

ABSTRACT

Studies on political communication, especially presidential rhetoric are scarce in Namibia. The researcher has come across only one study done by Mathe (2006) on Presidential rhetorical analysis in Namibia which focuses on President Sam Nujoma's rhetoric. Therefore, the current study attempts to narrow the gap in presidential rhetorical analysis in Namibia. Ten epideictic speeches delivered by the former President Dr Sam Nujoma during his first two terms of Presidential rule in Namibia from 1990 to 2000 are rhetorically analysed in this study. The purpose of the analysis was twofold: to find out to what extent former President Nujoma used the Aristotelian proofs of ethos, pathos and logos in his speeches, and to investigate the canons of classical rhetoric in Nujoma's speeches i.e. arrangement (*disposition*), style (*elocution*), delivery (*pronuntiatio* and *action*) and memory (*memoria*). In the analysis of speeches, the researcher uses the Aristotelian theory and video recordings showing highlights of the speeches on the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) Television. The study reveals that President Nujoma used the three Aristotelian proofs and the five canons of classical rhetoric to a great extent and invariably in his speeches during the ten years of his rule in Namibia. Nujoma's speeches mainly highlighted the government's challenges and achievements. In addition, he called on Namibians to have unity of purpose in the struggle against ignorance, poverty and racism. He used the speeches to appeal to the people's emotions and character in an attempt to influence them to support his views and government. This study can benefit speechwriters and students in rhetoric in Namibia.

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My husband, Johnny was also instrumental in finishing this project as he provided encouragement and gave me enough room and space to work.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my husband Johnny, because he is my loyal friend and has been my source of inspiration while I was busy researching this work. He stood by my side during our first year together after God blessed us with the union of marriage and I have just started this project. This was also the time when both of us could not wait for the bundle of joy, our first born (Kuku-Joy) to arrive. This gave me great hope and courage to study further and continue with my education.

DECLARATIONS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Orientation of the Proposed Study

This study focuses on the rhetorical analysis of ten epideictic speeches made by the former President of the Republic of Namibia, Dr Sam Shafiishuna Nujoma, during the independence inauguration and the anniversaries of the first nine years of the independence of Namibia. An epideictic speech is a ceremonial speech. The purpose of this rhetorical analysis is to find out to what extent Dr Nujoma used the Aristotelian rhetorical proofs of ethos, pathos and logos in the ten speeches. The research further looks for the canons of classical rhetoric in Nujoma's speeches i.e. invention (*invention*), arrangement (*disposition*), style (*elocution*), delivery (*pronunciation* and *action*) and memory (*memoria*). Moreover, the study aims to show how Presidential utterances are important tools for his leadership, as the speeches stressed the policy of national reconciliation, nation building, poverty eradication etc.

According to Kangira and Mungenga (2012, p. 111), "An epideictic speech is a type of ceremonial discourse, which aims to praise or blame. Some of the examples of epideictic speeches are funeral speeches, graduation speeches, independence anniversary speeches and inauguration speeches."

Namibia attained independence on 21 March 1990. The first President was Dr Sam Shafiishuna Nujoma who was the President of Namibia for 15 years, from 1990-2004. According to the Namibian Constitution, a president should rule the country for a maximum of two terms of five years each. Therefore, this research concentrates on former President Nujoma's first 10 speeches of his 15 years as Head of State.

Furthermore, although the Namibian constitution clearly states that a directly elected president should serve two terms in office, SWAPO party argued that President Nujoma was not directly elected at the independence in 1990, therefore, he was entitled to serve for a third term. Some amendment was made to permit a third term. This ammendment stipulates that only the first president will be entitled for a third term. All future presidents can only serve two terms.

According to Han (1998, p. 66):

The presidency is a rhetorical institution. Through speeches, a president leads his country and seeks to persuade the nation as a whole, and certain sections of society, in particular. Presidential power is the power to persuade. The rhetorical style of a presidential speech reflects the political aims and possible success of the speaker.

During the inauguration ceremony and on independence anniversaries, presidents deliver speeches in order to solicit the support of the nation. This study investigates how former President Nujoma used his inauguration speech and speeches he delivered during the anniversaries of the first ten years of independence to attempt to persuade the audience to support him and his government.

To give more clarity on the rhetorical analysis, the WorldNet dictionary contends as follows:

Rhetorical analysis refers to analyzing a text or a given source, the text may be written or some different sort of communication which includes the consideration of the rhetorical situations-purpose, audience, genre, stance, and media/design. The analysis explores not only what everything means in the given source (content), but also why the author wrote about it (the purpose), who the author is (background), how the piece was organized (structure), and where and/or when it was published (forum), etc.

In the case of the current study, the researcher looks beyond the rhetorical proofs and canons of classical rhetoric in the selected epideictic speeches, by further looking at how those speeches were used for political purpose, for example, national reconciliation, affirmative action, issues of unemployment and so on. And as per one of the canons of classical rhetoric (arrangement), which is one of the concerns of this study, the researcher looks at how Nujoma's speeches are arranged according to their introduction, purpose statement, confirmation, and conclusion.

President Nujoma's speeches are published in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting booklet for the *Speeches of the President of Namibia (March 1990 – March, 20, 2000)*. The analysis which is done in chapter four will inform us about the purpose and reasons Dr Nujoma delivered these ceremonial speeches.

Henze (2005) argues that Presidential rhetoric is a new discipline of study within the field of rhetoric and within presidential scholarship, which is more concerned with how public language and public arguments influence the exercise of presidential power

Moreover, Windt (1986) supports this with the definition of presidential rhetoric as a discipline which is concerned with the study of presidential public persuasion as it affects the ability of a president to exercise the powers of the office. In addition, it is a study of how presidents gain, maintain, or lose public support.

It is through speeches that President Nujoma exercised this power.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There is a gap in the study of presidential rhetoric analysis in Namibia. The researcher found that related work done in the field of rhetoric has only been done by Mathe(2006). Therefore the

current study attempts to narrow the gap in presidential rhetorical analysis in Namibia. It is this researcher's observation that the presidents use rhetoric to persuade the public, hence the need to find out how President Nujoma handled it. As Head of State, the President is the chief policy maker of the government and articulates the government directives, policies and regulations through his speeches, thus whatever he says or does, can have a positive or negative impact on the nation. Therefore, this research analyses how President Nujoma used the Aristotelian rhetorical proofs of ethos, pathos and logos in his ten speeches of the fifteen-year rule to gain public acceptance, trust and confidence in his authority. The five canons of classical rhetoric (invention, arrangement, style, delivery and memory) are also investigated in Nujoma's speeches.

Furthermore, the study attempts to contribute to the body of knowledge of presidential rhetoric in Namibia and to the rhetorical discipline as a whole. The rhetorical analysis also shows some techniques used in presidential rhetoric, for example, how Dr Nujoma's speeches mainly aimed to promote reconciliation, nation building, for the country to be self-sustainable and refrain from tribalism and for economic emancipation. These techniques might be useful to speech writers and rhetoric scholars who may have access to this study.

1.3 Research Questions

The study answers the following questions:

1. To what extent did President Nujoma use the Aristotelian rhetorical proofs of ethos, pathos and logos in his speeches and for what reasons?
2. How did President Nujoma use the canons of classical rhetoric in the 10 speeches?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The study will contribute to the work of rhetoric and speech writing in general. Specifically, the study will help readers to have a better understanding of Dr Nujoma's rhetoric. It will also contribute to the few researches done on presidential rhetoric in Namibia.

1.5 Limitation of the Study

President Nujoma ruled Namibia for fifteen years but this far only speeches delivered during the first ten years of his rule have been published in the two books edited by Kalambo et al. (1999), and it is on these speeches that this researcher concentrates her analysis. This limitation could also be caused by the directive in the Namibian Constitution, which allows a president to rule the country for a maximum of two terms of five years each.

In addition, the reason why the researcher chooses only the ten epideictic speeches of the first ten year rule of Dr Nujoma's rule is because the researcher assumes that these are the most important speeches of the former President and fifteen speeches would be too many for this study.

Furthermore, another limitation that is encountered in the study is with the video recordings that the researcher uses. These videos do not contain the full view of the President's speeches. This is because the available recording were mainly meant for News program purposes, therefore only highlights of the President's speeches were covered. That issue brought some limitation to the researcher's intention of viewing the whole part of the speeches.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents review of literature that is related to the topic of investigation by looking at different sources. The researcher presents this by firstly looking at the classical rhetoric. Under this aspect, the study looks at how different authors define rhetoric, the three ways to achieve persuasion, Cicero's five canons of rhetoric and the importance of rhetoric as well as its pedagogical value. In addition, the researcher has also looked at contemporary rhetoric. Although the focus of this study is on the epideictic branch of rhetoric, other two branches of rhetoric such as deliberative and judicial were also discussed.

Finally, the study looks at presidential rhetoric by reviewing studies that are done from beyond Namibia then ends with the review of the only work done in the field of rhetoric in Namibia by Mathe (2006).

2.2 Review of Relevant Literature

Many studies have been carried out on presidential rhetoric since the words of presidents' shape people normative expectations of the role of the president and tremendously affect their approval. Some of the scholars whose works are consulted in the current study include the research done by Mathe (2006), Artemeva and Freedman (2008), Croweley and Hawhee (1994), Freeborn (1996), Lim (2002) Kuypers and King (2009), Kangira and Mungenga (2012), Covino and Jolliffe (1995), Aristotle (1991), Fahnestock and Secor (2004), Arefsky (2004), Hann (1998).

2.2.1 Classical Rhetoric (Ancient Greek and Rome)

Mathe (2006) states that the study of rhetoric or the art of speaking persuasively originally grew out of the need for people to express themselves in court. There were no lawyers in Athens, Greece in 50 B.C. Corax started the first courses in rhetoric in Sicily in response to an increase in litigation over land. The Athenians had done two things that created a need for teachers of rhetoric: first, they found a democratic form of government, and second, they instituted court reform.

Furthermore, Classical rhetoric is a historical term in the language fraternity. Corcoran (1979, p. 37) defines rhetoric as a term which refers to the “early writings on rhetorical method from the fifth century, B.C. to the second century, A.D., in Greece and Rome, especially those containing systematic organisational schemes for rhetoric”.

Welch (1990, p. 117) explains that the basic aim of classical rhetoric is “to show how to teach (docere), amuse (delectare) and to touch (movere) the listeners by a speech, demonstration of emotionality by the speaker that enables the audience to imagine certain feelings, attitudes and evaluations.”

In view of classical rhetoric, Artemeva and Freedman (2008, p. 179) state that “speeches are analysed within the rhetorical framework of rhetorical genre theory. Central criteria for the first rhetorical typology of speeches are the social functions, the occasion and related to that is the place of deliver.”

Croweley and Hawhee (1994) trace the development of rhetoric and found that people associate the term rhetoric with negative connotation. The two scholars write this, when Americans hear

the word rhetoric, they tend to think of politicians' attempt to deceive them. But now rhetoric is now thought of as empty words or as fancy language used to distort the truth or to tell lie. Many people blame rhetoric for the apparent inability to communicate and to get things done. Because rhetoricians define their arts in ancient Athens and Rome in such a way that in ancient times, people used rhetoric to make decisions, resolve dispute and to mediate public discussion of important issues. The two scholars further describe Aristotle as an ancient teacher of rhetoric who defines rhetoric as the power of finding the available arguments suited to a given situation. Furthermore, they refer to Cicero as the Roman statesman who perceives rhetoric as the discipline which helps people to choose the best course of action when they disagree about important political, religious, or social issues.

2.2.1.1 Definition by different authors

In order to understand the rhetorical analysis of speeches better, it is important to look at how scholars perceive rhetoric. Freeborn (1996, p. 58) defines rhetoric as “an area of study concerned with how humans use symbols, especially language, to reach agreement that permits coordinated effort of some sort”. Cobert (1965) claims that rhetoric is the art or the discipline that deals with the use of discourse, either spoken or written, to inform or persuade or motivate an audience, whether that audience is made of one person or a group of people.

Lim (2002) in his argument states that political press conferences are part of political discourse, which also includes speeches, interviews, reports, analysis and debates by political figures. They can also be recognized as part of their rhetoric.

Moreover, Kuypers and King (2009) argue that, the word “rhetoric” has had some negative meanings attached to it throughout the centuries. However, the full meaning of rhetoric is considerably richer than the everyday usage of the word suggests. In addition, rhetoric has many meanings, some old, some new. To get at the heart of the definition, they firstly consider how the term rhetoric is most commonly used. For example when a politician calls for ‘action, that is not rhetoric,’ the meaning seems clear; the rhetoric denotes hollow words and flashy language. It also connotes associations with deceit and tricks that mask truth and forthrightness. Example of former President Richard M. Nixon when he used the term rhetoric in his 1969 inaugural address was given: “The simple things are the ones most needed today if we are to surmount what divides us and cement what unites us. To lower our voices would be a simple thing in these difficult years.”

Four scholars are cited by Kangira and Mungenga (2012, p. 110) as follow:

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 of the available means of persuasion. Cicero defines rhetoric as speech designed to persuade. In addition, Cicero identifies the five parts of rhetoric, which are invention, disposition, elocution, memoria and pronunciation. Another rhetoric scholar, Quintilian, argues that rhetoric is “the art of speaking well”. The fourth definition of the rhetoric is taken from the scholar called Hauser which states that rhetoric is an instrumental use of language, whereby one person engages another person in an exchange of symbols to accomplish some goal. He goes on to say that communication attempts to coordinate social action.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the definitions given by the scholars above is that the main focus of rhetoric is persuasion. According to Burke (1969, p. 46), “A speaker persuades an audience by the use of stylistic identifications; his act of persuasion may be the purpose of causing the audience to identify itself with the speaker’s interests.” Burke (1969, p. 41) further defines rhetoric as “the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or induce actions in other agents”.

2.2.1.2 The three ways to achieve persuasion

According to Covino and Jolliffe (1995, p. 5), the three classical modes of persuasion are ethos, pathos and logos. Covino and Jolliffe (1995, p. 5) further define the three modes of persuasion as follows:

- Ethos refers to ethical appeal (the speaker’s image), which means that the speaker must demonstrate honest, intelligence, common sense and goodwill.
- Pathos appeals to the emotions; the speaker must avoid emotional fallacies.
- Logos is the appeal of reason and logic, which include deductive and inductive reasoning.

Aristotle (1991, p. 101) describes the three technical means of persuasion in a speech as follow:

- (a) Technical means of persuasion are either in the character of the speaker (ethos),
- (b) In the emotional state of the hearer (pathos) or,
- (c) In the argument (logos) itself.

On the technical means of persuasion that are in the character of the speaker, Fahnestock and Secor (2004) state that there are two kinds of ethos in an argument, the extrinsic and the intrinsic. Extrinsic derives from the reputation that the speaker or writer brings to the occasion. It is what the audience believe about the speaker or writer before the word is uttered or page read. On the other hand, intrinsic is the impression of the author's character irrespective of whether or not we know anything about the speaker or writer ahead of time, it is actually based on the text we read or hear and on the way it is written or spoken as well as on what it says. Therefore this impression of the person writing or speaking that can be conveyed by the text itself is called the author's intrinsic.

Fahnestock and Secor (2004) argue that the speaker must exhibit "good sense, good moral character and good will". Furthermore, if the author or speaker is trusted by the readers or hearer, that is if we believe that he or she knows the subject, he has no reason to deceive us and he has no ulterior motives then we are more likely to pay attention to be favorably disposed toward what he or she says and finally to be convinced. Therefore a speaker or an author who has an effective ethos exhibits all three qualities.

Aristotle (1991) further recommends going through the three proofs of ethos, pathos, logos before moving out of the invention phase. In addition, with every speech there is a presenter, an audience, and some form of text. The ethos of the speaker allows the audience to trust the words that are presented as they are coming from a practical person with sound judgment. A good ethos can be conveyed with knowledge and common sense. Showing concern for others above selfish interest may give the audience the quickest route to gain the trust of the speaker. Without gaining

the trust of the audience, it is difficult for any speaker to move on with information or persuasion. Logos requires a speaker to consider what they want from the audience and set appropriate goals. Deciding what emotion to elicit in the audience, pathos is the last part of invention. Using anger to move people to act is a common technique used by Aristotle and many current talk-radio hosts since they figured out how to tap into beliefs that cause people to get enraged and want to change their current situation.

Unlike ethos, the emotional appeal (pathos) does not depend on the writer's character or the subject matter, but on the audience that receives the argument. Fahnestock and Secor (2004) further state that, "The appeal to pathos is sometimes defined as an appeal that incites the audience's emotion, rousing their pity or indignation or hopefulness or fear."

Crowley and Hawhee (1994) add that Aristotle states the three criteria to be met if rhetors wish to understand how emotions are aroused or quelled. First, they must understand the state of mind of people who are first, angry or joyful, or indignant. Second, they must know who can excite these emotions in people. Third, they must understand the reasons for which people become emotional.

With this note, Aristotle's first criterion is that rhetors must know the emotional states of mind of their hearers or readers. An audience may bring a certain emotional state of mind to a rhetoric situation, and if so, the rhetor needs to decide whether this state of mind is conducive to their acceptance of their proposition. If it is not, she needs to change this state of mind.

2.2.1.3 Cicero's five canons of the rhetorical process

Arefsky (2004) describes the contribution of Cicero who was a lawyer, orator and politician in ancient Rome. He sets the five canons of rhetoric namely; invention, arrangement, style, memory

and delivery. Invention, as the first step, compels the speaker to consider all persuasive techniques before taking the stage or stepping up to the podium. Arrangement is the organisation which includes establishing credibility, choosing strategies, presenting arguments and creating desired emotions. The style is the level of vocabulary and figures of speech suitable to the audience. Presenting a clear argument can greatly enhance the speaker's credibility. Memory and delivery of a speech may not be apparent to the listener but they can certainly detract from the overall presentation if these steps are not mastered.

Moreover, Aristotle (1991, p. 99) adds that:

Rhetoric is created as a result of using these canons artfully. Invention refers to the discovery of someone's ideas. Thinking of a topic, focusing thought and deciding how to prove your ideas are all elements of invention. Arrangement refers to the order or structure of ideas presented by the speaker. Style includes the words and manner of speaking used by the speaker. Memory is usually referred to as a speaker's retention and grasp of the content in some kind of sequential order.

Strictly speaking, memory actually meant command of the whole speech. Finally, delivery includes the speaker's vocal characteristics and physical mannerisms.

Furthermore, Mathe (2006) argues that the skill of invention is concerned with discovering and formulating arguments on any subject, opinions on the resolution of any problem or reasons for or against any proposed course of action. The primacy of the skill of invention in the canons of rhetoric makes perfect sense. Before engaging in stylistic flourishes, one must have arguments upon which to hang them.

Furthermore, Mathe (2006) continues clarifying the canons of invention by suggesting that for a speaker to say something well, he must first have something to say. Indeed, having something to say is often the most difficult task that faces any orator or deliberator, whether ancient or modern. Aristotle's three artistic proofs (ethos, logos and pathos), that were discussed earlier in this chapter are components of invention. Therefore, in the rhetorical view of knowledge, inventions central, the art of finding ideas befitting to a speech in a given situation with special demands on the speaker's ability to meet his listeners on their terms.

Horner (2004, p. 169) comments on the other four canons as follow:

The canon of arrangement refers to the structure of a text. In classical rhetoric, students were taught the distinctive parts of an oration. Though scholars did not always agree on the number of parts, Cicero and Quintilian identified these six parts of the arrangement: the *exordium* (or introduction), the *narrative*, the *partition* (or division), the *confirmation*, the *refutation*, and the *peroration* (or conclusion).

Style is the way in which something is spoken, written, or performed. This is a process of determining how arguments are presented by using figurative language and other rhetorical techniques. In other words, style refers to word use, sentence structures, and figures of speech. More broadly, style is considered as a manifestation of the person speaking or writing. Quintilian identifies three levels of style, each suited to one of the three primary functions of rhetoric: the plain style for instructing an audience, the middle style for moving an audience, and the high style for pleasing an audience.

The canon of memory includes the methods and devices (including figures of speech)

used to aid and improve memory. Roman rhetoricians made a distinction between *natural memory* (an innate ability) and *artificial memory* (particular techniques that enhanced natural abilities).

Delivery refers to the management of voice and gestures in oral discourse. Delivery, Cicero says in *De Oratore*, "has the sole and supreme power in oratory without it, a speaker of the highest mental capacity can be held in no esteem; while one of moderate abilities, with this qualification, may surpass even those of the highest talent."

Jeffrey (2001) also adds on the canons of memory that in modern times, people still lend more credence to speakers who give their speeches (or at least appear to) from memory. In many cases this is a challenge as people rely more on their teleprompter. This leaves one wondering when the teleprompter malfunctions, what would happen? Furthermore, this reliance on an oratorical safety net potentially hurts the person's ethos. Ethos can be defined as the trust the audiences have on the speaker, now when people know that a speaker needs a "crutch" for their speeches, it weakens their credibility and the confidence the audience has in the speaker's authenticity. Consequently this will put distance between the speaker and the audience.

2.2.1.4 The importance of rhetoric as well as its pedagogical value

Pogoloff (1992) argues that by considering rhetoric, a man will understand the nature of the soul, must find out the class of speech adapted to each nature and must arrange and adorn his discourse accordingly. This scholar concludes that only with the use of rhetoric that, communication among people would be more effective.

The field of rhetoric <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhetoric> has been a matter of considerable debate for centuries. As it derived from the Greek word for public speaking, rhetoric's original concern dealt primarily with the spoken word. Aristotle wrote a philosophical work that still has major scholarly impact, *Rhetoric*, in which he identifies five canons of the field of rhetoric: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery that are concerned of this study.

Roberts (2000, p. 76) states that:

Throughout the 20th century, rhetoric developed as a concentrated field of study with the establishment of rhetorical courses in high schools and universities. Courses such as public speaking and speech analysis apply fundamental Greek theories (such as the modes of persuasion: ethos, pathos and logos) as well as trace rhetorical development throughout the course of history.

However, two of the five canons of rhetoric used in this study to analyse the speeches (memory and delivery) have been neglected since the 18th century.

Crowley (1993, p. 42) contends that the diminishing role of memory and delivery in history are because:

Throughout the history of rhetoric, the changing epistemological and ethical concerns of the field can be traced by analysing the importance placed on each of the five canons. Since the 18th century, the field of rhetoric has largely ignored the canons of mneme (memory) and hypotaxis (delivery).

The reasons why memory and delivery have been neglected were because people did not see the importance of the use of those canons. Therefore, they started using it less. According to Corbett

(1965, p. 43) “the two canons (memory and delivery) can hardly be given more than a paragraph.” In his view, this was because rhetoric has come to be concerned mainly with written discourse, both memory and delivery are inconsequential to the rhetoric analysts of the 20th century.

Welch (1990, p. 99) argues on the contrary that “by diminishing rhetoric's range to three canons in the 20th century, what has been created ‘is not an adaptation, but a wholly new structure that denies the central issues of language and power’”.

Irrespective of the argument of the scholars above concerning what happened to rhetoric in history, this study considers all the five classical canons of rhetoric in analysing the speeches.

Furthermore, Aristotle, as cited by Mathe (2006, p. 45) states that:

The tradition of rhetorical criticism started with focusing on persuasive speeches generated as speeches meant to change common culture or thinking what was called doxa, common sense or practical wisdom, utilising probabilistic means of persuasion or phronesis. Modern conventions of rhetoric allow the critic to analyse a wider variety of public sphere discourse.

On this note, Mathe concludes that speeches are still very much potentially worthy critical texts. However, humans are no longer primarily an oral culture. They have layered on to oral persuasion, both print and electronic media. Anything that influences the values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviour of the public, anything within the purview of modern persuasion, can be the object or subject of criticism. Furthermore, modern rhetorical critics work not only with political speeches and legal courtroom rhetoric, but also with editorials, pamphlets and monographs, books, radio and television news, movies, music.

President Nujoma's ten epideictic speeches analysed in this study were meant to persuade the audience to think and have the same perspective as the speaker. Apart from Nujoma video recordings that the researcher watched, the speeches were taken from the book of presidential speeches. This is clarified in the next chapter.

2.2.2 Contemporary rhetoric

Jones (2004) defines contemporary rhetoric as the study of rhetoric that conforms to the dynamics and norms of a particular period of time. He further compares this with the definition of rhetoric in general which he defines as the broadest category of language that includes a social component. In the study of rhetoric, there is an implication of a persuasive element, but any kind of communication that tries to relay an idea to a listener or listeners can be called rhetoric.

Aristotle, as cited by Lyeisford and Ede (1982) draws distinctions and similarities between classical and modern rhetoric as follows: Both classical and modern rhetoric view man as a language-using animal who unites reason and emotion in discourse with another. Aristotle addresses himself primarily to the oral use of language; ours is primarily an age of print. In both periods rhetoric provides a dynamic methodology whereby rhetor and audience may jointly have access to knowledge. These two scholars concluded that, in both periods rhetoric has the potential to clarify and inform activities in numerous related fields.

Looking at contemporary rhetoric, Fahnestock and Secor (2004) claim that those who study contemporary rhetoric might call it the "rhetoric of a time" or, more specifically, "the rhetoric of our time." The word "contemporary" identifies the study as relating to the current era. This distinguishes contemporary rhetoric from other studies of rhetoric in past societies and eras.

On this note, the research investigates the difference between contemporary rhetoric and the classical rhetoric.

Crowley and Hawhee (1994) study is based on ancient rhetoric for contemporary students. They investigate interrelationship between classical and contemporary rhetoric. Aristotelian terms, classical rhetoric relies on artistic truths: ethos, logos, pathos, but contemporary rhetoric relies on science and facts or inartistic proofs. When one thinks of rhetoric in current practice in places like political speeches, one can mostly hear classical rhetoric. They later associated it with one well known contemporary rhetorician, Foucault. For Foucault, it is language and culture and the interplay between the two. The conclusion drawn here is that the only thing that gives language meaning is the frame we build around it.

2.2.2 The three Branches of Rhetoric

Aristotle (2001) categorises rhetoric (4th century BC) into the three branches, namely deliberative rhetoric, judicial, rhetoric and epideictic rhetoric.

2.2.3.1 Deliberative Rhetoric

Some scholars called it "legislative" oratory. Deliberative oratory originally had to do exclusively with that type of speaking typical of political legislatures. It was initially oriented towards policy and thus considered the future and whether given laws would benefit or harm society. Deliberative rhetoric is a type of speech or writing that attempts to persuade an audience to take (or not take) some action. Richards (1996) comments as it is stated by Aristotle, judicial rhetoric is primarily concerned with past events, deliberative discourse, "always advises about things to come." Political oratory and debate fall under the category of deliberative rhetoric.

2.2.3.2 Judicial Rhetoric

Judicial rhetorical approaches, also known as forensic rhetoric and they are intended to accuse or defend based on the point of view taken (Johnson, 2014). Example of this can be, when closing arguments made at a criminal trial would be considered judicial rhetoric, since these arguments are meant to persuade a jury to convict or exonerate a defendant.

Moreover, judicial rhetoric is speech or writing that considers justice or injustice of a certain charge or accusation. In the modern era, judicial (or forensic) discourse is primarily employed by lawyers in trials decided by a judge or jury.

2.2.3.1 Epideictic Rhetoric

The term “epideictic” comes from the Greek word “epideixis” which means “appropriate discourse within pedagogical or ritual text” (Richards, 1996). Furthermore, epideictic rhetoric, the concern of this research is also called ceremonial discourse. Its aim is either to praise or blame. Therefore epideictic rhetoric includes funeral orations, obituaries, graduation and retirement speeches, letters of recommendation, and nominating speeches at political conventions.

President Nujoma’s independence anniversaries speeches and his inaugural speech are ceremonial discourse as their main aim is to commemorate, therefore they fall under this branch (epideictic rhetoric).

2.3 Presidential Rhetoric

President's effectiveness as a public communicator is one of the key qualities that bears on presidential performance. Windt (1986, p. 102) describes Presidential rhetoric as "a study of how Presidents gain, maintain or lose support of the public". Furthermore, Windt talks of presidential power coming from three areas; the Constitution, the role of party leader and amassing public support.

Olmsted (2004) contends that the rise of the rhetorical presidency nowadays is due to the modern mass media. The media did not create the rhetorical presidency but it facilitated its development and has given it some of its special characteristics. This study found that, in Namibia the mass media, is primarily newspaper, radio and television. It gave President Nujoma the means of communicating directly and instantaneously with a large national audience because while there are those who have means of watching television and newspaper and there are those who have means of listening to the radio.

Windt (1986) adds that the discipline of presidential rhetoric is concerned with the study of presidential public persuasion as it affects the ability of a President to exercise the powers of the office. Windt (1986, p. 102) further states that it is a study of "how Presidents gain, maintain, or lose public support. The current study found that President Nujoma rhetoric boosted his power to maintain public support, therefore, he was elected to rule the country for three terms.

Ragsdale (2008, p. 980) states that "Major speech lifts presidential approval by three percentage point" while Brace and Hinckley (1992, p. 56) contend that "major speech during a president first term will boost his popularity by six percentage but will display no impact during the second term". Ostrom and Simon (1989, p. 474) argue that "speeches will have an impact on approval

under limited condition and finds that the public respond with greater level of approval for the president only when approval-enhancing events accompany the speech". The events referred here can be annual events, for example, independence anniversary or ceremonial event such as independence inauguration.

Ostrom and Simon (1989, p 76) argue that:

Presidential speeches that affect public opinion greatly are those related to foreign policy than, for instance, economic or domestic policy speeches, because foreign policy ones are better at portraying the president as a strong leader, a public image that is necessary for presidential leadership of public opinion.

Presidential rhetoric is regarded as a new discipline of study within the field of rhetoric and within presidential scholarship. Scholars in this discipline are concerned with how presidential words are perceived by the public as well as how public language and public arguments influence the exercise of presidential power (Haart 2000).

Furthermore, this study is based on governing rhetoric as it focuses on the analysis of President Nujoma's speech during his tenure office as the President of Namibia. Windt (1986) comments on the two different types of presidential power, campaigning and governing. Although they both rest on persuasion, there is a slight difference between them. There are, however, some techniques which are the same. Windt (1986) further suggests some major distinctions between campaigning and governing such as:

- The metaphor for campaigning is war; the metaphor for governing is negotiation.
- Campaigning aims at absolute victory over one's enemy with a specified period of time; governing aims at solving problems through compromise and thus passing legislation in which there are no final victories.
- In a campaign one must demand loyalty from one's supporters; in governing, supporters may have divided loyalties among their own beliefs, their own party, and their own constituencies, and therefore, one must determine which to appeal in order to gain support from them.
- In a campaign one forces an either/or choice and frames issues that way; in governing, there are more alternatives and the goal is often compromise.
- Finally, a campaign involves confrontation or at least the appearance of confrontation politics; governing seeks accommodation. If these distinctions between the two political arts are valid, then it follows that the rhetoric constructed to achieve the aims of each will be different also.

President Nujoma's speeches are a governing rhetoric, with the major themes of problem solving through compromise and accommodation governance.

Political rhetoric is a political language, of its uses and abuses, and of its impact on those who speak and those who hear. Presidential rhetoric is a political rhetoric. In democratic politics, words establish the compact between the governor and the governed. In this age of media politics and the rhetorical presidency, the concerted and disciplined study of language and, therefore, of political arguments do not exist until dressed in language. In the analysis done in this study, of presidential rhetoric, the focus is based more on the persuasion of the orator's words, since the governance of the presidency is normally through their speeches (Windt 1986).

Kernel (1993, p. 114) argues that “presidents also go public to alter public thinking about policies or to influence public impressions of the president”. While Cohen (1997, p. 138-144) states that, “presidential speech may be used to influence the public’s agenda, a president may also speak to affect the public’s mood, such as its orientation toward the future, its sense of optimism or pessimism”.

According to the WorldNet dictionary, “The president’s speeches are persuasive speeches. A persuasive speech is a speech given in hopes of swaying the crowd to believe and support the things that the speech giver is saying.”

Moreover, presidents’ speeches are written by a speech writer. Engel (2002, p. 31) defines a speech writer as, “an expert person who is hired to prepare and write a speech that will be delivered by someone else.” Engel (2002) further comments that the occupation of the speechwriter is to write precious words that are appropriate to be used in the speeches of a national leader such as the president.

Furthermore, “Political Speech Writers are often ghost writers who are responsible for the elaborate and professional speeches given by politicians” (Steinberg, 1999, p. 92). This means speeches written for the President are treated as his own even though he may not have written them himself.

However, Jeffrey et al. (2001, p. 4011) state that “once known as ‘ghosts’ and hidden in the presidential closet, rhetoric makers today have come out into the full light of day and are openly employed under the title of speech writers”. This is what happens nowadays, that speech writers are no longer hidden. Their identities are well known as this is part of their profession. However, they prepare the speech and as soon as the president delivers it in public, it becomes his own.

Edwards and Wayne (1997, p. 216) add that:

Political speech writers normally sit down with the politician and make a record of everything the speech needs to contain. They will determine key issues that need to be discussed, how long each topic will be discussed, the order in which it will be discussed, and how long the overall speech will be. They are responsible to write it with a specific tone in mind, and making sure the politician will say exactly what needs to be said.

Furthermore, speech writers, especially those who prepare speeches for presidents, need to have good command of the language to enable them to use rhetorical devices effectively, to convey ideas to the audience exactly the way the president wants to put the message across. Furthermore, rhetorical devices that can be used by the speech writers to make the speech more effective are alliteration, allusion, parallelism, simile, metaphor, and personification.

“In both, speech and writing, rhetoric can be used to generate interest in audience, highlight certain ideas, improve the flow of words, or otherwise direct attention to a specific idea” (Safire, 1997, p. 94).

Ellis (1998, p. 13-14) notes that “The story of the rhetorical presidency is also the story of the democratization of the presidency. Presidential rhetoric has also moved away from the sometime model of republican rhetoric toward a certain democratic chattiness.” With this note, Ellis means that presidential rhetoric that honors the people (and their visionary leader), is normally compassionate, inclusive, and egalitarian. Therefore presidential rhetoric has become more people-oriented in the modern era.

As modern presidents have rhetorically represented themselves increasingly as protectors and defenders of the people, their rhetoric has also tended to aggrandize their status

within the governmental system. Article 20 of the Namibian constitution supports this as it states that, “As the Head of State, the President shall uphold, protect and defend the Constitution as the Supreme Law, and shall perform with dignity and leadership.”

Speaking from the perspective of American presidency, Ellis (1998) claims that modern presidents have become less (verbally) concerned with the other branches of government. For example the *legislature*, *House* (of Representatives), *Senate*, and the (Supreme) *court* in the annual messages have decreased noticeably over time. However as per the functions, powers and duties the Namibian constitution article 32 of chapter 5 states in contrary of this as follow:

In accordance with the responsibility of the executive branch of Government to the legislative branch, the President and the Cabinet shall each year during the consideration of the official budget , attend Parliament. During such sessions, the President shall address Parliament on the state of the nation and on the future policies of the Government, shall report on the policies of the previous year and shall be available to respond to questions.

Furthermore, Ceaser et al. (2008, p. 164) argue in contrary to the argument done by Ellis above, that:

Presidents today produce more written documents than ever before and that all of their speeches are recorded and transcribed. But this may not add much value as few in the public ever bother to peruse, let alone read, such speeches. Significant messages are

delivered today in speeches and presidents understand that it is the visible performance, not the tangible text that creates the public impression.

Ceaser concludes that one of the great ironies of the modern presidency is that as Presidents rely more on rhetoric to govern, they find it more difficult to deliver a truly important speech, one that will stand by itself and continue to shape events.

Moreover, Ceaser et al. (2008, p. 158) add that “Presidents not only face the demand to explain what they have done and intend to do, but they also have come under increasing pressure to speak out on perceived crises and to minister to the moods and emotions of the nation.”

Furthermore, rhetorical situation is a significant tool to consider in the process of rhetorical analysis of speech. Bitzer (1968, p. 52) defines rhetorical situation as follow:

A complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigency 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 exigency.

The three constituents of rhetorical situation are exigence, audience and constraints. After Bitzer (1968) breaks down these three rhetorical constituents, he defines exigency as an imperfection marked by urgency, which is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be. He further commented that, exigence is rhetorical when it is capable of positive modification and when positive modification requires discourse or can be assisted by discourse. While rhetorical audience consists only of those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change, he further writes that rhetorical discourse only initiates change when it positively influences an audience.

Connected to audience, then are the constraints that “every rhetorical situation contains a set of constraints made up of persons, events, objects and relations which are parts or elements of the situation because they have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence such as, beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, images, interests, motives that stand in the way of the audience responding well to the exigence.

With these notes the researcher concluded that, the presence of rhetorical discourse indicates the presence of a rhetorical situation. Bitzer (1968, p. 54) further explains that:

While the existence of a rhetorical address is a reliable sign of the existence of situation, it does not follow that a situation exists only when the discourse exists. Each reader probably can recall a specific time and place when there was opportunity to speak on some urgent matter, and after the opportunity was gone he created in private thought, the speech he should have uttered earlier in the situation. It is clear that situations are not always accompanied by discourse. Nor should we assume that a rhetorical address gives existence to the situation; on the contrary, it is the situation which calls the discourse into existence.

The inaugural and the annual addresses of the President Nujoma are the exigency as it is his responsibility as the head of state to deliver those speeches during those occasions.

According to Gettysburg (2004, p. 152):

Rhetoric is a situational means in such a way that: (1) rhetorical discourse comes into existence as a response to situation, in the same sense that an answer comes into existence *in* response to a question, or a solution in response to a problem; (2) a speech is given *rhetorical* significance by the situation, just as a unit of discourse is given

significance as answer or *as* solution by the discourser. (3) A rhetorical situation exists as a necessary condition of rhetorical discourse, just as a question must exist as a necessary condition of an answer; (4) many questions go unanswered and many problems remain unsolved; similarly, many rhetorical situations mature and lose value; (5) a situation is rhetorical in so far as it needs and invites discourse capable of participating with situation and thereby altering its reality; (6) discourse is rhetorical in so far as it functions (or seeks to function) as a fitting response to a situation which needs and invites it. (7) Finally, the situation controls the rhetorical response in the same sense that the question controls the answer and the problem controls the solution. Not the rhetor and not persuasive intent, but the situation is the source and ground of rhetorical activity and, one could should add, rhetorical criticism.

One of the important components in the presidential institution is the audience. As it is stated above, the definition of audience of a speech has to evolve since Aristotle's first conception of rhetoric, as radio and television have expanded the scope of people reached by a speech. The "audience" of a speech are therefore all the targeted groups that see the speech in person or in television, as well as the media who report on it (Windt 1986, p. 105). Of this entire group, the media are often the most important audience in contemporary presidencies, as the mediatisation of politics is ever increasing.

Moreover, Abbott (1998, p. 348) states that:

The modern presidency is, of course, an institution significantly different from its origins in the eighteen century. The modern president does perform a role in policy initiation in which rhetoric plays a major function which was not part of the founders' conception of

the office. When presidents speak in public today, their most important audience is not the one they are personally addressing, but rather the public as it is reached through the brief cuts aired on the news.

The rhetorical presidency has become the predominant model. For example the metaphorical terms such as “voice of the nation”, “moral leader” and “trumpet” all suggest a form of presidential speech that soars above the realm of calm and deliberate discussion of reasons of state of appeal to enlightened self-interest.

Some relevant literature on Aristotelian proof of rhetoric and the classical canons of rhetoric that was used in this study are evidence of this predominant model of rhetorical presidency, as most commonly used metaphorical terms are part of the content.

Olmsted (2004) study found that rhetoric is not only an alleged cause of shifts in audience attitudes. It is also a reflection of a president's values and worldview. And it is also a work of practical art, often richly layered and multifocal, that calls for interpretation.

In addition, presidents do not just manipulate what happens in the nation and the world; they are themselves blown about by the winds of national and world events.

Shipale (2002, p. 3) states that “The Presidential address is important as a piece of language although not always in the way that one might expect. It belongs to ritual language and is, therefore, subject to heavy constraints conditioned by the ceremonial occasion.”

Noppen quoted by Shipale (2002, p. 4) adds that:

The speeches of presidents are largely similar, and it is true that they belong to the same genre and convey a number of similar devices. This is because these speakers are

involved in the same sort of speech act basically, epideictic rhetoric in which they do not only convey information, but also seek to strengthen links within and with the audience. In a way, they must give the audience a core message, a sense of pride and patriotism, a sense of involvement in what is going on, and a sense of commitment to a common cause. In this respect, the speech must qualify as a kind of a rhetorical exercise of the epideictic genre, i.e. more or less spectacular oratory seeking to propagate a worldview, in other words, to convey value judgments

A conclusion can be drawn from Shipale's argument above, that, presidential rhetoric are more or less the same because they have the same objectives. It is against this background that the researcher looks at President Nujoma's addresses. The same way one can see the use of rhetoric by presidents of other countries to persuade the nation and to increase their people's participation in the process of nation building and policy making, so is what appears in the content of President Nujoma's speeches.

From the knowledge of the researcher, the study done by Mathe (2006) is the only presidential rhetorical analysis done so far in Namibia. In his research, Mathe examines how former President Nujoma used the canons of classical rhetoric in his State of the Nation addresses during his Presidential reign in Namibia. The current study investigates how former President Nujoma used his inauguration speech and speeches he delivered during the anniversaries of the first ten years of independence to attempt to persuade the audience to support him and his government. Furthermore, Mathe's study focuses on the five canons of classical rhetoric in President Nujoma's state of the nation addresses (1990- 2004) while the current study focuses on the five canons of classical rhetoric as well as on the Aristotelian proofs of ethos, pathos and logos of President Nujoma's inauguration and independence anniversary. Therefore this research

attempts to contribute to the body knowledge, as it narrows the gap of presidential rhetorical analysis in Namibia.

In addition, after examining the twenty eight hours of video recordings shown live on the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation and the two hundred twenty pages of the transcript of the fifteen state of the nation addresses, the study done by Mathe (2006) found that there is a difference between president Nujoma's written and delivered addresses in articulation. While the speeches were properly written, Nujoma's delivery at times failed them. However, the video recordings of the speeches sometimes contradicted Nujoma on the pronunciation. Mathe finally concludes that although what is important is policies and action, when one is the President, the public and history look to him to shape the way important things are talked about.

Mathe's research reveals that President Nujoma led his country through his speeches. He argued that although presidential speeches are still quite epideictic, attention was placed on the use of canons of classical rhetoric in Nujoma's State of the Nation addresses. President Nujoma was a communicatively competent person who could interact effectively with the people around him. Not only were his communication skills important, but a significant role was also played by the canons of classical rhetoric that were in his speeches. The message in President Nujoma's addresses was relevant and his image or the way he talked did not monopolise the attention. Given the importance of the addresses, Mathe further claims that it was important for President Nujoma to speak in a simple language so that the listeners, and later the readers, would be able to understand the meaning of the words at the first instance. The conclusions of this study were drawn and they show that, President Nujoma used five canons of classical rhetoric in his fifteen states of the nation addresses in order to deliver his speeches.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter provides a review of literature in relation to issues examined in this research. Focus is placed on presidential rhetorical analysis and what other scholars say about presidency as a rhetorical institution. The researcher concludes by referring to the inputs of other scholars as recommended by Aristotle and Cicero.

With specific reference to Namibia, the researcher only came across a study done by Mathe (2006), as the only Presidential rhetorical analysis done so far in Namibia, but with a focus on the state of the nation addresses, thus this study aims to analyse President Nujoma's ceremonial speeches in terms of Cicero's five canons of the rhetorical process as well as the three persuasion of Aristotelian rhetoric, thereby building knowledge on Presidential rhetorical analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that is used in the current study. It discusses the research design and approach, the population, the sample and sampling techniques, procedures, and data analysis as well as research ethics.

3.2 Research Design

In order to answer the two research questions, ten speeches delivered by former President Nujoma on independence inauguration and on the anniversaries of the first nine years of independence are analysed. They are analysed along with relevant literature on Aristotelian proof of rhetoric and the classical canons of rhetoric. The researcher also uses video recordings showing highlights of those speeches on the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation television. The videos help in the analysis of one of the canons of rhetoric namely, delivery. Delivery is regarded as one of the most important elements of the speeches in rhetoric. According to Foss (1996, p. 31) “the canon of delivery is concerned with the speaker's manner of presentation.” The researcher focuses on the use of gestures, voice and physical movements of President Nujoma when he delivered those speeches.

Furthermore, this study is designed in such a way that it is a desktop study in which a qualitative approach is employed to analyse the content of the speeches. In addition, literary sources to assess Dr Nujoma’s speeches are also used. These literary sources include the internet, journals and

other related research papers. Since the speeches are published documents, which were created for large audiences, the above-mentioned sources are the primary sources of this research.

3.3 Population

The former President, Dr Nujoma delivered many speeches during his tenure of office as President of the republic of Namibia. The speeches include the independence inauguration and anniversaries and state of the nation addresses, which is a constitutional obligation for the state President, where he addresses the nation through a joint session of parliament and reviews the past policies and clearly spell out government's focus for the next year. The State of the Nation Address is done during the consideration of the national budget.

The other speech of the most importance is the inaugural address, which the President delivered at the beginning of his tenure in order to inform the nation of his intention as a Head of State. This speech was delivered on the 21st March 1990 when the Namibian flag was hoisted high and the apartheid South African flag was lowered down. This signalled the end of colonialism in Namibia. The day also marked the beginning of Dr Nujoma's Presidency.

Furthermore, each year on the commemoration of independence, the President greets the nation by delivering an independence anniversary speech.

Castillo as cited by Ramose (2012, p. 19) defines research population as:

Generally a large collection of individuals or objects that is the main focus of scientific query. He further claims that it is for the benefit of the population that researches are done. However, due to the large sizes of populations, researchers often cannot test every

individual in the population because it is too expensive and time consuming. This is the reason why researchers rely on sampling techniques.

The number of the speeches mentioned above delivered by the former President makes the population of this study.

3.4 Sample

The ten epideictic speeches that are analysed in this study form the sample of the population. The reason why the researcher chooses only the ten epideictic speeches of the first ten year of Dr Nujoma's rule is because the researcher assumes that these are the most important speeches of the former President and fifteen speeches would be too many for this study. Thus, the researcher opts for the first ten speeches to represent all the former President's speeches. Furthermore, the Namibian Constitution stipulates clearly that a president should rule the country for a maximum of two terms only. However, as stated earlier in the previous chapter, SWAPO Party argued that President Nujoma was not directly elected at independence in 1990, therefore, he was entitled to serve for a third term. An amendment was made to permit a third term. This amendment stipulated that only the first president will be entitled for a third term. All future presidents can only serve two terms.

Furthermore, a sample is a small group of the population who are the representative of the total population from which they are selected. In addition, Joan (2009, p. 2) states that a sample is simply:

A subset of the population which arises from the inability of the researchers to test all the individuals in a given population. The sample must be representative of the population from which it was drawn and it must have a reasonable size to warrant statistical analysis.

Joan (2009) adds that the main function of the sample is to provide the researchers the chance to conduct the study to the selected individuals from the whole population so that the results of their study can be used to draw conclusions that will apply to the entire population. Therefore, the ten epideictic speeches that are analysed in this study form the sample taken from the population for this study, as they are a portion of the large population of the many speeches delivered by the former President Nujoma.

3.5 Procedure

The study analyses ten epideictic speeches delivered by former President Dr Nujoma. Furthermore, the researcher contacted the News and Current Affairs Department of the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation Television to get the video recordings of the former President's speeches. This letter is coded as appendix A at the end of this study.

3.6 Data Analysis

The ten speeches selected for this study are critically analysed to show whether they conform to the rhetorical proofs and canons of classical rhetoric. Moreover, the analyses is also done on how these speeches were used to solicit the support of the nation as well as to promote national reconciliation.

3.7 Research Ethics

Resnik, as cited by Ramose (2012, p. 20) states that “many of ethical norms help to ensure that researchers can be held accountable to the public, for instance federal policies on research misconduct, conflict of interests, and the human subject protection.”

The researcher asked permission from relevant authorities before this study began. The researcher asked permission in the form of a letter to the Head of department of News and Current Affairs of the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC TV) to get the video records of the former President's Speeches (See Appendix A). The NBC gave the researcher permission to view the video records at the NBC office. This was done telephonically.

Furthermore, the researcher makes it clear to the NBC Head of current affairs department that the purpose of viewing the videos was to analyse the President's words or written speeches and not his thought and it also recognizes that sometimes thought matters as much as words. This means that the study has no intention of criticising or any hidden agenda but rather to contribute to the work of rhetoric.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter illustrates the actual rhetorical analysis of the speeches selected for this study. As per the two research questions, the primary aim of this research is to analyse to what extent President Nujoma used the Aristotelian rhetorical proofs of ethos, pathos and logos in his speeches and how he used the canons of classical rhetoric in the ten speeches. These speeches are coded with appendices found at the end of this study in order to give an easy referral to the readers when they follow the citation. For example, the inauguration speech is coded as Appendix 1, first Independence anniversary is coded Appendix 2 and so on until the ninth anniversary speech which is coded Appendix 10.

4.2 The Aristotelian Rhetorical Proofs in President Nujoma Speeches

As stated above, the ten speeches are analysed according to the Aristotelian proof of ethos, pathos and logos. Rhetoric is one discipline which links to the political sphere. As shown in Chapter 2, presidents use rhetoric to promulgate their ideas and to outline their position on important issues. Former President Nujoma used many forms of rhetoric and rhetorical devices during his first ten years of ruling.

4.2.1 The Appeal to Character In President Nujoma's Speeches (Ethos)

Ethos refers to ethical appeal (the speaker's image), which means that the speaker must demonstrate honesty, intelligence, common sense and goodwill of the subject matter. "The more credible the speaker is perceived by the listeners, the greater he will succeed in winning their

respect and confidence” (Steinberg 1999, p. 246). Furthermore, according to Samovar & Mills (1989, p. 59) “some speakers are regarded as being more credible than others because of their competence, poise, dynamism, moderation, goodwill, sincerity and concern”. These characters are certainly observed in the former President Nujoma’s speeches as such:

In the name of our people, I declare that Namibia is forever free, sovereign and independent," (See Appendix 1) said President Sam Nujoma, who was then sworn in as the country's first President by the United Nations Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar. This declaration demonstrated his competency as the founding father of the Namibian nation.

President Nujoma continued, "As of today, we are masters of this pastoral land of our ancestors." These words mean that the long and bitter struggle waged by the liberation movement, Swapo on behalf of the Namibian people against the South African apartheid colonial rule, had come to an end, and therefore "The destiny of this country is now in our own hands" (See Appendix 1).

Furthermore, in his independence inauguration address, shortly after he was sworn in as the first President of the independent Republic of Namibia by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, during the first hour of 21 March 1990, Dr Nujoma expressed concern about South Africa’s white apartheid government which colonised Namibia for a long period of time. At the same time, he thanked the Namibian sons and daughters who fought a long and bitter struggle to free the country from the yoke of colonialism resulting in the holding of a fair and free election, which saw the Namibian people declaring 21 March, Independence day and thus taking charge of their own political destiny. He had this to say:

For the past 43 years or so, this land of our forebearers has been a bone of contention between the Namibian people and the international community on one hand, and South Africa on the other. The Namibian problem has been at the centre of bitter international dispute over the last 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 (See Appendix 1).

In addition, the first paragraph of his exordium in the first independence anniversary speech, Dr Nujoma sincerely welcomed the Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe who was a guest of honour, by respecting and appreciating his presence. Dr Nujoma also used the opportunity to express how the Namibian people highly regarded President Mugabe as "one of the most outstanding sons of Africa".

I would like, first to use this opportunity to warmly welcome His Excellency President Robert Mugabe to Namibia and to express our deep gratitude to him for having accepted my invitation to be the guest of honour at this historic celebration of our country's first anniversary of independence.

The Namibian people, who hold you in high esteem and regard you as one of the most outstanding sons of Africa, are deeply honoured by your presence here today. Owing to the fact that your country and our country have a common, and indeed very recent colonial history and shared the same trenches in the struggle for national liberation,

makes your being here today to share with us in the joy of celebration of the first anniversary of our independence a fitting tribute to the heroes and martyrs of Namibia's fight for freedom and independence (See Appendix 2).

President Nujoma also demonstrated his knowledge of the subject-matter in the speech he delivered at the seventh independence anniversary by categorically highlighting the role played by different stakeholders of the Namibian government.

Our traditional leaders, teachers, the clergy and community leaders have the responsibility of providing guidance for our young people to become responsible citizens and upright adults who will be aware of their civic duties towards their communities and their nation. In the same vein, our politician should be examples of honest and accountable leadership that our youth and community at large can follow (See Appendix 8).

He further displayed his competency as the Head of the Namibian State by outlining the endowed natural resources Namibia possesses most of which are still untapped, he thus at the same time, expressed deep concern on the lack of financial resources which hampers government's efforts to implement developmental projects and uplift the living standards of the Namibian people. He, however, showed his political commitment and willingness to deal with such issues when he declared:

Government, on its part, has the responsibility of ensuring an efficient and effective administrative system for the country as a whole. I know that in this regard, we are faced with the problem of scarcity of resources. The socioeconomic needs of our people are

great and resources are limited. Nevertheless, we are determined to satisfy these needs (See Appendix 8).

The President's use of pronouns such as "our", "we", in that paragraph suggested an element of moderation on his part. Therefore, he sounded very sincere on his use of those "togetherness" words in order to establish both the bond between himself and the nation while at the same time claiming his authority as the Head of State.

Talking about the policy of decentralisation that the government had instituted through the establishment of regional authorities in order to bring government and development closer to the people, President Nujoma demonstrated his government's commitment and willingness to uplift and improve the living standard of the community living in small towns such as Ariamsvlei, Aranos, Aminuis, Bukavu, Ruacana and Opuwo to have decent houses, clean portable water and electricity just like other Namibians living in big towns such as Windhoek, Swakopmund and Keetmanshoop. According to President Nujoma, decentralisation was an important policy as it was among the few effective ways government can use to ensure that the fruits of independence are shared in equal proportion by all Namibians living in both rural and urban areas. Although assuring the nation of government's commitment to make that happen, he point blankly acknowledged that the process was not an easy one at all. "This will take a great deal of time and effort, but I promise you we will eventually achieve these goals."

The above expression added accountability and competency to President Nujoma's public standing because he did not only proved his interest in the well being of all the Namibian people but he also promised them that these goals would be achieved (See Appendix 9).

In addition, President Nujoma demonstrated his competency and authority by appreciating the Constituent Assembly for electing him as the first President of Namibia, thus putting him in charge of steering government's affairs at a sensitive period when the country just emerged out of a long a conflict when it was freed from the yoke of colonialism. He then promised to uphold and carry out his duty to the best of his ability.

... I am grateful to the members of Namibia's Constituent Assembly for the confidence they have 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 (See Appendix 1).

Nujoma further honoured the heroes and heroines of Namibia who sacrificed their lives for the struggle for independence. He appreciated their contribution to independence by saying they would be remembered not only then but by the future generation of this country as their names have earned a permanent place in the history 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" (See Appendix 1).

President Nujoma showed his credibility to his audience when he expressed some of the achievements from the government side.

My Government prides itself for having continually worked to improve the condition of the masses. Overall I have reason to be pleased with the health of the nation. I am proud to be leading a nation essentially reconciled with most people having happily accepted the change. Happily also, we are proud that among Namibians we have many committed

businesses that are here to stay and are committed to identify with their country through thick and thin (See Appendix 5).

The above statement, in which President Sam Nujoma recognized his own government's efforts and good leadership that led to such achievements, gave the nation a sense of comfort that government was working in the best interest of the people and could thus look forward to a brighter future.

In his 1997 address, President Nujoma exercised his Presidential authority when he gave prisoners a parole release. This parole release can only be authorised by a Head of State and indeed showing that he is incharge, hence raising his credibility high, as a leader of an independent Namibia.

In terms of Sub-article (8) of Article 32 of the Namibian constitution, I hereby announce that I have, under the power vested in me by Sub-article (3) (d) of Article 32, pardoned the following categories of prisoners:

All serving prisoners whose conditional release on parole for 1997 have been approved on or before March 21, 1997; and all first offenders currently serving effective sentence of not more than two years, except offenders serving sentence for serious crime as well as escapees (See Appendix 8).

President Nujoma sincerely expressed his appreciation and deep gratitude to different countries and governments which responded positively by assisting Namibia in the first year of its independence. Such expression of generosity demonstrated Nujoma's character of being more credible to his audience.

I wish to use this opportunity to express my government's sincere thanks and deep gratitude to all those countries which provided financial and technical assistance to our country during its first year of independence through either bilateral or multi-lateral arrangements (See Appendix 2).

President Nujoma appeared sincere with his audience in his first independence anniversary when he acknowledged problems brought about by the former education system, which ensured that the Namibian people were given an inferior education which would not give them the ability and capacity to contribute meaningfully to the economic development of the country. This was a vital subject since education is one of the most important sectors of Namibia, especially at the time when the country had just emerged from the yoke of colonialism. Therefore, by touching on this crucial issue, the audience would regard him as more accountable and credible as well as competent in dealing with challenges facing the country. This would make him win their respect and confidence. The following paragraph supports this:

The issue of education is very close to the hearts of Namibian parents. Before independence, hundreds of thousands of school age children were unable to find places in the country's educational system. The unification and reorganization of eleven different educational systems into one national education has been of the most difficult tasks which government has been facing (See Appendix 2).

Another aspect on education which the former President made is with regard to a report which highlighted progress the government had made to increase the number of schools in the country. With the main aim of reducing the level of unemployment in the country, he singled out the importance of vocational training in a country such as Namibia where a lot of different skills are

needed by saying that “vocational education is being emphasized to enhance employability (See Appendix 3).

In the speech he delivered during the third independence anniversary, President Nujoma further expressed concerns and government’s commitment to improve the well being of the nation, when he stressed on the issue of health by specifically focusing on “primary health care”. He emphasised that a healthy nation would be a central feature of the health system “a system which seeks to entrench the fundamental principles of equity, accessibility, affordability and community involvement” (See Appendix 4).

President Nujoma also showed his concern in his speech when he addressed the problems of hunger, poverty, unemployment, crime, alcoholism and woman and child abuse. After expressing his views on these issues he continued articulating his worries that, it is disturbing that these are specifically the problems that affect the poorer section of our communities. However, he assured the audience that the government was prepared to do its part to solve some of those pressing problems that affected our nation so negatively. In his view, Nujoma stated that, some programmes and investment had been undertaken to make Namibia a safe and prosperous place to live. But it needed the cooperation of all stakeholders to arrest this worrying social degeneration and decay (See Appendix 9).

In his ninth independence speech, President Nujoma made reference to the situation in Angola, specifically to the ethos of the president of that country Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who was willing to accommodate all Angolans as a way of bringing peace in the country. However, Nujoma condemned the action of Unita, which continued to be “self-centred, with little concern for the suffering people of Angola”. Nujoma continued describing the evil actions of Unita as

such, “Unita’s greed knows no bounds and for this very reason sanction against it must be strengthened. The international community cannot afford to wash its hands off Angola until peace is achieved in that country” (See Appendix 10).

As a leader of a democratic government, this note was a remark to the audience that although the nation is allowed to exercise the freedom of speech, there must be social justice as social evil will never be tolerated. This is in order to create a society that is in harmony with itself by counting the value of one another.

President Nujoma further made reference to president of DRC, Laurent Kabila, who had “formed a new government of national reconciliation”. Nujoma, therefore, urged Namibian people to do the same.

Aristotle (2001) claims that ethos is the most important constituent of any speech, even before any words are uttered. Persuasion is achieved by the speaker’s personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make people think about his credibility. What the public thinks of the speaker is of utmost importance to the way in which a speech is received. Barber (2005, p. 196) concurs that, a candidate’s image is directly linked to his/her success. The ethos of the speaker determines whether or not an audience will accept the ideas put forward as well as the degree to which he/she can be trusted. President Nujoma ethos was one of his greatest assets, as he is the founding president of the republic of Namibia as well as long-term leader of the SWAPO Party, one of the political parties supported by many Namibians, which has won a two-thirds majority in the first election.

4.2.2 The Appeal to Emotion in President Nujoma's Speeches (Pathos)

Pathos is a form of persuasion whereby the speaker deals with the emotional state of the hearer in order to win their respect and confidence. An emotional appeal is often linked to people's needs. President Nujoma used various verbal tactics to complement pathos in his inauguration and independence anniversary addresses.

According to Henning (2001, p. 25) "the success of the persuasive efforts depends on the emotional dispositions of the audience, for we do not judge in the same way when we grieve and rejoice or when we are friendly and hostile." Therefore, President Nujoma used different verbal tactics to appeal to the emotions of his audience such as, fear and psychological appeal.

In his 1995 address, Nujoma talked about the challenges facing the nation, which was rather a call for Namibians to rise and to be heard now that the destiny of the country is in their own hands:

- To focus the new-born Republic's attention and energies on the realization of political, societal and economic reconciliation.
- The laying of a solid foundation guaranteeing the long-term prosperity of our nation
- The ending of international isolation of our country and
- The restoration of our territorial integrity (See Appendix 6).

Nujoma stressed the policy of national reconciliation. By describing the first challenge with such verbal technique, it would respond to the listener's emotion fast since Nujoma's aim was to unite people regardless of racial or political differences among them. The second challenge that was described by Nujoma above was to reconcile the fears and anxieties of the minority white citizens who had enjoyed a better living standard unlike a high percentage of the black people

who had poor standard of living. Nujoma used this technique to emphasize solidarity between the rich and poor. The third challenge was to make the nation aware of the existence of the international economy and to avoid relying on one sector only but to diversify and strengthen other sectors of the economy as well. The fourth challenge Nujoma appealed to his audience's emotion was by advising them to restore the territorial integrity of the country by solving the problem of Walvis Bay and Off-Shore Islands and the adjustment of the Orange River boundary.

Moreover, President Nujoma related to his listeners by his ability to command emotion with his proficiency in communication because it does not matter who you are or what you are saying if the people listening to you cannot relate to you. Therefore, in all the 10 epideictic speeches analysed in this study the President concludes with the phrase "LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA!". This phrase is an appeal to the emotions of the audience in the sense that President Nujoma said some good promise to them and therefore the audience would think that Nujoma was ready to lead them to high expectation in their best interest.

Another issue or action which struck the audience's emotions was in President Nujoma 1997 independence address when he reiterated that, "I believe that Namibia's brightest days are still ahead. Through hard work and prudence, we will realize our goals of ensuring an improved standard of living for our people." This shows the President goodwill, which can also be credible to his ethos.

Furthermore, President Nujoma used fear as a form of appeal to the audience's emotions in his 1996 address when he advised and encouraged the nation to work harder to build the country and to fight antithesis of independence by recommitting, dedicating and focusing more on itself in

order to achieve victory. This is what Nujoma called “the second phase of our struggle” by supporting it with these words:

On this day, we must recommit ourselves to working toward building a Namibian where everyone may enjoy a better quality of life in freedom and independence. To achieve this, we have to continue the second phase of our struggle. This phase deals with fighting against poverty, hunger, crime, disease and ignorance. We know that the struggle will not be easy, nor will the victory be quick (See Appendix 7).

When he spoke of the second phase of the struggle, the President also added aims and how the policy of reconciliation could be achieved through the maintenance of peace and stability. He reiterated the aims of the policy of reconciliation as follow:

- Removing hatred and dislike between blacks and whites;
- Reducing unnecessary antagonism between people of ethnic group,
- Inculcating the spirit of comradeship between people speaking different language, and
- Encouraging the spirit of brotherhood and sisterhood between religious groups and people who, for historical reasons, found themselves on different sides during our struggle for independence (See Appendix 7).

Since the country had attained independence six years earlier by then, it was worth for him to bring up the issue of reconciliation closer to his audience in order to build a united nation, based on democratic governance and the rule of law.

The policy of national reconciliation was furthermore necessary if the flight of much-needed skills and capital from the country was to be prevented. Politically, the policy of national reconciliation played an important role in overcoming the immediate political, racial and ethnic

tensions of the colonial past. The policy of national reconciliation has been successful because of inter-ethnic accommodation. This policy has also assisted in forging ties between economic and political elites (Blaawu 2007).

In addition, President Nujoma used fear to appeal to his audience in his 1999 address. He described the situation in the Caprivi region, where some politicians wanted to secede the region from Namibia. Thus, the army attacked in Katima Mulilo, the main urban centre of the Caprivi region, resulting in a number of death and leaving others wounded. President Nujoma declared a state of emergency and several culprits were arrested and put in jail. After the situation returned to normal, he visited the region and described it to his audience as having peace and tranquility just like any other regions in the country. And therefore he appealed to the Namibian people who were misled by failed politicians and escaped the country to feel free to come back as they should have nothing to fear. He again promised them that there would be no reprimand or any form of punishment against them since they were simply misled.

All those Namibians who followed the failed and disgruntled politicians to Botswana should come back to their country. Those who were misled have nothing to fear. They are welcome to return to their country. There will be no reprisals or witch-hunts (See Appendix 10).

President Nujoma also used fear to appeal to his audience when he described the effects of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis on the country in 1992, Nujoma said:

Plans to control the spread of HIV and control of AIDS, too is a priority for us, and for very good reason. If the spread of HIV is not controlled, all the benefits derived from mass immunization, and the control of diseases such as tuberculosis will be lost.

It has already been argued that in Southern Africa life expectancy might drop by ten years, and child mortality may increase significantly unless something is done about HIV(See Appendix 3).

Furthermore, President Nujoma used verbal tactic of fear by waving in the air or raising a pointed finger to those who broke the laws by killing others, stating that they would, with no doubt, had to face the force of the law. It is clearly stipulated in Article 6 of the Namibian Constitution: “The right to life shall be respected and protected. No law may prescribe death as a competent sentence. No Court or Tribunal shall have the power to impose a sentence of death upon any person. No executions shall take place in Namibia.” Here Nujoma refers to those who were responsible for the death of Victor Falali and other failed politicians who wanted to take Caprivi from Namibia.

As regards others who broke the laws of Namibia, who killed people, who committed crime, they will of course have to face the force of our laws. Those who were responsible for the death of Victor Falali will be brought to justice. Those who incited peace-loving people to insurrection will be brought to justice. Those who incited people to work for breaking Caprivi away from Namibia should remember that Namibia is not divisible and their acts are treason against the state (See Appendix 10).

In that paragraph, Nujoma successfully appealed to emotions of fear. According to Mathe (2006 p. 53) “when one threatens the other, an appeal to fear argument is used because compliance is not dependent upon whether it is the best thing to do but on what will happen if one does not”.

President Nujoma also used psychological appeals effectively in his 1999 address. He described Namibians as fortunate people to have right to a democratic election although this right continues

to be denied by many people in many parts of the world. Therefore, the nation must not take it for granted. He continued saying that:

Further, we must continue to strengthen our tradition of peaceful elections and our tradition for working in the interest of Namibia, whether we lose or win. Through these elections we want democracy to win and we want Namibia to win (See Appendix 10).

The repetition of the word “win” in this paragraph puts more emphasis in Nujoma’s speech.

In his 1998 address, President Nujoma highlighted the importance of different stakeholders in the country to collectively take responsibility in the fight against the social evil which haunts the development of the nation. According to Nujoma, different stakeholders should fight against “crime, alcohol and drug abuse, and violence against women and children”.

President Nujoma deliberately singled out those social evils, as he knew that these were what his target audience were familiar with. He had in mind the fact that the Namibian people desired a positive change to the development of their country and the majority, if not all, were willing and yearning for a better place to live. Therefore, Nujoma had in mind that he’s speaking to people who craved change rather than avoid it.

Moreover, President Nujoma used the technique of fear when describing the effects of rural-urban migration on the city in 1996. Nujoma said:

Rural-urban migration too has brought with it its own set of problems. Now that Namibians are free to move anywhere in the country, there has been a tremendous increase in rural urban migration. (See Appendix 7)

Nujoma added to his credibility in this paragraph by showing his concern of this problem, “[I] understand and appreciate the reasons for this migration. After all, from time immemorial cities have been the prime generators of wealth. It is, therefore not surprising that people want to come to cities to look for jobs.”

By continuing to employ the technique of fear, President Nujoma highlighted the nation’s challenges regarding the quality of training that people needed to get in order to effectively function in the 21st century, whereby people are required to produce better quality products.

He said:

These are challenges facing us. To meet these challenges we need to reinvent vocational and tertiary education. We need to take education to the people by introducing and expanding formal training facilities offered at community centres after working hours (See Appendix 7).

An emotional appeal is often linked to people’s needs. By considering the needs of his people President Nujoma stated this in his report on the development that had taken place in the priority areas of education, health, agriculture and housing. Apart from being the priority areas, Nujoma also identified them as being essential instruments of change. In his appeal to the audiences’ emotion president Nujoma reiterated that,

Before independence, SWAPO committed itself to the policy of Education for all. At independence my Government translated this policy into educational goals aimed at achieving this policy objective. These goals are:

- Equity of access to education
- Equity of opportunities in education
- Promotion of internal efficiency of the education system
- Quality of educational outcome, and
- Life-long learning

President Nujoma considered all his audiences' needs and therefore would want his government to exercise fairness in education. This was to ensure that every Namibian would have an equal opportunity to participate in all aspects of the educational process, including learning facilities and resources. Programmes and services were needed to provide a meaningful educational opportunity to all people of every race and income level, including people with disabilities (See Appendix 5).

Moreover, in his expression of the long-suffering the Namibian people had undergone under the yoke of colonialism, Nujoma appealed to the audience's emotions by assuring them that the oppression of colonialism had come to an end, therefore, peace and stability could be pronounced in the land then. Nujoma made a call for all Namibians to celebrate Independence day as there were no more fears or oppression. He convinced his audiences by reminding them about the Casspirs, dusk-to-dawn curfews and other massacres that were so common on a daily basis.

Measured against the background of many years of suffering under the yoke of apartheid colonialism, the last twelve months have been a period of socio-economic and political renewal and the building of democracy in our land. Gone are the bitter racial, ethnic and ideological tensions. Peace and stability have now returned to our land. Unlike those dark

days before independence when the dreadful Casspirs, dusk-to-dawn curfews, atrocities and massacre were the order of the day, our people have been able, during the last twelve months, to go about freely on their business without fear or intimidation. This is in itself an important achievement and, therefore, a reason for celebration as it restores the lost dignity of the Namibian people (See Appendix 2).

The dreadful Casspirs mentioned here refers to the vehicles, which were used to transport South African soldiers. During colonial era, groups of Casspirs, full of soldiers, drove into the villages abusing innocent Namibian people. Therefore, by mentioning such words in his speech, it drove the audience back to the bitter time of the past and this reminded them that they were no longer in colonial era, but that they were now enjoying prosperity, peace and stability.

By referring to the many social unrest incidents in the world of today, President Nujoma acknowledged that so far Namibia was contrary to that. The President called this a blessing, as there was still peace in the country in the seventh year of its independence. The uninterrupted political stability and tranquility reminded the audience that they were in a free country.

Speaking about the problem of animal husbandry, President Nujoma used emotional appeal to his audience. He assured his audience that since the communal farmers were marginalised, that had changed since the strength of disease control was through the provision of vaccination and dips. Nujoma further said:

Today, our farmers face difficult conditions due to the failure of the rains. In almost all communal areas, grazing conditions are poor. And where better grazing exists lack of water makes it unavailable to livestock. Government's actions should, however, soften

the blow. We have provided considerable financial and technical help to the farmers and ranchers in distress (See Appendix 3).

These were emotional appeals as the words comforted the audience especially the communal farmers who could have thought that they were no longer part of the programme.

Moreover, Nujoma repeated the tactic of fear when he compared the situation of the Namibian economy prior to independence and after: “prior to independence the Namibian economy was artificially kept alive by the pumping of billions of Rand into the country to sustain South Africa war effort.” However, when the country got independence, the level of economy growth and war-related employment and service went down. Nujoma continued to say that,

This combination of negative economic factors has, to a very large extent militated against Government efforts to revitalized the economy and implement policy of bringing about socio-economic justice by narrowing the income disparity between the privileged few and the poor majority (See Appendix 3).

President Nujoma used an emotional technique to address a social issue that was facing the country. In anticipation of an early resolution of the apartheid problem in South Africa, the government of Namibia had sought to encourage the core negotiations between the African National Congress and the Government of South Africa. Furthermore, Namibia had started negotiation process with the South African government on the unsettled dispute over Walvis Bay and the Offshore Islands (See Appendix 3).

President Nujoma expressed an appeal to fear in his second anniversary of the independence by saying:

Rains failed us and today our attention turns to those who had planted with hope, nurtured their crops and in the end were starved of water. Lack of rains has also thrown our agricultural projection into disarray. But this condition also brought home the fact that not enough water being done to develop irrigation systems and drought resistant crops. (See Appendix 3).

Namibia's climatic conditions had been unstable, therefore many farmers kept on being disappointed. This was because many people in Namibia survive on crops. Due to this instability, people were starved as there was no water. However, this brought an important matter close to the government's attention.

President Nujoma showed his concern in implementing government's policy to make health care accessible to the majority of the Namibian people by the year 2000. The Ministry of Health and Social Services had embarked on a programme of comprehensive primary health care. Since the launch of the programme, substantial numbers of children had been immunised and mobile clinics were introduced in the countryside. A healthy nation is one of the important factors of the country's economy, therefore to improve the quality of health services in the country, Government brought in doctors and other medical personnel from abroad in order to help in this regard. Lastly, the President promised the nation that these efforts would be intensified in the months ahead. This report gave the audience hope and courage.

To conclude this section, the researcher looked at Aristotle (2001) who suggests that pathos can be used to stir up certain emotions because our judgments when we are pleased and friendly are not the same as when we are pained and hostile. Therefore, by asserting pathos in the ethos and

logos components of a rhetorical situation, the speaker is attempting to put the audience in a particular frame of mind.

4.2.3 The Logical Argument in President Nujoma's Speech (Logos)

Logos is a Greek word which means 'word'. Ramage (1998, p. 49) defines logos as a “means of persuading by the use of reasoning.” It involves both deductive and inductive reasoning. Many scholars regard this rhetorical proof as Aristotle's favourite.

Mathe (2006, p. 43) states that “Logos refers to rational appeals, and apart from providing facts and figures, a logical appeal may be argued by providing examples and testimony.” Various verbal tactics were used by President Nujoma in his independence anniversary addresses in order to complement logos. Nujoma used deductive tactics to argue what was expected of the Namibian people as the country was now in their own hands.

He said:

Independence has brought with it many freedoms. But it has also brought with it certain responsibilities. All of us need to be mindful of other's freedoms. All of us need to work together to strengthen our society, so that everyone can live in peace and harmony and can feel secure (See Appendix 7).

Moreover, since the country had just got its independence, the nation still felt that individual poverty was forced on them while the social poverty was imposed on them by the successive colonial regimes. Therefore, as the Head of State, President Nujoma encouraged the nation to fight social poverty, which, according to him, had caused so much social deficit; hence independence must mean working harder.

Our struggle to fight against poverty, therefore, has to be two pronged, we as individuals, must try to eradicate poverty by working hard, by discouraging drinking, by becoming more productive, and by working to improve ourselves. It requires us to return to our cultural values and rich heritage (See Appendix 7).

Nujoma repeated this technique when he clearly pointed out the meaning of independence and what it should mean to the people of Namibia in his 1998 address. He said that, “Independence means that the future destiny of Namibia is now in our own hands. We must determine where we came from and where we plan to be in future.” He continued reasoning that Namibians “must always remain mindful of the bravest sons and daughters who sacrificed their precious lives for our independence and we should not do anything that devalue their memory”.

In his 1997 address, President Nujoma used the testimony of others to highlight how he valued the assistance given by the two foreign guests from the United Nations who were present at the anniversary. Nujoma argued that Namibians had always been appreciative of those who had supported them. He said:

As many of you know, Dr Waldheim, soon after he assumed office as the Secretary-General of the United Nations on January 3, 1972 travelled to Namibia because of his interest in this country’s future. I recall how he facilitated the opening of many doors in the higher echelons of the United Nations system. I also welcome Professor Adebayo Adedeji who, too, has been our trusted friend within the United Nations system and is a regular visitor to Namibia (See Appendix 8).

Nujoma used another tactic by employing examples of argument in his case. In his 1997 address, he highlighted the social unrest and wars that were prevailing in various parts of the world,

therefore, the President argued that this was a reminder that peace is indeed, a scarce commodity. With this note he encouraged the audience to believe that it is a collective responsibility to keep and maintain peace.

As I have said on various occasions, Namibia can only remain peaceful and prosperous if its neighbours are peaceful. Any disturbance in the stability equation in any of Namibia's neighbours will have a negative impact on our own stability (See Appendix 8).

President Nujoma made this logical argument on the problem that can be caused by the social evil of corruption if people are not willing to exercise self-discipline and individual accountability at their workplace.

There cannot be success if there is no discipline at the workplace, at school, in the home and in the community at large. Each and every one of us has to assume the responsibility for our success by being responsible and law-abiding (See Appendix 6).

Another logical argument was used by Nujoma when he talked of the issue of Kasikili Islands, which the two countries, Namibia and Botswana, resolved in the International Court of Justice. Nujoma reiterated that:

Namibia values the rule of law. Namibia is also a country that values friendships and the peaceful resolution of problems..

President Nujoma further argued that:

President Mogale of Botswana and I re-emphasised this commitment during my state visit to Botswana recently. The willingness of Botswana and Namibia to resolve the matter through arbitration instead of through shooting at each other shows the maturity of

the two sisters' republics and the maturity of the democratic systems of these two countries.

The logical argument that was used by President Nujoma here was that, despite the fact that the two countries were dealing with that issue, they could resolve it successfully through proper agreement. This convinced the audiences that their country, Namibia, is politically mature.

President Nujoma used another tactic of citing reports to argue his vision on the economic emancipation for the next five years.

In the next five years we will place great emphasis on economic development, in particular, increased agricultural production, especially livestock, and judicious harnessing of our marine resources. In the next five years emphasis will also be placed on trade with our neighbours and our co-operation partners, by promoting joint venture relationships in all sectors of our economy (See Appendix 6).

Equally important, Nujoma used statistics to argue his views on the educational goal that the government aimed at achieving. He stipulated these goals "equity of access to education, equity of opportunities in education, promotion of internal efficiency of the education system, quality of educational outcome and life-long learning". Nujoma continued reiterating the massive financial outlay involved in the achievement of these improvements. He then used statistics to argue this view when he said,

During the 1990/91 Budget, an amount of over R480 million was allocated to education and culture. For 1994/95, an amount of over N\$908 million was allocated to education and culture, which is over 28.8% of the budget. Last year this percentage was 24%. To put it differently, since 1988/89, resource allocation to education has increased by 70%.

This increase clearly demonstrated Government's commitment to education and training (See Appendix 5).

In addition, in his 1998 address, President Nujoma used statistics to argue his point on economic emancipation when he gave figures of the total cost of the project of Trans-Kalahari Highway. He said, "Just yesterday, on March 20, 1998, I had the pleasure of co-hosting the official inauguration of the Trans-Kalahari Highway, which was completed at a total cost of N\$74 million." The figure used here helps to support the argument.

Talking about some important factors that were contributing to socio-economic development, President Nujoma provided statistics on the progress made on the road construction as well as the time some sections were scheduled to be finished. Focusing on these investment projects, President Nujoma further provides examples of the Trans-Kalahari and Trans-Capriivi Highway on which the Government has embarked.

Communication and transport infrastructures are some of the important factors making for socio-economic development. The work on some sections of these major highways has progressed well. For example, the 46 km section of the Trans-Capriivi Highway between Takwasa and Nyangana is expected to be completed during the second quarter of this year. Work on the 100 km section between Nyangana and Divudu[sic] is scheduled for completion in December this year. The 12 km road between Katima Mulilo and Nagma is also expected to be completed during the course of 1993.

With regards to the Trans-Kalahari Highway, the first 15 km from Gobabis will be opened to traffic by the end of this month and the last section of that highway between Gobabis and Buitepos is scheduled for completion within two years.

Work on the 99km section of the trunk road between Goageb and Aus is 25 percent completed, with final completion scheduled for December 1994. Upgrading of the road between Windhoek and Windhoek International Airport has been completed (See Appendix 4).

Similarly, Nujoma used figures to clarify his point on the important project that will boost the economy of the country.

During 1993/94, phases two and three of the Trans-Caprivi Highway up to Bagani were completed, officially incorporated and commissioned to traffic. During 1994, the construction of a further 200 km between Bagani and Kongola will be commenced. In addition, 40.2% of the Trans-Kalahari Highway has been completed. These developments will, I am sure, open up many new economic nodes, resulting in even development. Last year, our efforts to promote Namibia abroad resulted in an increase of 15.3% in the number of foreign visitors visiting the various resorts.

Another tactic used by President Nujoma was that of citing examples to argue his case. In his 1994 address, he provided examples of areas where provisions of the democratic constitution was used and enabled the government to successfully achieve some of its objectives.

When we assumed office on March 21, 1990, our country's geographical integrity was not yet achieved. Walvis Bay and the offshore Islands[sic] were still not part of Namibia. Essential elements of democracy were provided in the constitution but a democratic culture was underlined by the fact the Namibian psyche had been greatly damaged by decades of colonial and racist rule.

Our success on these two fronts is a proud achievement because we were able to achieve our objective through peaceful means and through reconciliation both in the international arena and on the home front (See Appendix 5).

The technique of employing examples to argue the case was also used by President Nujoma in his 1992 address, when he made an argument on the aspects aimed at creating favourable or unfavourable conditions for development. He said,

We still do not have control over many of these. I refer to our dependence on rain-fed agriculture. I also refer to global dependence on knowledge and technology-driven industrialization. I must also refer to constraints imposed on us by outside events in our effort to create employment (See Appendix 3).

President Nujoma employed tactics of using psychological appeal in his argument as follow:

The presence of exogenous factors makes it the more important for us to respond and there is room for improving our agricultural research capability. We must develop systems that free us from the whims of nature. Government has, therefore, already accelerated its plans for the provision of irrigation in many areas. More resources are being made available for sinking boreholes. These actions should help free us from our total dependence on rains. (See Appendix 3).

The technique of using figures was repeated several times in President Nujoma's addresses. This is due to the fact that President Nujoma used his speeches to report on the national issues of his government. In his 1994 speech, he stated the following:

I am pleased, to announce that while in the 1989/1990 period the country produced approximately 20000 tons of white maize, the production for this year is expected to be 40 000 tones[sic]. A good harvest is also anticipated with regard to millet, and for the first time Namibia is almost self-sufficient in its food production, with an anticipated shortfall of only approximately five tones[sic] of white maize. This achievement was the result of government efforts to urge the farmers to bring more land under cultivation (See Appendix 5).

In this report, Nujoma expressed his satisfaction over the large amount of the production of the financial year. This convinced the audience in so far as the effort the government had put when it encouraged farmers to put large pieces of land under cultivation. Without this effort, food production would not be sufficient. With the millet production, Namibia broke the record because, according to Nujoma's report, this was the first time in history.

These were big projects with great contribution to socio-economic development and, therefore, it was the President's pride to have listed those schedules. As the country's Head of State, it was his duty to report on these.

Many roads in Namibia were in a bad state before independence and therefore it was one of the duties of the government to renew and upgrade some infrastructure which had been damaged due to the long history of suffering and injustice in the country.

In his 1993 address, President Nujoma exercised one of the powers which was conferred on him by the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia to give parole to the prisoners. In his words, he made some logical argument for this mercy that was given to some of the prisoners not to take it for granted. He urged the prisoners to learn effective lessons from this pardon.

I want to make it clear, at once that this act of mercy should on no account be construed in any way as condoning crime or criminals to protect law-abiding citizens from those who take it upon themselves to commit crimes against our order and violate the rights of our law-abiding citizens. I hope that those who benefit under today's pardon will have learned their lesson, and they will walk the honest path of good Namibian citizens in the future (See Appendix 4).

With this appeal (logos) Aristotle (2001) comments that logos is effected through the speech itself when we have proved a truth or an apparent truth by means of persuasive arguments. The logos argument appeals to those who are able to reason logically. President Nujoma argued with facts in his speeches by using figures and statistics. Beer (1994, p. 188) states that "reason is context-dependent, and as such, it has a variety of different meanings. The speaker who has specific intentions for the audience determines the type of reasoning employed by the audience". President Nujoma knew the history of the Namibian people, especially when it came to political perspective as they share a common place. Therefore, the type of reasoning he gave did not only increase his ethos but they were relevant to rhetorical kairos as the reasoning was at the right moment. Kinneavy (2008, p. 310) defines kairos as the principle of timing or opportunity in rhetoric.

Kairos is one of those ancient Greek terms that does not translate simply to contemporary English, and we can find at least two distinct aspects of its meaning, two metaphors embedded in it, a temporal one and a spatial one, both of which are applicable to science. In many of President Nujoma's speeches, there were situations relating to implementing policy of reconciliation, economic emancipation, nation building and an issue of unemployment. Each rhetorical situation presents a different sort of opportunity, therefore a different kairos.

4.3 The Canons of Classical Rhetoric in President Nujoma's Selected Epideictic Speeches

The canons of classical rhetoric in the Namibian former Head of State are one of the concerns in this study. The first canon of classical rhetoric (invention) is incorporated with the three Aristotelian rhetorical proofs of ethos, pathos and logos that are analysed in the first research question, therefore, the other four canons namely, arrangement (*disposition*), style (*elocution*), delivery (*pronunciation* and *action*) and memory (*memoria*) are analysed in the ten selected speeches of Dr Nujoma in order to answer the research question two.

4.3.1 Arrangement in President Nujoma's Selected Epideictic Speeches

Arrangement in classical rhetoric refers to the structure of a text. This study analyses the different parts of oration, based on what was identified by Cicero and Quintilian. According to Cicero and Quintilian, cited by Grice and Skinner (1995, p. 362) the five parts of text are as follow: the introduction (*exordium*), statement of facts (*narratio*), proof (*confirmation*), refutation (*refutatio*), and the conclusion (*peroration*).” Grice and Skinner (1995, p. 362-364) further explain these parts as follow:

The concepts of the introduction and conclusion are the same. The purpose statement is a narration of the issue at hand. In the classic model, the introduction must also set the tone for the audience and make them favorably disposed toward the speaker. The confirmation or proof section contrasts with the refutation. The former constructs the argument; the latter challenges the argument of the opposition

4.3.1.1 Introduction (Exordium)

Cohen (1983, p. 72) explains the five purposes mainly served by the introduction of the speeches as follow: “it gains the audience’s attention, helps to create rapport, helps to establish credibility and enables the speaker to focus on the purpose of the talk.” Furthermore, Steinberg (1999, p. 194) lists five types of introductions: “an anecdote; a startling statement; a quotation; a humorous statement and a rhetorical question”. It is however observed in this study that one (a startling statement) out of the five types mentioned above were adopted by President Nujoma’s ceremonial discourse.

In the inauguration address, President Nujoma outlined the purpose of his address, as part of his introduction of his speech. In doing so, he created a natural transition to go into the body of his speech. He said:

This solemn hour is the moment for which our people have been waiting 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 endured a difficult life in exile. Today our hearts are filled with great joy and jubilation because our deepest and longest yearning has been realized.

[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 (See Appendix 1).

As stated in the previous chapter, presidency rhetoric is a persuasive speech, a technique which is important in order to gain the attention of the audience and let them expect more.

In his 1992 address, President Nujoma introduced his speech with the technique which can be classified as “startling”. The second sentence in this paragraph “Victory in our struggle also brought with it hopes and expectations” compelled the audience to pay attention to what Nujoma had to say.

It is two years ago today that Namibia achieved its independence. Victory in our struggle also brought with it hopes and expectations. Our expectations were high. And our hopes have become even higher. Starting with the inherited structures that were characterized by social and economic apartheid, we had to restructure the whole system before we could begin the process of meeting the expectation of equity, justice and opportunity in our society (See Appendix 3).

4.3.1.2 Statement of Facts (*Narratio*)

The statement of fact in a persuasive speech mainly serves to convince the audience to agree with an idea or opinion that the speaker wants to put across. President Nujoma made known the purpose of his statements in his addresses. Purpose statements in the inauguration address and in different speeches he delivered during independence anniversary ceremonies were observed as follows:

In 1990, he stated this:

[It] is, therefore, profoundly momentous and highly joyous, for the Namibian people and myself, the highest representative 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 1).

The President expressed his happiness and gratitude for the life-time event, the independence of Namibia. He then mentioned names of three important stakeholders in this exercise who had collectively agreed to the declaration of the Namibian independence by President Nujoma as they all found common ground. This convinced the Namibian nation that apartheid and all social evils of the colonialism had come to an end.

In 1991, he reiterated that:

While twelve months of our independence have seen a renewal of life and a deep on-going restructuring of state institutions, my Government came to power during a period of economic recession brought about by a combination of factors. These include a decline in the price of most of our minerals, which has significantly reduced state revenues (See Appendix 2).

The President stressed on the short period of time that the country had been freed from colonialism by referring to the challenges that the country faced. He made the nation agree to the fact that the country was still at an infant stage and, therefore, needed restructuring of its economic structures. With that, he assured the audience his view of dismantling the colonial structures and consolidating the young democratic political system.

In 1992, he said this:

The second year of independence, the year that ends today, was also characterized by our effort to anchor our hopes on firm ground. We started giving shape to the process of

correcting many years of wrong. Our independence was an epoch-making event not only because we were at last able to determine our own destiny but also because of the international community in the process. (See Appendix 3)

President Nujoma acknowledged the achievements that the country had made in its second year of independence by outlining some activities that were involved in the process such as the help that the country had received from other countries. He further acknowledged that the country would not be able to reach its destiny without the involvement of this international community.

In 1993, he further said:

Government is now focusing its attention on the struggle for economic development. And, in this connection, I would like to spell out a number of actions that were taken to give a boost to the revival of the economy (See Appendix 4).

The President articulated actions that the government was taking to his audience. It is the responsibility of the Head of State to report on the government on the social or economic circumstances. Nujoma did this in order to solicit support of the nation and to agree with his leadership.

Furthermore, it is stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia that the Head of State addresses the Namibian people through Parliament at the beginning of each financial year and during independence anniversary to give a review of the government's activities in the preceding financial year and to inform them about its plan in the new financial year.

In 1994 stated that:

This achievement once again focuses on another unique characteristic of my Government - a commitment to reconciliation. Namibia's post-independence history so far will be known as the age of reconciliation (See Appendix 5).

In one of his longest speeches, President Nujoma voiced his own ideas and opinions on the achievements which could only be realized when the government strongly engages in the process of policy reconciliation.

With this statement, the audience would agree with President Nujoma's words as the policy of reconciliation was one of the crucial issue in the new democratic government.

In 1995, President Nujoma emphasised on the period of time that passed by prior to the inauguration of the second parliament as this was the time he took the leadership of his second election. He assured the nation that within that short period of time, some of the challenges the nation faced were met and therefore that was a big remark for political transformation of the government. He added that:

Five years later today, on March 21, 1995, as we gather here to inaugurate our second parliament and swear in the president and the second cabinet, I am proud to report that we have gone a long way towards meeting those challenges (See Appendix 6).

Furthermore, in 1996 Nujoma reported on the importance of the policy of reconciliation, as it enabled the Namibian people to live in peace and harmony. Although Namibia had gained independence, six years later, most Namibians still lived with bitter memories of the past as it was difficult for them to forget history. Therefore, in this statement, President Nujoma believed that forgiving was the only way that could contribute to nation building and, therefore, urged the nation to keep on exercising that. He stated that:

Six years have passed since we introduced our policy of reconciliation, and we can be proud of what we have been able to achieve during this short period. Hatred has receded and most of us are now, first and foremost, Namibian above everything else. Peace and stability have prevailed in our country. We must continue to build on these achievements (See Appendix 7).

In his 1997 speeches Dr Nujoma made a pledge to the nation to protect and uphold the principles in the constitution. He stated that:

The foundations of our independence will, therefore, be as strong as the willingness of each and every Namibian to take up the challenge. This challenge commits all of us to fight against tribalism. It commits us to work together in building One Namibia One Nation. It commits all of us to work hard to guarantee the socioeconomic well-being of all people (See Appendix 8).

In this case, President Nujoma emphasised the facts that supported his argument when he stressed on what is expected of Namibians in the independent land. President Nujoma did not encourage laziness and intolerance but he stressed that nation building should not only be a commitment for the politicians but for all citizens. With this, the audience realized that it was their responsibility to keep the country free from any form of oppression and social evils.

Moreover, in the 1998 address, President Nujoma encouraged the nation to work hard to fulfil their duties and responsibilities. This could be done by joining hand in hand in support of government actions. He urged the nation to exercise their right, at the same time, act responsibly, as that was what independence could mean.

Independence signifies not only rights and privilege but also obligations, duties and responsibilities. We all have the right of freedom of expression, movement, assembly and education for our children. However we also have duties. We must respect ourselves and our national symbols, such as the flag and the anthem. We must not vandalise public property. We must all join Government's effort at state and nation building and must promote understanding and tolerance, while remaining mindful of our cultural and linguistic diversity (See Appendix 9).

In 1999, Nujoma articulated what the celebration of the Independence day meant by outlining to the audience that the importance of celebrating Independence day was to express the nation's sense of loyalty to its country, its flag and its national anthem. These would symbolise unity, independence and freedom of our nation.

It does not matter how each one of us celebrates the independence anniversary, what is important is for all of us to show, in some way, our loyalty to our country, its flag, and its national anthem. These are the symbols that reinforce our unity, our independence, and our freedom (See Appendix 10).

4.3.1.3 Proof (Confirmation)

This is proof that refers to the construction of an argument that is appropriate to the issue and audience.

Aristotle (1991) confirms that the arguments in the proof section are logically constructed for the audience to understand and follow. President Nujoma suggested a number of courses of action and persuaded the nation that his leadership can resolve it with best solution.

In his 1999 address, President Nujoma argued that independence should not mean laziness for citizens but that it should mean peace and tranquility. The nation should be ready to work smart.

With this note, he constructively added to this argument,

Prior to our country's independence, generation of Namibians did not know peace. We had to fight for our right to live in peace, free from oppression! Now that we have peace we must not take it for granted. We must remain ready to guard, protect and promote it (See Appendix 10).

President Nujoma further argued that Namibia's mining companies had not been able to make the necessary profit which would the country them to cover operational costs, pay dividends to their shareholders and contribute to state revenue. Therefore, Nujoma argued that,

It was against this background that Government considered it necessary to approach the European Economic Community to provide financial assistance towards the revitalization of Namibia's mining industry (See Appendix 4).

Moreover, President Nujoma talked about the good progress made in the 1993/1994 national budget, which included the establishment of the Social Security Bill to cater for features such as maternity leave, sick leave and death benefits funds as well as other strategies aimed at bringing about the necessary development in the country.

Government is also involved in developing strategies aimed at striking a balance between demand for and supply of skilled human resource. A base has been laid for the establishment of a labour market information system which is expected to generate data to the demand and supply of labour, employment, education, training statistics and labour projection (See Appendix 5).

4.3.1.4 Refutation

This is the part of an argument in which a speaker or writer counters opposing points of view. According to Horner (1998, p. 170) "Refutation is the part of an essay that disapproves the opposing arguments." President Nujoma made several refutations in his address on some issues which he was against by arguing his case thoroughly.

In his 1993 address, Nujoma refuted the allegation made that the government had been retrenching employees, just like private sector. He refuted this by making a distinction between the two as follow:

However, there is a big difference between the two. On the one hand, Government is reducing civil servant, which is a resource-consuming sector, in order to free fund for subsidies to the agriculture, fisheries, and mining sectors which produce wealth and thus, promote economic growth. On the other hand, the private sector is retrenching workers whose labour is vital to the increase of the nation's wealth (See Appendix 4).

Similarly, President Nujoma refuted some action, which was seen as impending the constitutional democracy, when he specifically referred to the act of tribalism reported by the media taking place in Okahandja. In his 1993 address he stated that, "these tribalists have gone as far as to align themselves with the separatist ambitions of the self-proclaimed Baster leader Mr Diergaard". Nujoma further said,

This is a serious situation which Government regards as a threat to the sovereignty of Namibia and her people. Our pledge, when we adopted the Constitution, stipulated that we will exercise our sovereignty through the democratic institution of the state.

I would like to seize this opportunity to issue a stern warning to those tribalist chiefs who met in Okahandja to hatch out schemes of destabilisation, that the Namibian Government will defend the fundamental principles of this democratic society with all the means at its disposal (See Appendix 4).

President Nujoma also argued that, government's effort to foster better understanding and mutual respect between the workers and the employers had not been limited to the formulation and introduction of the labour law and its regulations, Nujoma refuted this by saying,

“I, myself, my Prime Minister and all my ministers never miss the opportunity to reassure our private sector and workers of our wish and determination to play a constructive role in promoting healthy industrial relations in this country (See Appendix 4).

4.3.1.5 Conclusion

A conclusion wraps up all the points raised in a speech. According to Steinberg (1999, p. 197), “The goals of a conclusion are to sum up and tie the main points together, to remind the audience why the information is important to them and to motivate them to think or act on the ideas presented.”

In his inauguration address, President Nujoma wrapped up his speech by summarising the main ideas of his speech. He reiterated the acceptance of the new responsibility and he gave a vote of thanks and appreciation to the Namibian people who had entrusted him with the responsibility to lead the country as Head of State. Lastly, he appealed to the emotions of people by declaring that “Namibia is forever free, sovereign and independent!”

Again, at the first independence anniversary President Nujoma concluded his speech by making a call of action for the nation to work hard and continue upholding the policy of national reconciliation. He finally appealed to the nation with a strong statement which he used in many of his speeches as a final word. “Long Live the Republic of Namibia”.

On this historic occasion we must, therefore rededicate ourselves to consolidate and defend our hard-won independence, freedom and democratic national unity among all our people. We must champion the cause of peace, stability and social progress in our land. The second year of our independence be one of hard work, fulfillment and the implementation of our plans and programmes in the interest of all the citizens of Namibia (See Appendix 2).

President Nujoma also tied up and summed up the main points to conclude his speech. After giving the parole to the prisoners, which was one of the points he made in his speech, President Nujoma continued appealing to their emotions as follows

To those who are receiving this clemency I say: Society has given you another chance. Make good use of this chance, endeavor to become useful and productive members of society, and aim not to transgress the laws of the land (See Appendix 8).

4.3.2 Style in President Nujoma’s Selected Epideictic Speeches

In classical rhetoric, the canon of style refers to the language construction involved in the speech presentation. Mathe (2006, p. 61) defines style as “an analytic exercise where the Rhetor maximizes the correctness, clarity, appropriateness and ornament of their message to achieve the greatest level of acceptance by the audience”. This study investigates some of the tools used in classical rhetoric that add style such as grammatical conventions and diction.

4.3.2.1 Grammatical Conventions

It is very important to use correct grammar because it is regarded as the framework for all four skills we use such as, speaking, listening, reading and writing. The researcher observed that the grammatical conventions in President Nujoma's addresses were largely correct. This gave the researcher an impression that, President Nujoma's speechwriters were highly competent. The speeches appeared to be fine-tuned in terms of grammar.

4.3.2.2 Diction

Diction refers to the choice and use of words and phrases in speech or writing. President Nujoma's diction was appropriate for his subject matter. Although these were political speeches, the language used was very simple and clear, avoiding political jargon. In addition, proper usage of metaphor, simile, personification and figure of speech was observed.

Ivie (1997) argues that figure of speech is the use of a word or a phrase, which transcends its literal interpretation. It can be a special repetition, arrangement or omission of words with literal meaning, or a phrase with a specialized meaning not based on the literal meaning of the words in it, as in idiom, metaphor, simile, personification.

Furthermore, figures of speech often provide emphasis, freshness of expression or clarity. It is sometimes called rhetorical figure or a locution.

In his 1997 address, Nujoma stated that "However, this responsibility rests not only on the shoulders of the political leaders, but also on the shoulders of each and every Namibian".

The use of the idiom “shoulders” gives clarity and emphasises that political leaders cannot do it alone but that they needed all Namibians from all walks of life to be involved and to be part and parcel of the development of the country (See Appendix 8).

Ivie (1997) further describes a metaphor as an important device operating within the speech as a whole. He further claims that extending figurative word has its purpose in such a way that every issue can benefit from another perspective. Metaphors serve to facilitate the audience’s understanding of a situation.

WorldNet Dictionary defines personification as a trope or figure of speech in which an inanimate object or abstraction is given human qualities or abilities. in other words, broadly, this means personification is when you assign the qualities of a person to something that is not human or, in some cases, to something that is not even alive. It can be used for many reasons, for example as a method of describing something so that others can understand it better. It can also be used to emphasise a point. understanding of a situation.

Phrases such as “sons of Africa” was used in President Nujoma’s speeches to personify the continent of Africa. Nujoma used this phrase in order to boost the reputation of African continent as the “mother nature”. Therefore he used the personification of the natural world by personifying Africa as woman. This stresses the President’s point by making his expression more clear (See Appendix 2).

In addition, on the third independence anniversary, President Nujoma used personification in his speech to stress his point, he mentioned the “birth of our nation” when he meant the independence anniversary. He used this word to put more emphasis on the fact that this day

remarks a historical event when Namibia received its independence after 75 years under South African colonial control. Namibia became the newest independence nation in March 21, 1990.

Lastly, when he spoke of different steps which were taken to appoint the labour commissioner to set up labour courts and the Labour Advisory Council, President Nujoma described these steps that have been taken as to “create healthy industrial relation”. The word “healthy” in this phrase personifies this action. The literal meaning of the word “healthy” is the well being therefore by using it in this phrase, President Nujoma wanted to realise the degree of wellbeing that he wants the industrial relation to be.

President Nujoma expressed his appreciation of the presence of thousands of friends from different neighbouring countries and from the world at large, as they helped to make the independence day the most memorable and emotional one in the “annals of our history” (See Appendix 6). The word “annals” was metaphorically used to mean the whole journey that Namibian people walked throughout the struggle days.

Significantly important, President Nujoma made this utterance: “Fellow Namibian, let us rededicate ourselves together to build a great nation” (See Appendix 3).

The word “build” literary means to mold shape or form up something physically. Nujoma used this idiom meaning that to constructively add value to the lives of Namibian people by working tirelessly. This idiom would make Nujoma’s expression more explicit

4.3.3 Delivery in President Nujoma's Selected Epideictic Speeches

According to Steinberg (1999, p. 218) this canon “concerns the use of the speaker’s voice, gestures, text, and images. Furthermore, delivery concerns how something is said, rather than what is said by focusing on the use of gestures.”

Steinberg (1999, p. 219) further defines gestures as the “expressive movements of the arms and hands used to emphasise ideas or emotions”. President Nujoma used gestures to make his presentation more interesting for the listeners. The three categories of gestures that the researcher observes in the video of President Nujoma speeches are emblems, voice and physical movement.

4.3.3.1 Emblems

Emblems are styles of speaking that correspond with the spoken words. Steinberg (1999, p. 24) describes emblems as “the accent, inflection, intonation, and speech-sound quality manifested by individual speakers when clarifying certain points in their speeches.” President Nujoma pointed a finger when he emphasised that. The picture clip below illustrates this:



Founding President, Dr Sam Nujoma

This is a serious situation which Government regards as a threat to the sovereignty of Namibia and her people. Our pledge, when we adopted the Constitution, stipulated that we will exercise our sovereignty through the democratic institution of the state (NBC, 1993).

4.3.3.2 Voice

Voice is the form of expression of thoughts, feelings, and ideas orally to one another by using the mouth. This can be done through a series of complex movements that alter and mold the basic tone created by voice into specific, decodable sounds. President Nujoma used his voice to deliver his speeches.

He spoke slowly in a deep voice as well as spoke slowly in order to put his message across. President Nujoma came out as an eloquent speaker, who demonstrated this with his abilities as an orator who used a clear and respectful tone, appropriate to the situation and suitable to his audience. Furthermore, although English (the medium of instruction in which he delivered his speeches) is not his first language, he managed to pronounce words correctly and used them appropriately and in the context needed.

4.3.3 Physical Movements

President Nujoma spoke with confidence, demonstrated his abilities and competence in the subject matter. He drank from a glass of water after talking for long or when taking a short break.

Nujoma looked calm and composed rather than scattered and rushed. The picture below shows his calmness and composed character that he advocated when delivering the speech.



However, since political speeches are normally prepared by someone else rather than the one who will deliver the it, lack of eye contact often serves as evidence that a speaker has not quite familiarised him/herself with the subject matters. This was also the case with President Nujoma as the researcher observed this in some addresses. This is shown in the picture clip below.



President Nujoma's other significant physical movement is observed in the video recordings of the independence inauguration. At the ceremony in Windhoek's sports stadium, the South African flag was lowered, then the new Namibian flag was hoisted. President Nujoma looked very confident, with a smile on his face as he started the first part of his speech. This is shown in the picture clip below.



4.6 Memory in President Nujoma's Selected Epideictic Speeches

Roman rhetoricians' authors define memory as the canons of rhetoric which include the methods and devices used to aid and improve the memory. However, *Ad Herennium*, as cited by Mathe (2006, p. 73) state that "memory clearly had to do with more than simply learning how to memorise an already composed speech for re-presentation." In addition, they call memory the "treasury of things invented", thus linking memory with the first canon of rhetoric, invention.

President Nujoma recapped his memory in his speeches and effectively met rhetorical intention in terms of canons of memory. The study found that certain figures of speech, including the use of vivid description and enumeration, were available to help the memory. As stated earlier, President Nujoma also used statistics, testimonies, emotional and rational appeals, humour and other tools that would have increased acceptance of and interest in his speeches.

Furthermore, in some of his speeches, President Nujoma's retention is more evident. In order to create acceptance and interest in his speech, he used metaphors, figures of speech, repetition,

antithesis and other tools. In analysing this canon, the researcher has found evidence that Nujoma successfully called upon his memory of apt quotations and thoughts that effectively met the rhetorical intention. Moreover, President Nujoma used different methods in order for the message to be retained in the memory of the audience. For example, figures of speech are evident in his speeches.

Finally, the study finds that it is through this canon that President Nujoma was psychologically ready to deliver his speeches. This was observed when the President delivered all his speeches to his audience. In addition, with the canon of memory, the audience would internalise the message.

4.7 Conclusion

The researcher concludes that the presidency is a rhetorical institution. President Nujoma provided leadership through his speeches. This study reveals evidence of this through the analysis of the speeches he delivered during the independence inauguration and the other ninth speeches delivered after independence.

His speeches, notably, contained three artistic proof of persuasion, making this researcher conclude that, President Nujoma appealed to the audience's emotions and made his points logically clear while maintaining his own credibility.

Furthermore, the five rhetorical canons were used in all his statements as a way of highlighting or putting emphasis on the main points in the speeches. These main points were arranged in a general theme that ran the length of the speeches. Furthermore, President Nujoma's themes revolved around the post colonial era, especially difficulties experienced and inherited colonial machineries, the present situation including efforts being made to alleviate challenges as well as

plans to develop the country for the benefit of the people. Moreover, the themes of the speeches were arranged in such a way that there was cohesiveness.

President Nujoma's utterance meet all the basic aspects of good style, as they are clear, correct and appropriate for the situation it revolved. Most of the words he chose were those which are used every day, enabling the audience to understand him very well. He avoided political jargon and glaring grammatical flaws. He also used both simple and complex sentence structures to add variety to his speeches. Furthermore, although President Nujoma did not memorise his entire speech, his general presentation of the speeches increased his credibility. It also added to the image of organisation and preparedness. President Nujoma looked prepared during the actual delivery of the speeches, as his style included gestures as well as attention grabbing tone.

Finally, the study regards President Nujoma as a competent speaker as he demonstrated his ability to employ the Aristotelian rhetorical proofs of ethos, pathos and logos as well as the five canons of classical rhetoric. The table below summarizes the degree of proofs and canons of rhetoric in the ten speeches covered in this study.

Speeches	Rhetorical Proofs			Canons of Rhetoric				
	Ethos	Pathos	Logos	Invention	Arrangement	Style	Delivery	Memory
1	5	0	0	5	2	0	0	0
2	3	1	0	5	2	1	0	0
3	1	3	1	5	2	1	0	0
4	1	0	0	5	4	0	0	0
5	1	1	5	7	2	0	0	0
6	0	1	2	3	1	0	0	0
7	0	4	2	6	1	0	0	0
8	3	0	2	5	2	1	0	0
9	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
10	1	3	0	4	2	0	0	0
Total	17	13	12	47	19	3	0	0

As the table above shows, it is beyond any doubt that President Nujoma employed the three proofs and the five canons of rhetoric.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents discussions and conclusions drawn from the findings of the study. The researcher briefly discusses the findings and then makes the conclusions with regard to the two research questions of this study. Finally, the recommendations are made on these findings for further study on presidential rhetoric.

5.2 Discussion

Presidency is an institution in which rhetoric plays a major role. This evidence is shown in the ten epideictic speeches analysed in this study. President Nujoma used the Aristotelian rhetorical proofs of ethos, pathos and logos as well as the five canons of classical rhetoric i.e. invention (*invention*), arrangement (*disposition*), style (*elocution*), delivery (*pronunciation* and *action*) and memory (*memoria*) in the ten speeches selected for this research which he delivered during his tenure of office as President of the Republic of Namibia.

5.2.1 The Aristotelian Rhetorical Proofs of Ethos, Pathos and Logos in President Nujoma's Speeches

This study reveals that President Nujoma employed the proof of ethos in order to strengthen his credibility with his audience by using tactics such as competence, dynamism, moderation, goodwill, sincerity and concern in his speeches. These tactics were used to stress issues of unemployment reduction, education, economic emancipation, corruption, women and gender

violence, reconciliation, nation building, for the country to be self sustainable and refraining from tribalism. By touching all these, it was an evident that a speech never comes in isolation.

Furthermore, Dr Nujoma's concerns were more on national issues. For example, he used the tactics of concern when he expressed his opinions about the previous apartheid government, which colonised the country for a long period of time. By appealing to the audiences' emotions, he expressed his concerns and the government's commitment to improve the well being of the nation, when he stressed on the issue of health by specifically focusing on "primary health care". He emphasised that a healthy nation will be a central feature of the health system; "a system which seeks to entrench the fundamental principles of equity, accessibility, affordability and community involvement." (See Appendix 3)

The tactic of sincerity were also used in Dr Nujoma's speeches, especially in the introductory part of his speech when he welcomed guests of honour of the day by respecting and appreciating their presence. President Nujoma also used this tactic when he expressed appreciation and deep gratitude to different countries and governments which responded positively to assist Namibia especially in the first five years of its independence. Such expression of generosity demonstrated President Nujoma's character to be more credible to his audience.

There is also evidence that President Nujoma was sincere with his audience when he acknowledged problems brought about by the former education system, which ensured that the Namibian people were given an inferior education which will not give them the ability and capacity to contribute meaningfully to the economic development of the country. This was a vital subject since education is one of the most important sectors of Namibia, especially at the time when the country was just emerging from the yoke of colonialism. Therefore, by touching on this

crucial issue, the audience regarded him as more accountable and credible as well as competent in dealing with challenges facing the country, which made him win the nation's respect and confidence. This contributed to his ethos.

Furthermore, as a leader whose aim was to build the nation, the speeches analysed in this study reveals Nujoma's belief which says that a nation without educated people cannot grow. He highlighted progress made by government to increase the number of schools and the importance of vocational training in the country. All these were done with the main aim of reducing the level of unemployment in the country. And this would obviously made the audience to recognise the credibility of their leader.

Moreover, the study found that Dr Nujoma maintained his credibility in his speeches by showing his expertise in his position as someone who is responsible to rule the country. He focused on the growth of the country by acknowledging the roles played by different stakeholders of the Namibian government. This shows to the audience that even their highest-ranking official respect their endeavour and for someone to respect other people they would be respected too. This boost up the President's character.

To add on that, ethos was demonstrated when President Nujoma displayed his competency as the Head of State by outlining the natural resources Namibia is endowed with while at the same time expressing deep concern about lack of resources which will hamper government's efforts of implementing developmental projects to uplift the living standards of the people.

Furthermore, as part of his ethos, the study reveals that in his first speech, as the first president of the country, President Nujoma demonstrated his competency and authority by appreciating the Constituent Assembly for electing him as the first President of Namibia since this was a sensitive

period, as the country has just been freed from the yoke of colonialism. He then promised to uphold his duty to the best of his ability.

Furthermore, as the Head of State, President Nujoma made the Independence celebration a day of joy even to those behind bars. With this he exercised his power when he gave prisoners a parole release. This parole release can only be authorised by the president of the country.

Furthermore, President Nujoma's speeches, revealed that the post independence era has shown economic growth that compares favourably with the pre independence era. As a result his rhetoric highlighted the major improvements in areas such as access to health facilities, education, water and sanitation. Seen in this light, the audiences were assured by the speaker that Namibia's democracy is advancing the social welfare and economic well-being of the people.

Dr Nujoma touched the audience's emotions by linking it to their needs. Like ethos, which was discussed, he also used various verbal tactics to complement pathos in his inauguration and independence anniversary addresses.

He stressed the policy of national reconciliation. The main aim of this leader was to unite the nation regardless of racial or political differences among the people. By doing this he appealed to the emotions of his audiences.

Moreover, in order to promote solidarity between poor and rich people, the reconciliation of fears and anxieties of white citizens who had enjoyed a better living standard unlike high percentage of their black counterparts who had poor standards of living, was some of the challenges stressed by Nujoma in his speeches. In order to stir the emotions of his audience Nujoma emphasised that the policy of reconciliation can be achieved through the maintenance of

peace and stability. It was worth for him to bring up the issue of reconciliation closer to his audience in order to build a united nation based on democratic governance and the rule of law.

Nujoma used his speeches to advise and encourage the nation to work harder to build the country and to fight antithesis of independence by recommitting, dedicating and focusing itself more in order to achieve victory. Furthermore, “LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA!” is a strong emotional phrase Dr Nujoma used to end many of his speeches. He used it to make his audience feel that their lives are secured with a promised future ahead of them, therefore this touched their emotions.

President Nujoma appealed to the audience’s emotion when he warned the Namibian people who were misled by the failed politicians and escaped the country to feel free to come back as they should have nothing to fear. He again promised them that there will be no reprimand or any form of punishment against them since they were simply misled. This came in his speech when he revealed a situation in the Caprivi region where some politicians wanted to take off the region from Namibia. Furthermore, President Nujoma’s speeches show how he condemned those who broke the laws by killing others, stating that they will, with no doubt, have to face the force of law, as this is clearly stipulated in Article Six of the Namibian Constitution. He targeted failed politicians in this regard

Furthermore, as part of pathos, fear technique was also used to appeal to the audience’s emotion against challenges of diseases such as, HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis. Psychological appeal was also used by President Nujoma in his speeches. He appealed to the audience’s emotions when he described Namibian people as the fortunate ones, as they have a right to the democratic elections.

President Nujoma persuaded his audience with the use of reasoning in his speeches, in order to complement his logoi. He used various verbal tactics such as employing examples, using testimony of others and by using statistics.

The study reveals how President Nujoma used deductive tactic to argue what is expected of Namibian people, as the country is in their own hands. As the Head of State, President Nujoma argued logically by encouraging the nation to work hard and fight poverty. He stressed that, independence must mean working harder by discouraging drinking and becoming more productive. Nujoma highlighted the social unrest and wars that are prevailing in various parts of the world, and he logically stated how any disturbance in the stability equation in any of Namibia's neighbours will have a negative impact on the country's own stability. This is a reminder that peace is a scarce commodity indeed. With this note, he encouraged the audience to believe that it is a collective responsibility to keep and maintain peace.

The study finds that other social evils such as corruption were also tackled in Nujoma's speech by logically arguing that if people are not willing to exercise self-discipline and individual accountability at their work place, success will never be realised.

In his speeches, Nujoma cited reports to argue his vision on economic emancipation of the next years. He statistically argued his point on the educational goal that the government aimed at achieving. Nujoma further reiterated the massive financial outlay involved in the achievement of these improvements.

Furthermore, in complementing his logoi statistics were also used by Nujoma when giving specific figures, for example, when he highlighted his point on economic emancipation on the total cost of the project of the Trans-Kalahari Highway.

Finally, the analysis done in this study concludes that President Nujoma cited examples to make his argument, for example, when he provided examples of areas where provisions of the democratic constitution was used and enabling the government to successfully achieve some of its objectives.

5.2.2 The Canons of Classical Rhetoric in President Nujoma Speeches

As per research question two, the analysis carried out in this study investigates the canons of classical rhetoric in the ten speeches derived by the Namibian former Head of State Dr Sam Nujoma. It is revealed that Dr Nujoma's speeches were in line with the five canons of classical rhetoric namely, invention (*invention*), arrangement (*disposition*), style (*elocution*), delivery (*pronunciation* and *action*) and memory (*memoria*).

Although presidents do not write their own speeches, the study concludes that Dr Nujoma's speeches were prepared in a way that they conform to the canon of arrangement.

President Nujoma did not seem to memorise the whole part of his speeches, but he appeared confident as he recapped his memory in his speech and effectively met rhetorical intention in terms of canons of memory. However, in some speeches, Dr Nujoma did not make a successful recap of the main points of his speech lack of eye contact often serves as evidence that a speaker has not quite familiarised himself with the subject matters, but overall the speeches seemed well organised. This study shows that President Nujoma was psychologically ready to deliver his speeches, as he was not nervous or full of anxiety when delivering all the ten speeches analysed in this study.

The study shows that Dr Nujoma used simple language that was easy to be understood by the audiences. Furthermore, language tools used in classical rhetoric are observed and added style to

the speeches. These tools that I refer to here are the canons of classical rhetoric for example during the delivery by using figure of speech such as personification, metaphor, idioms, simile and so on add to the style of the speech. Moreover, the grammatical conventions in President Nujoma's addresses were largely correct. This gave the researcher an impression that President Nujoma's speechwriters were highly competent. The speeches appeared to be fine-tuned in terms of grammar, and there was no political jargon.

President Nujoma used gestures to make his presentation more interesting for the listeners. The three categories of gestures that the researcher observed in the video of President Nujoma speeches are emblems, voice and physical movement.

5.3 Conclusion and Recommendation

The researcher concludes that, President Nujoma used the Aristotelian rhetorical proofs and the five canons of classical rhetoric. In order to conform with these rhetorical tools, Nujoma's speeches mainly highlighted some of the government's challenges and achievements. He stressed on the problem of unemployment and highlighted challenges faced with the people who live with disability but do not receive social security assistance. Furthermore, President Nujoma's speeches aim to build Namibia as he made several call on to his audience to refuse antithesis of independence but rather to have unity of purpose in the struggle against ignorance, poverty, suffering and all other social evils that hamper development. In addition, the problem of limited resources and the government's efforts to address this problem was also highlighted in President Nujoma's speeches. He further urged Namibians to continue to call for prudence, accountability and responsibility in the manner in which government resources are allocated and spent.

President Nujoma's speeches highlight several emphasis he made on the implementation of the policy of reconciliation, which he mentioned almost in every speech he delivered. With a tone of unifying the nation, President Nujoma stressed that Namibian people should not allow themselves to be defined by the differences of the colour of their skin, religion or political affiliation, and their cultural differences.

Furthermore, President Nujoma used his speeches to disclosed the government's plans, especially those that aim towards strengthening the country economically in order to create employment opportunities for the many unemployed people that are in the streets of almost every town and city countrywide. On that note the research concluded that a major part of the President's speeches advised Namibian people to endeavour for further economic development through major investment in order to create jobs thus eliminate the impact of poverty.

The study concludes that President Nujoma has an ability, of a competent orator who uses a clear and respectful tone, appropriate to the situation and suitable to his audience, enabled him to successfully deliver his speeches.

On the basis of the findings of this study, the researcher recommends that more studies need to be done on presidential rhetoric in Namibia. This will enable the nation to review the role of their Head of State fully as the rhetorical tools will be applied to presidential speeches which will offer the nation an opportunity to interact with their government. Furthermore, by analysing speeches of presidents it will enable the nation to assess their rhetorical styles and executive leadership ability.

In order to ascertain the power of the President in a historical context, the researcher recommends that both formal and informal Presidential speeches need to be analysed and documented for future use.

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APPENDIX A

Frieda N. Nanyeni
The University of Namibia
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of English and Literature
05 June 2013

Namibia Broadcasting Corporation
Head of Department
News and Current affairs

Dear sir or Madam

Re : Permission to view video recordings

This letter serves to ask the permission for video recordings showing speeches of the former President Dr. Sam Nujoma's independence inauguration and the first nine years of independence anniversary.

The video recordings will help me to carry out my thesis as I am a Master's of Arts in English student and currently busy with the research on Presidential Rhetoric. Therefore, I am requesting your assistance to view those video recordings

Thank you for your co-operation.

Yours truly,

Frieda N. Nanyeni

.....
Student Number (9815112)

- Appendix 1: Namibia's Founding President, Dr Sam Nujoma's inauguration speech
- Appendix 2: President Sam Nujoma's first independence anniversary speech
- Appendix 3: President Sam Nujoma's second independence anniversary speech
- Appendix 4: President Sam Nujoma's third independence anniversary speech
- Appendix 5: President Sam Nujoma's fourth independence anniversary speech
- Appendix 6: President Sam Nujoma's fifth independence anniversary speech
- Appendix 7: President Sam Nujoma's sixth independence anniversary speech
- Appendix 8: President Sam Nujoma's seventh independence anniversary speech
- Appendix 9: President Sam Nujoma's eighth independence anniversary speech
- Appendix 10: President Sam Nujoma's ninth independence anniversary speech

APPENDIX 1:**NAMIBIA'S FOUNDING PRESIDENT, DR SAM NUJOMA'S
INAUGURATION SPEECH MARCH 21, 1990**

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 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.

For the Namibian 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 realize 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 2:**PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA'S FIRST INDEPENDENCE
ANNIVERSARY SPEECH MARCH 21, 1991**

I would like first of all to use this opportunity to warmly welcome his Excellency President Robert Mugabe to Namibia and express our deep gratitude to him for having accepted my invitation to be the guest of honor at this historic celebration of our country's first anniversary of independence .

The Namibian People, who hold you in high esteem and regard you as one of the most outstanding sons of Africa, are deeply honored by your presence here today. Owing to the fact that your country and our country have a common, and indeed, very recent colonial history and shared trenches in the struggle for nation liberation, makes you being here today to share with us in the joy of celebration of the first anniversary of our independence a fitting tribute to the heroes and martyrs of Namibia's fight for freedom and independence.

Coming a decade after your own achieved independence, the birth of our nation twelve months ago was fortunate enough to draw useful lessons from your experience. Your Government's commitment to the principles of human equality, dignity and social justice for all has been a profound source of inspiration for us in Namibia. The policy of national reconciliation, adopted by the ZANU-PF Government upon Zimbabwe's achievement of independence, helped to bring peace, unity and stability to your great country. Here, too, lessons of your experience were not missed.

It is, therefore, my distinct pleasure to welcome you and your delegation to the Republic of Namibia. Today we are marking the first anniversary of our hard-won independence with a sense of pride and satisfaction.

Measured against the background of many years of suffering under the yoke of apartheid colonialism, the last twelve months have been a period of socio-economic and political renewal and the building of democracy in our land. Gone are the bitter racial, ethnic and ideological tensions. Peace and stability have now returned to our land. Unlike those dark days before independence when the dreadful Casspirs, dusk-to-dawn curfews, atrocities and massacres were the order of the day, our people have been able, during the last twelve months, to go about freely on their business without fear or intimidation. This is in itself an important achievement and, therefore, a reason for celebration, as it restores the lost dignity of the Namibian people.

During the past twelve months, Government has been busy restructuring the state machinery and vigorously pushing its legislative agenda forward with a view to dismantling the colonial structures and to consolidate our young democracy which is alive and kicking. The press, too, has enjoyed unrestricted freedom, even though at times certain sections of it tended to abuse that freedom.

While twelve months of our independence have seen a renewal of life and a deep undergoing restructuring of state institutions, my Government came to power during a period of economic recession brought about by a combination of factors. The other factors are sanctions whose effects are still being felt in our economic one year after independence, the Namibia economic

was artificially kept alive by the pumping of billions of Rand into the country to sustain South Africa's war effort. The achievement of independence led to the collapse of the war economy and war-related employment and services.

This combination of negative economic factors has, to a very large extent, militated against Government effort to revitalize the economy and implement a policy of bringing about socio-economic justice by narrowing the income disparity between the privileged few and the poor majority.

Although mining is currently experiencing considerable difficulties, the sector still has great potential. In this regard, discussion are taking place between Government and companies interested in further exploration and development of Namibia's mineral resources including oil and gas-related industries over the next five years or so however in the face of the declining revenue from the minerals and given government's policy to diversify the economic, our efforts have been focused, during the last two months, on the development of agriculture and the reorganization of our fishing industry.

This involves, in the first instance, the protection of our marine resource through the proclamation of the 200-mile exclusive fishing zone and the adoption of surveillance measure to stoop illegal fishing in our water. Extensive research, conducted over the last twelve months, has yielded encouraging results concerning the recovery of the pelagic, hake, and other stocks. Therefore, with strict conservation policies, Namibia will be able to harvest greater economic benefits from its fishing around than ever before. This underlines the reason behind the decision I look last month to create a full-fledged Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources.

With good signs of recovery of fish stocks and the determination of Government to prevent illegal fishing in our water, the opportunity now exists for Namibia to have a stake in this important sector of our economic. Accordingly Government has invited the public to submit application for fishing concessions. More than 70% of Namibia's population depends on subsistence agriculture for its livelihood. Yet food production by that sector has been one of the most neglected areas of our economy. The effort to increase crop production has received considerable attention from government during the last twelve months. Our country has been importing food to the tune of some R150 million annually, and this has been a tremendous drain on the country's coffers. The decision has been made therefore and programmes undertaken to encourage our farmers to increase the production of food crops, especially maize and millet.

I am pleased, to announce that while in the 1989/1990 period the country produced approximately 20 000 tonnes of white maize, the production for this year is expected to be 40 000 tonnes. A good harvest is also anticipated with regard to millet, and for the first time Namibia is almost self-sufficient in its food production with an anticipated shortfall of only approximately five tonnes of white maize. This achievement was the result of Government efforts to urge the farmers to bring more land under cultivation. This achievement was the result of government assisted communal farmers with the provision of free seeds and subsidizing ploughing. Furthermore the Ministry of Agriculture has completed plans for large-scale and irrigated farming projects in the Okavango and Owambo regions. This project is scheduled to start during the second year of independence. Pilot projects of cotton production were also initiated during the first year of independence and the result is very encouraging. Government is therefore going ahead to plant large areas with cotton. At the same time it is also encouraging local farmers to become an important commodity in our agriculture. The evolving agricultural activity will create employment for some 10 000 workers during the second year of independence.

Efforts are also being made to revitalize the economic viability of karakul farming through the establishment of local processing industry for the pelts development of overseas market. In this connection, government is exploring possibilities for joint venture with foreign investors and recapturing European and North American markets.

Government furthermore, took steps to ensure that Namibia acceded to the Lome IV Convention during the first year of independence in order to ensure that market effort our beef and mutton. The second year of independence should see our country reaping benefits from this important opening to the EEC market. During the first 12 months of independence Namibia overcame the impact of years of isolation and became a member of key international and regional organizations including the UN, OAU, Commonwealth, the African Caribbean and Pacific Group of Countries, the Southern African, Caribbean the Southern African Development co-ordination conference and the international Monetary Fund, to mention a few.

I wish to use this opportunity to express my Government's sincere thanks and deep gratitude to all those countries which provided financial and technical assistance to our country during its first year of independence through either bilateral or multi-lateral arrangements. Most of the UN member state responded positively and generously to our call for assistance during the Donor Conference in New York, last June. Other followed up with subsequent pledges and signing of economic co-operation agreements. For this, we are indeed grateful.

In anticipation of an early resolution of the apartheid problem in South Africa, the Government of Namibia has sought to encourage the current negotiations between the African National Congress and the Government of South Africa. Furthermore, Namibia has started the negotiation process with South Africa on the unsettled dispute over Walvis Bay and the Offshore Islands. These negotiations began last week in Cape Town. We want to believe that in the interest of good neighborliness, the Government of South Africa will comply with UN Security Resolution 432 of 1978.

The issue of education is very close to the hearts of Namibia parents. Before independence, hundreds of thousands of school-age children were unable to find places in the country's educational system. The unification and reorganization of eleven different educational systems into one national education has been one of the most difficult tasks which Government has been in power. However, every effort is being made to solve the problem, and Government is confident that the second year of independence will see significant progress on this important front of our social life.

In implementing Government's policy to make health care accessible to the majority of our people by the year 2000, the Ministry of Health and Social Services has embarked on a programme comprehensive primary health care. Since the launching of the programme, substantial numbers of children have been immunized and mobile clinic introduced in the countryside. To further improve the quality of health service in our country, Government brought in doctors and other medical personal from abroad. These efforts will be intensified in the months ahead.

We have formulated a national labour policy which is due to be tabled soon in the National Assembly. It covers all aspects of labour relations, conditions of service, social security, unemployment, labour disputes, and so on. This is to say that Government has not and will not forget the concerns and interests of the Namibia workers.

On this day last year, I declared from this rostrum that "Namibia is forever free, sovereign and independent. Since Namibia has emerged as a proud nation full of confidence in the future,

determined to face the challenges ahead and to reach even greater heights. On this historic occasion, we must, therefore rededicate ourselves to consolidate and defend our hard-won independence, freedom and democracy jealously. We must continue to uphold the policy of national reconciliation and consolidate the bonds of national unity among all our people. We must champion the cause of peace, stability and social progress in our land. Let the second year of our independence be one of hard work, fulfillment and the implementation of our plans and programmes in the interests of all the citizens of Namibia.
Long Live the Republic of Namibia.

APPENDIX 3:

PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA'S SECOND INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY SPEECH MARCH 21, 1992

It is two years ago today that Namibia achieved its independence. Victory in our struggle also brought with it hopes and expectations. Our expectations were high. And our hopes have become even higher starting with the inherited structures that were characterized by social and economic apartheid; we had to structure the whole system before we could begin the process of meeting the expectations of equity, justice and opportunity in our society.

But above all else, we had to create mechanism to facilitate the development of the relevant infrastructure. We had to collect data to know the situation on the ground.

Today, two years later, government framework is not only in place but is working well. Census gave us information to plan effectively.

The second year of independence, the year that ends today, was also characterized by our effort to anchor our hope on firm ground. We started giving shape to the process of correcting many years of wrongs.

Our independence was an epoch-making event not only because we were last able to determine our own destiny but also because of the international community's involvement in the process. The involvement of the international community in shaping our future was a happy circumstance, but this involvement also emphasizes global interdependence. Action in one part of the globe invariably affects events in another.

This interdependence spans all areas of endeavor. Global warming caused by actions elsewhere alters our climate. Production of too many CFCs elsewhere causes us to be exposed to radiation as a result of ozone depletion. Recession elsewhere affects the sale of our commodities. And economic recovery elsewhere helps improve our economy. Even mundane issues such as interest rates and inflation elsewhere have an impact on our situation. Political events elsewhere have a bearing on our responses. It is in this context of interdependence that we must perceive our successes and failures during the second year of independence.

But there are also other aspects that interact to create favourable or unfavourable conditions for development. We still do not have control over many of these. I refer to our dependence on rain-fed agriculture. I also refer to global dependence on knowledge and technology-drive industrialization. I must also refer to constraints imposed on us by outside events in our effort to create employment.

For instance, the conditions created by us since independence prompted many farmers to plan with confidence. Their efforts gave us hope too. If all went well, we felt that we may well be on

our way to see sufficiency in food. With our country having gone through a long period of drought in the eighties, we had hoped for respite. But that was not to be.

Rains failed us and today our attention turns to those who had planted with hope, nurtured their crops, and in the end were starved of water. Lack of rain has also thrown our agricultural projections into disarray. But this condition also brought home the fact that not enough was being done to develop irrigation system and drought resistant crops.

The presence of exogenous factors makes it all the more important for us to respond appropriately. For example, ours is an arid and semi-desert country but there is potential for irrigation and there is room for improving our agricultural research capability. We must develop system that frees us from the whims of nature. Government has, therefore, already accelerated its plan for the provision of irrigation in many areas. More resources are being made available for sinking boreholes. These actions should help free us from our total dependence on rains.

In the animal husbandry sector, we inherited a system that was essentially designed to benefit only the commercial farmers. Communal farmers were totally marginalized. We have now changed all that. We have strengthened disease control through the provision of vaccinations and dips. New quarantine camps have been established at Khowarub and Oshivelo. These disease control measures are aimed at opening the meat market, both locally and abroad, to all farmers, including our communal farmers. Our effort to bring communal farmers into the market economy continues

The ranchers have, nevertheless, been advised to increase off-take to preserve the pastures. Our securing the long-term meat export quotas from European Community should help them sell the surplus thus produced. We are also busy trying to explore new markets for our ranchers and there are hopeful signs of increased trade with other regions of the world. Our ranchers have also been assured of financial assistance in rebuilding stocks once the situation improves.

We are also mindful of the crisis of food security created by the lack of rains. But our action plan is in place and I have no doubt that our timely planning will see us through this difficult period for all our farmers and non-farmers alike.

No comment on agriculture would, however, be complete without a comment of the land question. A great deal of inequity in our country is rooted in the question of Land. To correct it, the Government had organized the Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question. In the spirit of arriving at decisions by consensus, some 500 people from all walks of life were invited to attend. In the end, the participants reached consensus on the mode of action. As stipulated by the Conference, we appointed a Technical Committee to look into the technical issues so that progress could be made to resolve this long-standing problem.

While agriculture has suffered because of the vagaries of weather, Government's policy of conservation, and responsible exploitation of the fisheries resource has already yielded enormous dividends. Fishing trawlers that took fish from our shores illegally and with impunity in the past are now being held at bay. As a result, the contribution of this sector to the GDP has increased by 80%.

Last year was also the year of mixed fortunes for our mining sector. While diamond mining showed considerable improvement, uranium and other base metals have suffered due to price weaknesses.

Be it diamonds, copper or beef, dependence of commodities alone is fraught with uncertainties. We have seen all too often the failures of many countries that have tended to rely on single or just a few commodities to propel their economies. We must guard against such a situation developing in our country. We must break away from this mould.

Realising this quite early on, Government decided to facilitate the development of secondary and tertiary sectors by promoting industrialization, trade and financial services. Good progress was made during the past year. Favorable investment climate has been created, and as a result of the effort of our trade missions, the scope of Namibia's external trade too has widened.

To enhance the manufacturing base, we are promoting the establishment of small- and medium – scale industries. A Special Package of Industrial Development Incentives has been formulated for Arandis. Conditions have also been created to encourage investment in other parts of our country. Further incentives are in the pipeline.

We wish to industrialize, diversify, and create jobs. And we have the capacity to do so. However, some of the alliances, such as the Southern Africa Customs Union, that we inherited have been singularity discouraging of investment in Namibia.

The success of trading blocs depends very much on the ability of countries to participate in a relationship that is beneficial to all. Unequal manufacturing, trading and servicing capacities do not auger well for the future of any trading bloc. We know this from our experience of the East African Community, and from the difficulties that the free trade agreement between the United States and Canada are facing. Many such examples can be quoted.

But there are success stories as well. The European Community is one example. Its success has depended on the recognition that the capacity of poorer members of the community must be enhanced, and that the resources of such provisions within our Customsunions. This arrangement has, therefore, benefited the largest partner, that is South Africa but unable to export to South Africa. We shall remain unable to export to South Africa as long as the rules of the Customs Union continue to protect only the existing industries that are mostly in South Africa. Consequently, our very effort to industrialize has come up against a tariff wall raised by the provisions of the Customs Union. We, therefore, need to re-examine this inequity and correct it so that our programme for industrialization is not thwarted.

The East and West today boast of the end of inflation. But in Namibia we are consistently hearing of price increase. Part of this malaise is caused by bad harvests, but also by our low industrial base. Because of our dependence on imports, including from a high inflation country , we import a great deal of inflation. Excessive imports with little capacity to export finished goods have also meant that we are creating jobs in the supplier country and not in our own country.

As long as there are obstacles that prevent Namibia's industrialization, we will continue to create jobs for others and not for Namibians, and we will continue to bear the brunt of inflation

elsewhere. Such conditions need to be corrected. My Government is, in fact, already examining and negotiating to correct the tenuous provisions of the Customs Union.

The various issues of concern in the primary sector, and also the secondary and tertiary sectors that I have talked about, are of great importance for private enterprise. But there are other areas where Government is not only a facilitator but also an implementer. And it is in these areas that our success and our difficulties are most visible. These areas include health, education, law and order, and international relations. Our actions in many of these areas are, no doubt, directed towards correcting past inequities.

In the field of health, to achieve the objective of delivering Health for All by the year 2000, primary health care has become the major focal point. Significant progress has been made in this area. An increasing number of our people now have access to health care even in remote areas. Hospitals and specialized services, has also increased in number.

Plans to control the spread of HIV and control of AIDS, too, is a priority for us, and for very good reason. If the spread of HIV is not controlled, all the benefits derived from mass immunization and the control of disease such as tuberculosis will be lost. It has already been argued that in Southern Africa life expectancy might drop by ten years, and child mortality may increase significantly unless something is done about HIV. My government recognizes this problem and we in SWAPO have been concerned about it for some years. Our people must be educated to ensure that they do not become victims of this scourge. To promote this education, my Government launched a Medium Term Plan of Action in February. But we need everyone's support in this endeavor. We must be receptive to the information being made available through Government's social services, medical channels and, of course, the media.

In the field of education great strides were made on many fronts in the first two years. Education was the nursery of apartheid, even if it was not sanctioned by law. We have succeeded in doing away with these vestiges and we remain vigilant lest it rear its ugly head again.

We have also made great progress in opening new schools and increasing the capacity of many schools. Vocational education is being emphasized to enhance employability. Our effort in the provision of education is aimed at developing the skills of our people so that they may become better farmers, better mechanics, better fitters, better miners. But that is not all. The educational system is also geared towards meeting human resource need for knowledge of intensive industries as well.

Law and order, an area that has been a matter of great concern not only to the people but also to Government. Increased incidences of crime have its own reasons. We need to create a socio-economic environment to remove these reasons. But I do not mince any words when I say that no reasons are good enough for a person to turn to crime. We will fight crime. Government has already enhanced its capability to control it. Crime control is not just a governmental responsibility left to government alone, crime will not be controlled. We all, as members of society, have a responsibility to ensure that our young people do not go into crime. We as Government have a responsibility to ensure that crime does not go unpunished.

Finally, in the area of international relations, Namibia has been most fortunate to have the support of many international organizations such as the OAU, the United Nations, the Non-

Aligned Movement , and many others , and many friendly countries. The end result has been that our country is no longer a pariah state. There is a great deal of goodwill towards Namibia. This goodwill has in no small measure been sustained by the pragmatic policies of Government as anyone can see in our fiscal policies, and in our social policies such as reconciliation, affirmative action, equity, social justice, and freedom of speech and the press.

The third year that we embark upon at midnight is full of challenges. Our hopes remain intact. We must meet these challenges with courage and hard work so that the Namibia that our children inherit will be a far better place than we inherited.

Fellow Namibians, let us rededicate ourselves together to build a great nation.

APPENDIX 4:**PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA'S THIRD INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY****SPEECH MARCH 21, 1993**

Today marks the third anniversary of Namibia's independence.

The last 36 months have been characterized by concerted efforts, on the part of government, to consolidate our hard-won independence and to democratize the structures of our society, as well as to accelerate the process of socio-economic development.

This process of consolidation culminated in the holding of regional and local government elections during November 1992. The elections ushered in the establishment of the first democratically-elected municipal and regional authorities, as well as National Council. Our people are now fully empowered to actively and meaningfully participate in the decision-making process. The elected regional and local authorities have clear mandate to initiate development projects for the benefit of their respective communities. With these impressive advancement achieved in the consolidation of our independence and democratization of our society, Government is now focusing its attention on the struggle for economic development. And, in this connection, I would like to spell out a number of actions that were taken to give a boost to the revival of the economy.

Notwithstanding, the negative effect of the world economic recession on our domestic economy, Government has been making serious efforts to revitalize the economy. Taking advantage of the prevailing peace and stability, Government has succeeded in attracting investors to conduct oil and gas exploration off our shores. At the same time, Government succeeded in negotiating with the European Community, financial resources in the form of a grant R1550 million towards the reactivation of our embattled mining sector. As you are all aware, the mining sector has, in other words, been the largest contributor to the national income and a major employer.

However, owing to the worldwide decline of the price of minerals, our mining companies have not been able to make that necessary profits which will enable them to cover their operational costs, pay dividends to their shareholders and contribute to state revenue.

It was against this background the Government considered it necessary to approach the European Economic Community to approve financial assistance towards the revitalization of Namibia's mining industry. The grant will therefore, contribute to safeguarding production and earning power of the mining sector, broaden the production base through diversification and integration of the mining sector into the economy, improve the geological and mineral data base and ultimately, enable the expansion of training facilities for the mining sector.

The negotiation with the EEC for R150 million grants went hand-in-hand with the preparation last year of a new law to govern mineral exploration and development in the country. This law contains a package of incentives which are designed to encourage potential investors in our

mining industry. Also the Ministry of Mines and Energy took steps to organize a historic, Conference on Mining, Investment in Namibia, which was held from 17-1993. The conference was a resounding success. It brought to our capital over 100 mining executives from trans-national corporations and financiers from some of the leading, multilateral funding agencies, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. While it is too early to know how many of these interests will ultimately invest in our mining, corporations will decide to invest in this key sector of our economy.

Allow me also to mention that significant progress has been made over the last 36 months to rehabilitate our fishing sector. Following the bold and uncompromising steps to drive the foreign boats that used to illegally fish in Namibia waters out of our fishing waters, the stocks have recovered significantly and a considerable amount of local and foreign capital has begun to flow into this important sector of the Namibia economy. There is no doubt that this is a sector that holds considerable possibilities and promise for additional jobs for the thousands of presently jobless Namibians. Government will continue to press for the establishment of fish pressing plants on our shores, as this is the best way to ensure that investment in the fishing sector does, indeed, result in the creation of new jobs.

We have, furthermore, created a legal framework of affirmative action, hereby enabling Namibia who were previously disadvantaged to share in the orderly exploitation of our fishing resources. Today, every fishing company that wants to obtain a fishing quota must give proof that 15% of its total shareholding is owned by Namibians.

My Government is now turning its attention to the industrial and agricultural sector. In this connection, we are putting final touches to the establishment of the Development Corporation which will facilitate the implementation of Government strategies for agricultural and industrial development.

With regard to agriculture, the most prolonged drought that Namibia has experienced in many decades, has brought home one important point, namely, that our country cannot forever remain hostage to the vagaries of nature. We must now give serious attention to the issue of large-scale irrigation schemes of the arable lands along our various perennial frontier rivers. This is only sure way that, in the future, drought will not completely prevent us from producing a significant amount of food for our people to consume. Government is, therefore, currently planning major irrigation efforts.

Furthermore, the diversification of the economy through industrialization has moved to the center of Government's development planning. Measures towards the expansion of this sector are now enjoying Government's attention.

Government also recognizes the fact that tourism is one of the major contributors to the national income. To this end Government commissioned last year a major study by the EEC on the potentials and prospects for the expansion of this sector. One of the steps which the study has recommended is the development of more and better tourist resorts, that is, better accommodation, restaurants, hotels and other recreation facilities. We are already taking steps to implement the recommendations of the study by facilitating private sector investment. In this

connection, I am happy to mention that both local and external investors are showing keen interest in putting their money into this sector. Prospects for success on this score are promising.

Communication and transport infrastructures are some of the important factors making for socio-economic development. In this regard, Government has embarked, as most of you know, on the construction of the Trans-Kalahari and Trans-Caprivi highways. The work on some section of these major highways has progressed well. For example, the 46 km section of the Tran-Caprivi Highway between Taakwasa and Nyangana is expected to be completed during the second quarter of this year. Work on the 100 km section between KatimaMulilo and Nagma is also expected to be completed during the course of 1993.

With regard to the Trans-Kalahari Highway, the first 15 km from Gobabis will be opened to traffic by the end of this month and the last section of that highway between Gobabis and Buitepos is scheduled for completion within two years.

Work on the 99 km section of the trunk road between Goaged and Ausis 25 per cent completed, with final completion scheduled for December 1994. Upgrading of the road between Windhoek and Windhoek International Airport has been completed.

I want to underline the fact that the demand for increasing investments in the productive sector such as mining, manufacturing, agriculture, fisheries and tourism, must be balanced with the imperative necessity to reduce inequity among the various sections of our population. As such, Government continues to use the budget as an instrument of redressing socio-economic inequity in our society. This means that the significant share of the national income is going, to social services, especially in the formerly neglected areas of the country.

Education has received the largest amount of any budgetary vote over the last three years. This policy position is intended to give Namibia's formerly neglected rural children and urban poor access to learning thus preparing them for a fulfilling and rewarding role in our society. Integration of the previously segregated school and the qualitative reform of the former Bantu education schools form the enterprise of Government efforts in the field of education. While a lot of ground has been covered to achieve the integration and reform of the education system a lot more remains to be done to the remaining inequalities which still characterize our education system.

The introduction of the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) and the good result achieved last year by some of the schools which adopted this system, is one indication of the success that has been achieved. This programme of curriculum development, teacher education and upgrading, non- formal and adult education and soon, are among the innovative steps that are being taken to reshape the national character and quality of our education.

The beginning of this year has, furthermore, seen the birth of the University of Namibia, which we are confident, will develop into a center of intellectual excellence from which the nation's core of professional cadre will emerge.

Government is furthermore, putting final touches to the Bill on the Polytechnic which will establish a federation of technical and vocational training across the country, with a view to

developing industrial manpower and skills for the nation. The Institute of Technology in Arandis will form a pillar of the polytechnic.

Government is convinced that the imparting of productive technical skills to the Namibia workforce is not only the key to industrialization but also to overcome the negative development of retrenchment of workers, retrenchment which hit the unskilled workers hardest.

Namibia needs to take pride in the commendable strides we have taken towards the realization of Health for All by the year 2000. Our country's immunization is second to none to sub-Saharan Africa. With 70% of our children immunized against the major child killer diseases, we can say that Namibia has achieved a remarkable feat in a key area of preventative health care.

Primary health care remains a central feature of our health system, a system which seeks to entrench the fundamental principles of equity, accessibility, affordability and community involvement. The establishment over the last three years, of several new clinics, hospitals and Primary Health Care Centers is one notable achievement on this score of health and social services.

Besides the successes achieved in the fields of education and health, Government has made good headway in addressing the housing needs of the urban poor. Like other programmes of social services, Government housing development programme is a long-term undertaking. This programme is being implemented in many parts of the country. Whether one is in Aranos, Rundu, Ongwediva or Katutura, one is able to see evidence of new and affordable housing units being completed.

Similarly rural water development and electrification are being carried out, especially in the regions of northern Namibia, with a view to redressing the imbalances and inequities we inherited from the colonial era. The fact that we are now inaugurating the rural electrification programme here in Okavango, a development which was launched in the Caprivi in 1991 and extended to some of the Oshiwambo-speaking regions is a clear testimony of the determination of Government to improve the quality of life of the rural masses of the Namibia people.

Intensifying effort towards clean water supply to the rural communities, Government took measure in the context of the drought crisis to set a priority of 500 boreholes to be drilled in the last twelve months. A total of 300 boreholes were drilled, 200 of which were successful. The programme will continue through-out the year and beyond. Provision of clean water is a complementary factor to primary Health Care, to which I referred earlier.

Apart from the emergency measure taken to intensify the drilling of boreholes, Government's regular programme of water development continued with great intensity. Good progress was made with the construction of the Omdel in the Omaruru River, close to Henties Bay, to augment water supply to the west coast area. This project will be completed early in 1994 new purification works at Karibib were commissioned securing an adequate water supply to the town and its surroundings for the immediate future.

Good progress was also made with the upgrading of the extensive water supply network in the Omusati, Oshana, Ohangwena and Oshikoto regions. The Ogongo- Okahao water supply scheme around Okaho and Onaanda. The refurbishment and upgrading of the Ogongo purification works and the new water supply network between Oshakati and Omakango have also reached

commissioning phase. The construction of a new water- supply network to serve the communities to the north of Ogongo up to Okalongo commenced during January of this year and expected to be completed in 1994. At Rundu, a start was made with the extension of a formal water supply system to serve the adjacent townships of Kaisosi and Sauyemwa.

Furthermore, Government is investigating the availability of subterranean water resources in the barren Namib-Desert, with a view to supplying water to the communities and industries in the coastal towns such as Swakopmund and Walvis-Bay, and Arandis. This research is being conducted through aerial magnetic surveys. It is also being carried out with the support of German scientists.

Since independence, Namibia has been experiencing unhealthy industrial relations because old bad habits die hard. Against this background, Government spent considerable time and energy producing one of the most comprehensive labour laws ever seen on this continent. It also entrenched the rights of the workers as producers of wealth, as well as the interest of employers.

Following the enactment of the Labour Code, steps were taken to appoint a Labour Commissioner to set up Labour Courts and a Labour Advisory Council. All these mechanisms have been devised with a view to ensuring acceptable labour practices in conformity with the fundamental human rights and freedoms enshrined. All these steps have been taken to create healthy industrial relations, we have not solved the problems and conflicts inherent in the relations between labour and capital, problem which continue to be coloured, in many respects, by old racial prejudices. Government is, however, determined to utilize the newly-established mechanisms, such as tripartite arrangements, to promote better industrial relations and to limit the unfortunate process of retrenchment which potentially threatens the peace and stability we now enjoy in this country.

Government's effort to foster better understanding and mutual respect between the workers and the employers has not been limited to the formulation and introduction of the labour law and regulations. I, my Prime Minister and all Ministers never miss the opportunity to reassure our private sector and workers of our wish and determination to play a constructive role in promoting healthy industrial relations in this country. Rounds of consultative meetings have taken place, and they bear testimony to this determination.

My Government recognises the need to accelerate economic growth, which goal dictates that increased investment be put into the productive sectors (agriculture, mining , fisheries, manufacturing , etc) rather than into the consumption side of state expenditure. Against this background, Government has been obliged to reduce the size of the state bureaucracy. As everybody knows, civil servants are not engaged in productive economic activity. In other words, unlike the workers and peasants, they do not as a rule, perform the kind of labour which create wealth. Therefore, it is imperative that this consumption sector of society is not allowed to remain too large .To achieve this goal, Government has initiated the process of rationalization which is aimed at abolishing civil service posts which are not crucial to the functioning of the state machinery. In this way, Government aims at keeping the public service reasonable bounds and, thus financially manageable.

Many people have argued that Government is also carrying out retrenchments like the private sector. However, there is a big difference between the two.

On the other hand, Government is reducing the civil service, which is a resource-consuming sector, in order to free funds for subsidies to the agriculture, fisheries and mining sector which produce wealth, and, thus promote economic growth. On the other hand, the private sector is retrenching worker whose labor's vital to the increase of the nation's wealth. The escalating retrenchments of productive labour reduce the productive size of the economy which is the opposite of the reduction of the state bureaucracy.

The last 36 months of Namibia's independence have seen many other steps taken to consolidate our sovereignty, to maintain internal peace and security and to defend our territorial integrity. Our courts of law, our police force and our defence force have all consolidated over these last three years. And, as we look around us, we cannot fail to notice the political turbulence and strife rocking the fabric of societies around us.

Against this background, Namibia cannot afford to lower its guard and relax its vigilance. This Government will maintain a state of readiness to meet any threat to our internal peace, stability and territorial integrity.

Government has taken note, with grave concern, of the recent subversive statements by certain tribalistic chiefs who threw down the gauntlet to the State by challenging the constitutional and democratic process of themselves with the separatist ambitions of the self-proclaimed Baster leader, Mr. Diegraardt. They allegedly met at Okahandja last weekend and committed themselves to supporting the so-called traditional claim of the Baster to Rehoboth, not only morally, but also to physical support his so-called struggle for independence. This is a serious situation which Government regards as a treat to the sovereignty of Namibia and her people. Our pledge, when we adopted the constitution stipulated that we will exercise our sovereignty through the democratic institutions of the state.

I would like to seize this opportunity to issue a stern warning to those tribalism chiefs, who met in Okahandja to hatch out schemes of destabilization, that the Namibia Government will defend the fundamental principles of this democratic society with all the means at its disposal. Genuine commitment to democracy means that each and every citizen and resident must abide by the outcome of democratic process, including accepting electoral defeats. The belligerent utterances made from Okahandja are a clear indication that there are elements in our society who are not prepared to reconcile to their electoral rejection by the majority of the people of the country. But I want to assure the nation that we shall not allow these disgruntled elements to trample on the democratic will of the masses of the Namibian people.

As we jealously guard against threats against our peace, stability and democracy, we reiterate our sincere wish for a speedy, peaceful and lasting solution to the conflicts in Angola, South Africa, Mozambique and those other country further afield which are also being tormented by political struggle and ethnic wars. On behalf of the people and Government of Namibia, I wish to reiterate the position that our country is ready to make its humble contribution to the resolution of the conflicts in our neighboring countries, if so requested.

On this historic occasion, I have decided to exercise one of the powers which are conferred on me by the constitution of the Republic of Namibia to pardon certain categories of offenders who

violated our laws and who are currently serving their prison sentences. I want to make it clear, at once, that this act of mercy should on no account be construed in any ways as condoning crime or criminals. Government is committed to protecting law-abiding citizens from those who take it upon themselves to commit crimes against our order and violate the rights of our law abiding-citizens. I hope that those who benefits under today's pardon will have learnt their lesson, and that they will walk the honest path of good Namibia citizens in the future. The categories of prisoners who will benefit under this pardon are the following: all prisoners whose conditional release on parole has already been approved, but who have not been released yet, because they could not meet those conditions. In the prevailing circumstances, I regard as particularly serious and unpardonable. These include mainly crimes involving the commission of acts of violence of a serious nature against other person, as well as certain economic crimes. Such crimes include the attempt to commit crimes such as treason, murder, rape, sexual or indecent assault, culpable homicide, assault with the intent to do bodily harm, stock theft, illicit dealing in or the possession of precious metals or precious stones, the illicit conveyance or supply of dependence- producing drugs, theft of or damage to public property, as well as offences under Section 2 of the Controlled Game products Proclamation which relate to trade in the tusks horns and other valuable parts elephants and rhinoceros. Also excepted are offences under sections 20 and 26 of the Natural Conservation Ordinance which deal with the hunting of animals or specially-protected game parks and nature reserves.

All remaining prisoners, except those who committed crimes which fall in the group of exceptions I have just stipulated, as well as prisoners who have escaped or attempted to escape from lawful custody during the term of their current imprisonment, and persons who had been released under a previous pardon since independence, will receive a reemission of six months of their sentences.

To conclude, I would like to state that one of the many reasons why all sincere Namibia patriots and peace- loving citizens and residents should feel proud to celebrate this third anniversary of the birth of our nation, is that Namibia has definitely taken its rightful place in the community of nations. Today, our capital plays host to scores of diplomatic missions and international organizations. Our citizens are to be found in the capital of these nations with whom we have established diplomatic ties. Many international conferences, seminars and symposia are regularly held in our country. Our national airline has established bilateral Air Service Agreements with Germany, the United Kingdom, France and the Russian Federation. This means that, for the first time in more than a century, our people are having interaction with the rest of humanity, and our cultural life is being enriched by the best of what mankind has been able to achieve in the spheres of spiritual and material culture.

Many countries have extended generous financial and technical assistance to us, enabling us to consolidate our independence and institutionalize our democracy. The problem of worldwide economic recession notwithstanding, Namibia products, such as beef, mutton, karakul pelts, fish and minerals are being traded at the EEC markets under the Lome IV Convection. Similarly, our mutton is being exported to distant places such as the Gulf area, the Middle and the Far East. Namibia is a member of important world trade bodies, such as the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), the preferential Trade Area (PTA) for East and Southern Africa, etc. The

list of international organizations to which Namibia belongs is too long for me to enumerate here. All this calls for celebration as we close the third year of our national sovereignty.

The challenge to the Namibian people is, therefore to continue to hold high the banner of unity, liberty and justice. We must defend all those great achievements which the first three year of our independence have recorded and move forward into the fourth year with confidence that the future holds forth great promise for our nation.

Long live Namibia, the land of the brave!

APPENDIX 5:**PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA'S FOURTH INDEPENDENCE
ANNIVERSARY SPEECH MARCH 21, 1994**

Our first action after independence was to put appropriate structures into place for establishing an efficient government. To that end, the various offices and ministries were established; ethnic structures were demolished; and representative regional and local governments were established. All of these structures are now in place.

When we assumed office on March 21, 1990, our country's geographical integrity was not yet achieved. Walvisbay and the Offshore Islands were still not part of Namibia. Essential elements of democracy were provided in the Constitution but a democratic culture still needed to be established. The need for a democratic culture was underlined by the fact that the Namibia psyche had been greatly damaged by decades of colonial and racist rule.

Our success on these two fronts is proud achievement because we were able to achieve our objective through peaceful means and through reconciliation, both in the international arena and on the home front. The memory of the reintegration of Walvis bay and the Offshore Islands into Namibia is still very fresh in our minds. You will agree with me that very rarely does a moment like this come in the history of a nation when the euphoria of independence is followed soon by another equally euphoric event. On February 28, as the flag of South Africa came down and the Namibian flag went up, we rejoiced that Namibia was now fully independent, from Caprivi to the Skeleton Coast from the Okavango to the Orange River. We also rejoiced because the wrongs of history had been corrected. We can now look forward to correcting the impact of these wrongs.

This achievement once again focuses on another unique characteristic of my Government- a commitment to reconciliation. Namibia's post-independence history so far will be known as the age of reconciliation. Reintegration of Walvis Bay and the Offshore Island is a glowing example of what can be achieved peacefully, and in reconciliation between the erstwhile antagonistic forces.

We are also happy about the transformation taking place in South Africa, and the resilience of the peacemakers there. This is another shining example of what can be achieved through reconciliation. We can only wish the South African people the same success we were able to achieve in resolving the long-standing conflict on Walvis Bay and the Offshore Island.

Our efforts to resolve the Kasikili Island dispute through peaceful means continues. It is our hope that we will be able to resolve this issue in the spirit of brotherhood and reconciliation. Furthermore, in the international arena, we have not shirked from our responsibility as a member state of the United Nations and as an instrument of peace. All of us have reason to be proud of the Namibian Defense Force's participation in the United Nations Peace Keeping Operation in

Cambodia. All members of the NDF returned to Namibia having done an excellent job. They were praised for their outstanding work by the international community.

When my Prime Minister received them at the airport, and told them that we were proud of them, he was expressing the sentiments of the entire nation.

Still on the political front, we started out with an outstanding Constitution which laid the groundwork of democracy. But achieving democratic culture required that we work relentlessly to remove all the vestiges of racism, apartheid, sexism and tribalism. The public service was restructured to correct the imbalances of the past, and appropriate legislative to remove all types of discrimination were enacted. Local and regional government elections inhered in the era of democratic institution. Over the years, our Parliament has served as a mirror of democratic changes taking place in our society. Freedom of in the first two years of independence. Even those who doubted the survival of democratic values in our country are now happy that their doubts were misplaced. Indeed, democratic institutions are in place, democratic values are protected, but promoting a democratic culture requires that we continue working to remove the scars of long years of oppression that denied the evaluation of a democratic psyche. In this effort all of us need to work together.

This change requires concomitant social and economic change. As you can no doubt appreciate, social change and economic change are intertwined. In a country where the vast majority of the population still lives below subsistence level, Government has had to take up the responsibility of providing instruments of social change, such as schools and clinics. The gap between the haves and the have-nots still remains substantial. The cost of government-supplied human services is overwhelming. Due to the past neglect of certain areas, we have no choice but to bear that cost.

As I have said in the past, the role of any government must be national development measured in terms of development of the people in all aspects – political, economic, and social. Allow me to report to my country-men and women about the developments that have taken place in the priority areas, that is, education, health, agriculture and housing. These priority areas were identified as being essential instruments of change. Well before independence, SWAPO committed itself to the policy of Education for All. At independence, my Government translated this policy into educational goals aimed at achieving this policy objective. These goals are:

- Equity of access to education;
- Equity of opportunities in education;
- Promotion of internal efficiency of the education system;
- Quality of educational outcome; and
- Life-long learning

These improvements were achieved as a result of massive financial outlay. During the 1990/91 Budget, an amount of over R480 million was allocated to education and culture. For 1994/95, an amount of over N\$908 million was allocated to education and culture, which is over 28.8% of the budget. Last year, this percentage was 24%. To put it differently, since 1988/89, resource allocation to education has increased by 700%. This increase clearly demonstrates Government's commitment to education and training.

Increased access to education is meaningless if not matched by improved learning opportunities. My Government, therefore, embarked upon the process of curriculum reform and renewal in all its facets. Racial and ethnic barriers in the provision of education have now been removed. In order to promote equity in learning opportunities, especially to learners in rural and remote areas Government initiated a programme of Rural School Facility Improvement. During the last four years, 832 classroom units and 56 staff offices were built, 76 teachers' houses were constructed and 12 hostels facilities were built. Similarly, efforts to restructure and reform the health service in line with Government's primary healthcare policy have been ongoing throughout. Health and Social Services were also given high priority in our budget by the allocation of over N\$330 million dollars, or almost 10% of the budget in 1993/94. The 1993/94 activities included a wide variety of initiatives aimed at strengthening managerial capacity particularly at operational level. Major emphasis was placed on planning for the introduction of 13 new health management teams to be posted in the administrative regions during 1994/95.

Restructuring and upgrading of physical infrastructure continues as part of our 10 year capital development master plan for the health sector. This master plan will directly flow into the developments envisaged in the first national development plan for the sector, which will be the major emphasis of Government during 1994/95.

Primary health-care programme implementation progressed at an increased pace during 1993/94. Within the framework of the expanded programme and immunization, more than 71% of all Namibian children below the age of one year are now fully immunized. One reason for this gap is the result of many parents not following through with the full immunization programme. For instance, for full protection against polio, three doses are necessary, but parents do not take their children for the second and third doses. As a result, we occasionally have outbreaks of polio. I implore all the parents to follow through diligently with the immunization programme. That is the only way to protect their children against the six killer diseases. In the same vein, the disease prevention programme was strengthened and more than 60% of all health facilities in the country are now actively dispensing oral rehydration salts. Family spacing is actively being promoted and trainers in family spacing have been trained throughout the country.

Similarly, training of community trainers in growth monitoring was undertaken to promote good nutrition. Breast feeding has been encouraged and seven hospitals have so far been certified as being baby and mother friendly. Health education has been expanded by the inclusion of modules on AIDS, teenage pregnancy and alcohol and drug abuse in the life-science curriculum for students.

Particular attention has been paid to the prevention and control of communicable diseases. The meningitis outbreak in the north-east and central parts of the country is being controlled with minimal loss of life. Meningitis, which is not one of the six killer diseases against which routine immunization is carried out, is a disease caused by unhygienic conditions. It often flares up in the rainy season. With the provision of housing and potable water this scourge can be eliminated. Until that time, however, special attention should be given to hygiene. Furthermore, we may also consider routine immunization of everyone against meningitis. This is a policy issue that we will certainly consider.

As regards to housing, there has been considerable increase in the total housing stock. The most significant achievement has been the provision of affordable low-cost housing to low-income

families through the Build Together programme which is active in all the 13 regions. In fact, the success of this programme earned Namibia the HABITAT Scroll of Honour for the implementation of the Build Together National Housing Programme.

In the field of agriculture, our emphasis has been to improve agricultural productivity, increase agricultural output, and ensure national and household food security and to improve the living standards of the rural communities.

At the beginning of 1993, the agricultural sector faced one of the most serious droughts ever. Fortunately, early and good rains brought relief to most parts of the country in 1994. As a result, reasonably good crops of the staple grains, maize and mahangu are expected. However, a few patches of farm land have not yet received enough rain. It is my hope that the remaining part of the rainy season will bring relief to these areas.

Ever since independence we have emphasized crop production. In line with this approach, crop research in the northern regions was given additional impetus last year through the execution of more than 70 well-planned on-station and on-farm trials aimed at devising improved production methods on farms. The results of these trials have been well received by the communal farmers. This should result in enhancing food self-sufficiency at both national and household levels. In fact, we anticipate that during 1994/95, small scale farmers will be able to produce the largest part of certified mahangu seed needed in Namibia.

On the resettlement programmes in general, progress has been remarkable. However, there is still much to be done to resettle landless and destitute Namibians. The fact that our people are subject to disasters such as floods and droughts can, at least partly, be attributed to the non-availability of land for cultivation and grazing. In this context, my Government hopes to bring appropriate land reform legislation of Parliament.

During 1993/94, excellent progress has also been made with the process of establishing a Social Security System for the country. After extensive research and consultation with the social partners, a Draft Social Security Bill for the administration thereof, was finalized. This bill and the bill amending the present Accident Fund will be tabled in the Parliament during this session.

Government is also involved in developing strategies aimed at striking a balance between the demand and supply of skilled human resources. A base has been laid for the establishment of a Labour Market Information System which is expected to generate data related to the demand and supply of labour, employment, education, training statistics and labour projections. This information will assist Government in formulating a Master Plan of Human Resource Development.

In the meantime, Government continues to work towards employment promotion indirectly. Measures taken thus far include:

- Promulgation of the Immigration Act of 1993, which among others, ensures the protection of jobs for Namibians.
- Promulgation and amendment of the Investment Act to attract foreign investment and create job opportunities.
- Provision of National Vocational Training.

- Promotion of small scale industrial development
- Drafting of the Employment Promotion Bill to enable Government to allocate resources towards employment promotion.
- Facilitating the awarding of bursaries to students through bilateral co-operation.

With the reintegration of Walvis Bay, all facilities related to the transport sector, that is, the harbor infrastructure, railway infrastructure, airport infrastructure and road infrastructure are now part of the Namibian Transport infrastructure. In anticipation of this development, we have already carried out a pre-feasibility study of future port facility requirements for Namibia. Furthermore, we aim to re-examine the economic and financial viability of developing a harbor at Mowe Bay.

Also, in anticipation of the reintegration, we have pursued the development of intra-regional road links with neighboring countries integrate transportation modes into the Southern African Development Community. During 1993/94, phases two and three of the Trans-Capriivi Highway up to Bagani were completed, officially incorporated and commissioned to traffic. During 1994, the construction of a further 200km between Bagani and Kongola will be commenced. In addition, 40.2% of the Trans-Kalahari Highway has been completed.

These developments will, I am sure, open up many new economic nodes, resulting in even development. Last year, our efforts to promote Namibia abroad resulted in an increase of 15.3% in the number of foreign visitors visiting the various resorts.

To keep people informed, we have achieved considerable success in the extension and expansion of the TV broadcasting network to rural communities. This expansion will receive a further boost once a satellite link-up is in place sometime in the coming year. This link-up will enable all Namibians, even those in remote areas, to receive televised images.

Very closely linked to agricultural and tourism development is our concern for our environment. Over the past eighteen months, Government has developed a comprehensive Environmental Assessment Policy. I am pleased to report that this has met with wide approval. We are told that Namibia is a leader in this field in Africa and the UNDP has described it as a “model for the continent”. I have no doubt that through the acceptance of this policy, Namibia will continue to establish itself as a country with a progressive and pragmatic environmental policy. This policy will find manifestation in Namibia’s environmental legislation, which will be brought to Parliament in due course.

Last year, one of the achievements of Government was the issuing of the national currency as of September 14, 1993. A basis has thus been laid for delinkage from the South African currency. Government policy on fisheries and marine resources management is continuing to show good results. Stock of the commercially important species are showing signs of recovery and the recovery in fish stocks overall has allowed the setting of Total Allowable Catches (TACS) for 1994 at levels more than double those of 1990.

Not all fish stock has, however shown signs of recovery. The rock lobster fishery sub-sector continues to experience difficulties.

As regards investment promotion, the efforts to promote Namibia as an attractive investment and trade opportunity became more focused during the 1993/94 fiscal year. In this regard, important investment promoting missions were undertaken to countries such as the United States of America, United Kingdom, Portugal, Germany, Italy, the Nordic countries, India, Malaysia and Japan. Several inward missions by prospective investors increased markedly during this period, especially from the last quarter of 1993. Particular investment interest has also been shown by entrepreneurs from Malaysia, India, China, USA, South East Asia are also expressing interest in the setting up of plants to assemble electronic equipment such as computers, radios and television sets. Equally important to Namibia's industrialization programme is the recent decision by Government to establish and develop a Free Trade Zone at Walvis Bay. A bill to provide a legal basis for the Zone as well as the formulation of a set of rules to govern its operations are presently being drafted and will be tabled in Parliament during the current session. We are also launching a comprehensive information campaign to explain the challenges and benefits of the planned Free Trade Zone to the Namibia business community and job-seekers. My Government prides itself for having continually worked to improve the condition of the masses. Overall, I have reason to be pleased with the health of the nation. I am proud to be leading a nation essentially reconciled, with most people having happily accepted the change. Happily also, we are proud that we Namibians have many committed business people who are here to stay and are committed to identify with their country through thick and thin. Finally, I would be failing in my duty if I did not thank our people for giving us the mandate to run the affairs of this country for the first term of this Government. I also wish to thank Members of Parliament for keeping the interest of the nation above all else. In conclusion, I must thank our many friends in the international community who have generously supported us materially and morally in carrying out so many tasks on which I have reported in this Independence Day Address. A solid foundation of democracy and of working for the people has been laid. It is my hope that in the coming years, we will be able to build on this foundation the Namibian house where all Namibians can happily live as a family.

APPENDIX 6:

PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA'S FIFTH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY

SPEECH MARCH 21, 1995

Exactly five years ago today, on that beautiful day of March 21, 1990, Namibians from all corners of our country gathered at this very same venue, amidst thousands of international friends and television viewers, for the solemn occasion which gave birth to Namibia, our new nation.

Indeed, the presence of thousands of friends from our neighboring countries and the world at large, as well as the participation of the many global television viewers, helped to make that day the most memorable and emotional one in the annals of our history.

Allow me, at the outset, to express a special word of thanks to His Excellency President Robert Mugabe of the Republic of Zimbabwe, His Excellency President Quett Ketumile Masire of the Republic of Botswana, their presence on this occasion.

We as a nation, found encouragement in the fact that they always found time, despite their busy schedules, to join us in Namibia to celebrate our national events with us.

On March 21, 1990, our nation was called on to rise to the following important challenges facing it at the time:

- To focus the new –born Republic's attention and energies on the realization of political, societal and economic reconciliation;
- The laying of a solid foundation guaranteeing the long-term prosperity of our nation;
- The ending of the international isolation of our country ;and
- The restoration of our territorial integrity.

The challenge on the political level was to reconcile a people divided on racial and ideological lines, so as to make way for the emergence of one united nation pledged to respect the newly created institutions of state and to honour and defend the national flag. The task was to convince our divided nation to shift the focus away from the humiliating and painful past and build a better tomorrow for the present and future generations. What was called for not forget the past, but to learn lessons from the mistakes of the past, and to build a solid foundation on the ashes of the past history of oppression and foreign occupation.

The second challenge on the social level was to reconcile the fears and anxieties of the 5% of our privileged white compatriots about a possible decline in their living standards with the very high, yet legitimate, expectations of the 95% of our population who were living in squalid conditions, with little or no provision for health care, housing or education. Even here, the task was to convince the haves, as we as the have –nots, of the need for solidarity and collective responsibility to ensure our success as a nation.

From a broader perspective the third challenge was to lay a solid foundation for the future prosperity of our country. It was clear that the monoculture of one-sided dependence on income from only one sector, namely the mining sector, was exposing our nation to the vagaries of the volatile international economy. It was necessary for us to diversify our economy and to strengthen and increase the importance of sectors such as agriculture, fishing, manufacturing, services and tourism.

The fourth challenge was to end Namibia's international isolation. What was at stake was to change Namibia's past record and image as launching pad for South Africa aggression on neighboring countries-especially Angola-to one of peace and good neighborliness, and to build bridges of friendship and co-operation.

Five years later today, on March 21, 1995, as we gather here to inaugurate our second parliament and swear in the President and second Cabinet, I am proud to report that we have gone a long way towards meeting those challenges.

Our country has undergone a remarkable political transformation during these short five years, something which is being recognized and commended way beyond our borders. The institutions of state have matured and are now fulfilling that which is required from them in the constitution.

We are now embarking on the second phase of our struggle against the present enemies which are surrounding us from all directions. These are: poverty, disease, hunger, ignorance, unemployment and crime.

We are engaged in a relentless fight against these new enemies of our people in order to eradicate them.

We are still a long way from achieving our targets for social development, but the budget allocations since our independence bear testimony to the fact that this has always been and will remain as a priority area.

My government is committed to redoubling its efforts in the areas of education and training, housing, health and social services during the ensuing term of office.

By contrast progress has been marginal on the level of poverty-alleviation and the closing of the gap between the 5% of well -to-dos and the 95% of the not-so-well-offs. This will, unfortunately, continue until such time as we are able to successfully address the underlying structural cause which previously focused development only in urban areas, which is detrimental to the densely populated rural areas.

The successful diversification of the economy and evident upswing since our independence in the industries of agriculture, fishing, tourism, manufacturing and services, provides reason for hope that our national economy has taken a turn for the better. In the next five years we will place great emphasis on economic development, in particular, increased agricultural production, especially livestock, and a judicious harnessing of our marine resources. In the next five years, emphasis will also be placed on trade with our neighbors and co-operation partners, by promoting joint venture relationships in all sectors of our economy.

Through the establishment of the NAMDEB joint venture with CDM,our Government has secured greater control of a vital national resource. The petroleum exploration programme, which will take off in earnest this year, will stimulate further investment in that area.

The middle of the Orange River today the international boundary between Namibia and South Africa, and Walvis Bay and the Offshore Islands are now back where they belong,

The achievement of these goals is a triumph for reason and for the principle of setting disputes through peaceful means. The large number of foreign friend who are here today- as they were on the day our independence –and the many more who have been coming to Namibia since 1990, is testimony to the fact that Namibia is no longer a pariah state isolated from the international world.

As we embark on the second five-year term, our nation is faced with a new set of challenges which will required even greater resolve and co-operation from all sections of our society.

In order to tackle the challenges presented by the uncharted waters of the period leading up to the year 2000 successfully, our nation must redouble its commitment to discipline, to excellence in education and training, to food self –sufficiency and to innovation.

There cannot be success if there is no discipline at the workplace, at school, in the home and in the community at large. Each and every one of us has to assume the responsibility for our success by being responsible and law-abiding.

Our society should gear itself to rewarding those who are responsible and who make their contribution towards the achievement of our national goals.

There must, at the same time, be no doubt whatsoever that society will deal appropriately with and isolate those who disturb the public peace and jeopardize the security of our nation. The sophistication of new technologies and know-how required to manage modern economies as well as the demands made by modern society, require that we strengthen our investment in proper education of our future generations and the upgrading of the skills of our present labour force. It is for this reason that we have budget to human resources development. Education remains our priority above all other priorities. The next five years will witness even more investment in this area.

Professional training is necessary to ensure that as many as possible of our citizens occupy the well-paid jobs being created in tourism, banking, manufacturing and the petroleum industries. This would require a new attitude towards education and training from our entire nation.

Mother nature is unpredictable, but it is possible for a small nation such as ours to be self-sufficient in food production, provided we make judicious use of the modest resources at our disposal, such as our perennial rivers, our fertile riverbanks, our wildlife, our desert and our fragile marine resources.

These resources must be utilized on a sustainable basis in order to secure our long-term food security. The use of modern technology should allow us to increase crop and livestock production and to protect our fish and wildlife resources from extinction.

Fellow citizens, we will not earn respect from other nation if we become a hungry nation through laziness. As we march on, today, we must be ready to face the challenging task of food self-sufficiency by actively participating in agricultural activities. I wish to reiterate, on behalf of the Cabinet members who have been sworn in today, that my government will deploy all its energies towards the achievement of these objectives.

In conclusion, allow me once again, on behalf of the Namibian Government and its people, to thank most sincerely Their Excellencies, Mr. Robert Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe; Sir Quett Ketumile Masire, President of the Republic of Botswana; Mr Jose Eduardo do Santos, President of the Republic of Angola, General Estaban Lazo,, Vice –President of Cuba ;and Honourable Sheikh Sabah A1 Ahmed A1 Jaber A1 Sabanh, First Deputy Prime Ministry of Kuwait; His Excellency Chief Emeka Anyouku, Secreatry-General of the Commonwealth; Representative from the Various governments in Africa, Europe, Latin- America and Asia, as well as the numerous NGO friend of Namibia who have come to our country to share in the joyous activities marking our fifth anniversary. We ask that they take greetings of goodwill back with them to their respective countries, and we wish them a pleasant and enjoyable stay in our country as well as a safe journey back home

Long Live the Republic Of Namibia

APPENDIX 7:

PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA'S SIXTH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY

SPEECH MARCH 21, 1996

Six years ago we celebrated an event that occurs in the life of a nation only once. We celebrated the independence of our country, Namibia. At that time, I said that Namibia would be free forever. Six years later, I repeat this pledge. We will never again be subjected to the circumstance that cheated us of our birthright.

We Namibians seized our birthright on March 21, 1990, after a monumental struggle and many sacrifices. Our compatriots fought a long but victorious struggle. Many lost their lives. They made this ultimate sacrifice so that ALL Namibians should enjoy the fruits of freedom. We will always cherish the memories of our heroes by rededicating ourselves to the noble idea for which they laid down their lives.

On this day, we must recommit ourselves to working toward building a Namibia where everyone may enjoy a better quality of life in freedom and independence. To achieve this, we have to continue the second phase of our struggle. This phase deals with fighting against poverty, hunger, crime, disease and ignorance. We know that the struggle will not be easy, nor will the victory be quick. But, slowly and surely, we as individuals and as a nation will win many battles to remove the social deficits that were created as a result of hundred years of colonialism. To win these battles, we will need to be ever focused.

Victory in the second phase of our struggle requires continued peace and stability, so that our resources are utilized for the betterment of the lives of our people. With this in view, we adopted our policy of reconciliation. This policy of reconciliation aims that:

- removing hatred and dislike between blacks and whites;
- reducing unnecessary antagonism between people of different ethnic origins;
- inculcating the spirit of comradeship between people speaking different languages; and
- encouraging the spirit of the brotherhood and sisterhood between religious group and people who, for historical reasons, found themselves on different sides during our struggle for independence.

Six years have passed since we introduced our policy of reconciliation, and we can be proud of what we have been able to achieve during this short period. Hatred has receded and most of us are now, first and foremost, Namibians above anything else. Peace and stability have prevailed in our country. We must continue to build on these achievements.

Development is about improvement of the quality of life of the people. By quality of life I mean their health, their ability to earn a living and their access to leisure activities. To improve the quality of life, we have to work individually and collectively.

I know that, in spite of the factor that our country has a high per capita income, poverty is widespread. There are many reasons for this. It is often the result of a family's income being insufficient. Sometimes it is the result of family members incurring wasteful expenditures, such as drinking. There is also social poverty, caused by inadequate education, health, transportation and communication facilities. In our case, individual poverty was forced on us and social poverty was imposed on us by the successive colonial regimes.

Our struggle to fight against poverty, therefore, has to be two-pronged. We, as individual, must try to eradicate poverty by working hard, by discouraging drinking, by becoming more productive and by working to improve ourselves. It requires us to preserve our cultural values and rich heritage.

To reduce social poverty, which has caused so much deficit, we, in Government, are taking the necessary steps as we embark on the second phase of our struggle.

Of course, SWAPO started this struggle even before we won political independence. We were sending our young people to our schools and institutions and to school and expanding our schools, establishing a university, and expanding facilities for vocational training. We also introduced a strong literacy programme, so that each and every citizen has the chance to learn to read and write.

Similarly, to reduce deficits in health, we continue to expand our primary health-care facilities. The results thus far have been most gratifying. As a result of our efforts, life expectancy is increasing number of people have access to clean water.

We have also succeeded in expanding opportunities for Namibians to build and own houses, to have access to electricity, and better combination facilities. Television and radio cover much wider areas of Namibia today than ever before. New roads are being built where there were none before.

While the struggle on all these fronts continues, we must also continue to facilitate the creation of increasing job opportunities. We must remember that "business" doesn't create jobs- business activity" does. We must, therefore, promote business activity to create jobs. It requires that we encourage both foreign and local investors to invest; that we ensure that there is peace on the labour front; that our workers are educated and skilled and therefore productive; that we are able to introduce mechanisms to protect new industries; and that we are able to export more by being competitive.

The economic strength of our country lies in our workers. We must, therefore, encourage them to improve their skills and formal education. In today's world, it is not good enough just to have skills. Skills are easy to obtain. A person can be trained in a relatively short time to operate a lathe. But the 21st Century will require people to be knowledgeable workers. They will have to be good with manual work as well as have a good formal education. Think of a surgeon. He may be very good with his hands, but his skills will be totally useless if he does not have a formal education on how a human body works and reacts. Want to be a nation that only digs diamonds

from the ground. We do not we must train our people to understand how light behaves when it strikes a diamond face, so that they can become good diamond cutters. We do not only want our people to work on lathe machines, however. We also want them to appreciate the importance of the tolerances and significance of alloys, so that they can produce better-quality products.

These are the challenges facing us. To meet these challenges we need to reinvent vocational and tertiary education. We need to take education to the people by introducing and expanding formal training facilities offered at community centers after working hours.

Independence has brought with it many freedoms. But it has also brought with it certain responsibilities. All of us need to be mindful of others; freedoms. All of us need to work together to strengthen our society, so that everyone can live in peace and harmony and can feel secure. In this context, I am deeply distressed by the crime situation. I am even more distressed by the senseless crimes being committed against women and children. Tolerating such crimes is against everything our cultural values teach us. It is, therefore, incumbent on each one of us to work towards eliminating these crimes from our society.

Rural-urban migration, too, has brought with its own set of problems. Now that Namibians are free to move anywhere in the country, there has been a tremendous increase in rural- urban migration. I understand and appreciate the reasons for this migration. After all, from time immemorial cities have been the prime generators of wealth. It is therefore, not surprising that people want to come to cities to look for jobs. But in our country, in our economy, existing cities cannot sustain large population, as their capacity to grow is restricted by nature.

Windhoek's water supply is already under enormous strain. To overcome this problem, we are encouraging other growth points in the various regions. Industrialists are being encouraged to establish their new industries away from Windhoek. Regional highways are opening up new urban centers. I, therefore, encourage my countrymen and women not to make a beeline for the cities.

We are currently hard at work establishing conditions for jobs to be created in outlying areas. March 21, 1990, was a moment of extreme significance for all of us. On that day, we won our political independence and became master of our destiny. Let us stand together in unity, because in doing so we will have a collective basis for unity in action.

I, therefore, invite ALL of you to rededicate yourselves to the policy of reconciliation, and to the second phase of our struggle against poverty, ignorance, disease, crime and social evils. Finally, I invite you to celebrate this important day, which is the product of a hard-won struggle, in your own way, and to share your joy with your countrymen and women.

I wish you all a very happy Independence Day!
LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA!

APPENDIX 8:**PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA'S SEVENTH INDEPENDENCE
ANNIVERSARY SPEECH MARCH 21, 1997**

I welcome all of you to our Seventh Independence Day Anniversary celebrations. I am particularly delighted that so many of you could come to Windhoek from the different corners of our country to join us in these celebrations. I also take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome to our foreign guests, notably Dr Kurt Waldheim, former United Nations Secretary-General and former President of Austria, and to Madam Waldheim.

As many of you know Dr Waldheim, soon after assumed office as the Secretary-General of the United Nations on January 3, 1972, travelled to Namibia because of his interest in this country's future. I recall how he facilitated the opening of many doors in the higher echelons of the United Nations system. As we Namibians are always appreciative of those who have supported us, we welcome Dr and Madam Waldheim amidst us on this very special day. I also welcome Professor Adebayo Adedeji who, too, has been our trusted friend within the United Nations system and is a regular visitor to Namibia.

Today marks the seventh year of our existence as an independent and sovereign nation. The celebrations we have planned for today are an expression of the political will and determination of our people to consolidate the gains of our independence struggle that culminated in the freedom and independence of all Namibians. The road to independence was not easy. In fact, it was long and arduous. During our journey along this road, many sons and daughters of this soil made the ultimate sacrifice so that we may enjoy peace and freedom. As we celebrate this joyous day, we acknowledge the sacrifices made by all those who were maimed, disabled and tortured, as well as those who endured hardships, physical discomfort and exile for the sake of our common cherished goal. The best possible tribute we can bestow upon those heroes and heroines is for all of us to commit ourselves to preserving peace and unity in our land and establishing a secure and prosperous society for ourselves and future generations.

Seven years ago, ago today we made a solemn pledge to protect and uphold the principles enshrined in our constitution. This pledge places the responsibility of guarding and preserving of our country on our shoulders.

However, this responsibility rests not only the shoulders of the political leaders, but also on the shoulders of each and every Namibia.

The foundations of our independence will, therefore, be only as strong as the willingness of each and every Namibian to take up the challenge. This challenge commits all of us to fight against tribalism. It commits us to work together in building One Namibia One Nation. It commits us to work hard to guarantee the socioeconomic well-being of all our people.

The attainment of political independence was, indeed, a great achievement, however, political freedom alone will not ensure the stability and economic development of our country to ensure stability and economic development; all of us need to join hands and work together.

The attainment of independence also means the assumption of responsibilities, not only by the state, but by the citizens as well. Both the responsibilities of the state and civic duties on the part of the citizens are of paramount importance for the survival and flourishing of our Republic.

Our traditional leaders, teachers, the clergy and community leaders have the responsibility of providing guidance for our young people to become responsible citizens and upright adults who will be aware of their civic duties towards their communities and their nation. In the same vein, our politicians should be examples of honest and accountable leadership that our youth and the community at large can follow. Government, on its part, has the responsibility of ensuring an effective administrative system for the country as a whole. I know that in this regard, we are faced with the problem of scarcity of resources. The socioeconomic needs of our people are great and resources are limited. Nevertheless, we are determined to satisfy these needs.

It is in this socioeconomic environment that our priorities must be determined and outlined. Our performance since independence has shown that we have consistently continued to allocate resources to areas where they are needed most.

It is a well-known fact that we started off at independence with major social deficits in the areas of education, health provision, and other social services for this reason, the budgetary allocations to the ministries dealing with these portfolios have always been the highest.

As a government we are also striving to create favorable conditions for the creation of wealth by the private sector, which we recognize as the engine of economic growth. In addition, Government, through its agencies, is committed to supporting the small-and medium-size enterprises because they tend to create more jobs. The momentum ushered in by the export processing zones and industrial park will also continue to be pursued to ensure that these projects bear the desired fruits.

The world of today is marked by incidents of unrest, violence and war. We Namibians are, however, blessed with peace as we celebrate seven years of uninterrupted political stability and tranquility.

This achievement becomes more vivid when viewed in relation to the realities of our pre-independent Namibia; it has turned into a society of mutual respect, tolerance and unity.

Indeed, the emergence of this new society is a direct result of the policy of national reconciliation which we adopted immediately after our country's independence. At the centre of this policy was our belief that in order to ensure stability, we must safeguard our political gains and chart our own destiny. Our aim was, and remains, that each and every citizen must feel that they have a stake in ensuring peace and its social dividends of development. This enshrining of peace in our country, has given us a unique opportunity to develop a society in which our children, our grandchildren and their children can live and realize their fullest potential. as he continuously read the content in the paper, but overall the speeches seemed well organised.

We are all aware of the unrest and wars that have unfolded before our eyes in various parts of the globe. These realities must, therefore, be constant reminders that peace is scarce commodity indeed, and that we cannot be complacent about it. For this reason, our country must also contribute its share towards peace initiatives internationally and regionally. It is in this light that our involvement in the Cambodian peace process, as well as in UNAVEM III in Angola, should be viewed.

As I have said on various occasions, Namibia can only remain peaceful and prosperous if its neighbours are peaceful. Any disturbances in the stability equation in any of Namibia's neighbours will have a negative impact on our own stability.

These celebrations are a time for joy and pride for all of us as a nation, but they must also be a time for rededication to hard work and commitment to the achievement of our national goals.

Our forefathers fought for the independence of Namibia, it is incumbent upon us to uphold the banner of liberty and to preserve the ideals of those who have gone before us. Our celebrations today should also be an opportunity for us to look to the future, individually and collectively.

We remain mindful of the fact that the social deficits of poverty, ignorance, underdevelopment and neglect are difficult issues that cannot be resolved overnight. However, our conduct over the last seven years has proved that if we can establish an open, working democracy out of the ashes of war, we can also traverse the arduous road of development.

Today, we stand tall and proud in the knowledge that we have earned our rightful place in the community of nations. What remains now is to put our shoulders to the wheel to achieve the goals we have set ourselves, those of economic growth, social development, job creation and productivity. If we remain determined and purposeful, we will cross the remaining bridges and hurdles.

I believe that Namibia's brightest days are still ahead. Through hard work and prudence, we will realize our goals of ensuring an improved standard of living for our people.

In terms of Sub-article (8) of Article 32 of the Namibian Constitution. I hereby announce that I have, under the powers vested in me by Sub-article (3) (d) of Article 32, pardoned the following categories of prisoners:

All serving prisoners whose conditional release on Parole for 1997 has been approved on or before March 21, 1997; and

All first offenders currently serving effective sentences of not more than two years, except offenders serving sentences for serious crimes as well as escapees. This release will be effected in an orderly fashion throughout the country and involves a total number of 1 212 prisoners. To those who are receiving this clemency I say: society has given you another chance. Make good use of this chance, endeavor to become useful and productive members of society, and aim not to transgress the laws of the land.

LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA!

APPENDIX 9:**PRESIDENTSAM NUJOMA'S EIGHTH INDEPENDENCE
ANNIVERSARY SPEECH MARCH 21, 1998**

Eight years ago, we congregated at this very same venue to witness the lowering of the colonial South Africa flag of oppression, racial segregation and foreign domination, and hoisting of the Namibia flag of freedom, democracy and self-determination. Over the last eight years our country had been governed by the rule of law, accountability and sense of responsibility towards the governed. We instituted the policy of national reconciliation to bring together people who were at war against each other. Today, we enjoy peace and stability.

Independence means that the future destiny of Namibia is now in our hands. We must determine where we came from and where we plan to be in future. We must always remain mindful of Namibia's bravest sons and daughters who sacrificed their precious lives for our independence, and we should not do anything that will devalue their memory. Independence means that we must articulate the hopes, dream and aspirations of our people and transform them into tangible developmental realities.

Independence signifies not only rights and privileges, but also obligations, duties and responsibility. We all have the right of freedom of expression, movement, assembly and education for our children. However, we all have the duties. We must respect ourselves and our national symbols, such as the flag and the anthem. We must not vandalise public property. We must all join government's efforts at state and nation building, and must promote understanding and tolerance, while remaining mindful of our cultural and lingual diversity. Government is on course with its socioeconomic development programme in order to improve the standard of living of our people. Antindependence, we inherited a huge social deficit in skilled human resource and a higher skewed development in infrastructure. Up until today we lacked science and mathematics teacher and engineers to develop the wealth which is buried beneath our oil. We do not have enough medical doctors, agriculturists, veterinarians, biologists, geologists and other scientist. this is why government has, over the past eight years, consistently spent more than 30% of the national budget on social amenities such as education, health and housing. Through its policy of decentralization, government has instituted regional authorities to bring government and development closer to the people. We want Namibia, even those in the most outlying areas, to enjoy the fruit of independence. Government wants the people of Ariamsvlei, Aranos, Aminuis, Bukavu, Ruacana and Opuwo to have decent house, running water and electricity, just like the people in Windhoek, Swakopmund and Keetmanshoop. This will take a great deal of time and effort, but I promise you, we will eventually achieve these goals.

Just yesterday, on March 20, 1998, I had the pleasure of co-hosting the official inauguration of the Trans Kalahari Highway, which was completed at a total cost of N\$74 million. This highway will bring definite economic benefits in the form of employment through the establishment of filling stations, fast-food restaurants, motels and rest camps, not only to the Omaheke Region, but

to all regions along the route. The construction of our other major highway, the Trans Caprivi and other WalvishBay-Ndola-Lumbumbashi development Corridor which will link Namibia, Zambia and Democratic Republic of Congo. It is envisaged that this corridor will bring economic development to the Caprivi and other region along the route. Government has furthermore embarked on the economic processing Zone (EPZ) and industrial parks programmes with the view to encouraging and promoting investment in our country. These programme sare rapidly bearing fruit. Just a few days ago I had the pleasure to officially open the Barden International so as to make them suitable for Namibia conditions.

All these programmer and investment drives have been undertaken to make Namibia a safe and prosperous place to live in. However, there are still certain problems. I am particularly worried about hunger, poverty, unemployment ,crime, alcoholism, and woman and child abuse. It is disturbing that these are specifically the problems that affect the poorer sections of our communities.

Government is doing its part to solve some of these pressing problems that affect our nation so negatively. However it needs the co-operation of all stakeholders to arrest this worrying social degeneration and decay. The private sector, parents, teachers and community leader all have a role to play in the fight against the social evils of crime, alcohol and drug abuse and violence against women and children. We must endeavor to create jobs for our people in small and medium enterprise, such as textile industries and small-scale farming. Once people are sufficiently occupied and properly remunerated, they will not have the time to abuse alcohol and terrorize their wives and children.

Independence Day must thus become a day of rededication during which we reflect as individuals and as a nation on what we have achieved over the past year. It must become the day on which we rededicate ourselves to the values of self-respect and hard work. It must become the day on which we join hands to decide on what we can do for ourselves, rather than wait for other to do things for us. I am confident that with hard work and determination we will overcome our present different, especially if we employed that samevigour which we employed in our national liberation struggle.

APPENDIX 10:**PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA'S NINTH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY****SPEECH MARCH 21, 1999**

Nine years ago on March 21, 1990 we congregated solemnly at the independence stadium Windhoek and hoisted Namibia's flag to signify the welcoming of freedom and independence. On that day, we also brought down the flag of colonialism, of apartheid and of racial segregation.

On that day we also took the vow that we would defend our hard won independence and sovereignty at any cost. We made a commitment that day that we will hold to build a democratic, peaceful and non-racial society in the spirit of national reconciliation.

As we celebrate our ninth independence anniversary, we are very pleased to have with us one of the sons of Africa, Ndungu Fredrick Sumaye, Prime Minister of Tanzania. During our liberation struggle, Tanzania under Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was at the forefront in helping us in every aspect of our struggle. SWAPO and TANU used to have very close relations. I am very glad that SWAPO and the new CCM are further strengthening these relations. Ndungu prime minister, I welcome you to Namibia. I have no doubt that you and Prime Minister Geingob will have fruitful discussions, sharing your mutual experiences from the two shores of Africa.

In the same vein, our struggle was supported by many of our brothers who were taken from this continent to the so-called new world. When I first went to the United States in 1960, I stayed in Harlem. There, Carlos Cooks of back to Africa and Marcus Garvey of the Africa for Africans movement received me and made me feel at home among brothers and sisters.

We greatly valued the support of our brothers and sisters in the United States. I am, therefore, delighted to have with us brother Elombe Brath, who is a longtime supporter of SWAPO and brother Gill Noble also a supporter of SWAPO and longtime host of ABC television's famous current affairs programmes namely NBC's meet press, CBS's face the nation and ABC programme like it is. All these programmes are famous but only like it is deals with African and other third world affairs. Scholars from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean are invited on this programme to inform Africans in America about struggle. Many of us, I myself, the prime minister and foreign minister had the honor of being on this programme.

Brother Brath and brother Noble welcome to Namibia.

Independence for us means peace and tranquility. Prior to our country's independence, generations of Namibians did not know peace; we had to fight for our right to live in peace, free from oppression! Now that we have peace, we must not take it for granted. We must remain ready to guard, protect and promote it. On this special day, the anniversary day of the independence of our country we must re-dedicate ourselves to this noble objective.

It does matter how each one of us celebrates the independence anniversary what is important is for all of us to show, in some way, our loyalty to our country its flag and its national anthem. These are the symbols that reinforce our unity, our independence and our freedom.

Of course like other countries we, as a nation have our own problems such as the problem of unemployment, the problem of meeting basic human needs and many other problems. We are committed to solving them ultimately. We can solve them only if we are united in peace. The problem will only become worse if there is strife and violence. We must therefore always make choices that guarantee continued peace. It means that in our quest to preserve peace and tranquility. We must guard against being side tracked by failed politicians.

One recently, I visited the Caprivi region. As elsewhere in the country there is peace and tranquility there. It is therefore sad that 2000 Namibian's were cajoled by failed politicians into leaving the security of their country in return for refugee life in a foreign land.

All these Namibians who followed the failed and disgruntled politicians to Botswana should come back to their country. Those who were misled have nothing to fear. They are welcome to return to their country. There will be no reprisals or witch-hunts. They are Namibian's first and then Caprivian.

As regard to others who broke the laws in Namibia, who killed, who committed crime, they will of course have to face the force of laws. Those who were responsible for the death of Victor Falali will be brought to justice, those who incited peace -loving people to insurrection will be brought to justice. Those who incited people to work for breaking Caprivi away from Namibia should remember that Namibia is not divisible and their acts are treason against the state.

Namibia values the rule of law. Namibia is also a country that values friendship and the peaceful resolution of problems. It is in this spirit that Namibia and Botswana took the dispute over Kasikili Island to the International Court of Justice for a binding judgment. Both our countries also agreed to abide by the outcome of the case. President Mogae of Botswana and I re-emphasized this commitment during my state visit to Botswana recently. The willingness of Botswana and Namibia to resolve the matter through arbitration instead of through shooting at each other show the maturity of the two sister republics and maturity is the democratic system of these two countries. All of us can be proud of this.

On the other hand we remain concerned about our northern neighbor, Angola, where an entire generation has only seen civil war. They hardly know what it is like to live in peace and to follow ones dream of happiness. we glad the president José Eduardo dos Santos is willing to accommodate all Angolans 'committed to bringing about peace in that country. Regrettably however unite greed knows no bounds and, for this very reason w, sections against it must be strengthen. The international community cannot afford to wash its hands off Angola until peace is achieved in that country.

For the same reason we are involved in the Democratic Republic of Congo(DRC) to bring peace to that country and prevent genocide as it happened in Rwanda and Burundi in 1994, and the breakdown of law and order. We must ensure the DRC territorial integrity. Only then will peace initiative have a chance of success. Our troops in DRC have conducted themselves most

admirably and gallantly. Now the president Kabila has formed a new government of national reconciliation, we look forward to the peaceful resolution of the problem soon.

For the SADC region as a whole all countries need to get back on track towards national and regional development in peace. Only then will we be able to assure a respected place for Africans among nations in the twenty-first century. Only then will we be able to talk about the twenty-first century being the century of Africa.

Over the past nine years our democracy has strengthened considerably. We have had regular elections to sustain our democracy. At the end of this year or next year we will have elections for the president and for the national assembly. This will be our third election. Namibia its voters and its political parties can be proud of this tradition of elections at regular intervals. I therefore urge our political parties, our media in addition to our ministry of information and broadcasting and the electoral commission, to sustain this tradition by educating the electorate on other hand-earned right to vote for what many Namibian's died for. We in Namibia are fortunate to have this right which continues to be denied to many people in many parts of the world.

Further we must continue to strengthen our tradition of peaceful election for working in the interest of Namibia. Whether we lose or win. Through these elections we want democracy to win and we want Namibia to win. All parties should therefore work to educate the masses so that they may exercise their right in the interest of their country. Voter education should be seen by all political parties and NGOs as an investment in the future democratic process of our country.

We have been fortunate to enjoy peace and tranquility for the past nine years. This peace and tranquility is a result of our commitment to democracy, unity, national reconciliation and rule of law. We are on the right track to make Namibia a proud place for all of us. Let us therefore rededicate ourselves on this day to the path of economic development, nation building, peace, democracy and unity.

Long live the republic of Namibia!

