that “ethical behaviour is important in research, as in any other field of human activity” (p. 181). They further explained that principles underlying “research ethics” are universal and concern issues such as honesty and respect for the rights of individuals. In connection with this study, the researcher observed the research ethics throughout the study. Leedy and Ormrod (2010) also stated that researchers should not expose research participants to unnecessary physical or psychological harm. Furthermore, they argue that researchers must keep the nature and quality of participants’ performance strictly confidential. This means that ethical issues of participants’ rights and privacy were considered in this research.

The researcher acknowledged the individuals whose work was reviewed and integrated into the study. No part of the selected first inaugural address was used or reproduced for personal or economic gain; the data was collected for academic purposes only.

3.7. Conclusion

This section dealt with the methodology employed in this study. The research approach, method and the research process were covered and explained in this chapter. The methods of analysing the inaugural addresses of the four presidents were explained. Finally, the need for ethical consideration in carrying the study was considered.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the actual rhetorical analysis of four inaugural addresses delivered by Machel, Nujoma, Mugabe and Mandela during their inauguration as the first presidents in their respective countries in Southern Africa. The first section offers the rhetorical situation providing the background information of what motivated the speakers to create the rhetorical act. The rest of the chapter looks at some of the most commonly used techniques employed to persuade the audience by the speakers, in particular, the three Aristotelian Canons: invention, arrangement and style. The analysis of each technique used in the inaugural addresses unveils the rhetorical strategies and means of persuasion employed to arouse the audience's emotions and feelings by the speakers.

4.2 Rhetorical situation

In order to analyse and evaluate a speech properly, it is of paramount importance to understand its entire rhetorical context. Blitzer (1969) states that a rhetorical discourse occurs in response to a rhetorical situation and identifies three key components that define and make-up any rhetorical situation: exigence, audience and constraints.

4.2.1. Exigence

The rhetorical situations of the inaugural address of Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela were prompted by an exigence. According to Blitzer (1969), an exigence "is an imperfection

marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing that is other than it should be” (p. 304). The exigence of the inaugural addresses was prompted by the political situation that prevailed and the struggle for independence in the selected countries.

The origins of the liberation struggle in Mozambique dates back the formation of Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in 1962. Two years after its formation under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO embarked on a liberation war that lasted ten years, after which a peace agreement was signed in Lusaka, known as the Lusaka Peace Accord, which was signed between FRELIMO and the Portuguese Government on 7 September 1974. According to Funada-Classen (2012), the Lusaka agreement recognized Mozambique's right to independence and the terms of power transfer. Samora Machel, a freedom fighter and the leader of FRELIMO after the death of Mondlane in 1969, became the first black President to lead Mozambique on 25 June 1975 until his death on 19 October 1986. The message for the proclamation of Mozambique independence was delivered during a flag-raising ceremony, to mark the end of the colonial regime and the birth of the People’s Republic of Mozambique under the leadership of the black majority rule. The speech was delivered to tens of thousands of people at Machava Stadium in Lourenço Marques city (Maputo). 25 June is a public holiday in Mozambique in celebration of independence.

In 1979, the Lancaster House Agreement was signed and paved way for elections in Zimbabwe. According to the World Heritage Encyclopaedia, Robert Mugabe, a freedom fighter and the leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), emerged as a hero following the general elections in March 1980 after calling for reconciliation between the former belligerents,

including the white Zimbabweans and rival political parties, and thereby became Prime Minister on Zimbabwe's independence on 17 April 1980. The Independence message was aimed at launching a new state of Zimbabwe that had become free, independent and sovereign state led by a legitimate government and representatives chosen by its people. The speech was delivered at Rufaro Stadium in Harare in the presence of thousands of Zimbabweans and invited dignitaries.

In 1988, South Africa agreed to implement the UN Resolution 435, leading to Nujoma's election's victory in 1989. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the UN Resolution 435 passed in 1978 proposed a ceasefire and holding of UN supervised elections in Namibia that contributed to its independence in 1990. Namibia, then "South West Africa, was under South Africa's administration after the German's defeat in the World War I and subsequently received a League of Nations mandate to administer the territory" (Quaye,1991,p.74). Sam Nujoma, a Namibian revolutionary, anti-apartheid activist and the President of South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) delivered his first inaugural address on 21 March 1990, at Windhoek Athletic Stadium and he served as the first President of Namibia from 1990 to 2005. The purpose of the speech was to officiate the power transfer from the South African administration rule to the national majority rule, a country that had been at the centre of an international dispute over four decades. 21 March is a public holiday in commemoration of independence.

Nelson Mandela, a political prisoner who served a sentence of 27 years in jail, was a South African anti-apartheid revolutionary and politician. He was released on 11 February 1990 and he "declared his commitment to peace and reconciliation with the country's minority" (Kasula, 2012, p. 480). After that, Mandela joined negotiations with President F. W. de Klerk to abolish

apartheid and to hold the multiracial elections in 1994, in which he led the African National Congress (ANC) party to victory. Mandela became South Africa's first black president from 1994 to 1999. Mandela's inaugural statement was motivated by the abolishment of the apartheid regime and the birth of a democratic Republic of South Africa. On 10 May 1994, at the Unions Building in Pretoria, in the presence of tens of thousands of South Africans and international dignitaries, Mandela delivered his first inaugural address, the purpose of which was to announce to the audience and to the world the abolishment of the minority regime in South Africa and the birth of a multiracial democratic Republic of South Africa

4.2.2. Audience

The selected inaugural addresses in the sample were intended for various audiences with whom the speakers negotiated through to achieve the rhetorical goals. According to Campbell, Huxman and Burkholder (2014), audience can mean those people exposed to a rhetorical act, the “immediate or empirical audience”; the ideal audience at whom the act is intended for, the “target audience”; the potential members who have the capacity to do what the speaker desires, the “agents of change”; and those people invited by the speaker to play a role, the “created audience”.

Machel's message of proclamation of independence addressed various groups of audience. First, the immediate audience comprised all people gathered at Machava Stadium and those who could be reached to commemorate and witness the end of Portuguese colonial regime by media. Second, the speaker addressed the target audience made of all Mozambicans who suffered atrocities of colonialism of which the speaker shared common experiences of colonialism in

particular to those “equally subjected to the fierce yoke of the occupier, to greed of exploitation, to the barbarism of his repression, to the infamy of his permanent humiliation” (see Appendix 1). The third group of the audience included the agents of change composed of all those who were instrumental in the fight against the colonial regime and regarded as the key to the success of the struggle in the country and who had the potential to act in the complete liquidation of colonialism in the country. This group included Mozambican men and Mozambican women, workers and peasants, workers of the plantations, the sawmills, and the concessions, workers of the mines, the railways, the ports and the factories, intellectuals, public officials, students, Mozambican soldiers in the Portuguese army, men and women, and youths and Patriots. Lastly, Machel addressed the created audience made of liberated Mozambicans that the speaker invited to play a role in building, consolidating and developing the new country.

Mugabe’s independence audience consisted of those exposed to the rhetorical act. This group included all people gathered at Rufaro Stadium to celebrate the independence of Zimbabwe, guests and dignitaries and representatives of nearly 100 countries, and, in particular, the British government which had the role in officiating the ceremony. Secondly, the target audience consisted of all Zimbabweans of all strata, race and colour. Thirdly, the speaker addressed the agents of change made of all electorate that had expressed its trust in the party to govern the country in the democratic elections held in the country. Mugabe also addressed the integrated security forces to working together in unity “in spite of their having only recently fought each other, be marching in step together”. Lastly, Mugabe addressed the created audience of free and new Zimbabweans committed to reconciliation and unity in the spirit of love to all.

The immediate audience for Nujoma inaugural address included two different groups: people gathered at the ceremony and those who could be reached to celebrate the independence through media, invited Heads of State and Government and distinguished guests to witness the ceremony. The target group included all Namibian people, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the state president of South Africa who was part of the initiative to resolve the dispute over Namibia. The third group of the audience included the agents of change: all Namibian electorate who had expressed their wish to be governed by the SWAPO party, including the political parties that worked together to draft the constitution and form government. Finally, the liberated Namibian people formed part of the created audience that was called upon to defend the freedom achieved and set high standards of equality, justice and opportunity for all.

Nelson Mandela's inaugural address sought to address different target groups. Firstly, it was the immediate audience comprising of all gathered people and guests at the ceremony and all those in other parts of the country who could be reached by media. Secondly, Mandela addressed the target audience of all South Africans sympathetic to abolishing apartheid and to maintaining a democratic, non-sexist and a non-racial nation. Thirdly, Mandela addressed the agents of change that had a very critical role in building the new nation that included the security forces that secured the democratic elections in the country. Lastly, Mandela addressed the created audience of free and liberated South Africans committed to justice, peace and work for all.

4.2.3 Constraints

For Blitzer (1968), rhetorical constraints are "made up of persons, events, objects, and relations that are part of the rhetorical situation because they have the power to constrain decision or

action”. Sources of constraint include “beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, tradition, image, interests, motives and the like” (p. 306).

Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela’s inaugural addresses were constrained by the political system at the time. This included the Portuguese colonial system rooted in Mozambique for nearly five centuries; the settler white rule regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe); the South African administration of South West Africa (Namibia); and the apartheid South African regime of social and racial segregation. The epitome of the inaugurals was informed by the developments that had taken place in all selected countries towards independence and the birth of liberated countries guided by the democratic principles. Furthermore, the arguments in the speeches took into consideration the limiting factors of the target audience that was “deprived of national personality, civilization and culture” (See Appendix 1). The independence of these countries was arduous and “countless lives have been lost and many sacrifices made” (See Appendix 2), a constraining element that the speakers took into account in the formulation of arguments. Another constraining factor for the speakers was the national identity and unity that “is a precondition for peace and development” (See Appendix 3). The speakers were challenged to bring balance and hope to the audience on the matter of unity after independence. Lastly, all speeches were constrained by the desire of pursuing “a common victory for justice, for peace and human dignity” (See Appendix 4).

4.3. The Canons of rhetoric

The canons of rhetoric: invention, arrangement and style serve as tools to analyse inaugural addresses for discovering the persuasive strategies employed to engage the audience by the speakers.

4.3.1 The first canon: Invention

Invention is the first step in an attempt to generate ideas or create an argument that is convincing or persuasive. According to Crick (2014), invention refers to “the act of finding something to say that lends support to the speaker’s position” (p. 10). Furthermore, he argues that “any good speech will draw from seven basic categories of resources available to persuade an audience – maxims, facts, statistics, testimony, examples, and topics” (p. 11). It is worth noting that out of seven resources, the speakers to this study used only three resources: maxims, facts and testimony.

Machel provided insights of the material of invention on how he formulated his arguments in his message of proclamation. The speaker provided a factual statement reflecting background information on the launch of liberation struggle as a decision taken by the Central Committee of FRELIMO on 25 September 1964. The speaker used a direct quotation as a person speaking with some degree of authority on the state affairs of the liberation struggle in Mozambique. The speaker put his argument as follows:

It was with these words that almost eleven years ago, on September 25, 1964, the Central Committee of FRELIMO launched the historic watchword of the unleashing of the

general armed insurrection of the Mozambican people against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism. (See Appendix 1)

Mugabe also provided insights of his material of invention. He started his speech with an expression that had become very well-known to the audience “Long live our Freedom”, a *maxim* is “a short, pithy statement expressing a general truth or rule of conduct that is commonly accepted by a culture and used to justify a variety of beliefs and actions” (Crick, 2014, p. 12). The use of maxim was aimed to bind together the audience through shared principles and rules for a long lasting freedom they had hoped and been waiting for many years.

Furthermore, Nujoma provided material of invention giving his lay testimony as a person who had relevant experience with the occasion at hand, as shared experience both to the speaker and audience. The speaker said, “For the Namibian people and myself, this day, March 21, 1990, is the most memorable and indeed the most emotional moment in the annals of our history” (See Appendix 3).

Inaugurals aim at persuading the intended audience. According to Aristotle (2007), invention is synonym with rhetoric, which is defined as “the art of discovering the best available means of persuasion” (p. 87). Drawing on these premises, the following section examines the appeals or means of persuasion.

4.3.1.1 The appeals or means of persuasion

According to Aristotle (2007), there are three types of rhetorical appeals or means of persuasion, used in arguments to support claims and to respond to the opposing arguments: *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*.

4.3.1.1.1 Ethos

The first rhetorical appeal is “Ethos”, which is based on the character, credibility or reliability of the speaker. For Lawrie (2006), a character of the speaker means that “the audience’s perception of the moral character of the speaker would aid or hinder persuasion” (p. 21). He goes on to say that the audience is more likely to agree with the speaker who displays honesty, balance, reasonability, openness or dependability than the speaker who displays irresponsibility, secretiveness or instability.

In his message of the proclamation of independence, Machel established his good character and credibility. The speaker posited himself as a servant of both the Mozambican people and FRELIMO Central Committee, a decision-making body of the party responsible for electing the members of the executive committee. The speaker brought balance and established his respectable image and credibility to the audience in the solemn proclamation of independence of Mozambique. The speaker had this to say:

In your name at zero hours of today June 25, 1975, the Central Committee of FRELIMO solemnly proclaims the total and complete independence of Mozambique and the Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique. (See Appendix 1)

Mugabe also established a common ground with the audience at his Introduction or *exordium*. He praised the people of Zimbabwe, who had participated in the democratic elections, which led his party to victory. The choice made by the electorate was essential to legitimize a credible government. Furthermore, Mugabe acknowledged the support and cooperation of friends, allies and the international community. He re-established his authority as having been also legitimized by the international community. The speaker remarked:

This, indeed, is the meaning of the mandate my party secured through a free and fair election, conducted in the full glare of the world spotlight. While my government welcomes the mandate it has been freely given and is determined to honour it to the letter, it also accepts that the fulfilment of the tasks imposed by the mandate are only possible with the confidence, goodwill and co-operation of all of you, reinforced by the forthcoming support and encouragement of all our friends, allies, and well-wishers in the international community. (See Appendix 2)

In his *exordium*, Machel displayed his knowledge of the subject-matter of the struggle in the country. He recalled the past events of previous resistance of the people of Mozambique while praising the bravery of Mwenemupata and Barue. The battle of Barue was one of some of the popular resistant movements against Portuguese colonial control. The speaker made reference to reputable sources of Mueda and Xinavane uprisings, whereby tens of thousands of people had protested before the Portugal government demanding independence. The speaker recalled:

In the course of all the historical process of the wars of conquest, the Mozambican People rose up heroically, constantly and everywhere against the colonialist plunder. From the resistance of the Mwenemutapa to the insurrection of Barue, Mozambican history prides

itself on the glorious deeds of the masses in the struggle for the defense of freedom and independence. (See Appendix 1)

Mugabe in his message of independence displayed expertise and raised his reputation before the audience. The speaker provided facts on the abundant minerals and agricultural resources in the country that had not yet been fully explored or utilized. He emphasized that “the mineral resources lying beneath the surface of our country have hardly been scratched, nor our agricultural and industrial resources yet been fully harnessed”. Mugabe appeared more conversant and knowledgeable about the country’s potentials and infrastructure in place to advance the lives of the Zimbabwean people. The speaker said, “we already have a sophisticated infrastructure”. Furthermore, he appeared to have clear plans and strategies to remedy the deficiencies in the country, and he said “our expertise is bound to increase as more and more educational and technical institutions are established to transform our unskilled manpower”.

The most important part of Machel’s ethical appeal was the appeal to Mondlane’s *ethos*. Mondlane was the founding father of FRELIMO and the first African from Mozambique to obtain a doctorate. He worked as a UN official and a university lecturer in the United States of America. He was then appointed the first FRELIMO president in 1962 a year before his assassination. Moreover, Machel continued to appeal to the *ethos* of FRELIMO party as the sole power in unity. With this in mind, Machel was attempting to impose the credibility of the party to the audience. Machel described the party as a fundamental organization with clear objectives and political strategies that led to total independence of the country: Machel had this to say to his audience:

It is in this context that on June 25, 1962, Mozambican patriots, under the direction of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane launched the new and victorious phase of national resistance: the creation of FRELIMO, which made it possible to organize the struggle of the Mozambican people. (See Appendix 1)

The creation of FRELIMO supplied the fundamental and decisive weapon of unity to the combat of the Mozambican people. FRELIMO, rooting itself in the purest traditions of the age-old struggle of the Mozambican working masses, assuming the real interests of the broad strata of exploited, oppressed, and humiliated, was able to define clearly the objectives and the methods of the liberation struggle. (See Appendix 1)

Furthermore, Machel acknowledged and appealed to the values and beliefs shared with the audience praising the Mozambican mothers for their role in child education, which was rooted in the African traditions. The speaker argued that “Children are everywhere educated by their mothers in the traditions of national resistance” (See Appendix 1).

Mugabe thanked Her Majesty the Queen for having sent her representative, His Royal Highness, Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales to officiate the independence ceremony. The presence of the Queen at the ceremony legitimized the speaker’s credibility and that of his government and created bonds with Britain and other represented countries and organizations. Furthermore, the speaker praised Lord Soames’s *ethos*. Lord Soames was Britain’s last colonial Governor of Rhodesia, who presided over its transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe. With the credibility and influential role of such people, Mugabe elevated himself as a credible and reliable person to the audience. The speaker had this to say:

I wish to thank Her Majesty the Queen for having sent His Royal Highness, Prince Charles, and the Prince of Wales to represent her and officiate at our independence ceremony, where he will perform the symbolic act of severing our colonial ties with Britain. (See Appendix 2)

I now wish to pay tribute to Lord Soames, our Governor, for the most important role he played in successfully guiding this country to elections and independence. He was from the very onset given a difficult and most unenviable task, and yet he performed it with remarkable ability and overwhelming dignity. (See Appendix 2)

Nujoma also established his authority before the audience appealing to the ethos of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the State President of South Africa. Their presence at the inauguration elevated the status of the speaker as a respected and trustworthy leader with invested mandate to lead the nation. The UN Secretary General and the South African President were part of the UN Resolution 435 which paved the way for elections in 1989. Also, Nujoma thanked the international community and the South African government for the political will and act of statesmanship and realism through President de Klerk, a sign of respect and honesty. The speaker's message of praise was as follows:

It is, therefore, profoundly momentous and highly joyous, for the Namibian people and myself, that the highest representatives of the international community - The Secretary General of the United Nations together with the state President of South Africa, and the

Namibian nation, which I am honored to lead, are able to announce, here today, to the world that a definitive and final solution to the protracted Namibian problem has, indeed, been unanimously reached by these three parties. (See Appendix 3)

As for the government of South Africa, it can be said that the decision to accept the implementation of Resolution 435 was the first demonstration of political will to find a negotiated solution to the problems of our region. Furthermore, President Willem de Klerk's proclamation here today that South Africa has reached a final and irreversible decision to relinquish control over Namibia is an act of statesmanship and realism. This, we hope, will continue to unfold in South Africa itself (See Appendix 3).

Also, Nujoma displayed credibility as an elected leader by expressing appreciation, firstly, to the world leaders and dignitaries present at the ceremony in a testimony of their support and recognition. Secondly, the speaker expressed appreciation to the political parties for the work displayed in the formulating and adoption of the Constitution laudable for the majority of the people. At the same time, the speaker welcomed the support given by the electorate for having elected him and the SWAPO during the elections to lead the destinations of the country as the first President of the Republic of Namibia. The speaker said:

Against this background, honourable master of ceremonies, distinguished guests and dear compatriots, I am indebted to the Namibian electorate for giving SWAPO (the South West Africa People's Organization) an absolute majority, thereby enabling it to form the first government of the Republic of Namibia. In the same vein, I am grateful to members

of Namibia's Constitutional Assembly for the confidence they placed in me in electing me as the first President of the Republic of Namibia. (See Appendix 3)

The epitome of Nujoma's *ethos* was realized by displaying his honesty and integrity to uphold the Constitution of the Republic, which is a supreme law of the land to honour the trust bestowed upon him. The speaker continued to say:

I pledge to do my utmost to uphold the constitution of the Republic and to honour the trust, which the Namibian people have bestowed upon me to lead this new nation at this critical juncture. (See Appendix 3)

Nujoma displayed his integrity and credibility in his conclusion or *peroratio* by acknowledging that he had been given a mandate by the people of Namibia while paying tribute to those who gave their lives in support for the cause of independence. The speaker positioned himself as a representative of the people of Namibia. The speaker went on to say:

"Master of ceremonies, sir, in accepting the sacred responsibility which the Namibian people have placed on me, as the first President of the Republic of Namibia, I would like to bow and pay homage to our fallen heroes and heroines, whose names Namibia's present and future generation will sing songs of praises and whose martyrdom they will intone. In conclusion, I move, in the name of our people, to declare that Namibia is forever free, sovereign and independent" (See Appendix 3).

In his speech delivered on 10 May 1994, Mandela first established his common ground with the audience by sharing the moment with the audience in celebration of a new-born state:

Today, all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of our country and the world, confer glory and hope to newborn liberty (See Appendix 4).

The speaker continued thanking the audience represented in the ceremony for the support and encouragement to produce a new reality in South Africa rooted in justice and confidence in human dignity: “all this we owe both to ourselves and to the people of the world who are well represented here”. Furthermore, the speaker reinforced his closeness, and he shared the past rooted in the ideologies of racism and racial oppression:

That spiritual and physical oneness we all share with this common homeland explains the depth of the pain we all carried in our hearts as we saw our country tear itself apart in a terrible conflict, and as we saw it spurned, outlaw and isolated by the people of the world, precisely because it had become the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression. (See Appendix 4)

Mandela further expressed his gratitude to the people and leaders of South Africa regardless of their political affiliation, religion, and in particular to President De Klerk. De Klerk was instrumental in the negotiations with the ANC, and he was appointed second Deputy President in the first multiracial democratic government for the role he played in abolishing the apartheid system:

We deeply appreciate the role that the masses of our people and other leaders have played to bring about this conclusion. Not least among them is my Second Deputy President, the Honourable F.W. de Klerk. (See Appendix 4)

In the exercise of his authority as the first President of South Africa, Mandela appealed to the *ethos* of the interim National Unity Government led by ANC to address the amnesty of people serving terms of imprisonment as a matter of urgency while displaying his firm commitment to common justice for all in the country. The speaker remarked as follows:

As a token of its commitment to the renewal of our country, the new Interim Government of National Unity will, as a matter of urgency, address the issue of amnesty for various categories of our people who are currently serving terms of imprisonment. (See Appendix 4)

It is worth mentioning that all speakers used together words to show that they shared the same experiences of injustice, oppression, segregation and domination perpetrated by the political regimes in the respective country, in one hand and happiness, joy, exhilaration for the conquest of independence in their countries, on the other. All speakers used "together-words" in their speeches: "our People's Republic", "our people", "let us build", "our state", "our national independence", "as we become", "we are called", "we cannot", "if we ever look", "our majority rule", "our most cherished goal", "our achievement", "all of us do", "our daily deeds", "we are moved", "we deeply appreciate". The use of these words was aimed at inviting the audience to

be part of the celebration of independence in their countries. Interestingly, by using these words, the speakers evoked the shared experiences of pain, oppression, segregation and brutality endured in the long walk to independence. Furthermore, the speakers recognised that their countries had achieved a cherished goal of independence that required everyone to play a role in uniting, building and consolidating the countries that had been torn apart based on the principle of democracy and equality.

4.3.1.1.3 Pathos

Pathos, the second rhetorical appeal, refers to an attempt to engage the audience's emotions. Lawrie (2006) argues that a speaker can persuade the listeners effectively by appealing to their feelings, values, prejudices or interests. Emotional appeal is employed in all four inaugural addresses of this study.

In his message of proclamation, Machel employed an appeal to pity to win the support of the audience by exploiting their feelings. The speaker referred to the audience as people who had been subject to exploitation and barbarism emanating from repression, infamy and humiliation perpetrated by the colonial regime, thus making them inferior. The speaker concluded the argument that the Mozambican people had been diminished in their ego in some way, negated and enslaved in their land. The speaker had this to say:

This watchword found a deep echo in the broad Mozambican masses from the Rovuma to Maputo, equally subjected to the fierce yoke of the occupier, to the greed of his exploitation, to the barbarism of his repression and the infamy of his permanent

humiliation. The Mozambicans saw themselves deprived of their national personality, their civilization and culture denigrated and negated, their manners and customs ridiculed and saw them made foreigners and enslaved in their country. (See Appendix 1)

The appeal to pity was also used in Mandela's inaugural statement. The speaker engaged the audience's emotions by referring to the pain sustained as a result of the apartheid regime that had become a practice of racism and racial oppression. The speaker engaged the audience as follows:

That spiritual and physical oneness we all share with this common homeland explains the depth of the pain we all carried in our hearts as we saw our country tear itself apart in a terrible conflict, and as we saw it spurned, outlawed and isolated by the people of the world, precisely because it has become the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression. (See Appendix 4)

Nujoma further employed this strategy of appeal to pity to engage the audience. The speaker argued that many Namibians have supported the cause of independence by giving their lives or living in exile in harsh conditions, in an attempt to show how difficult the fight for independence was. The speaker argued:

This is the day for which tens of thousands of Namibian Patriots laid down their lives, shed their precious blood, suffered imprisonment and difficult life in exile. Today, our hearts are filled with great joy and jubilation because our deepest and longest yearning has been realized. (See Appendix 3)

Nujoma continued to apply this strategy and reiterated that the negotiation process was difficult and filled at times with anger and bitterness, however, “it was only perseverance, forbearance and commitment, which helped us to see the process through to its logical conclusion, namely, the birth of the Namibian nation we are here to witness” (See Appendix 3).

Furthermore, Machel adopted *ad populum* fallacy, speaking positively about the leadership of FRELIMO to win popular assent to a conclusion that it defeated the Portuguese colonialism by arousing the feeling and enthusiasm of the audience. The speaker went on to say:

It is under the leadership of FRELIMO, it is integrated in FRELIMO that the Mozambican People redeems the bloodshed for generations, retakes control of its own history, makes useful the sacrifice of its own life, destroys the life forces of the enemy, affirms fully its African and revolutionary personality and imposes defeat on the colonial-fascist regime. (See Appendix 1)

Machel engaged the audience’s feelings by evoking their fundamental needs. He said that his government “will promote the liquidation of elitism and educational discrimination on the basis of wealth”. He continued to inspire hope and confidence in the audience that his government “will promote the formation of a new mentality, people's morality, a revolutionary mentality in the heart of the new generations” (See Appendix 1).

Machel repeated this strategy to appeal to human needs and he assured protection of young people as a mainstay of the country and promotion of knowledge and education to the audience. He was appealing to the audience's feelings that their basic needs such as education, safety, care would be met. The speaker remarked:

The People's Republic of Mozambique considers it the duty of honor of all Mozambicans to protect especially the orphans and widows of war, and the wounded and mutilated from the war, the symbol of the sacrifice consented to by millions of Mozambicans in the course of colonial domination and of the armed struggle of national liberation. (See Appendix 1)

Machel appealed similarly to the audience interests and prejudices on the elimination of diseases and extension of health services to the rural areas where the majority of rural populations lived. The speaker assured that:

The elimination of disease, one of the faces of colonialism and underdevelopment, constitutes an essential preoccupation. The People's Republic of Mozambique will extend the network of health services throughout the whole country, especially the rural zones, so as to benefit the working masses. (See Appendix 1)

Machel appealed further to the sense of value and social obligation to help others. The speaker reiterated the value for peace and assured to uphold its responsibility to maintain peace not only

in the country but also in the region in solidarity with movements of national liberation: He engaged as follows:

The People's Republic of Mozambique, which is born of a long, hard, and difficult struggle, understands, defends and appreciates the value of peace. Therefore, it will follow without fail a policy aiming at the establishment of real peace based on justice, and announces itself now as for universal, general and complete disarmament. By the particular responsibility, which falls on it in function of its geographical position, the People's Republic of Mozambique engages itself in the struggle for the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. (See Appendix 1)

According to Stiff and Mongeau (2003), emotional appeal is effective when the speaker is trying to influence behaviour, or the speaker wants the audience to take immediate action. In his inaugural address, Mandela instigated hope to the audience to “build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity” (See Appendix 4).

The appeal to change of behaviour is employed mainly in Mugabe’s independence message. The speaker attempted to influence the behaviour of the audience by calling all Zimbabweans to adapt themselves to the political change while relating to each other as brother bound to one another. He was persuading the audience to live in harmony and to forgive each other. The speaker remarked that:

Henceforth, you and I must strive to adapt ourselves, intellectually and spiritually to the reality of our political change and relate to each other as brothers bound one to another by a bond of national comradeship. If yesterday I fought as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interest, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten. (Appendix 2)

While assuring the audience that his new government was determined to make changes in the lives of the people by instigating hope for better future, Mugabe engaged the audience's emotions for patience to give time for the newly formed government to develop programs. The speaker further stirred emotions to the audience by acknowledging that people did not own land, an essential commodity for survival, jobs and schools. The speaker assured:

May I assure you that my government is determined to bring about meaningful change to the lives of the majority of the people in the country. But, I must ask you to be patient and allow my Government time to organize programmes that will effectively yield that change. There are people without land who need land, people without jobs who need jobs, children without schools who need schools and patients without hospitals who need them. (See Appendix 2)

Mugabe continued to appeal the audience for mutual respect to promote the national unity. The speaker said, “I, therefore, wish to appeal to all of you to respect each other and act in promotion of national unity rather than negation of that unity”. Furthermore, he emphasized the need to increase salaries in all sectors, while appealing to the patience of the audience. The speaker commented:

We are also fully aware of the need for increased wages in all sectors of employment. My government will certainly do its best to meet the existing needs in these areas. But you have to assist us by being patient and peaceful. (See Appendix 2)

Mugabe appealed, then, to the audience to participate fully in the celebrations of independence and to the basic services employees to continue carrying their duties during the celebrations. The speaker said:

I now finally wish to appeal to you, wherever you are, to participate fully today and Saturday in the Independence celebrations that have been organized throughout the country. There are, of course, those of you who have the duty to maintain essential services. These services must indeed be maintained so that the celebrations are facilitated. Maintaining such essential services during the celebrations is a significant contribution to their success. (See Appendix 2)

In his message of proclamation of independence, Machel talked about the emancipation of women, thus elevating the status of women to achieve total liberation from capitalist oppression.

The speaker argued that:

The People's Republic of Mozambique, following the line of FRELIMO, will engage itself in the struggle for the emancipation of women, for total liberation from the diverse forms of traditional and capitalist oppression, so that they may retake their roles as citizen with full rights in our society, giving them political, civic and social contribution. (See Appendix 1)

Nujoma evoked joy and jubilation and instigated hope and confidence while announcing that the country was then in the hands of its people. The speaker engaged as follows:

To the Namibian people, I would like to state, on this solemn occasion, that our nation blazed the trail to freedom. It has arisen to its feet. As from today, we are masters of this vast land of our ancestors. The destiny of this country is now fully in our hands. We should, therefore, look forward to the future with confidence and hope. (Appendix 3)

Weida and Stolley (2013) claim that a good argument will use a combination of all three appeals to make its case. This is the case of Mugabe's argument in his independence message. The speaker combined *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*. In the argument below, Mugabe started by appealing to the emotions of the audience that independence was never easy. The speaker used loaded language of "countless lives", "death" and "suffering" to stir the emotions (emotional appeal).

Secondly, the speaker reasonably argued that the death and suffering were a reward for independence (cause and effect logical reasoning). Finally, the speaker concluded by showing respect to the audience while raising his credibility that he was an honest man (ethical appeal).

The speaker argued as follows:

The march to our national independence has been a long, arduous and hazardous one. On this march, countless lives have been lost and many sacrifices made. Death and suffering have been the prize we have been called upon to pay for the final priceless reward of freedom and national independence. May I thank all of you who have had to suffer and sacrifice for the reward we are now getting. (See Appendix 2)

4.3.1.1.3 Logos

The use of third rhetorical appeal of *logos* is called a “logical appeal”. According to Williams (2015), “Logos” is the use of strategies of logic to persuade an audience. The strategies of logical appeal include the use of deductive and inductive reasoning, analogy, comparison, logical cause, effect strategies and statistics. The four inaugural addresses employed different logical strategies, as it was found in Mugabe’s independence message:

Tomorrow we shall be celebrating the historical event, which our people have striven for nearly a century to achieve. Our people, young and old, men and women, black and white, living and dead, are, on this occasion, being brought together in a new form of national unity that makes them all Zimbabweans. Independence will bestow on us a new personality, a new sovereignty, a new future and perspective, and indeed a new history and a new past. (See Appendix 2)

This strategy is known as cause and effect logical strategy. Mugabe was attempting to show that independence was achieved through struggle that lasted for nearly a century and that the achievement of independence brought new sovereignty, personality, perspective and new history.

Nujoma, in his inaugural address employed the strategy of logical cause and effect to argue that the achievement of independence was a result of the heroism of those that gave their lives and the conviction for the cause of liberation. The speaker remarked as follows:

For the Namibian people, the realization of our most cherished goal, namely the independence of our country and the freedom of our people, it is a fitting tribute to the heroism and tenacity with which our people fought for this long-awaited day. We have been sustained in our difficult struggle by the powerful force of conviction in the righteousness and justness of our cause. Today history has absolved us; our vision of a democratic state of Namibia has been translated into reality. (Appendix 3)

The logical cause and effect strategy was similarly employed in Machel's message of proclamation of independence. Machel was referring to the underlying factors that contributed to the revolution. The speaker put his arguments as follows:

But if colonialism succeeded in its intent of conquest and physical domination, still it never succeeded in dominating the spirits and destroying the will for freedom of the

masses. The more blindly repression was asserted, the more hate was evoked against the barbarous aggressors; the greater the oppression and humiliation, the stronger became the desire for freedom; the more brutal became the exploitation and the pillage, the more powerful grew the will for revolution. (See Appendix 1)

Machel repeated the logical strategy to support that the defeat of earlier movements of resistance was “due exclusively to the treason of the feudal ruling classes, to their greed and ambition” that allowed the colonialism to “divide the people and so conquer it”. On the other hand, the speaker persuaded the audience that the unity of liberation movements to form FRELIMO created favourable conditions for the second stage of unity for liberation struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The speaker said:

With the watchword of unity and struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, in two years FRELIMO created the appropriate conditions for moving the liberation struggle to the phase of general armed insurrection, thus materializing and making operative the unity of the conquered. (See Appendix 1)

Mandela used the cause and effect strategy as well while praising the heroes and heroines and the people of the world who sacrificed their lives to liberate the country. The speaker praised:

We dedicate this day to all the heroes and heroines in this country and the rest of the world who sacrificed in many ways and surrendered their lives so that we could be free. Their dreams have become a reality. Freedom is their reward. (See Appendix 4)

Machel employed an analogy by comparing the liquidation of Nazism and birth of socialism, including the victory in China and Indochina as the backbone of national resistance against the colonial oppression: The speaker compared:

The liquidation of Nazism, the creation of the socialist camp, the victory of China, the defeat of the colonial armies in Indochina, the Algerian insurrection, and the emancipation of the Asian and African people stimulated the national resistance. (See Appendix 1)

Additionally, in his statement of the inauguration, Mandela employed an analogy while describing the qualities of being attached to the country as compared to that of Jacaranda mimosa trees. The speaker said:

To my compatriots, I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld. (See Appendix 4)

In his inaugural address, Nujoma pointed out the qualities of the South African government to accept the implementation of Resolution 435 to relinquish control over Namibia as an act of statesmanship and realism. The speaker remarked:

As for the government of South Africa, it can be said that the decision to accept the implementation of Resolution 435 was the first demonstration of political will to find a negotiated solution to the problems of our region. Furthermore, President Willem de Klerk's proclamation here today that South Africa has reached a final and irreversible decision to relinquish control over Namibia is an act of statesmanship and realism. This, we hope, will continue to unfold in South Africa itself. (Appendix 4)

Moreover, Machel gave testimony about the formation of FRELIMO, which is translated as unity in comparison to the earlier movements of resistance with the support of the working masses to uphold the interests of broad strata towards the liberation of the country. The speaker argued that:

The creation of FRELIMO supplied the fundamental and decisive weapon of unity to the combat of the Mozambican People. FRELIMO, rooting itself in the purest traditions of the age-old struggle of the Mozambican working masses, assuming the real interests of the broad strata of exploited, oppressed, and humiliated, was able to define the clarity, objectives and the methods of the liberation struggle. (See Appendix 1)

Furthermore, Mugabe used syllogism, a logical appeal that applies deductive reasoning to make the audience better understand the point the speaker was making about being born again with the achievement of independence. The speaker commented:

Tomorrow we are being born again; born again not as individuals but collectively as a people, nay, as a viable nation of Zimbabweans. Tomorrow is thus our birthday, the birth of a great Zimbabwe, and the birth of its nation. Tomorrow we shall cease to be men and women of the past and become men and women of the future. It's tomorrow then, not yesterday, which bears our destiny. (Appendix 2)

Mugabe employed a deductive reasoning strategy over while arguing about the human essence to form the core principles of the political change and national independence. The speaker stated that:

As we become a new people, we are called to be constructive, progressive and forever forward looking, for we cannot afford to be men of yesterday, backward-looking, retrogressive and destructive. Our new nation requires of every one of us to be a new man, with a new mind, a new heart and a new spirit. Our new mind must have a new vision and our new hearts a new love that spurns hate, and a new spirit that must unite and not divide. This to me is the human essence that must form the core of our political change and national independence. (Appendix 2)

Nujoma used a deductive reasoning strategy too. The speaker set in his argument a general claim that independence imposed an enormous responsibility as a starting point. The speaker then drew specific conclusions to defend the liberty, justice and opportunity for all. The speaker reasoned:

Our achievement of Independence imposes upon us a heavy responsibility, not only to defend our hard-won liberty but also to set ourselves higher standards of equality, justice and opportunity for all, without regard to race, creed or colour. These are the standards from which all who seek to emulate us shall draw inspiration. (See Appendix 3)

This strategy was equally found in Mandela's statement at his inauguration. The speaker started with a larger claim of achievement of political emancipation and from this, he derived his conclusion that it was time to liberate all people from discrimination and poverty. The speaker put his argument as follows:

We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination. (See Appendix 4)

Mandela continued to employ the said strategy in his *perotatio*. The speaker started with a larger claim that a united, democratic and non-racial government had been created. The speaker supported the whole conclusion part with specific cases to "act together as united people"; "justice, peace for all" and derived to a conclusion that the "sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement" (See Appendix 4).

Mugabe employed another strategy of inductive reasoning. In his argument, the speaker took a particular case of iniquities such as racism and oppression subjected to the blacks by whites when they had the power. This would not have room in the new political and social system.

Because these were inhumane acts perpetrated to those who thought would remain evil even if committed by the blacks against the whites. The speaker remarked that:

If ever we look to the past, let us do so for the lesson the past has taught us, namely that oppression and racism are inequities that must never again find scope in our political and social system. It could never be a correct justification that because whites oppressed us yesterday when they had power, the blacks must oppress them today because they have power. An evil remains an evil whether practiced by white against black or by black against white. Our majority rule could easily turn into inhuman rule if we oppressed, persecuted or harassed those who do not look or think like the majority of us. (See Appendix 2)

Mugabe repeated this technique to explain to the audience that democracy was not an instrument to harass or intimidate others acting against their will but that it required compliance to the law and social rules. The speaker reasoned:

Democracy is never mob-rule. It is and should remain disciplined rule requiring compliance with the law and social rules. Our independence must thus not be construed as an instrument vesting individuals or groups with the right to harass and intimidate others into acting against their will. It is not the right to negate the freedom of others to think and act, as they desire. (See Appendix 2)

In his message of proclamation of independence, Machel claimed the nature of an independent People's Republic of Mozambique which is "people's democratic state". The speaker continued arguing that the new state needed to endeavour in the "destruction of the results of the colonialist and imperialist dependence for the annihilation of the system of the exploitation of man by man, for the building of the material, ideological, politico-cultural, social and administrative base of the new society" (See Appendix 1).

Machel in his message of proclamation of independence resorted to inductive reasoning strategy. The speaker pointed out representative cases of means used by the colonial regime to dominate the people. The speaker took specific instances of repression, obscurantism, and spread of alcoholism, prostitution, racism and division as supporting facts to represent the larger situation of colonialism. Machel concluded that these were the means used by the colonialists to deploy the system and divide the people. The speaker said:

The brutality of repression and the terror it sustained, the systematic and deliberate cultural obscurantism which aimed at uprooting the person from his environment, the coldly planned spread of alcoholism and other vices, the prostitution, the implantation of racism and its inherent complexes, the programmed division of the people on the basis of religion, ethnic and regional origin, the systemization of passivity and submission to colonialism with the active support of the churches, were among many other means used by foreign domination to asphyxiate the spirit of resistance and the creative capacity of the masses and to maintain them divided and impotent. (See Appendix 1)

Nujoma used statistics in his logical appeal by referring to “tens of thousands of Namibian patriots” while explaining that independence did not come easily for Namibia. The speaker also referred, in his *exordium*, to “huge volumes of resolutions” produced as a way to resolve the dispute over Namibia. Furthermore, Mandela in his statement used the term “millions of our people” when pleading the audience to build a society for all.

4.3.2 The second canon: Arrangement

An arrangement provides a template that indicates where certain elements of a rhetorical act should go and in what sequence. According to Crick (2014), in Classical Roman oration, an arrangement was made of Introduction (*exordium*), Statement of facts (*narratio*), Division (*partitio*), Proof (*confirmatio*), Refutation (*refutatio*) and Conclusion (*peroratio*). The techniques of arrangement provide a framework to give an order of materials gathered from the speakers during invention.

4.3.2.1 Introduction (*exordium*)

An Introduction creates a favourable impression on the audience. According to Crick (2014), “Introductions should be clear and interesting, ideally combining elements of argument and narrative that tell an audience that they will be hearing a well-informed argument as well as some interesting stories along the way” and serve “to capture the audience’s attention, state topic of the speech and purpose, relate the topic to the audience, set a tone, preview highlights and provide a transition to the body of the speech” (p. 21). He goes on to say that in order to make the audience interested, a speaker can draw from different strategies that include the “use a quote, startling fact, begin with a question, refer to a current event, tell a story, perform a demonstration, refer to

literary material, use humour and create suspense” (p. 22). It is worth noting that the speakers employed two different strategies that include suspense and startling fact.

In his *exordium*, Mugabe created suspense to arouse desire from the audience. The speaker made a combination of anticipation and uncertainty about the future of the country. The speaker said:

The final countdown before the launching of the new State of Zimbabwe has now begun. Only a few hours from now, Zimbabwe will have become a free, independent and sovereign state, free to choose its own flight path and chart its own course to its chosen destiny. (See Appendix 2)

Contrarily, Machel started his *exordium* with a salutation. According to Kangira and Mungenga (2012), salutation “refers to phrases that are used to open speeches and letters” (p. 111). The salutation in Machel’s Message of Independence consisted of a group of people who had been instrumental in the success of liberation struggle in Mozambique. In fact, the success of the struggle was aided by the masses who had been subjected to forced labour. The groups included: "Mozambican men and Mozambican women, Workers and peasants, workers of the plantations, sawmills, and concessions workers, workers of the mines, the railways, the ports and the factories, intellectuals, public officials, students, Mozambican soldiers in the Portuguese army, men, women, and youths and Patriots. In this list, Machel included Mozambican soldiers in the Portuguese army to show his inclusiveness and tolerance even knowing that the soldiers were forced to fight against FRELIMO in the interest of the colonial regime. Lastly, the speaker mentioned Patriots referring to all people who supported the cause of independence thus

displaying their honesty and integrity. After the salutation, the speaker stated the topic and purpose of the speech while setting his tone. Related to this, Machel created suspense to arouse an appetite to the audience to hear the remainder of the speech. The speaker engaged as follows:

In your name, FRELIMO today solemnly proclaims the general armed insurrection of the Mozambican people, against Portuguese colonialism, for the conquest of the complete and total independence of Mozambique. Our combat will not end except with the total and complete liquidation of Portuguese colonialism. (See Appendix 1)

In his Inaugural Statement, Mandela also started with a salutation. The list consisted of four groups only: “Your Majesty”, “Your Highness” “Distinguished Guests” and “Comrades and Friends”. The speaker mentioned first “Your Majesty” and “Your Highness” to address the Queens and Kings present at the occasion according to the protocol and followed by “Distinguished Guests”. The ceremony was attended by some world leaders such as Fidel Castro, Mobutu, and Al Gore, who led the U.S. delegation that included Hillary Clinton and Jesse Jackson and many more. The speaker mentioned “Comrades and Friends”, last, who were associated with the context of the liberation struggle. According to Oxford Dictionary, in South Africa, the word comrade refers to a young militant supporter of the African National Congress.. After the salutation, the speaker related the topic to the audience by referring to the current event. The speaker remarked:

Today, all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of our country and the world, confer glory and hope to newborn liberty (See Appendix 4).

In his salutation, Nujoma addressed six groups that included “Honourable Master of Ceremonies”, “Your Excellences”, “Heads of States and Government”, “Distinguished Guests”, “Dear Compatriots”, “Ladies and Gentlemen” according to the Protocol. The speaker addressed second to the list “Your Excellences” that included the UN Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who helped to resolve and negotiate conflict resolutions with the South African government. The ceremony was also attended by Heads of State and Government, which included Willem de Klerk, the then President of South Africa. The list also included other groups “Dear Compatriots” which showed his inclusiveness and honesty to the people who supported the cause of independence.

In addition to the salutation, the speaker started saying “For the Namibian people and for myself, this day, March 21, 1990, is the most memorable and indeed the most emotional moment in the annals of our history”. This statement was attempting to relate the topic to the members of the audience by making them part of the occasion. He then employed a startling fact by stating startling facts to demonstrate the relevance of the topic and lastly, the speaker stated the purpose of the speech. The speaker engaged as follows:

This solemn hour is the moment, which our people have been waiting for, for more than a century. This is the day for which tens of thousands of Namibian Patriots laid down their lives, their precious blood, suffered imprisonment and difficult life in exile. Today, our hearts are filled with great joy and jubilation because our deepest and longest yearning has been realized. (See Appendix 3)

4.3.2.2 Statement of facts (*narratio*)

According to Lawrie (2006), statement of facts is “The narrative or an overview of the facts of the case (*narratio*): It is this part that the speaker summarizes the events that led up to the speech or relevant “facts or cases. This background information is usually given in the form of a story, so there is a need for the name narrative” (p. 23). Narratives are also found in the inaugural addresses of the sample of this study.

Machel’s *narratio* comprised nine paragraphs in which the speaker provided a narrative of background information that led up to the speech. The first paragraph set a chronology of events dating back the launch of armed struggle on September 25, 1964, the date on which “the Central Committee of FRELIMO launched the historic watchword of the unleashing of the general armed insurrection of the Mozambican People against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism”. The second and third paragraphs of the *narratio* are startling facts providing some dramatic facts that Mozambican people were subjected to “exploitation, and barbarism and the infamy of permanent humiliation” as well as a description of other means used by foreign domination to asphyxiate the spirit of resistance and the creative capacity of the masses and to maintain them divided and impotent. The fourth and fifth paragraphs provide a transition with an adversative conjunction “but” moreover, they present information on the early resistance of Mwenemutapa and Barue against the Portuguese that were defeated due to “the treason of the feudal ruling classes, to their greed and ambition, which allowed the enemy to divide the people and so conquer it”. The sixth and seventh paragraphs provide information on the uprisings that started in urban areas and the transformation of colonialism into colonial-fascism that never “succeed in shaking the determination of the people”. The eighth paragraph narrates the birth of socialism,

“the victory of China, the defeat of the colonial armies in Indochina, the Algerian insurrection, the emancipation of the Asian and African people that was the key to “stimulate the national resistance”. The last paragraph of *narratio* provides information about the popular uprisings of Mueda and Xinavane where thousands of Mozambican people were assassinated and massacred.

Mugabe’s *narratio* consisted of three paragraphs. The first paragraph refers to the holding of democratic, free and fair elections, in which Zimbabweans “made a democratic choice of those who would form their legitimate government, those they wished to govern them and take policy decisions about their future”. The second paragraph reaffirmed the mandate conferred by the people and appealed to “the confidence, goodwill and co-operation of all of you, reinforced by the forthcoming support and encouragement of all our friends, allies, and well-wishers in the international community”. The last paragraph provided startling facts that independence was long, arduous and hazardous where “countless lives have been lost, and many sacrifices made”.

Similarly, Nujoma’s *narratio* comprised of three paragraphs. In the first paragraph, the speaker set a chronology of time “for the past 43 years or so, this land of our forbearers was a bone of contention between the Namibian people and the international community, on one hand, and South Africa, on the other”. The second paragraph referred to negotiations made where “the United Nations and other international bodies produced huge volumes of resolutions, in an attempt to resolve this intractable problem.” The third paragraph praised the achievement of independence that “is a fitting tribute to the heroism and tenacity with which our people fought for this long-awaited day. We have been situated in our difficult struggle by the powerful force of conviction in the righteous and justness of our cause” (See Appendix 3).

The first paragraph of Mandela's *narratio* reveals the experience of apartheid that purported a birth of a "society of which all humanity will be proud". The second paragraph provides background that the victory was due to the support of "the people of the world who are well represented here today". The last paragraph of *narratio* provides more information about the effects and impact of the apartheid regime that tore the country apart and was "isolated by the people of the world, precisely because it has become the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression" (See Appendix 4).

4.3.2.3 Division (*partitio*)

In the classical tradition, the part of speech where the speaker would divide the main topic into parts was called *partitio*. According to Lawrie (2006), in this part "the speaker states briefly what he or she is about to argue about or what line the speech will take" (p. 23). It is worth mentioning that only two speeches outline briefly what the speakers are about to argue.

The first *partitio* is found in Mugabe's message of independence. He employed a hypozeuxis that refers to "a rhetorical term for an expression or sentence where every clause has its independent subject and predicate" (Vendome, 1998, p. 29). The speaker engaged as follows:

Tomorrow we shall be celebrating the historical event, which our people have striven for nearly a century to achieve. Our people, young and old, men and women, black and white, living and the dead, are, on this occasion, being brought together in a new form of national unity that makes them all Zimbabweans. Independence will bestow on us a new

personality, a new sovereignty, a new future and perspective, and indeed a new history and a new past. (See Appendix 2)

The second *partitio* is found in Mandela's inaugural address. The speaker provided the arguments to follow. The speaker remarked as follows:

We, the people of South Africa, feel fulfilled that humanity has taken us back into its bosom, that we, who were outlaws not so long ago, have today been given the rare privilege to be host to the nations of the world on our own soil. (See Appendix 4)

4.3.2.4 Proof (*confirmatio*)

According to Lawrie (2006), in this part, "the speaker tries to confirm the position he or she has taken using evidence and arguments" (p. 23). *Confirmatio* was evident in all addresses selected for the sample.

In his message for proclamation of independence, Machel argued that the creation of FRELIMO defined clear objectives and methods for the liberation struggle. The speaker argued that:

"The creation of FRELIMO supplies the fundamental and decisive weapon of unity to the combat of the Mozambican People. FRELIMO, rooting itself in the purest traditions of the age-old struggle of the Mozambican working masses, assuming the real interests of the broad strata of exploited, oppressed, and humiliated, is able to define with clarity the objectives and the methods of the liberating struggle" (See Appendix 1).

Machel continued to argue that the leadership of FRELIMO retook the control of its own history.

He stated as follows:

It is under the leadership of FRELIMO, it is integrated in FRELIMO that redeems the bloodshed for generations, retakes control of its own history, makes useful the sacrifice of its own life, destroys the life forces of the enemy, affirms fully its African and revolutionary personality and imposes defeat on the colonial-fascist regime. (See Appendix 1)

Moreover, Machel informed the audience that “the Central Committee of FRELIMO solemnly proclaims the total and complete independence of Mozambique and the Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique” on behalf of the audience.

Mugabe also backed his case on the achievement of independence bestowed on the people of Zimbabwe and his new responsibilities to become a new man. The speaker argued further that there was a need for all Zimbabweans to adapt to the new political change and relate to each other as brothers. The speaker remarked:

Tomorrow we are being born again; born again not as individuals but collectively as a people, nay, as a viable nation of Zimbabweans. Tomorrow is thus our birthday, the birth of a great Zimbabwe, and the birth of its nation. Tomorrow we shall cease to be men and women of the past and become men and women of the future. It's tomorrow then, not yesterday, which bears our destiny. Henceforth, you and I must strive to adapt ourselves,

intellectually and spiritually to the reality of our political change and relate to each other as brothers bound one to another by a bond of national comradeship. If yesterday I fought as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interest, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten. (See Appendix 2)

Furthermore, Nujoma asserted about the support given by the international community for the cause of independence. The speaker continued to back his case that the decision made by the government of South Africa on the implementation of resolution 435 was a demonstration of political will and a final and irreversible decision. The speaker said:

With regard to the international community, the achievement of Namibia's Independence today is, we believe, a welcome and the laudable culmination of many years of consistent support for our cause. The world's demand for our country to be allowed to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independence has been achieved. We express our most sincere gratitude to the international community for its steadfast support. As for the government of South Africa, it can be said that the decision to accept the implementation of Resolution 435 was the first demonstration of political will to find a negotiated solution to the problems of our region. Furthermore, President Willem de Klerk's proclamation here today that South Africa has reached a final and irreversible

decision to relinquish control over Namibia is an act of statesmanship and realism. This, we hope, will continue to unfold in South Africa itself. (See Appendix 3)

Nujoma backed his case again that the independence had been achieved under national and international consensus. The speaker further said:

Against this background, it is heartening for the Namibian people and I, to know that our Independence has been achieved under conditions of national consensus and international unanimity. The impressive presence here today of so many world leaders and other dignitaries is a clear testimony to the fact that Namibia's achievement of independence is an event of great world importance. For us, this is yet another reason for celebration. (See Appendix 3)

Mandela also backed his case and argued that "the time for the healing of the wounds has come; the moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come; the time to build is upon us." The speaker continued to argue that the country had achieved its political emancipation. Furthermore, the speaker asserted that the moment had come to a society in which all citizens would be assured their rights to human dignity. The speaker said:

We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination. We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in

which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity - a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world. (See Appendix 4)

4.3.2.5 Refutation (*refutatio*)

Refutatio is an act of counterpoising the arguments. In this part, “the speaker tackles the arguments of the opposing side, trying to show that they are not valid, not important or not fully convincing” (Lawrie, 2006, p. 23). Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela made several refutations in their first inaugural addresses.

Mandela, in his Inauguration Statement, refuted that there was no easy road to freedom and South Africans knew it well that they needed to act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world. He further refuted that the “beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world” (See Appendix 4).

Machel also refuted that the People’s Republic of Mozambique having achieved its independence through a struggle it valued the notion of peace, and it would pursue without fail those principles. The speaker refuted as follows:

The People's Republic of Mozambique, which is born of a long, hard, and difficult struggle, understands, defends and appreciates the value of peace. Therefore, it will follow without fail a policy aiming at the establishment of a real peace based on justice,

and announces itself now as for universal, general and complete disarmament. By the particular responsibility, which falls on it in function of its geographical position, the People's Republic of Mozambique engages itself in the struggle for the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. (See Appendix 1)

Nujoma in his inaugural address refuted that “the protracted process of negotiating and agreement on Resolution 435 and struggling for its implementation was difficult and, at times, acrimonious”. It was only possible through “perseverance, forbearance and commitment, which helped us to see the process through to its logical conclusion, namely, the birth of the Namibian nation we are here to witness”. Furthermore, the speaker refuted that the independence posed many responsibilities of standards to which to inspire the nation. The speaker remarked further:

Our achievement of independence imposes upon us a heavy responsibility, not only to defend our hard-won liberty but also to set ourselves higher standards of equality, justice and opportunity for all, without regard to race, creed or colour. These are the standards from which all who seek to emulate us shall draw inspiration. (See Appendix 3)

Mugabe refuted that the past could only serve as a lesson and that it could never be a justification that people could oppress one another just because they have power. Furthermore, he refuted that Democracy was not a mob-rule that could be used to intimidate and harass others into acting against the will. The speaker remarked as follows:

If ever we look to the past, let us do so for the lesson the past has taught us, namely that oppression and racism are inequities that must never again find scope in our political and social system. It could never be a correct justification that because whites oppressed us yesterday when they had power, the blacks must oppress them today because they have power. An evil remains an evil whether practiced by white against black or by black against white. Our majority rule could easily turn into inhuman rule if we oppressed, persecuted or harassed those who do not look or think like the majority of us.

Democracy is never mob-rule. It is and should remain disciplined rule requiring compliance with the law and social rules. Our independence must thus not be construed as an instrument vesting individuals or groups with the right to harass and intimidate others into acting against their will. It is not the right to negate the freedom of others to think and act, as they desire. I, therefore, wish to appeal to all of you to respect each other and act in promotion of national unity rather than negation of that unity. (See Appendix 2)

4.3.2.6. Conclusion (*peroratio*)

This part summarizes the conclusions and arguments. According to Crick (2014), *peroratio* aims to “satisfy an audience’s desires and make them feel as if the speech has come together as whole and, therefore, achieved qualitative unity in form” (p. 25). The functions of the conclusions aim to “summarize the main points, help the audience remember the speech, leave with a call to action, clearly end your speech, and end on a positive note” (p. 25). Different strategies are employed by the speakers in their inaugurations addresses.

Nujoma concluded his speech in a full circle by referring to the introduction and picked it up where he had left off. The speaker started his speech by noting that the day March 21, 1990, was the most memorable and emotional for all Namibians. In his conclusion, the speaker remarked why the day in reference was significant and clearly ended the speech by declaring the country free and independent. The speaker concluded:

Master of ceremonies, sir, in accepting the sacred responsibility which the Namibian people have placed on me, as the first President of the Republic of Namibia, I would like to bow and pay homage to our fallen heroes and heroines, whose names Namibia's present and future generations will sing songs of praise and whose martyrdom they will intone. In conclusion, I move, in the name of our people, to declare that Namibia is forever free, sovereign and independent. (See Appendix 3)

Machel in his *peroratio* ended with a call to action and showed how all arguments presented led to a particular action that is within the audience. The speaker further used the maxims “THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES” thus calling for action from the audience. The speaker concluded as follows:

United from the Rovuma to the Maputo under the leadership of FRELIMO, engaged in the freeing work that builds everything, with the flag of vigilance raised high, let us build, let us consolidate and let us develop our state and our power, our victory.

LONG LIVE FRELIMO!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES! (See Appendix 1)

Similarly, Mugabe ended his speech with a call for action and challenged the audience to love one another and committed to all. The speaker employed maxims to close his speech that was fit for the occasion expressing common hope and accept the culture of freedom. The speaker concluded:

Sons and daughters of Zimbabwe, I urge you to participate fully and jubilantly our independence celebrations and to ensure that all our visitors are well entertained and treated with utmost hospitality. I shall be one in spirit and love, loyalty and commitment with you all

Forward with the Year of the People's Power!

Long live our freedom!

Long live our sovereignty!

Long live our independence! (See Appendix 2)

Mandela in his statement of inauguration helped the audience remember the speech by visualizing a bright future that would come through the committed actions of the audience. Furthermore, the speaker ended on a positive note by making an effort to overcome the pain endured by the audience and used a quotation "God Bless Africa" to wish the whole continent blessings. The speaker concluded:

Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfil themselves.

Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world. Let freedom reign.

The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement!

God bless Africa!” (See Appendix 4)

4.3.3 The third canon: Style

According to Lawrie (2006), the canon of style concerns the choices rhetors make to form statements that will have calculated effects on the audience. Style is most often thought of like making the choices one makes of figures and tropes. It is worth noting that the inaugural addresses as much as they attempted to use a clear language that conveys ideas that cannot be mistaken, the speakers exploited figures and tropes to take and convey multiple meanings and feelings.

4.3.3.1 Figures

Figures have to do with using language to evoke more feelings. A figure is “a series of signs designed to produce emotional interpretants based on the appeal to ear” (Crick, 2014, p. 38). A figure “uses language that departs from its conventional structure for the purpose of integrating poetic style and a musical sense of rhythm, which usually produces feelings of pleasure and harmony that we associate with beautiful works of art” (p. 39). Most prominent figures found in the inaugural addresses include *Parallelism*, which consists of “placing similar rhythmic

structures, words, phrases, or clauses into a repetitive sequence”; *Antithesis*, the juxtaposition of contrasting ideas, often in parallel structures; *Alliteration*, the repetition of words that begin with the same consonant sound; *Repetition*, “the repetition of the same word or group of words at the beginning of successive clauses”; and *Epistrophe*, “the repetition of the same word or group of words at the end of successive clauses”.

In his independence message, Mugabe added balance and rhythm to the sentence giving ideas a smoother flow by the use of parallelism when arguing on the celebration of the national and historic moment. The speaker used words such as “young and old”, “men and women”, “black and white”, “living and dead”, to set the tone for the occasion and recall with great clarity and emotional weight by the repetition it employs.

Furthermore, Mugabe emphasized that the achievement of independence brought changes and new aspirations that required every Zimbabwean to adapt to the political environment. The speaker achieved this by the use of repetition of word “new” interchangeably as a noun as follows throughout the speech:

- “*New* personality, a *new* sovereignty, a *new* future and perspective, a *new* history and *new* past”.
- “*New* people”.
- “Our *new* nation”.
- “*New* men, with a *new* mind, a *new* heart and a *new* spirit”.

- “Our *new* mind must have a *new* vision and our *new* hearts and a *new* love that spurns hate and a *new* spirit”.

Mugabe continued to use repetition in his *peroratio* to produce levels of clarity and amplification and emotional effects while reinforcing and supplementing the idea of freedom in the hearts of the audience. The speaker achieved this by the use of the phrases “Long live our Freedom!” “Long Live our Sovereignty”, “Long live our Independence”.

Mugabe also used antithesis putting two opposing ideas together in a parallel structure using the words “individuals and collectively”, “cease” and “become”, “past and “future”, tomorrow and “yesterday” to bring reconciliation among Zimbabweans in particular between the blacks and the whites. The speaker argued as follows:

Tomorrow is thus our birthday, the birth of a great Zimbabwe, and the birth of its nation. Tomorrow we shall cease to be men and women of the past and become men and women of the future. It is tomorrow then, not yesterday, which bears our destiny. (See Appendix 2).

This strategy was also used by Machel in his message of proclamation of independence when arguing about the motives that led to resistance against the Portuguese colonialism. The speaker combined a figure of repetition at the beginning of the clauses and antithesis to draw the listener’s attention to the contrast. The speaker argued:

The more blindly repression was asserted, *the more* hate was evoked against the barbarous aggressors; the greater the oppression and humiliation, the stronger became the desire for freedom; *the more* brutal became the exploitation and the pillage, *the more* powerful grew the will for revolution. (See Appendix 1) (italicised by the researcher for emphasis).

Machel continued to use this strategy of juxtaposing contrasting ideas while arguing that the desire to fight the colonialism in Mozambique was asserted by the exodus of workers to foreign countries, particularly referring to the time of slavery in Mozambique. The speaker used the words “domination” and “revolt” to emphasise the significance of resistance.

Mandela, in his inaugural statement, used *epistrophe* by repeating the phrase “has come” two times at the end of successive clauses to emphasise a concept of reconciliation among South Africans in the new era of freedom. Furthermore, the speaker combined both repetition and *epistrophe*. The speaker achieved this by repeating the phrases in his *peroration* at the beginning and at the end of the clauses to emphasise the concept of union and equality among South Africans.

- “Let there be justice for all.”
- “Let there be peace for all.”
- “Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all.”

This strategy of repetition in the *peroratio* was also identified in Machel’s proclamation of independence message. To make the audience remember the call for action and the need for

Mozambicans to play a role, the speaker repeated at the beginning of the clause the phases “let us” three times while reinforcing the need to build, consolidate and develop the nation.

Furthermore, Mandela employed alliteration to draw attention to a particular line of text “The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement”. The appearance of repeated letters signifies that these words are important and help the audience remember the speech and recall the great achievement the country has ever achieved.

4.3.3.2 Tropes

Tropes stimulate rational imagination in order to decode the meaning behind the expressions. A trope is “a series of signs designed to produce complex logical interpretants based on the appeal to mind” (Crick, 2014, p. 38). Major tropes found in the inaugural addresses include metaphors, irony and personification and metonym.

In his inaugural statement, Mandela used six metaphors. According to Soskice (1985), a metaphor is “that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms of which are seen to be suggestive of another” (p. 15). Furthermore, Crick (2014) adds that metaphors describe one item directly in terms of some features of unlike nature to emphasize a particular quality that they share. Related to this, Mandela, at his *exordium*, remarked that the purpose of celebrations in the country was to “confer glory and hope to the newborn liberty”. The speaker by using the word “newborn” referred to a birth of a new nation, a metaphor related to the purpose of the speech. By using the word “newborn”, the speaker compared the birth of the nation to that of an infant, which represents purity and beginning of a new journey.

Furthermore, Mandela continued to use a metaphor. In his *confirmatio*, while attempting to appeal to all South Africans to reconcile and unite as a single nation that the “The time for healing the wounds has come”. By using the metaphoric expression “healing the wounds”, the speaker did not mean the actual wounds, but the psychological wounds caused by the apartheid regime. This expression represents a new beginning where everyone will be treated equally regardless of race or colour.

In another attempt to address inequality among the South Africans, Mandela metaphorically used the expression “bridge the chasms that divide us”. The speaker was appealing to the audience to unity from the division created by the apartheid system. The speaker meant to resolve a wide divergence of opinions, interests that had resulted in a breach in relations between whites and blacks. Moreover, the speaker used other metaphorical expressions “valley of darkness”, “no easy road to freedom” in an attempt to engage the audience mentally on the issues of apartheid and sacrifices made towards independence

In his *peroratio*, Mandela ended with most appealing metaphor and ended on a positive note by saying “the sun shall never set”. The metaphorical expression meant that the apartheid had been abolished, and everlasting freedom had been achieved in the history of humankind.

Mugabe also used metaphors in his independence message. The speaker used the word “march to our national independence” and did not mean the exact walk steadily, but meant a struggle for independence, whereby people died, and sacrifices were made to achieve independence.

Moreover, Mugabe used another metaphorical expression “we are being born again”, a Christian metaphor which means to undergo spiritual rebirth or regeneration from human spirit to Holy Spirit while attempting to appeal to the audience for reconciliation among Zimbabweans

Nujoma also used a metaphor in his *exordium*. The speaker was attempting to engage the audience by saying that “The Namibian problem was at the centre of a bitter international dispute over a decade”. By using the expression “bitter international dispute”, the speaker did not mean the taste or smell but a dispute that lasted longer to resolve at the international level, which included the UN, the government of South Africa and the Namibian people.

Machel also used a metaphor in his message of proclamation of independence, when arguing about the acts of colonialism that were essentially meant to exploit and oppress the people of Mozambique that were “made foreigner and enslaved in their own country”. The speaker compared the native people of Mozambique as those coming from a different country to demonstrate how the colonial regime acted against the people of Mozambique. Furthermore, the speaker used “youth sap of the nation” comparing the youth as the tree fluid that transports water and other nutrients. The speaker did not mean exactly that the youth will be transporting water or nutrients, rather the youth as the backbone of the country.

Another trope found in the inaugurals is irony. According to Crick (2014), Irony is the use of a word or phrase in such way that it conveys the opposite meaning. This trope was found in Mugabe’s message of independence. The speaker was emphasizing the fact that the walk to independence was achieved through death as “the price we have been called upon to pay for the

final priceless reward of freedom and national independence”. The speaker was provoking the audience into thinking that freedom was a human right for everyone that required no price, but instead, a struggle was the way to get through. The trope is also found in Mandela speech while praising the fallen heroes and heroines on which “freedom was their reward”. The speaker was saying the opposite that South Africans had to give their lives to attain freedom.

Mugabe also employed personification in his message of independence. According to Crick (2014), personification is a description of the abstract or nonhuman object as if they possess human qualities. The speaker used the expression “sons and daughters of Zimbabwe” to bring a deeper meaning to all people born in Zimbabwe and thus giving a voice to the country.

Furthermore, Mandela used another trope called metonymy, which refers to “a description of something personal and abstract regarding a concrete object associated with it” (Crick, 2014, p. 39). Related to this, the speaker used the term “South Africans” in the place of the citizens of South Africa as a whole. The speaker attempted to break up the awkwardness of repeating the people of South Africa over and over making the sentence more interesting and more inclusive.

4.4. Conclusion

A rhetorical analysis of the data yielded from the inaugural addresses of Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela revealed the findings within the areas of the main research question. Major themes or patterns derived from the analysis were grouped, categorized and discussed in the relevant sections.

The rhetorical analysis revealed that Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela followed the faculties of invention, arrangement and style in the process of composing and delivering the inaugural addresses. First, the faculties of invention included strategies for initiating the speeches and revealed how the speakers did frame and develop their logical arguments (*logos*); how the speakers provided background on their credibility and character (*ethos*), and the speakers' ability to appeal to the audience's sense of interest, emotions and identity (*pathos*). Secondly, the faculties of arrangement revealed how the speakers arranged their ideas and arguments in different parts, namely *Exordium*, *Narratio*, *Confirmatio*, *argumatatio* and *Peroration*. Finally, the faculties of style revealed the language usage that highlighted the speakers' language proficiency at the syntactic and semantic level.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Introduction

The main purpose of this rhetorical analysis was to examine how the three classic canons of rhetoric (Invention, Arrangement and Style) were employed by Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela in their first inaugural addresses to persuade the audience. In the process of examining how a particular president used his persuasive powers to achieve his rhetorical goals, observations were made and conclusions drawn from the sample. This chapter provides the discussion of the findings and conclusions drawn from the analysis.

5.2 Discussion

The rhetorical analysis of the first inaugural addresses attested what many scholars in rhetorical criticism tend to agree on, that a rhetorical discourse comes into existence as a response to a problem or situation. It has been demonstrated that the inaugural addresses of Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela were delivered as a result of the political situation at the time. The culmination of liberation struggle and attainment of independence in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa were the motives that prompted the speakers to come up with the rhetorical act. Moreover, the analysis revealed that the speakers employed and possessed the faculties of invention (*inventio*), arrangement (*dispositio*) and style (*elocutio*) in constructing their first inaugural addresses in liberated Southern Africa countries.

The study revealed that in the process of invention, the speakers drew from four basic categories of resources to persuade their audience. These included the use of maxims commonly accepted culturally to support beliefs and actions, facts related to the launch of liberation struggle, lay testimonies appealing to the authority of knowledge, and examples describing the atrocities and suffering endured during the colonization, apartheid and liberation struggle in Southern Africa. The researcher observed that the use of maxims, facts, testimonies and examples provided rich and substantial resources from which Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela drew from and constructed powerful and persuasive inaugural addresses.

The study also demonstrated that the four speakers employed the classical rhetorical proofs of *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* to develop a relationship and establish their credibility with the audience. The researcher observed that the four speakers attempted to establish their good character and credibility, common ground, knowledge of the subject matter, authority and integrity in the inaugural addresses. These resources were used to engage the audience on the issues of nation-building, reconciliation, economic emancipation, unemployment, poverty eradication, promotion of peace and human dignity. Furthermore, the speakers appealed effectively to the audience's emotions by using an appeal to pity, fallacies, appeal to the fundamental and human needs and appeal to behaviour change. The study also revealed that the use of appeal to emotions was aimed at winning support from the audience by exploiting their feelings on the issues of exploitation, barbarism, pain sustained during the colonization, apartheid and liberation struggle. The study further demonstrated that all four speakers used an appeal to human needs to engage the audience on the matters of education, discrimination, elimination of diseases, extension of health services to the rural areas, value for peace, change of behaviour, emancipation of women,

mutual respect in order to promote reconciliation and national unity. Additionally, the study found out that the speakers used deductive and logical reasoning strategies, analogies, comparison, and logical cause and statistics. The researcher observed that the logical deductive reasoning strategy was mainly predominant in three inaugural addresses with more than 75% arguments. Other strategies were mainly used to engage the audience on the matters of tribalism, exploitation, liberation struggle and attainment of independence

In the process of arrangement, the study demonstrated that the first inaugural addresses of Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela followed the Classical Roman Oration Template consisting of an introduction, statements of facts, division, proof, refutation, and conclusion. Despite the fact that not all speakers followed this template, the researcher observed that the inaugural addresses followed a coherent speech structure with a beginning, middle and end. In the introduction, the study revealed that three out of four speakers used salutation to open their speeches to various groups that were all instrumental in the liberation struggle in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The study further attested what many scholars agree on, that introductions serve to state the topic of the speech and purpose while relating the topic to the audience, which was evidenced in all four inaugural addresses. The study also demonstrated that the four speakers provided a narrative of facts of case (*narratio*) by summarizing the events that made up the inaugural addresses. In general, the *narratio* was given in a chronology of events providing background information about colonization or apartheid and from the beginning to the end of the liberation struggle. Additionally, the study demonstrated that two speakers divided the main topics into parts by stating briefly what they were about to argue about while all speakers confirmed their positions using evidence and arguments. On the other hand, the study

demonstrated that the four speakers counterpoised their arguments by tackling the arguments of the opposing side on the matters of liberation of the countries emphasizing that struggle for freedom was difficult and sometimes many lives were lost in pursue for freedom in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Additionally, the speakers summarized the conclusions and arguments in order to help the audience remember the speeches while leaving a call for action emphasized by the use of maxims that remain valid today

The study has also shown that Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma, and Mandela used plain language, easy to read, understand and to use. The plain language was demonstrated by the use of logical organization with the reader in mind, use of pronouns, use of active voice and short sentences and common, everyday words and expressions. Although the use of plain language was unmistakable in all four inaugural addresses, the study demonstrated that the speakers used figures and tropes that conveyed multiple meanings and feelings: parallelism, antithesis, alliteration, repetition, epistrophe, metaphors, irony, personification, and metonym. The use of these tools was aimed at engaging the audience on issues of reconciliation and nation-building that required all citizens of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to unite in order to maintain peace, stability, and human dignity.

5.3. Conclusion and recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher concluded that Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela possessed and employed the faculties of invention, arrangement and style in their inaugural addresses in order to persuade the intended audience. The use of the classical canons of rhetoric by the speakers reflected the conviction coming from the ancient classical tradition that a

skilful rhetorician must possess the faculties of finding relevant facts (*inventio*); of ordering of the speakers case based on the material of invention (*dispositio*) and the faculties of careful choosing words and expressions carrying multiple meanings and feelings (*elocutio*). Furthermore, the researcher concluded that the speakers were preoccupied with four ideologies: a) political independence in their countries; b) national unity and nation-building; c) economic emancipation; and d) self-dependence and empowerment.

This study seeks to make contributions to the areas of English language in general, and to the areas of presidential rhetorical criticism in liberated countries in Southern Africa. The first inaugural addresses of Machel, Mugabe, Nujoma and Mandela are rhetorically significant and unique given the features, context and relevance they portray both at the national and regional levels. These inaugural addresses can be used for further studies of other aspects of English language in the fields of stylistics and semantics, and including all aspects of presidential rhetoric in any school of language or thought. The contents and discussions drawn from this study are aimed at stimulating further research on presidential rhetoric at the regional and continental levels. Based on this premise, further research is recommended to determine other variables not covered in the scope of this study but, relevant and important for an enriched knowledge of how a particular rhetorical act and a careful choice of words and expressions may contribute to persuasive goals. A further research would consider a change of methodology and widening the scope with the same population.

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APPENDICES

- Appendix 1: Samora Machel's Message of Proclamation of Independence for Mozambique
- Appendix 2: Robert Mugabe's Message of Independence
- Appendix 3: The inaugural address of His Excellency Sam Nujoma
- Appendix 4: Statement of Nelson Mandela at his Inauguration as President

**APPENDIX 1: SAMORA MACHEL'S MESSAGE OF PROCLAMATION OF
INDEPENDENCE FOR MOZAMBIQUE**

25 June 1975, Maputo

"Mozambican men and Mozambican women, Workers and peasants, workers of the plantations, the sawmills, and the concessions, workers of the mines, the railways, the ports and the factories, intellectuals, public officials, students, Mozambican soldiers in the Portuguese army, men, women, and youths, patriots,

In Your Name, FRELIMO today solemnly proclaims the general armed insurrection of the MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE, against Portuguese colonialism, for the conquest of the complete and total independence of Mozambique.

Our combat will not end except with the total and complete liquidation of Portuguese colonialism."

It was with these words that almost eleven years ago, on September 25, 1964, the Central Committee of FRELIMO launched the historic watchword of the unleashing of general armed insurrection of the Mozambican People against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

This watchword found a deep echo in the broad Mozambican masses from the Rovuma to the Maputo, equally subjected to the fierce yoke of the occupier, to the greed of his exploitation, to the barbarism of his repression, to the infamy of his permanent humiliation. The Mozambican saw himself deprived of his national personality, his civilization and culture denigrated and negated, his manners and customs ridiculed, saw himself made a foreigner and enslaved in his own country.

The brutality of repression and the terror it sustained, the systematic and deliberate cultural obscurantism which aimed at uprooting the person from his environment, the coldly planned spread of alcoholism and other vices, the prostitution, the implantation of racism and its inherent

complexes, the programmed division of the people on the basis of religion, ethnic and regional origin, the systemization of passivity and submission to colonialism with the active support of the churches, were among many other means used by foreign domination to asphyxiate the spirit of resistance and the creative capacity of the masses and to maintain them divided and impotent.

But if colonialism succeeded in its intent of conquest and physical domination, still it never succeeded in dominating the spirits and destroying the will for freedom of the masses. The more blindly repression was asserted, the more hate was evoked against the barbarous aggressors; the greater the oppression and humiliation, the stronger became the desire for freedom; the more brutal became the exploitation and the pillage, the more powerful grew the will for revolution.

In the course of all the historic process of the wars of conquest, the Mozambican People rose up heroically constantly and everywhere against the colonialist plunder. From the resistance of the Muenemutapa to the insurrection of Barue, Mozambican history prides itself on the glorious deeds of the masses in the struggle for the defense of freedom and independence. The defeat of the historic resistance of the People is due exclusively to the treason of the feudal ruling classes, to their greed and ambition, which allowed the enemy to divide the People and so conquer it.

Even after the implantation in the whole territory of colonial domination, the opposition to foreign domination still persists, it intensifies: there are revolts against the colonial administration, the exodus of workers to foreign countries increases, movements of protest and criticism are organized in the urban areas.

The transformation of colonialism into colonial-fascism does not succeed in shaking the determination of the People and sharpens the existing contradictions. Children are everywhere educated by their mothers in the traditions of national resistance.

The liquidation of Nazism, the creation of the socialist camp, the victory of China, the defeat of the colonial armies in Indochina, the Algerian insurrection, the emancipation of the Asian and African peoples stimulates the national resistance.

Although disorganized there take place popular uprisings as in Mueda and Xinavane. The blood of the workers who are imprisoned, deported, assassinated and massacred fertilizes the national conscience.

It is in this context that on June 25, 1962 Mozambican patriots, under the direction of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane launch the new and victorious phase of national resistance: the creation of FRELIMO, which makes possible organized and united struggle of the Mozambican People.

The creation of FRELIMO supplies the fundamental and decisive weapon of unity to the combat of the Mozambican People. FRELIMO, rooting itself in the purest traditions of the age-old struggle of the Mozambican working masses, assuming the real interests of the broad strata of exploited, oppressed, and humiliated, is able to define with clarity the objectives and the methods of the liberating struggle.

With the watchword of unity and struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, in two years FRELIMO creates the appropriate conditions for moving the liberation struggle to the phase of general armed insurrection, thus materializing and making operative the unity of the conquered.

It is under the leadership of FRELIMO, it is integrated in FRELIMO that the Mozambican People redeems the bloodshed for generations, retakes control of its own history, makes useful the sacrifice of its own life, destroys the life forces of the enemy, affirms fully its African and revolutionary personality and imposes defeat on the colonial-fascist regime.

It is under the leadership of President Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane whose glorious and unforgettable memory we honor, that the Mozambican People consolidates its real unity, structures its organization, and, peaceful means exhausted, throws itself into the armed combat of national liberation.

It is under the leadership of FRELIMO, oriented by the clear political line in formulating objectives and defining the enemy, that the Mozambican People defeats the Portuguese colonial army.

Mozambican women, Mozambican men,
Workers, peasants, fighters,
Mozambican People,

In your name at zero hours of today June 25, 1975, the Central Committee of FRELIMO solemnly proclaims the total and complete independence of Mozambique and the constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The Republic which is born is the concretization of the aspirations of all Mozambicans; it is the extension to the whole country of the freedom already won during the armed struggle of liberation in some parts of our country; it is the product of the sacrifice of nationalist fighters of all the Mozambican People; it is the concretization of our victory.

Our People's Republic is born from the blood of the People. Its consolidation and development is a debt of honor for every revolutionary and patriotic Mozambican.

The sovereign and independent People's Republic of Mozambique is a people's Democratic State in which, under the leadership of the alliance of peasants and workers, all the patriotic strata are engaged in the struggle for the destruction of the results of the colonialism and of imperialist dependence. for the annihilation of the system of the exploitation of man by man, for the building of the material, ideological, politico-cultural, social and administrative base of the new society.

On all levels the primacy of the decisions of the Party over those of the Government will be affirmed.

The Mozambique People's Liberation Forces under the direction of FRELIMO, educated and forged in the liberation and class struggle, constitute a vanguard sector of our People, its armed

instrument, a force for mobilization of the broad masses, an instrument of national reconstruction and fundamentally a revolutionary force conscious of the defense of the interests of the working masses.

In the process of the material construction of the new society, having agriculture as the base and industry as the dynamizing factor, counting on its own forces and supported by its natural allies, the People's Republic of Mozambique will build an advanced, prosperous and independent economy, will secure the control of its natural resources for the benefit of the popular masses and progressively will apply the just principle to each according to their work and from each according to their capacities.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will endow itself with political and administrative structures aimed at applying the principle of People's Democratic Power in which the representatives of the working masses chosen democratically will exercise power at all levels.

The People's Republic of Mozambique has as its objective the cultural welfare of all citizens. It will promote the diffusion of education to all levels, through democratization directed by the State; it will promote the liquidation of elitism and of educational discrimination on the basis of wealth; and it will promote the formation of a new mentality, a people's morality, a revolutionary mentality in the heart of the new generations.

The youth, sap of the nation, will be protected, the State ensuring its education in constant linkage with life and the interests of the masses.

The State will promote the knowledge, the renewal and the national and international diffusion of Mozambican culture, as an element of consolidation of national unity and essential part of the Mozambican personality.

The elimination of disease, one of the faces of colonialism and of underdevelopment, constitutes an essential preoccupation. The People's Republic of Mozambique will extend the network of

health services throughout the whole country, especially the rural zones, so as to benefit the working masses.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, following the line of FRELIMO, will engage itself in the struggle for the emancipation of woman, for total liberation from the diverse forms of traditional and capitalist oppression, so that she may retake her role as citizen with full rights in our society, giving her political, civic and social contribution.

The People's Republic of Mozambique considers it the duty of honor of all Mozambicans to protect especially the orphans and widows of war, and the wounded and mutilated from the war, the symbol of the sacrifice consented to by millions of Mozambicans in the course of colonial domination and of the armed struggle of national liberation.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will be a lay state in which there will exist complete separation of State and Church.

Born from the liberating combat for national independence, the People's Republic of Mozambique is deeply committed to solidarity with movements of national liberation and makes militant internationalism a fundamental constant of its national and international policy.

The People's Republic of Mozambique considers itself an integral part of the oppressed peoples and classes of humanity, fighting for the transformation of the world and for the establishment of a new and just social order.

The People's Republic of Mozambique has as natural allies the socialist countries which constitute a liberated zone of humanity, the young African states engaged with the movement of national liberation in one of the principal fronts of anti-imperialist combat, the democratic and progressive forces, the working masses of all humanity.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, which is born of a long, hard, and difficult struggle, understands, defends and appreciates the value of peace. Therefore, it will follow without fail a

policy aiming at the establishment of a real peace based on justice, and announces itself now as for universal, general and complete disarmament. By the particular responsibility, which falls on it in function of its geographical position, the People's Republic of Mozambique engages itself in the struggle for the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

The People's Republic of Mozambique expresses its adherence to the guiding principles of the Charters of the United Nations Organization and of the Organization of African Unity.

Mozambican women, Mozambican men,

This is the first State in which Power belongs to us, this is our free and independent country born from the sacrifice of blood and from ruins.

On saluting our flag, symbol of our victory, we salute its honoured insignia of study, production, and combat.

United from the Rovuma to the Maputo under the leadership of FRELIMO, engaged in the freeing work that builds everything, with the flag of vigilance raised high, let us build, let us consolidate and let us develop our State and our Power, our Victory.

LONG LIVE FRELIMO!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

APPENDIX 2: ROBERT MUGABE'S MESSAGE OF INDEPENDENCE

17 April 1980, Harare

Long live our Freedom!

The final countdown before the launching of the new State of Zimbabwe has now begun. Only a few hours from now, Zimbabwe will have become a free, independent and sovereign state, free to choose its own flight path and chart its own course to its chosen destiny.

Its people have made a democratic choice of those who as their legitimate Government, they wish to govern them and take policy decisions as to their future. This, indeed, is the meaning of the mandate my party secured through a free and fair election, conducted in the full glare of the world's spotlight.

While my Government welcomes the mandate it has been freely given and is determined to honour it to the letter, it also accepts that the fulfilment of the tasks imposed by the mandate are only possible with the confidence, goodwill and co-operation of all of you, reinforced by the forthcoming support and encouragement of all our friends, allies, and well-wishers in the international community.

The march to our national independence has been a long, arduous and hazardous one. On this march, countless lives have been lost and many sacrifices made. Death and suffering have been the prize we have been called upon to pay for the final priceless reward of freedom and national independence. May I thank all of you who have had to suffer and sacrifice for the reward we are now getting.

Tomorrow we shall be celebrating the historic event, which our people have striven for nearly a century to achieve. Our people, young and old, men and women, black and white, living and dead, are, on this occasion, being brought together in a new form of national unity that makes them all Zimbabweans.

Independence will bestow on us a new personality, a new sovereignty, a new future and perspective, and indeed a new history and a new past. Tomorrow we are being born again; born again not as individuals but collectively as a people, nay, as a viable nation of Zimbabweans. Tomorrow is thus our birthday, the birth of a great Zimbabwe, and the birth of its nation.

Tomorrow we shall cease to be men and women of the past and become men and women of the future. It's tomorrow then, not yesterday, which bears our destiny.

As we become a new people we are called to be constructive, progressive and forever forward looking, for we cannot afford to be men of yesterday, backward-looking, retrogressive and destructive. Our new nation requires of every one of us to be a new man, with a new mind, a new heart and a new spirit.

Our new mind must have a new vision and our new hearts a new love that spurns hate, and a new spirit that must unite and not divide. This to me is the human essence that must form the core of our political change and national independence.

Henceforth, you and I must strive to adapt ourselves, intellectually and spiritually to the reality of our political change and relate to each other as brothers bound one to another by a bond of national comradeship.

If yesterday I fought as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interest, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you.

Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten.

If ever we look to the past, let us do so for the lesson the past has taught us, namely that oppression and racism are inequities that must never again find scope in our political and social system. It could never be a correct justification that because whites oppressed us yesterday when

they had power, the blacks must oppress them today because they have power. An evil remains an evil whether practiced by white against black or by black against white.

Our majority rule could easily turn into inhuman rule if we oppressed, persecuted or harassed those who do not look or think like the majority of us.

Democracy is never mob-rule. It is and should remain disciplined rule requiring compliance with the law and social rules. Our independence must thus not be construed as an instrument vesting individuals or groups with the right to harass and intimidate others into acting against their will.

It is not the right to negate the freedom of others to think and act, as they desire. I, therefore, wish to appeal to all of you to respect each other and act in promotion of national unity rather than negation of that unity.

On Independence Day, our integrated security forces will, in spite of their having only recently fought each other, be marching in step together to herald the new era of national unity and togetherness. Let this be an example of us all to follow. Indeed, let this enjoin the whole of our nation to march in perfect unison from year to year and decade to decade towards its destiny.

We have abundant mineral, agricultural and human resources to exploit and develop for which we need perfect peace. Given such peace, our endeavours to transform our society and raise our standard of living are bound to succeed.

The mineral resources lying beneath the surface of our country have hardly been scratched, nor have our agricultural and industrial resources yet fully harnessed. Now that we have peace, we must go fully out to exploit them.

We already have a sophisticated infrastructure. Our expertise is bound to increase as more and more educational and technical institutions are established to transform our skilled manpower.

The whole world is looking on us this day. Indeed, many countries in the international community are amazed at how we have so quickly and unexpectedly moved from war to peace. We have certainly won the goodwill of many countries and can confidently expect to benefit from the economic and technical aid they are able and willing to provide for us.

May I assure you that my Government is determined to bring about meaningful change to the lives of the majority of the people in the country. But I must ask you to be patient and allow my Government time to organize programmes that will effectively yield that change.

There are people without land who need land, people without jobs who need jobs, children without schools who need schools and patients without hospitals who need them.

We are also fully aware of the need for increased wages in all sectors of employment. My Government will certainly do its best to meet the existing needs in these areas. But you have to assist us by being patient and peaceful.

I now finally wish to appeal to you, wherever you are, to participate fully today and Saturday in the Independence celebrations that have been organized throughout the country.

There are, of course, those of you who have the duty to maintain essential services. These services must indeed be maintained so that the celebrations are facilitated. Maintaining such essential services during the celebrations is a significant contribution of their success.

I wish to thank Her Majesty the Queen for having sent His Royal Highness, Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales to represent her and officiate at our Independence ceremony, where he will perform the symbolic act of severing our colonial ties with Britain.

As you are aware, this historic ceremony will be witnessed by Heads of State and Government and representatives of nearly 100 countries plus representatives of several international, political and voluntary organizations. The ceremony will be also be reported and relayed to millions of people in the world by the mass media.

May I enjoin you all to regard this solemn occasion with honour and dignity, and participate in the celebrations that follow it with jubilation. Let us rejoice over our independence and recognize in it the need to dedicate ourselves to national unity, peace and progress.

I now wish to pay tribute to Lord Soames, our Governor, for the most important role he has played in successfully guiding this country to elections and independence. He was from the very onset given a difficult and most unenviable task. And yet he performed it with remarkable ability and overwhelming dignity.

I must admit that I was one of those who originally never trusted him, and yet I have now ended up not only implicitly trusting but fondly loving him as well.

He is indeed a great man through whom it has been possible within a short period I have been Prime Minister, to organize substantial financial and technical aid from Britain and other countries.

I am personally indebted to him for the advice he has constantly given me on the art of managing the affairs of Government. I shall certainly be missing a good friend and counselor, and so will our independent Zimbabwe and all its people.

I also wish to thank all our distinguished guests for the honour they have given us by coming to attend our Independence celebrations on behalf of their countries or organizations.

Their presence in our country signifies a bond of solidarity and friendship between their countries or organizations and our country.

Without the support they have given us towards our liberation, this day would never have come about. Thanks, therefore, for all the material, political, diplomatic and moral support they have given us.

Sons and daughters of Zimbabwe, I urge you to participate fully and jubilantly in our Independence celebrations and to ensure that all our visitors are well entertained and treated with utmost hospitality.

I shall be one in spirit and love, in loyalty and commitment with you all. Forward with the Year of the People's Power!

Long live our Freedom!

Long live our Sovereignty!

Long live our Independence!

APPENDIX 3: THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY SAM NUJOMA

21 March 1990, Windhoek

Honourable Master of Ceremony,

Your Excellencies,

Heads of State and Government,

Distinguished Guests,

Dear Compatriots,

Ladies and Gentlemen

For the Namibian people and for myself, this day, March 21 1990, is the most memorable and indeed the most emotional moment in the annals of our history. This solemn hour is the moment, which our people have been waiting for, for more than a century. This is the day for which tens of thousands of Namibian patriots laid down their lives, shed their precious blood, suffered imprisonment and difficult life in exile. Today, our hearts are filled with great joy and jubilation because our deepest and longest yearning has been realized. Honourable Master of Ceremony, Sir, for the past 43 years or so, this land of our forbearers was a bone of contention between the Namibian people and the international community, on one hand, and South Africa, on the other. The Namibian problem was at the centre of a bitter international dispute over the past four decades.

The United Nations and other international bodies produced huge volumes of resolutions, in an attempt to resolve this intractable problem. However, it pleases me to state that we are gathered here today, not to pass yet another resolution, but to celebrate the dawn of a new era in this land and to proclaim to the world that a new star has risen on the African continent. Africa's last colony is, from this hour liberated.

It is, therefore, profoundly momentous and highly joyous, for the Namibian people and myself, that the highest representatives of the international community - The Secretary General of the United Nations - together with the State President of South Africa, and the Namibian nation,

which I am honoured to lead, are able to announce, here today, to the world that a definitive and final solution to the protracted Namibian problem has, indeed, been unanimously reached by these three parties.

For the Namibia people, the realization of our most cherished goal, namely the independence of our country and the freedom of our people, is fitting tribute to the heroism and tenacity with which our people fought for this long-awaited day. We have been sustained in our difficult struggle by the powerful force of conviction in the righteousness and justness of our cause. Today history has absolved us, our vision of a democratic state of Namibia has been translated into a reality.

With regard to the international community, the achievement of Namibia's Independence today is, we believe, a welcome and laudable culmination of many years of consistent support for our cause. The world's demand for our country to be allowed to exercise its' inalienable right to self-determination and independence has been achieved. WE express our most sincere gratitude to the international community for its' steadfast support.

As for the government of South Africa, it can be said that the decision to accept the implementation of Resolution 435 was the first demonstration of political will to find a negotiated solution to the problems of our region. Furthermore, President Willem de Klerk proclamation here today that South Africa has reached a final and irreversible decision to relinquish control over Namibia is an act of statesmanship and realism. This, we hope, will continue to unfold in South Africa itself.

Honourable Master of Ceremony, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Compatriots, Ladies and Gentlemen, I seize the opportunity to point out that the protracted process of negotiating and agreement on Resolution 435 and struggling for its' implementation was difficult and, at times, acrimonious. It was only perseverance, forbearance and commitment, which helped us to see the process through to its' logical conclusion, namely, the birth of the Namibian nation we are here to witness.

Against this background, it is heartening for the Namibian people and I, to know that our independence has been achieved under conditions of national consensus and international unanimity. The impressive presence here today of so many world leaders and other dignitaries is a clear testimony to the fact that Namibia's achievement of independence is an event of great world importance. For us this is yet another reason for celebration.

With respect to the important question of national consensus, I am glad to announce that following the independence election last November, the various Namibia political parties worked together in the Constituent Assembly, where we formulated and adopted a Constitution acceptable to the broad majority of our people.

Against this background, Honourable Master of Ceremony, Distinguished Guests and Dear Compatriots I am indebted to the Namibian electorate for giving SWAPO (the South West Africa People's Organization) an absolute majority, thereby enabling it to form the first government of the Republic of Namibia. In the same vein, I am grateful to members of Namibia's Constitutional Assembly for the confidence they placed in me in electing me as the first President of the Republic of Namibia. I pledge to do my utmost to uphold the Constitution of the Republic, and to honour the trust, which the Namibian people have bestowed upon me to lead this new nation at this critical juncture.

To the Namibian people, I would like to state, on this solemn occasion, that our nation blazed the trail to freedom. It has arisen to its feet. As from today, we are masters of this vast land of our ancestors. The destiny of this country is now fully in our own hands. We should, therefore, look forward to the future with confidence and hope.

Taking the destiny of this country in our own hands means, among other things, making the great effort to forge national identity and unity. Our collective security and prosperity depends on our unity of purpose and action, Unity is a precondition for peace and development. Without peace, it is not possible for the best and talented citizens of our country to realise their potential.

Our achievement of Independence imposes upon us a heavy responsibility, not only to defend our hard-won liberty, but also to set ourselves higher standards of equality, justice and opportunity for all, without regard to race, creed or colour. These are the standards from which all who seek to emulate us shall draw inspiration.

Master of Ceremony, Sir, In accepting the sacred responsibility which the Namibian people have placed on me, as the first President of the Republic of Namibia, I would like to bow and pay homage to our fallen heroes and heroines, whose names Namibia's present and future generations will sing in songs of praise and whose martyrdom they will intone. In conclusion, I move, in the name of our people, to declare that Namibia is forever free, sovereign and independent.

**APPENDIX 4: STATEMENT OF NELSON MANDELA AT HIS INAUGURATION AS
PRESIDENT**

10 May 1994, Pretoria

Your Majesties,

Your Highnesses,

Distinguished Guests,

Comrades and Friends.

Today, all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of our country and the world, confer glory and hope to newborn liberty.

Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud.

Our daily deeds as ordinary South Africans must produce an actual South African reality that will reinforce humanity's belief in justice, strengthen its confidence in the nobility of the human soul and sustain all our hopes for a glorious life for all.

All this we owe both to ourselves and to the peoples of the world who are so well represented here today.

To my compatriots, I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld.

Each time one of us touches the soil of this land, we feel a sense of personal renewal. The national mood changes as the seasons change.

We are moved by a sense of joy and exhilaration when the grass turns green and the flowers bloom.

That spiritual and physical oneness we all share with this common homeland explains the depth of the pain we all carried in our hearts as we saw our country tear itself apart in a terrible conflict, and as we saw it spurned, outlawed and isolated by the peoples of the world, precisely because it has become the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression.

We, the people of South Africa, feel fulfilled that humanity has taken us back into its bosom, that we, who were outlaws not so long ago, have today been given the rare privilege to be host to the nations of the world on our own soil.

We thank all our distinguished international guests for having come to take possession with the people of our country of what is, after all, a common victory for justice, for peace, for human dignity.

We trust that you will continue to stand by us as we tackle the challenges of building peace, prosperity, non-sexism, non-racialism and democracy.

We deeply appreciate the role that the masses of our people and their political mass democratic, religious, women, youth, business, traditional and other leaders have played to bring about this conclusion. Not least among them is my Second Deputy President, the Honourable F.W. de Klerk.

We would also like to pay tribute to our security forces, in all their ranks, for the distinguished role they have played in securing our first democratic elections and the transition to democracy, from blood-thirsty forces which still refuse to see the light.

The time for the healing of the wounds has come.

The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come.

The time to build is upon us.

We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination.

We succeeded to take our last steps to freedom in conditions of relative peace. We commit ourselves to the construction of a complete, just and lasting peace.

We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity - a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world.

As a token of its commitment to the renewal of our country, the new Interim Government of National Unity will, as a matter of urgency, address the issue of amnesty for various categories of our people who are currently serving terms of imprisonment.

We dedicate this day to all the heroes and heroines in this country and the rest of the world who sacrificed in many ways and surrendered their lives so that we could be free.

Their dreams have become reality. Freedom is their reward.

We are both humbled and elevated by the honour and privilege that you, the people of South Africa, have bestowed on us, as the first President of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist government.

We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom

We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success.

We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world.

Let there be justice for all.

Let there be peace for all.

Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all.

Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfil themselves.

Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world.

Let freedom reign.

The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement!

God bless Africa!

Thank you.