

A NEO-ARISTOTELIAN AND VISUAL RHETORICAL ANALYSIS
OF SWAPO'S PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY OF NAMIBIA'S
THE COMBATANT

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ABSTRACT

This study offers a neo-Aristotelian and visual rhetoric analysis of two purposively selected volumes of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN)'s revolutionary magazine, *The Combatant*. The aim of the study was to examine how the magazine employed rhetoric devices in its advocacy for exposing the evil tactics of the apartheid regime in Namibia. The study thus investigated how the magazine employed the three canons of rhetoric: invention, arrangement and style, as well as visual patterns to convey its intended communicative and rhetorical potential. Moreover, the study sought to find out the extent at which *The Combatant* incorporated other rhetorical devices in its quest to function as a tool that exposes colonialism. Couched within the theoretical foundations of Neo-Aristotelian Rhetorical Theory and Visual Rhetorical Analysis, the study examined the rhetorical and communicative potentials of the magazine in the context of the Namibian liberation war. The study adopted a qualitative research approach - which was explorative in nature and also utilising content analysis in analysing the collected data which was purposively sampled. The major findings of the study revealed that the magazine integrated invention, arrangement and style in assembling the magazine, which confirms that *The Combatant* was an intentional and intelligent rhetorician. The findings of the study further revealed that *The Combatant* used visual images as means of persuasion and poems were incorporated as rhetorical devices. The study concludes that the faculty of rhetoric is of utmost importance in political discourse and it is a skill every Politician must possess in order to persuade and impose ideologies on an intended audience.

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First and foremost I would like give thanks to whom all honour belongs, Heavenly Father, my source for all strength, knowledge and motivation. I thank Him for always being with me and giving me strength when I felt defeated. I give you glory for you have never failed me!

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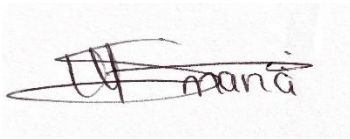
Finally I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to my two pillars of strength, my sources of motivation and support system, mom and dad - I love you immensely. THANK YOU!

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my first love, my Dad. My personal liberation struggle hero.

DECLARATION

I, Maria Ndapunikwa Simon, declare hereby that this study is a true reflection of my own research, and that this work, or part thereof has not been submitted for a degree in any other institution of higher education. No part of this thesis may be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system, or transmitted in any form, or by means (e.g. electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior permission of the author, or the University of Namibia in that behalf.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M. Ndapunikwa Simon', with a large, stylized flourish above the name.

14 October 2022

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study by providing its background, statement of the problem, objectives, significance, limitations, delimitations and organisation.

1.2. Background of the study

This study offers a neo-Aristotelian and visual rhetoric analysis of *The Combatant*, a revolutionary magazine that served to expose the tactics of then South African apartheid Government in Namibia. Blitzer (1968,) contends that “Rhetorical discourse comes into existence as a response to a situation, in the same sense that an answer comes into existence in response to a question or a solution in response to a problem” (p.5). It could be argued that *The Combatant* was written in response to a problem or situation of Apartheid. Although SWAPO put out a number of publications in exile, which served as principle mediums of agitation politics and instruments for the inculcation of the nationalist sentiments, Heuva (2003) contends that of all SWAPO’s publications, *The Combatant* was probably the most outspoken and articulated the movement’s strategies and ideology. *The Combatant* assumed the same format as other publications and carried a variety of news genres in addition to the editorial. It also included articles on development within the country and the international scene, as well as reports on functions, life and activities of the armed combatants. It also featured a ‘reader’s corner’ which contained political education articles as well as letters and poems dedicated to the country, liberation struggle and those who died during the struggle. This study examined the most common classical rhetoric techniques employed in the magazine to persuade the audience. It also undertook a visual rhetorical analysis, which is a form of communication that uses images for creating meaning or constructing an argument. An analysis

of visual rhetoric considers how images work alone and collaborate with other elements to create an argument designed for audience choice to present information or argument through image (Albakry & Daimin, 2014, p. 30).

The author of “Rhetoric ad Herennium” (as cited by Crick, 2014, p. 9), which is attributed later to the works of Cicero, argues that: The speaker, then, should possess the faculties of invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. Invention is the devising of matter, true or plausible that would make the case convincing. Arrangement is the ordering and distribution of the matter, making clear the place to which each thing is to be assigned. Style is the adaptation of suitable words and sentences to the matter devised. Memory is the firm retention in the mind of the matter, words, and arrangement. Delivery is the graceful regulation of voice, countenance, and gesture. The canons of rhetoric provide a summary of methods a rhetor must follow to achieve success in persuading an audience. The methods do not promise success. However, it is the hard work of the rhetor to find out what exactly, how and when to persuade a certain audience. For this reason, the study did not only aim to describe the canons of rhetoric employed in *The Combatant* but it examined how the magazine employed these canons to persuade its intended audience and under what circumstances the rhetor created the text.

1.3 Statement of the problem

This study analysed the rhetorical aspects in SWAPO’s revolutionary magazine, *The Combatant*. The researcher identified a gap in information about rhetoric in Namibia’s written discourse, particularly political discourse. The researcher’s observation of previous rhetoric studies or political discourse is that not many studies have been done on pre-independence political discourse such as revolutionary magazines to reveal the powerful role of rhetoric. Many scholars have carried out studies on different types of political discourse as well as on rhetorical criticism that provide

clear historical data and background on post-independence rhetoric in Namibia, Africa and the rest of the world. Such works include those of: Mathe (2009) which analysed the use of rhetoric in the making of the Namibian constitution; Nanyeni (2014) which examined selected epideictic speeches by Founding President Sam Nujoma during his tenure as the President of the Republic of Namibia; Chissano (2016) which provided a rhetorical analysis of four inaugural addresses delivered by Samora Machel; Robert Mugabe; and Nelson Mandela. Scholtz-Kotzee (2021) carried out an audio-visual rhetorical analysis of Dr Abraham Iyambo's advocacy towards "free education for all", while Kangira and Mbenzi (2015) analysed funeral speeches in pre-independence Namibia.

However, these studies do not offer a rhetorical analysis of pre-independence revolutionary discourse. Accordingly, the neo-Aristotelian and visual rhetoric of *The Combatant*, a revolutionary SWAPO magazine during the liberation struggle, is the first of its kind in Namibia to take up a rhetorical analysis which takes into account all elements (written texts and visual images) used in the magazine.

Rahayu , Susilo and Sunardi (2018) states that Persuasion is a nonphysical type of power in which the speaker is using the power to make his intentions and desires known by the receiver who is the targeted of the power. Therefore, persuasion is a major part of politics. Thus, this current study investigated how SWAPO sought to encourage, engage and persuade their audience to fight apartheid in Namibia through rhetoric.

1.4. Research questions

In order to do a careful neo-Aristotelian and visual rhetorical analysis on selected volumes of *The Combatant*, the study sought to answer the following questions:

1.4.1 How did *The Combatant* employ and use Aristotle's rhetoric to engage and persuade the audience?

1.4.2. How did *The Combatant* incorporate visual images as complementary rhetoric strategies to engage and persuade the audience?

1.5 Significance of the study

This study is salient because it adds to the existing body of knowledge regarding the study of rhetoric of Namibian discourse. The study also provides insights on how visual images can be effective in terms of persuading and engaging to attain set goals and visions of rhetors. As research conducted in reviewing related literature indicated, little research was done on *The Combatant* as well as any other Namibian revolutionary magazine in the field of rhetoric. Therefore, the study contributes to the understanding of the magazine and serve as ground breaking for the study of SWAPO's revolutionary discourse through rhetorical lens. According to Sonja (1989), rhetorical analysis serves many purposes. First, it helps form or shape public opinion. Most importantly, rhetorical analysis inspires and aims at promoting shared community values by highlighting ideas of value and morality. Therefore, and most importantly, a rhetorical analysis of *The Combatant* contributes to the audience's understanding of how revolutionary politics functioned during the apartheid era.

1.6 Limitations of the study

The study was limited by some factors due to the nature of the text under study which forms written discourse. The study was thus informed by three canons of rhetoric: invention, arrangement, and style, thus putting aside the canons of memory and delivery that complements the other three

canons. Furthermore, the study was limited to two volumes for an in-depth analysis. Findings drawn from the sample of the study cannot be generalised to other volumes of *The Combatant* or pre-independence revolutionary discourse/magazines. The study was also limited by the availability of the *The Combatant*, which is only found in University of Namibia archives, prompting the researcher to be in the university archives to collect and analyse data.

1.7 Delimitations of the study

The study was confined only to the analysis of neo-Aristotelian and visual rhetoric of two volumes out of all other available publications of *The Combatant*.

1.8 Outline of the chapters

This chapter discussed the orientation of the study, its significance, the problem statement and research objectives. It also provided the limitations and the delimitations encountered.

Chapter Two focuses on the review of the relevant literature. It also discusses the selected theories that framed the study and the rationale of selecting them.

Chapter Three explores the study's research methodology and details procedures that were followed in carrying out this study. Moreover, the ethical issues relevant to this study were considered in this chapter.

Chapter Four focuses on the presentation and analysis of the selected volumes to attempt to answer the research questions. Lastly, Chapter Five provides the study's conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Cresswell (2003) states that literature reviews share with the reader the results of other studies that are closely related to the study being reported. According to Cooper (1984) and Marshall and Rossman, (1999) as cited in Cresswell (2003) a literature review relates a study to other dialogues in the literature about a topic. It fills gaps and extends prior studies. This chapter presents different scholars' perspectives regarding aspects of political discourse, functions of political discourses in nationalist movements. It also discusses in detail the history of *The Combatant* as well as the theoretical frameworks in which the analysis is undertaken – multimodal discourse approach and social semiotic theory. As outlined in Chapter 1, the study is a multimodal discourse and social semiotic analysis - grammar of visual design of *The Combatant*. The study explored the various modes and semiotic resources used in the revolutionary magazine to reach its intended meaning and impose ideologies to the audience.

It is imperative for the study to give a definition of what discourse is. Discourse is an open-ended term that goes beyond the structures of words and sentences. In linguistics, discourse refers to a unit of language longer than a sentence, such as conversation, dialogue, conference to mention a few. A discourse takes place in a physical setting such as a home, workplace or public place (Salomo, 2015). *The Combatant* is part of public discourse as well as political discourse which engages the political thoughts and ideologies of the authors and the public through written texts.

The etymology of the word text draws attention to the result of processes of weaving together differing threads, usually assumed to be either speech or writing into a systemic whole. Texts

realize the interests of their makers. A text is made coherent through the use of semiotic resources that establish coherence both internally, among the elements of the text and externally, with the elements of the environment in which the text occurs (Kress, 2011).

2.2 Political discourse/ genres in political discourse

Bell (1991, p.163) presents a clear distinction between texts and discourse. He defines texts as the formal product of selections of options from the themes systems of the grammar, a unit that has the semantic sense of proposition through sentences that are coherently and cohesively connected. While he views discourse as a ‘communicative event that draws on the meaning potential of the language together with other means of communication, it carries ‘‘communicative value of speech act by means of utterances’’ that are coherently and cohesively connected. Governments, political parties, opposition forces, institutions, and even individuals use discourse in this sense to express themselves and convince audiences by means of language. It can safely be said, therefore, that discourse is used to emphasise power and demonstrate knowledge, as well as resist and critique.

In relation to this study, Chilton (2004) asserts that politics can be seen in two ways. It can be a clash over power, between people who work to retain as well as elevate their authority and people who work to defend themselves against it. All decisions and efforts made by politicians are, therefore, either to gain or maintain power and authority. Furthermore, Bassnett and Schaffner (2010) affirm Chilton’s view and further state that, studies related to politics have often established a link between politics and power. Politics are viewed as a struggle to gain power and impose a specific political, economic or social agenda. Beard (2000) views politics as individuals and institutions as well as their efforts to take the lead in society, rather than merely activities carried out through political parties.

To differ, political discourse is a prominent way to perform politics, in addition to parliamentary debates, constitutional terms, laws, government and state regulations, as well as other institutional forms of 'text and talk', political discourse may involve propaganda campaigns, political manifestos, political speeches, news broadcasts, newspaper articles and public political debates (Van Dijk, 1997, p.18). Moreover, Van Dijk (1997) demonstrates political discourse through its actors and authors, the politicians. Most research conducted on political discourse focuses on the text and talk of professional actors in the field of politics and political institutions. These include presidents, ministers, high ranking government officials, members of parliament, as well as leaders of political parties, whether within the arena of internal politics or at the international level. These can be seen as creators and communicators of political discourse and other forms of political performance. However, politicians are not the sole agents in the political field. Many other participants can take part in political activities in society. These can include voters, demonstrators, citizens, as well as other public groups and social classes that take part in events occurring in the public sphere and political arena (Van Dijk, 1997). Machin and Van Leeuwen (2016) in support of this view, state that political discourse does not remain limited to the institutional field of politics such as parliamentary discourse, election campaigns, party programmes, speeches, and so on, but is open to all linguistic manifestations that may be considered to be political.

On the other hand, Chilton and Schaffner (2002, p.8) present political discourse as a "complex form of human activity" that depends on the fact that politics cannot be performed without language. People employ language to communicate ideas to one another in order to share knowledge on different topics. Also, people belong to different social classes and each social class or community has its own values and beliefs that are represented by a unique usage of language. Since language is closely linked with culture, which is in turn associated with politics in any given

society. Chilton (2004) links politics with language by describing language as war with words - politicians always find themselves in a struggle with language. Whether the challenge lies in the choice of words or the choice of language, language has always proved instrumental in performing politics from the very basic level of phrasing and wording to issues of national language policy. Chilton and Schaffner (2011) suggest that the function of political discourse is to analyse detailed linguistic choices to produce appropriate political interpretations.

Dylgjeri (2014) argues that for any political phenomenon to become significant, it has to be expressed in words. Politics cannot be accomplished without words. It is, therefore, essential that the language of politics is analysed for interpretation and meaning. *The Combatant* was used for this study to analyse how language and images are used. Certainly, whether the aim of politics is the struggle of power, maintaining peace or solving problems within society, ruling elites and opposition forces use language to achieve their goals and impose their agenda.

Equally important, Van Dijk (1997) suggests that, the first observation that needs to be made about political discourse is that it is not a genre, but a class of genres defined by a social domain, namely politics. Thus, Lande (2010) implies that political texts and even political discourse are considered a text type that involves text tackling political concepts, beliefs, and performances in a given society. In this sense, political texts can involve a number of political categories such as treaties, speeches, statements, election campaign manifestos, parliamentary debates, editorials, newspaper articles, press conferences or political interviews. To continue, Schaffner (1997) put together a typology model for political discourse, categorising political discourse into three types; diplomatic discourse communicated in multi-national institutions which enjoys specific features in terms of lexicon and syntax, speeches and statements made by politicians which in turn yield two sub-types: internal and external and lastly, political related texts written by ordinary people who are not

politicians, which are manifested in political articles commissioned by writers and intellectuals as well as political views expressed by public figures on specific events that leave a significant impact on society. Bhatia (2006) emphasises that the most interesting aspect of any discourse is its context, how it was produced as well as who it was prepared for. *The Combatant*, which was examined in this study falls into one of these categories, as it represents statements, speeches made by politicians, as well as texts contributed by ordinary people that comment on the politics of the liberation struggle of Namibia.

Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2007) agree that different situations call for different language use and this also applies to political discourse. Aduradola and Ojokwu (2013) agree by noting that political discourse may be a collective term but different situations call for different types of political discourse. Hence, “every political circumstance is explained and addressed differently by the stakeholders involved using carefully selected words that will justify or validate their particular course of action” (Aduradola & Ojokwu, 2013, pp. 105-106). Politicians construct their political discourses differently to uniquely fit the social setting in which they will be presenting or the readers who will be reading their work.

Trosborg (1997, p.128) notes that political discourse can also come under one of the two categories; internal political communication, referring to texts made by politicians and directed to politicians within international or national institutions and external political communication, referring to texts made by politicians aimed at illustrating and justifying political actions to the audience. The latter includes political genres resulting from expansion of the role played by the media. This is the case whether it is in its printed form such as newspapers, audio-visual form such as news television channels, or even the form corresponding to cyberspace such as websites, blogs and social media networks (Schaffner, 2004). While political interviews, political articles (*The*

Combatant for instance) and public speeches delivered by presidents or other politicians are examples of the second category. Lande (2010) claims that, journalistic interviews may be one of the most important genres of political discourse. Political interviews often rely on question and answer formats, thereby allowing politicians to reach out to a large audience through dialogue. Political interviews are found inside the *The Combatant*. Another political genre that is significant in political discourse is political speeches. Schaffner (1997) stresses that public speeches delivered by politicians address a large audience and language used is often rich in stylistic features such as metaphors and euphemism. Schaffner (2001) notes that these stylistic features reflect the personal style of the speaker. Moreover, the language of political speeches is often loaded with ideological elements, specifically manifested in the speaker's choice of words and cultural references. Also, politicians mostly adopt diplomatic language when delivering public speeches, attempting to avoid sensitive expressions that could sound offensive to the audience. As a result, this often leads to ambiguity and vagueness (Schaffner, 2001).

Other genres and types of political discourse that are close to *The Combatant* which were selected for this study are related to a unique form of political discourse referred to in this study as revolutionary discourse. These range from slogans inscribed on banners and clothing such caps and t-shirts, revolutionary humour to political literature such as poems, songs and revolutionary chants. Revolutions usually occur in countries governed by oppressive political regimes that neither observe human rights nor allow freedom of expression to citizens. These regimes tend to adopt repressive policies to suppress oppositional voices and undermine activists' efforts to gain fundamental freedoms. For decades the people of Namibia suffered from the strict restrictions and oppression of apartheid by the South African Government. These policies of apartheid impacted

the political discourse such as print media, songs, and others used by the participants of the liberation struggle.

Rhetorical studies have been carried out to study Namibian political discourse. Mwetulundila (2014) conducted a rhetorical and humorous analysis on 25 Dudley political cartoons that were published in 2012. The study aimed to explore the use of rhetoric and humour in the Dudley cartoons, by using visual and language based elements. The study revealed that Dudley's political cartoons employ ethos when the characters who were chastised and cheered at are individuals who have high profile in society. Pathos was used to stir up the emotions of the readers so that they can support his arguments. Logos was employed to show that the cartoons were based on the truth. Furthermore, the analysis found that there are many rhetorical devices used to make informed arguments. Moreover, Mwetulundila (2014) has revealed that when the caricatures are criticised and put down because of their actions, superiority theory of humour is employed. Dudley cartoons are incongruous when the cartoonist delivers something humorous and different from the readers' expectations. Mwetulundila (2014) concluded that there was a predominant relationship between rhetoric and humour of Dudley's political cartoons.

Batholmeus (2016) provided a stylistic and rhetorical analysis of SWAPO and DTA's 2014 election manifestos. The study sought to examine and explain how stylistic features and rhetorical devices were used in these manifestos during the 2014 Namibian presidential elections. The study employed Critical Discourse Analysis theory to examine the stylistic features as well as rhetorical devices used in the selected manifestos and used Aristotle's proofs of persuasion, ethos, pathos and logos to explain the rhetorical significance of the language techniques identified. The study found that the SWAPO party manifesto mainly used its past achievements to persuade the voters while DTA focused on promises and future plans for persuasion. In addition, Batholmeus (2016)

revealed that both manifestos made use of multi-modal aspects, lexical, syntactic and semantic literary devices and deviations to persuade voters. Pathos was used in the manifestos to stir up the emotions of voters for respective parties and their presidential candidates. Moreover, Aristotle's ethos was employed through constant reference to individuals who are respected by voters. The manifestos made use of logos through the presentation of facts, mainly on what has been achieved and the country's economic and social situation as well as logical arguments on what should be done to develop the country.

Nanyeni (2014) conducted a rhetorical analysis on 10 epideictic speeches of the Founding Namibian President, Dr Sam Nujoma, during his first and second terms as President of the Republic of Namibia. Nanyeni's (2014) study aimed to find out how Dr Nujoma used Aristotelian proofs of rhetoric: ethos, pathos and logos to address pertinent issues in Namibia such as unity, the fight against poverty, ignorance towards nation building opportunities and racism. In addition, the study analysed five canons of classical rhetoric in Nujoma's speeches, namely: "invention (invention), arrangement (disposition), style (elocution), delivery (pronunciation and action) and memory (memoria)" (p. 1). According to Nanyeni's (2014) findings, Nujoma used rhetoric in his speeches to generally persuade the nation to support his governance. Moreover, the findings revealed that President Nujoma used the five cannons of rhetoric in his speeches to highlight the government's successes and shortcomings during his leadership.

Amakali (2018) examines speech acts and their rhetorical purposes in the Namibian 2015-2016 parliamentary discourse. The study applied three theoretical frameworks to couch the study. Austin's Speech Act theory contributes to the speech acts. Aristotle's Theory of Rhetoric is important to the persuasive intentions that Members of Parliament (MPs) demonstrated and Burke's Theory of Identification is important to the persuasive acts that MPs demonstrated in an

attempt to identify with their audience and vice-versa. Amakali (2018) reveals that assertive, directive, commissive, declarative and expressive speech acts were used by MPs. Moreover, rhetorical devices such as, code-switching, address and titles, parallelism, sarcasm, euphemism, antithesis, buzzwords and exordium were employed by MPs in attempt to define situations, give recognition, produce good sounding words, create humour, create benevolence, give effect of balance, gain trust and praise, respectively.

The above reviewed studies represent Namibian political discourse. There had been a paucity of studies done in Namibia on pre-independence political discourse, which is the focus of this study. *The combatant* which was analysed for study was written during the liberation struggle of Namibia the in 1980s.

In addition to political discourse, Moreno (2008) examines Hugo Chavez's choice of metaphors in his efforts to construct and legitimize his Bolivarian Revolution. The study focuses on metaphors drawn from three of the most frequent target domains present in his political discourses; the nation, his revolution and the opposition. The study revealed that Chavez constructs his polarizing discourses of exclusion by combining metaphors that conceptualise the nation as a person who has been resurrected by his government, the revolution as war and members of the opposition as war combatants or criminals. Moreover, the study revealed that by making explicit references in his discourse about the revolution as the continuation of Bolivar's wars of independence, Chavez contributes to represent opponents as enemies of the nation.

Analyses of political discourse are done to fulfil two intentions: communication and persuasion. According to Dylgjeri (2014) and Markus (2006), these intentions can determine the purpose of writing political discourse, that is, for the persuasion-communicative purpose. This purpose

explains the two characteristics of Political Discourse: argumentative and metadiscourse (Dylgjeri, 2014; Markus, 2006). Argumentative writing argues a point and aims to persuade an audience that the writer or speaker's point of view or idea is correct, valid or better than someone else's (Dylgjeri, 2014, p. 56). According to Markus (2006) metadiscourse is the ability to communicate, taking into consideration the communicator's attitudes, personalities and assumptions about the subject, or audience. Through the strategic choice of language in political discourse, the purposes of political discourse as mentioned above are fulfilled. Language and visual elements used in *The Combatant* are not ordinary or neutral, they create a certain view or ideas that are correct and valid and better than someone else's.

Jones (2012) argues that political discourse is an ideology created by politicians to provide people with ideas or theories on how the world is supposed to be (p. 11). Therefore, this current study analyses how *The Combatant* intended to achieve its communicative potential by rhetorically examining the language and visual elements used in the selected volumes of the magazine.

2.3 The role of political discourse in Nationalist/Revolutionary Movements

As set out earlier, political discourse is a social domain that includes public arguments put forward by social or political actors within a specific context about political events. This discourse consists of a range of genres with different communicative functions, with different forms of representation and with specific socio-political and/or institutional contexts. Genres in political discourse include, *inter alia*, political speeches, parliamentary debates, official government reports, treaties, press conferences, interviews with politicians or statesmen, editorials and opinion articles in newspapers. Revolutionary movements political discourses include, periodicals, music, poems, speeches, radio programmes and many more. More importantly, a wide range of linguistic strategies and communicative features are always used in political discourse to serve a lot of

political functions. Actually, these functions vary, according to, among other things, the political activities in which political actors are engaged, interests and power relations with other participants, institutional and wider contexts. In this direction, Chilton (2004) presents three general strategic functions prevalent in political discourse: coercion, legitimisation and delegitimisation, and representation and misrepresentation.

Likewise, political discourse in revolutionary movements such as magazines, songs, radio and much more had various function in society during the apartheid era. Heuva (2003) informs that the SWAPO Women's Council (SWC) quarterly magazine *Namibian Woman* launched in 1984, served as an organ through which women could 'send out voices' to the international community and to the rank and file in the settlements in exile and back home. According Pendukeni Ithana, the then Secretary of SWC, the magazine was established because women did not get 'prominence' in the movement's publications. She asserted that women needed more than just the few pages that were allocated to them and their issues in other SWAPO publications (Heuva, 2003). Most importantly, the magazine focused on women in settlements/exile to psychologically prepare them for the hardships in exile. It also elicited a spirit of sacrifice for the sake of the country's freedom, and it kept its readers abreast of issues such as the developments on the battle front and in the political and diplomatic arenas. Contrary to other SWAPO publications, the SWC magazine advocated a discourse of 'women emancipation', and the issue of women's emancipation was the vocal point of the magazine. Since it was hard to convince men about the importance of women's emancipation, it was imperative to highlight that national independence without emancipated women was a 'job half done' (Heuva, 2003).

Furthermore, ANC, a South African nationalist movement that had a major contribution in the fight against apartheid in South Africa, adopted a political discourse to actively promote the anti-

apartheid struggle internationally. Gilbert (2007) comments that, first the work of Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble, a London-based ANC grouping achieved considerable success in Europe with its agitprop performances incorporating narrative, poetry and song. Despite its rapidly shifting and amateur membership, it functioned successfully for approximately five years raising international awareness about the practical ways in which cultural activity could further the project of national liberation. Gilbert (2007) further notes the work of Amandla Cultural Ensemble, which originated in the late 1970s amongst ANC exiles based largely in Umkhontowe Sizwe (MK) training camps in Southern Africa, Angola. Amandla became during the 1980s a popular ambassador for the ANC throughout Africa and further afield in Europe, South America, the Soviet Union and other places around the world. Opposite to Mayibuye, Amandla offered large scale, increasingly professionalised performances incorporating choral singing, jazz, theatre and dance. Its performances were intended not only to raise international awareness about apartheid, but also present an alternative vision of a more dynamic, inclusive South African culture. Amandla was well regarded within the ANC and its work was considered a valuable contribution to the project of national liberation (Gilbert, 2007).

Gilbert (2007) discusses Thabo Mbeki in the British documentary *Song of the Spear* as head of information and publicity as he stressed that affirming black South African culture was integral to the process of liberation, since what was necessary was not only eliminating the outward manifestations of oppression but also its attendant individual and collective psychological effects. Asserting culture was a rebellious act of asserting national identity and refusing colonized status. Gilbert (2007) supports the view that, revolutionary art served to educate, awaken political consciousness and galvanise people to action. Moreover, art was a vehicle for condemning the

regime and informing the world about apartheid; a weapon in the struggle for nationalist liberation and democracy in South Africa.

In addition to political discourse in nationalist movements is music. As Plato once said, music at times carries meaning that goes beyond the purely musical level, and that may even enter the political sphere as South Africa and Namibia examples show. Schumann (2008) noted that, the moral outrage of the injustices committed by apartheid became part of western pop culture through songs such Biko by Peter Gabriel, campaigns such as Sun City organized by Little Seven and the successive Mandela Concerts at Wembley Stadium in London in 1988 and 1990. Schumann (2008) further notes that inside South Africa, music and song played a significant role in putting pressure on the apartheid regime, as oral communication had been much more accessible to a large part of the South African population than the printed press due to lack of literacy and economic means for which the apartheid system was partly responsible.

Artists used the textual as well as the purely musical levels to make politically subversive statements and often hidden messages were concealed in seemingly inoffensive songs. Of major interest, just as the apartheid era was not characterized by the same degree of political repression throughout its duration, so was the musical response over time as well (Schumann, 2008). Songs once openly addressed issues affecting musicians and the general population, mirroring their concerns as oppression increased in the 1980s. Politically subversive meanings were hidden in songs and later apartheid premises were undermined through musical fusion and song texts presented more militant challenges to the state (Schumann, 2008). On the other hand, in Namibia, music and dance have long been used to confirm dominant categories; praising leaders and highlighting the wealth of mostly cattle owners, masculinity and divinity. However, similar evidence of special music and dance performances relating to political structures included the royal

music of Sambyu and Gcriku people, were the status of those in power was defined and confirmed by these performances (Mans, 2003). During the liberation struggle, the performance of freedom songs and dance-play with liberation texts in exile camps was an important way of conveying and affirming ideology and maintaining patriotism. In much the same way, performances of the band 'Ndilimani' played an important role in raising support for SWAPO (Mans, 2003). Schumann (2008) expressed how often the lyrics were considered as the only political component of songs of resistance. However, many songs were not only politically subversive through their texts alone or their musical styles, but also through their use and function. Artists were determined to continue voicing their views musically and by the 1970s, many of them incorporated hidden meanings into their songs. Mans (2003) stresses that music wields this significant ideological and political power because it can touch people in ways and places that nothing else can. Mbenzi (2015) reports that, during the liberation struggle of Namibia, songs were used to sensitise the oppressed to their plight and expose the iniquities of the old regime. The proponents and protagonists of the apartheid system were opposed and Namibians were encouraged to resist oppressive laws. Mbenzi (2015) further notes that, in order to boost their morale and demonstrate their relentless quest for emancipation from the yoke of colonialism, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia composed various revolutionary songs. Schumann (2008) reveals that music has often reflected the political atmosphere in the country, with songs of protest openly addressing the politicians in question and reflecting common concerns of the population. The mournful tones of songs reflected popular sentiments and feelings over a range of phenomena, including massacres and the banning and arrest of the African political leadership.

Radio was another form of political discourse in revolutionary movements. Heinze (2019) reveals that, what differentiates liberation radios from most other radios is their double function. They

were at the same time engaged in an international propaganda war over the legitimacy and necessity of anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle and in efforts to mobilize people to join that struggle, as civilians engaged in local protest action and as fighters in the guerrilla armies set up camp in neighbouring countries. Thus, such radio stations talked to several very different audiences at once. They targeted audiences at home (Namibia), the populations that nationalist movements wanted to mobilise politically and, in cases of open conflict like in southern Africa, militarily. Furthermore, an international public was targeted because it soon became clear that swaying public opinion in the metropolises and garnering support through social movements of anti-imperial solidarity was an invaluable element of support for the nationalist struggle. This was especially so in southern Africa which could rely on a large enough anti-apartheid solidarity movement in Europe and the US. Finally, liberation radio served to target an audience indifferent or sympathetic to, but not part of the nationalist cause, such as white listeners in South Africa, Zimbabwe as well as Namibia.

Although *The Voice of Namibia* (liberation radio) had a hierarchical structure under SWAPO's department of information and publicity, the station operated in a relatively decentralised way. Studios were established in external broadcast services in Lusaka, Dar es Salaam, Addis Ababa, Brazzaville, Luanda and Harare, with an additional mobile contribution studio operating from Lubango in the conflict zone north of the border between Angola and Namibia. *The Voice of Namibia* was embedded in a larger multimedia effort (Heinze, 2019). It was, therefore, because of the collective experience of oppression and exploitation of Namibians that SWAPO rejected capitalism and embraced an ideology that offered the people all that they had been denied under colonialism. By taking up arms in exile through the military and the different genres of political

discourse used such radio, print media, music and much more, Namibia was able to gain independence from the apartheid regime.

2.4 Idealising the function of PLAN's *The Combatant* in Namibia's nationalist movement (SWAPO)

The liberation struggle in Namibia from 1960s till the late 1980s gave rise to a number of schools of thought on the role of culture under a racially oppressed and authoritarian society. The dominant discourse amongst the whites was mainly depended on their support or opposition to the nationalist party led government. Moreover, the whites seemed to either accept the *status quo*, by buying into the racial theories about people developing their own separated cultural practices (Melber, 2003). SWAPO put out a number of publications while in exile, which served as principle medium of agitation politics and instruments for the inculcation of the nationalist sentiments. Some of these publications were produced under the auspices of the Department of Information and Publicity (DIP), while others were put out by the SWAPO Youth League (SYL), the SWAPO Women Council (SWC) and by the armed wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). In 1979, the Windhoek head office was closed down due to repression and harassment by the authorities. An underground publication called *Nananab* was clandestinely produced by the militant youth reserves in the country. While, other SWAPO publications were produced by its approximately 20 missions abroad and were specifically aimed at galvanizing international support, international pressure groups such as the anti-apartheid movement, as well as the United Nations Council for Namibia, produced specialised publications that contributed to the popularisation of the Namibian cause (Heuva, 2003, p, 25).

The Combatant was the official voice of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the military wing of South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO). It was a communication

organ which disseminated information on political and military activities by PLAN against the forces of the illegal occupation of the racist regime of South Africa in Namibia to the Namibian oppressed masses and the outside world. Additionally, it educated fighters and motivated those in combat. *The Combatant* was a monthly production that started circulating from 1979 to the 1980's. It was published and printed in Angola by PLAN'S commissariat in English. Heuva (2003) states that *The Combatant* was probably the most outspoken and articulated on the movement's strategies and ideology of all SWAPO's publications. As stated earlier in this thesis, *The Combatant* assumed the same format as other publications and carried a variety of news genres in addition to the editorial, including articles on development within the country and the international scene, reports on functions, life and activities of the armed combatants. It also carried a 'Reader's Corner' which contained political education articles as well as letters and poems dedicated to the country, liberation struggle and those who died during the struggle.

The first edition of *The Combatant* noted that the magazine was launched by the PLAN leadership to alleviate the 'disillusionment' of the Namibian people caused by the 'daily misleading and bombarding bourgeois news media' (*The combatant*, 1979, as cited in Heuva, 2003). Moreover, the magazine noted that it would record activities of the people directly involved in the war of the liberation struggle, carry academic lessons on SWAPO, plus political and military lessons. *The Combatant* saw its task as among other things, educating the young revolutionaries by acquainting them with the realities of past historical events to enable them to cope with the present and future arduous tasks and conditions of the struggle (Heuva, 2003). Heuva (2003) reveals that the majority of PLAN combatants consisted of youth, thus the magazine addressed this group in its columns, and carried education articles that were specifically aimed at them. In an article entitled 'Tasks of revolutionary Youth' the message to the youth was lucid and unambiguous, and clearly stated that

they had a responsibility assigned to them by history, which was to deliver the nation from colonial bondage. According to the article the youth were the ‘transmitting belt’ of SWAPO’s policy and ideology and therefore should espouse a liberating political ideology.

The Combatant argues that ideology offered a coherent explanation of why one form of organising society was preferred to another, and adds that all social, political and economic actions should be justified in ideology (Heuva, 2003). It was because of the collective experience of oppression and exploitation of Namibians that SWAPO rejected capitalism and embraced an ideology which offered the people all that they had been denied under colonialism. Equally important, *The Combatant* elaborated on why SWAPO took up arms, stating that theirs was a fight against the social system at the time which was based on injustice and degradation (Heuva, 2003).

In exposing the cruel apartheid regime of South Africa, *The Combatant* made use of different communication strategies available to print media at the time to effectively disseminate information to the masses, visual images, poems, songs to name a few. The findings of this study shed more light on how *The Combatant* disseminated information and ideologies for SWAPO through the use of rhetorical strategies by applying a neo-Aristotelian and visual rhetoric approach.

2.5 Rhetoric in Political discourse

At its basic level, rhetoric is the art of using various techniques to persuade and engage other people to make them believe what the rhetor believes. Rhetoric and persuasion are alliances, one hardly mentions rhetoric without mentioning persuasion. The term, rhetoric, comes from ‘retor’, the Greek word for ‘speech’ or ‘spoken’. Aristotle defines rhetoric as the faculty of finding all the means of persuasion on a subject. Kwaku (2011) notes that, according to Lloyd Bitzer, “Rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of

discourse''. In Dylgjeri's (2014) view, Aristotle's triad, logos, ethos and pathos, which are key principles of Aristotle's Rhetorical Theory, is still considered one of the prominent approaches to political discourse analyses.

According to Abuya (2012) the main purposes of communication in politics are to persuade, entertain, promise, enlighten and inform. "Language is the link to people's hearts in politicking" (p. 9). Political rhetoric, therefore, becomes a linguistic exercise aimed at persuading others to toe a particular political line. This might mean to include or exclude a certain line of thinking or behaviour, or to include or exclude a person or a group of persons as regards leadership or decision-making roles. Gunta and Indra (2009) argue that political rhetoric is, at a large extent, linguistic manipulation. They believe it to be manipulation through language because political discourse has only one aim which is to convince people of different positions. Politicians make sure their audience takes up and make decisions which are always in their favour. Moreover, Gunta and Indra (2009) add that this linguistic manipulation is achieved through linguistic strategies. These strategies range from press conferences, press statements, magazines, visual imagery and connotation of words. However, Alo (2012) justifies rhetoric by stating that rhetoric should not always be considered as "manipulation but exploitation of already existing beliefs and ideas" (p. 90). The audience will not be easily convinced of something if they do not have the belief in their subconscious. Therefore, the definition of rhetoric as "using language so as to persuade or influence others" is the most relevant description to be used in this study of rhetorical devices in a political discourse such as *The Combatant*.

A very important part of what politicians do, involves convincing audiences of the accuracy of the arguments they present in addition to their own personal conviction and ability to act upon these arguments (Markus, 2006). According to Dylgjeri (2014), rhetoric is considered the backbone of

political discourse. This is because the aim of communication in political discourse is to convince the listener/reader of the speaker/writer's visions, goals and ideas. Markus (2006) adds that a writer is able to use a range of rhetorical techniques incorporated into the language used to persuade the reader. In light of the foregoing, how the writer decides to define problems, support claims, validate premises and state conclusions is crucial to whether an audience is likely to accept an argument. Alo (2012) agrees with Dylgjeri (2014) and Markus (2006) in this regard when he states that a good rhetor can be measured by his/her ability to convince the audience, and that it is vital for politicians to achieve persuasion in political discourse. Fairclough (1995) believes that "a range of properties of texts is regarded as potentially ideological including features of vocabulary and metaphors, grammar, presuppositions and implicatures, politeness conventions, speech-exchange, systems generic structure, and style" (as cited in Markus, 2006, p.10). This means that whichever words, phrases or grammatical structures that *The Combatant* used in the content of the magazine were perceived and seen by readers as portraying and disseminating their ideologies to the audience. ChingKo (2015) adds that for discourse to be rhetorically significant, the writer should create compelling arguments and communication worthy of the public's beliefs.

Chissano (2016) provides a rhetorical analysis of four inaugural addresses that were delivered by the first Presidents of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and Mozambique. The study sought to examine how the speakers employed the canons of rhetoric to persuade the audience. The study found that four dominant ideological preoccupations that emerged from the study were political independence in their countries, national unity and nation-building, economic emancipation and self-dependence and empowerment. Moreover, the findings showed that the speakers employed and possessed the faculties of invention, arrangement and style in constructing their inaugural addresses. Similarly, in a neo-Aristotelian analysis of President Barack Obama's State of Union

Address in the years 2010-2014, the study analysed how Barack Obama employed rhetoric in his speeches. Saenla and Rojjanaprapayon (2015) noted that Obama tried to enhance his credibility and gain intended responses from his audience by employing inartistic proofs, artistic, speech arrangement and persuasive language. The findings further reveal that Obama followed the traditional components in his addresses.

A study by Zhiyong (2016) draws on the insights of Aristotle's classical three means of persuasion, namely logos, pathos and ethos to evaluate the rhetorical strategies employed in one of David Cameron's most significant and historic political speeches to reveal the speaker's intention and goal of persuasion. The study notes that successful politicians are always capable of combining rhetoric with spoken words to convey their political opinions and persuade their audience to accept their ideas, and David Cameron is by no means an exception.

In exploring the rhetorical and persuasive strategies employed by a political leader to propagate his ideology using language, Saeed, Aslam, Khan, Khan, Atiq and Bhatti (2020) critically analyse the victory speech of Pakistani Premier Imran Khan, which he delivered at the Prime Minister's House after being elected as the 22nd Premier of Pakistan in 2018. In the analysis, different linguistic tools used for projecting and achieving political power have been identified and scrutinised. The findings reveal that political discourse is intentionally crafted to communicate and persuade people about specific ideologies located in the discourse in an implicit way and Imran Khan uses the Aristotelian rhetorical model comprising of rhetoric, predication strategy, and self-presentation and negative others-presentation strategy to persuade his audience to follow his hidden agendas.

A study by Scholtz-Kotzee (2021) offers an audio-visual rhetorical analysis of the then minister of Education and Culture, Dr Abraham Iyambo's audio visuals on how he advocated for 'free education for all' in Namibia. It aimed to investigate how Iyambo integrated audio-visual rhetoric in his advocacy for 'free education for all' and how he employed audio visual patterns and related linguistic features in his speeches. The study was couched by the Symbolic Convergence Theory (SCT) and the Fantasy Theme Theory. The study reveals that Iyambo was an intelligent rhetorician who employed audio-visual patterns, trait of linguistic features, Burke's identification theory, all of Cicero's five canons, and Aristotle's proofs in his quest to attain 'free education for all' in Namibia. Finally, Scholtz-Kotzee's (2021) study concluded that the faculty of rhetoric is of utmost importance in every sphere of life if one must bring about reformation.

Furthermore, Mbenzi and Kangira (2015) did an analysis of Bishop Dumeni's four funeral speeches in the pre-independence era in Namibia. The analysis is guided by Aristotle's theory of rhetoric which identifies ethos (character), pathos (emotional appeal) and logos (argumentation/reasoning) as the three technical means of persuasion. Mbenzi and Kangira (2015) chose the Aristotelian theory for their study as it assisted the authors to show how Bishop Dumeni attempted to persuade his audience to identify with his views about the killings of black Namibians by using the three elements of rhetoric and some stylistic devices such as metaphors. The study concluded that Bishop Dumeni used these occasions to uncover the criminalities of the colonial regime, thereby seeking sympathy from his audience to backing him in the fight for Namibia's freedom and peace.

However, studies by Chissano (2016), Saenla and Rojjanaprayon (2015), Zhiyong (2016), Saeed, Aslam, Khan, Khan, Atiq and Bhatti (2020), Mbenzi and Kangira (2015) that have been reviewed above focused mainly on traditional rhetorical analysis. Scholtz-Kotzee's (2021) study

employs recent rhetorical strategies in analysing Iyambo's speeches, leaving a gap that this study sought to fill. Hence the present study conducts Aristotle's rhetorical and visual rhetoric on *The Combatant* pre independence nationalist movement magazine that served to fight the colonial regime by exposing its tactics.

2.6 Defining Neo-Aristotelian and visual rhetoric

It is important to establish an understanding of what rhetoric is. Scholtz-Kotzee (2021) defines it as an art of persuasion through verbal and visual rhetoric. Therefore, rhetoric in this study is the art of persuasion through language and visual rhetoric. According to Roberts (n.d., p.7) rhetoric may be defined as the 'faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion'. The goal of Neo-Aristotelian rhetoric is to discover and write about the available means of persuasion in a text (Guler, 2020). Moreover, visual rhetoric is "a form of communication that uses images for creating meaning or constructing an argument" (Albakry & Daimin, 2014, p. 30). Therefore, this study investigated how PLAN's revolutionary magazine *The Combatant* employed rhetorical strategies, both language and images to persuade and engage with the audience in its mission of exposing the tactics of the then colonial regime in Namibia.

According to Foss (2009), neo-Aristotelian rhetoric was regarded as the dominant method for speech analysis, the important features, including the speaker's personality and character, the audience's identity, the speaker's ideas, the means of persuasion, the messages, the speaker's arrangement, the speaker's expression, the speaker's delivery and style, and the effect on a certain audience are required to be investigated (as cited in Saenla and Rojjanaprapayon, 2015, p.41). Although, *The Combatant* is not a speech but a nationalist movement magazine, the study sought to investigate the important features of neo-Aristotelian rhetoric such as the rhetor, audience's identity, means of persuasion, messages, the rhetor's arrangement, and style employed in the

magazine. The main function of rhetoric is to discover available means of persuasion, including inartistic proofs and artistic proofs (Saenla and Rojjanaprayon, 2015).

Regarding visual rhetoric, Foss (2005) states that it is a term used to describe the study of visual imagery within the discipline of rhetoric. The elements of communication and persuasion are embedded in texts not just read but seen. Images, and not just words, avail us with information and can influence the ways we think, reason, and act. Images can speak to us in powerful ways, thus, the simplest definition for visual rhetoric is the use of visual images to communicate meaning. Tomlinson (2016) further states that, “Rhetoricians have long appreciated the value of words. More recently, they have come to value the communicative and persuasive abilities of images” (as cited in Scholtz-Kotzee, 2021, p.13). Scholtz-Kotzee (2021) adds that visual images communicate to both the literate and illiterate. Therefore, *The Combatant* used both language and images in its mission of exposing the evil tactics of colonialism, hence the study did not only analyse the language used but images used as well.

2.7 Cicero’s five canons

The Roman orator Cicero, brought together and organised five canons in his discourse, *De Inventione*, written around 50 BC, and about 150 years later in 95 AD, the Roman rhetorician Quintilian studied the five canons in more depth in his textbook on rhetoric, *Institutio Oratoria* (McKay & McKay, 2018). The five canons or tenets of rhetoric are: invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery. Although these canons were originally created with a focus on oratory, or public speaking, most are applicable to the writing process stages of prewriting, drafting and rewriting. It is worth mentioning that this study explored how *The Combatant* used the five canons that are applicable to written discourse (invention, arrangement and style) in its mission of being

a sword of justice and truth in the liberation of Namibia. Cicero's five canons of rhetoric are outlined in the following subsections.

2.7.1 Invention

Invention is the process of coming up with material for a text. In writing, this is the brainstorming and prewriting stage of constructing a text. Nordquist (2018) considers it as the art of finding the appropriate arguments in any rhetorical situation. Invention is the first step in an attempt to create arguments that will be persuasive to the audience. "Canons of Rhetoric" (n.d.) notes that:

Without invention, a rhetor is left simply repeating the same statement over and over again. The author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* says that "of the five tasks of the speaker invention is the most important and the most difficult". Difficult because it requires the rhetor to exert a great deal of time and effort not only trying to think of the type of resources that might be helpful to defend a claim but also trying to find them. (p. 10)

Crick (2014) holds that neglect of invention is one of the most reasons for speech's failure, usually in the assumption that on the part of the speaker his or her claim is so obviously true and persuasive that it needs no further backing by extensive research and creative argumentation. "Canons of Rhetoric" (n.d.) yields that one of the most common reasons for a speech's failure is neglect for invention, usually the assumption on the part of the rhetor that his or her argument is obviously true and persuasive that it needs no further backing by extensive research and creative argumentation. However, with effort, a good rhetor can make the weaker arguments the stronger just as easily as a poor rhetor can make a stronger argument the weaker. Both of these reversals come about as a result of success or failure of invention. Aristotle is of the opinion that a speaker needs to consider the background, interests and needs of the audience (Nordquist, 2018).

According to Crowley and Hawhee (1999), “invention is the division of rhetoric that investigates the possible means by which proofs can be discovered. It supplies the speaker and writers with sets of instructions or ideas that help them to find and compose arguments that are appropriate for a given rhetorical situation”. “Canons of Rhetoric” (n.d.) further notes that a good rhetor will draw from seven basic categories of resources available to the rhetor to persuade an audience: maxims, facts, statistics, testimony, examples, narratives and topics. Gathering together material from each of these categories will provide a wealth of resources from which to draw upon to construct a text that is complex and powerful.

2.7.2 Arrangement

Arrangement is the process of deciding how to order material in a text. In writing, this is still part of the prewriting stage. According to Nordquist (2018) arrangement refers to the parts of a speech or more broadly, the structure of a text. McKay and McKay (2018) contend that it is the process of arranging and organising arguments and claims for maximum impact. Resources for arrangement consist of templates that indicate where certain types of things should go and in what sequence (Crick, 2014). According to “Canons of Rhetoric” (n.d.)

in classical Roman oration, the arrangement was quite rigid and required a speaker to begin with an introduction (exordium) to state the speech’s purpose and establish credibility, then proceed through statement of facts (narration) to provide an overview of the situation, division (partition) to outline what is to follow and specify main point, proof (confirmation) to present arguments and supporting facts, refutation (refutation) to refute counterarguments until ending with the conclusion (peroration) which sums up claims and reinforced them with emotional appeal. For that reason, any rhetor who wished to have

influence in the political sphere of the Roman Republic had to follow this arrangement or else be ignored.

Furthermore “Canons of Rhetoric” (n.d.) concedes that simply following mechanical instructions does not guarantee a successful meeting or an enjoyable party. No amount of rhetorical templates can ensure that a speech achieves the level of form that arouses and satisfies an audience’s appetite. More often strict adherence to the rules of arrangement results in superficially competent but largely barren and uninspiring speeches that put an audience to sleep. Therefore, the techniques of arrangement should provide guidance that give an initial order to the chaos of claims and arguments gathered together through invention.

2.7.3 Style

Style is the process of coming up with the actual words to be used in a rhetorical text. In writing, this canon is first approached in the drafting stage and continues in the rewriting stage. According to Nordquist (2018), style is the way in which rhetorical text is spoken, written or performed. “Canons of Rhetoric” (n.d.) states that;

...rhetorical style is not the frivolous decoration of ideas; it is the filling out and forming of ideas in order to allow them to stand on their own and organize themselves as a coherent whole. Just as the military is made up both of individual soldiers and whole platoons, style includes both particular parts of the speech (“figurative style”) as well as the tone of the speech in its entirety (“formal style”). It is important to keep this distinction in mind, for often speakers focus too much on the style of the parts at the expense of the whole. (p. 32)

Additionally, McKay and McKay (2018) note that style is how a rhetor determines how he or she presents the arguments and claims using figures of speech and other rhetorical techniques.

2.7.4 Memory

Memory is the process of committing a text to memory. Although this canon is not as applicable to writing as it is to oratory, there are still occasions when writers must memorise their texts in order to make the delivery more effective. “Canons of Rhetoric” (n.d.) states that;

Memory refers to the ability to memorize a text and to reproduce it in a manner that seems natural rather than artificial. In short, is the act of absorbing the content and form of the speech so fully into oneself that the speech feels like “an unforced expression of one’s thoughts and feelings”. Often neglected, the canon of memory remains one of the most important facets of an effective speech. Memorizing and therefore internalizing a speech provides the level of confidence we normally feel in our casual conversations with others. One of the reasons we do not feel nervous speaking to people during most of the day is the fact that we know what we are going to say and have a reason to say it. When we fail to memorize a speech adequately, we often feel like we are speaking someone else’s words and therefore feel awkward and self-conscious. For the audience, hearing a speech that feels like it comes “from the heart” and not from a manuscript or a teleprompter makes the message more powerful and more sincere and therefore creates a much greater feeling of community and participation. (p.42)

However, Lawrie (2006) argues that “Memory seems less relevant today because we make more use of written word, and even speeches are read off from a text” (p. 18).

2.7.5 Delivery

Delivery is the process of presenting a text to an audience. Similar to memory, delivery is less prominent in writing than in oratory. However, there are many occasions when writers must think

of how to best deliver their texts. Pudewa (2016) alludes that delivery pertains to the technicalities of presenting the generated speech, through eye contact and gestures, vocal modulation and projection that can be rehearsed and performed (as cited in Scholtz-Kotzee, 2021). For ‘Canons of Rhetoric’ (n.d.) although conceptually the simplest of the canons, delivery perhaps is the most difficult to master and requires a great deal of training and experience. It also is one of the most important. The analysis of this study, however, was informed by the first three canons of rhetoric (invention, arrangement and style). On that basis the study solely analysed published written discourse and not oratory.

2.8 Aristotle’s proofs of rhetoric

The Greek philosopher and ancient scholar of rhetoric, Aristotle, wrote one of the most important works on rhetoric in the 4th century BC after Sophists. Aristotle’s views on rhetoric were presented in a three-part book called *Rhetorica*. According to Baker (n.d.), Aristotle, the ancient Greek philosopher, suggested that any spoken or written communication intended to persuade contains three key rhetorical elements: ethos, pathos and logos. Rhetoric, according to Aristotle (1926), relies on the interplay of the three elements of ethos, pathos, and logos. Persuasion takes place when the rhetorical text is delivered in such a manner as to render the rhetor worthy of trust (ethos), when the audience is roused to emotions by the text (pathos) and when truth is established by the text (logos) (as cited in Stucki & Sager, n.d.). The following subsections deliberate on each of Aristotle’s proofs also known as modes of persuasion. These were also incorporated in the analysis of *The Combatant*.

2.8.1 Ethos

The concept of ethos deals with the character, credibility and reliability of the rhetor. According to Stucki and Sager (n.d.) ethos has two variants in rhetoric. Firstly, the speaker’s reliability in

suggesting that he will tell the truth and lastly, the quality of the speaker in winning the sympathy of the hearers. Thus, ethos depends not only on professional competence made transparent by means of a compelling argumentation, but also on demonstrating ideological credentials which lead to identification with a particular cultural milieu. Mshvenieradze (2013) adds that ethos is the style of a speaker by which he or she appeals and tries to attract the attention of the audience to earn their faith (as cited in Museta, 2017). Chissano (2016) states that ethos appeals to the ethics, conscience, morals, standards, value, and principles. Baker (n.d.) remarks that credibility is evident in three main ways. Firstly, the quality of the message should be worthy of belief. Secondly, the audience's perception of the communicator and it appeals to the need to make one's own character look right. Lastly, the reputation of the communicator and this is independent from the message being observed through reference to appropriate sources of credibility such as goodwill or common ground (as cited in Scholtz-Kotzee, 2021). Ethos determines the trustworthiness in formulating an argument that is logically and culturally convincing.

2.8.2 Pathos

Pathos, or emotional appeal, appeals to the audience's emotions. According to McCormack (2014)

Our everyday experiences leave little doubt that our emotions can influence the decisions we make, much as the outcome of our decisions can influence the emotions we experience. Aristotle recognized this fact while introducing the pathos mode of persuasion that "persuasion may come through the hearers, when the speech stirs their emotions. Our judgments when we are pleased and friendly are not the same as when we are pained and hostile". (p. 139)

Pathos describes the affective dimension of rhetoric, that is, the emotional mobilisation of the audience (Stucki & Sager, n.d.). Baker (n.d.) notes that an appeal to pathos prompts an audience not just to respond emotionally, but to identify with the rhetor's perspective. Museta (2017) yields that when a rhetor employs pathos, the audience recognises that the rhetor understands their feelings and these are important to the rhetor of a text. This helps to build a relationship between the rhetor and the audience. To add on, Mack (2013) states that, a speaker appeals to the audience's emotions by using everyday human experiences as well as metaphors and that pathos can be particularly powerful if coupled with appeals to logic. "Stories, powerful anecdotes, and emotional language work to evoke feelings, which can help engage your audience in the problem you are examining" (as cited in Scholtz-Kotzee, 2021, p.26).

2.8.3 Logos

Logos is an argument that is based on facts, evidence and reason in rhetorical text. Murthy and Ghosal (2016) argue that logos refers to any appeal to intellectual reason, based on logical proofs. According to ChingKo (2015) logos is the stress of rational arguments as well as logic and reason to persuade. Logos in political discourse is usually achieved through the use of facts and figures by politicians when defending and promoting themselves. To add to that, Anderson (2008) argues that all knowledge and proof are acquired or achieved through deduction or induction. When a speaker uses logos as an appeal of persuasion, the speaker appeals to the audience's sense of what is logical; the speaker does this by providing facts and evidence to support claims and arguments.

2.9 Theoretical framework

The study was framed by the neo-Aristotelian rhetorical approach and visual rhetoric. According to Foss (2009), a neo-Aristotelian approach is a standard methodology designed for examining rhetorical processes. Aristotle's concepts of rhetoric are drawn as the theoretical basis of this

approach, which the main function of Aristotle rhetoric is to discover available means of persuasion, including inartistic proofs and artistic proofs (Saenla & Rujira, 2015). According to Benjamin (1997) inartistic proofs or external proofs are the things not controlled or created by the rhetor, such as statistics. Testimony refers to inartistic proofs enhancing a speaker's credibility because they reinforce the speaker's knowledge, trustworthiness, and authoritativeness. Artistic proofs mean the things produced through spoken words, and there are three types of artistic proofs, ethos, pathos, and logos (Herrick, 1998). Ethos refers to a speaker's credibility (Herrick, 1998). Aristotle regarded ethos as the most persuasive means of persuasion (Benjamin, 1997). The speakers can enhance their credibility through representing moral character, intelligence, and goodwill to the audiences (Foss, 2009). Pathos is an emotional appeal or the way of putting the audiences into a particular state of mind (Herrick, 1998). In order to evoke different types of emotions and influence the audiences' perceptions, a rhetor can apply pathos through employing vivid language (Benjamin, 1997). Logos refers to the way of persuading the audiences through logical steps, the rhetor can apply logos through use of evidence such as statistics, quoting of experts' claims, and personal experiences to support their claims (Foss, 2009). Of major interest, logical arguments are divided into two categories, inductive reasoning and deductive reasoning (Herrick, 1998). Furthermore, Foss (2009) adds that canons of rhetoric; invention, organisation, style, memory and delivery are applied for analysis.

The study of visual imagery from a rhetorical perspective has grown with the recognition that visual images provide access to a range of human experience not always available through the study of discourse (Foss, 2005). "Human experiences that are spatially oriented, nonlinear, multidimensional, and dynamic often can be communicated only through visual imagery or other nondiscursive symbols, thus in order to understand and articulate such experiences require

attention on these kinds of symbols’’ (Foss, 2005, p. 143). Visual rhetoric is not just about superior design and aesthetics. It is also about how culture and meaning are reflected, communicated, and altered by images. In view of these theories, the study uses *The Combatant* to do a neo-Aristotelian and visual rhetoric analysis to explore how both language and images were used to achieve intended communicative and rhetorical potential.

2.10 Summary

This chapter presented an overview of the concept of political discourse. It discussed the meaning of political discourse as put forward and defined by different scholars as well as the different genres of political discourse. The chapter further highlighted the different roles and functions of political discourse in revolutionary movements such as songs, poems and radio. Moreover, the function and role *The Combatant* was reviewed in this chapter. The multimodal discourse and social semiotic analysis frameworks were explained and illustrated with previous studies done using the framework on political discourse.

With specific reference to Namibia, the researcher did not come across studies analysing multimodality on Namibia political discourse, specifically revolutionary political discourse. Thus, this study conducted a multimodal and social semiotic analysis on *The Combatant*, a revolutionary political magazine of SWAPO that served as a tool to fight apartheid during the liberation struggle. Thus, the related literature in this chapter was reviewed in an attempt to place the current study within existing body of knowledge. The next chapter discusses the methodology applied in the study in depth. The procedures involved in collection, analysis and interpretation of data are also discussed.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design and strategies adopted to explore the research objectives. It details the methods and procedures used to acquire the data so as to come up with an informed research. It also describes how judgments were reached in the research so as to avert bias and adhere to research ethics.

3.2 Research design

Research design is the general plan about what you will do to answer the research objectives/questions. According to Kerlinger (1986, as cited in Kumar, 2011) a research design is a plan, structure and strategy of investigation to obtain answers to research questions. This includes an outline of what the researcher will do. To highlight, “research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted, this constitutes the blue print for the collection, measurement and analysis of data” (Kothari, 2004).

This study applied a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research is a form of social action that stresses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences to understand the social reality of individuals (Mohajan, 2018). According to Polinghorne (2005, as cited in Mohajan, 2018) “qualitative research is exploratory and seeks to explain “how” and “why” a particular social phenomenon operates as it does in a particular context”. To emphasise, it helps us understand the social world in which we live, and why things are the way they are. This method was used because it provides a clear description of the characteristics of items being studied. This study is a desktop research in which the two selected volumes of *The Combatant* provide data for

analysis to unravel the rhetorical devices. Therefore, this study used content analysis as a method for analysing data from the two volumes to address the research objectives.

3.3 Population

Research population is defined as all people or items with the characteristics one hopes to study (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Thus, the population of the study consisted of pre-colonial anti-apartheid publications of the revolutionary magazine *The Combatant*.

3.4 Sample

The sample of the study was two volumes from all available publications of the magazine. Firstly, a descriptive analysis of the selected texts was done to identify the major ideological and thematic preoccupations, followed by a rhetorical analysis of the texts to discover the persuasive strategies employed in *The Combatant*. Although all copies available suit the study due to their common features, the two volumes picked for the study were purposively sampled to allow critical analysis of the magazine. These were selected on the basis of similar thematic concerns. Moreover, the chosen volumes allowed the fulfilment of identified research objectives. According to Kumar (2011) the purpose of sampling is “either gain in-depth knowledge about a situation/event/episode or know as much as possible about different aspects of an individual” (p.176).

3.5 Procedure

An in-depth reading and studying of the sampled volumes and critical analysis of the images using the rhetorical analysis approach to unravel the rhetoric devices and their purpose in the magazine. Moreover, the study identifies certain rhetorical mechanisms and figures used and interprets why they were employed by the rhetor. Finally, a conclusion was then drawn from the analysis.

3.6 Data analysis

According to Anderson (2010) data analysis is the interpretation and clarification of the data collected for the study. In this section, the ideologies inherent in *The Combatant* followed by the analysis of the rhetorical strategies employed in the texts were examined. An important aspect of data analysis in a qualitative case study is the search for meaning through direct interpretation of what is observed by them as well as what is experienced and reported by the subjects. Bogdan and Biklen (2003) defined qualitative data analysis as “working with the data, organising them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesizing them, and searching for patterns”.

Thomas (2010) insists that categorisation helps the researcher to make comparisons and contrasts between patterns, to reflect on certain patterns and complex threads of the data deeply and to make sense of them. The study employed a content analysis, meaning the researcher uses rhetorical analysis to study texts under examination. Parts of the magazines are extracted and thoroughly interpreted through a rhetorical analysis process to identify the rhetoric devices and their purpose in the magazine. At this point, themes and sub-themes were identified. The researcher focused on themes and sub-themes predetermined from the objectives of the research by organising the material into segments of text before bringing meaning to information. Data were then fitted into these themes and sub-themes through sentence construction.

Content analysis consists of analysing the content of documentary materials like books, magazines, newspapers as well as other materials which can either be spoken or printed (Khothari, 2004). “Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.79). After that, findings were extracted from the interpretations and analysis then used to formulate discussions and conclusions of the study.

3.7 Research ethics

According to Bathacherjee (2012) research ethics is “conformance to the standards of conducts of a given profession or group” p.137. Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005,) stated that “ethical behaviour is important in research, as in any other field of human activity” (p. 181). They further explained that principles underlying “research ethics” are universal and concern issues such as honesty and respect for the rights of individuals. For these reasons, the researcher maintained objectivity and integrity by reporting findings in full. In order to uphold the ethics required of an academic to maintain transparency and honesty, all sources used in the study were acknowledged. Moreover, the places, names of people and political parties and events mentioned in the study are real and not fictional, thus the researcher evaded personal bias in reporting findings.

3.8 Chapter summary

Chapter 3 describes the research methodology that was used to collect and analyse data. The research design, population and sample of the study were specified. Likewise, the procedure of collecting data and method of data analysis was explained. In order for the researcher not to ridicule the authors, people and events mentioned throughout the study, research ethics considered were explained in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the neo-Aristotelian and visual rhetoric analysis of two volumes of *The Combatant*, PLAN's magazine during the liberation struggle of Namibia. The first section provides an evaluation of context, providing the background information about the rhetor, occasion of what motivated the author of the magazine to create the rhetorical text and the audience of the text. The rest of the chapter looks at the techniques employed in the magazine, in particular three of Aristotelian five canons: invention, arrangement and style. The analysis of each technique used in the magazines unveils the rhetorical strategies and means of persuasion employed to arouse the audience's emotions and feelings as well as impose ideologies by the author.

4.2 Evaluation of context

In order to analyse and evaluate the magazines properly, it is of paramount importance to understand its entire rhetorical context. Foss (2005) notes three aspects that should be evaluated when doing a neo-Aristotelian rhetoric analysis: rhetor, occasion and audience (as cited in Newbold, 2017).

4.2.1 Rhetor

According to Newbold (2017) it is important to evaluate and determine the rhetor when analysing a text. Considering the reason behind creating the artefact and the experiences, and reaching further to learn about the political and environmental climate that motivated them. The magazines were authored by PLAN (Peoples Liberation Association of Namibia) under the apartheid regime of the then South African Government.

The Combatant, the case of study, was the official voice of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the military wing of South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO). It was a communication organ which served to disseminate information on political and military activities by PLAN against the forces of the illegal occupation by South Africa in Namibia to the Namibian oppressed masses and the outside world, as well as, educating fighters and motivating those in combat. Heuva (2003) states that the magazine noted that it would record activities of the people directly involved in the war of the liberation struggle, carry academic lessons on SWAPO, plus political and military lessons. *The Combatant* saw its task as among other things, to educate the young revolutionaries by acquainting them with the realities of the past historical events so as to enable them to cope with the present and future arduous tasks and conditions of the struggle.

4.2.2 Occasion

Newbold (2017) insists that evaluating the occasion in which the rhetor produced the artefact under analysis is of paramount importance when conducting a rhetorical analysis. The above author advocates for understanding and evaluating the season and historical context in which the text was produced as well as considering the inspiration behind the creation of the artefact/text. During the 1960s most African countries had gained their independence apart from Namibia. The South African apartheid laws were extended to Namibia and prevented black Namibians from having political rights and restricted them from having economic and social freedom.

In 1964, South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) was formed. SWAPO was mainly a black African nationalist movement led by Sam Nujoma. The agenda of SWAPO was around the belief that independence from the apartheid regime was needed to create political and social freedom in Namibia. In 1966, SWAPO established the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). Once Angola gained independence in 1975 and with better supply lines in place, SWAPO

was able to launch a serious guerrilla war. SWAPO put out a number of publications while in exile. They served as principle medium of agitation politics and instruments for the inculcation of the nationalist sentiments. As stated earlier, some of these publications were produced under the auspices of the Department of Information and Publicity (DIP), while others were put out by the SWAPO Youth League (SYL), the SWAPO Women Council (SWC) and by the armed wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).

4.2.3 Audience

The magazine was intended for an audience which the rhetor produced the text for in order to achieve its rhetorical potential. Newbold (2017) states that knowing the person or people whom the rhetor was trying to communicate with is important. According to Campbell, Huxman and Burkholder (2014), audience can mean those people exposed to a rhetorical act, the “immediate or empirical audience”; the ideal audience at whom the act is intended for, the “target audience”; and the potential members who have the capacity to do what the rhetor desires - the “agents of change”.

The magazine's immediate audience comprised of all that could be reached by it such as those in combat, and all Namibians that could get their hands on it. The target audience of the magazine comprised of the youth that could be potential combat recruits in exile to join in the liberation struggle of Namibia, all Namibians sympathetic to abolishing apartheid and to maintaining a democratic, and a non-racial nation. Lastly the magazine was intended for the agents of change, the people who had the capacity to do what the magazine desired. This included collaboration from the international unions such as the UN, nationalist movements from other countries that sought racial and economic equality and the combats involved in the liberation struggle.

4.3 Canons of rhetoric

The canons of rhetoric: invention, arrangement and style served as tools to analyse the magazine to explore and discover the persuasive strategies utilized by the magazine to engage its audience and achieve its communicative and rhetoric potential. The findings were described through the three canons of rhetoric.

4.3.1 Invention

Invention is the first step and attempt by the rhetor to create ideas and arguments that are persuasive and convincing to the audience. The process involves drawing on specialised knowledge about the subject and all lines of reasoning and persuasion common to most if not all political discourse aimed at persuading an audience. According to McInnelly and Perry (2008), invention amounts to planning what one would say, adding that it is also the work a rhetor does before beginning to write a script. Crick (2014) adds that invention is the “act of finding something to say that lends support to the speaker’s position” (p. 10). According to Aristotle (2007), invention is synonymous with rhetoric, which is defined as “the art of discovering the best available means of persuasion” (p. 87). Baker (n.d.) is of the opinion that any written or spoken communication that seeks to persuade a targeted audience contains the following key rhetorical elements; ethos, the character, credibility and trustworthiness of the speaker; logos, the logic and reasoning in the message; pathos, the emotional aspect. Drawing on these premises, the following section examines the appeals or means of persuasion which the magazine extensively employed ethos, logos and pathos.

4.3.1.1 Ethos

The first rhetorical appeal which is Ethos is based on the character, reliability or credibility of the rhetor. *The Combatant* appealed to the audience through ethical proofs or ethos in both volumes that were analysed for this study. According to Lawrie (2006), a character of the rhetor means that

“the audience’s perception of the moral character of the speaker would aid or hinder persuasion” (p. 21). He goes on to say that the audience is more likely to agree with the speaker who displays honesty, balance, reasonability, openness or dependability than one who displays irresponsibility, secretiveness or instability.

Based on these premises, *The Combatant* in Volume 4 No.1 established its credibility and good character as the official voice of SWAPO’s PLAN firstly from the editorial of the magazine. The editorial remembers the 16th anniversary of armed struggle of Namibia to create good character amongst the audience through a short trip back in history of how SWAPO had been involved in the liberation struggle to free Namibia from South Africa. It further poised itself in the editorial as a tool and servant for the people of Namibia, the SWAPO party and everyone involved in the liberation struggle by openly reporting what was happening to the Namibian patriots that were captured and tortured in South African prisons. In the editorial of this volume, the magazine firstly establishes its credibility by reporting a visit to Namibia from a well-known Anglican bishop Desmond Tutu in support of SWAPO and appealing to his credibility. It quoted him as saying: “Despite all these criminal acts against them, the people in Namibia are SWAPO and SWAPO is the people” (p.4). That way the magazine creates and portrays good character as well as establishing credibility by quoting a prominent religious African leader in its editorial. This draws the audience to the magazine and the information it wants to disseminate.

Volume 4 No.1 further demonstrated and used ethos as a means of persuasion by portraying its credibility in an interview *The Combatant* did with a political commissar of one of the combat formation. The magazine brought balance and established a good respectable image and credibility amongst its intended audience through an honest and open interview with the commissar. Furthermore, a common ground was established in the interview with the audience who were

mostly the oppressed Namibians and the combatants in exile with the commissar. Traits of selflessness and sacrifice were portrayed and could draw more of the Namibian youth to join those in exile to fight in the liberation struggle when the commissar remarked that:

“The Boers are revealing our seriousness when we are in battle. We shall not surrender. It is better to die in action than be hanged in Pretoria or to rot for years in fascist dungeons. We challenge death, we do not fear it”.

Volume 4 No.1 re-established its credibility by using an image (figure 1) of one of SWAPO's leaders, the Secretary for Defence Peter Nanyemba in which he shows one of the enemy's weapons captured in battle. Fulfilling Foss' (2005) idea that the elements of communication and persuasion are embedded in texts not just read but seen, images and not just words, avail us with information and can influence the ways we think, reason, and act.

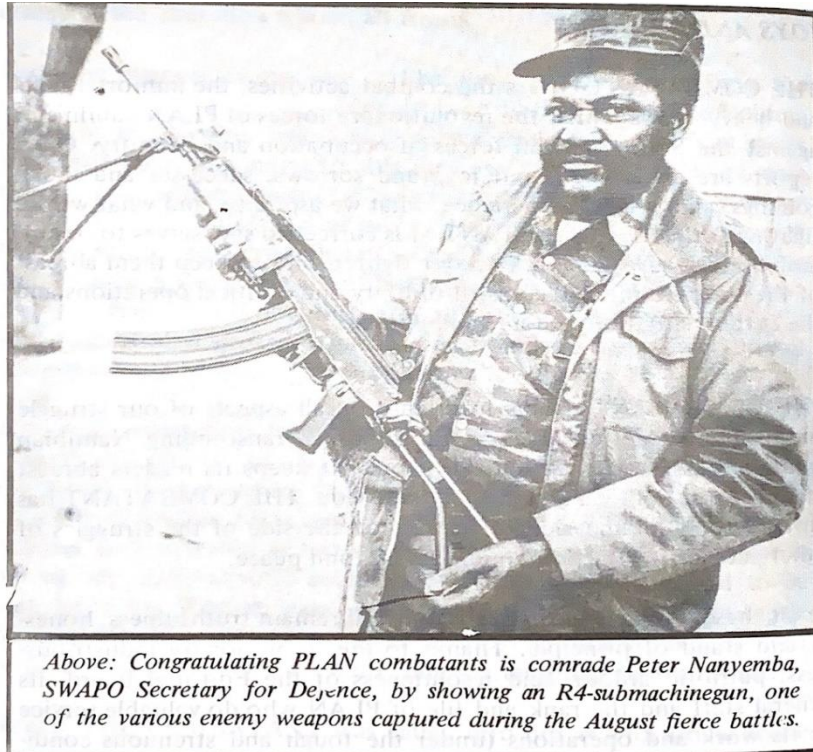


Figure 1 Retrieved from *The Combatant* volume 4 NO. 1 1982 P.16

Furthermore, *The Combatant* continued to use the appeal to ethos in volume 5 No.1 which is exactly a year later after Volume 4. No.1 was published. The editorial section of the magazine appealed to ethos by portraying character traits of loyalty to SWAPO and the Namibian people by celebrating and remembering 17 hard and sacrificial years of fighting the apartheid regime. Through this appeal of persuasion, *The Combatant* persuades the audience on behalf of those fighting in exile to join in the armed struggle by supporting SWAPO in isolating the ‘criminal regime of south Africa’.

The magazine in Volume 5 No.1 established its credibility and reliability as the official organ of PLAN to disseminate information to the audience by appealing to the ethos of the President of SWAPO and Commander-in-Chief of PLAN, Comrade Sam Nujoma when it reported the briefing he had with commanders, commissars and officers of PLAN. The magazine also appealed to Sam Nujoma's ethos by including a picture (figure 2) of him in the briefing report. It included another picture of PLAN senior commanders and officers showing respect by saluting the Commander-in-Chief. The inclusion of this information in the magazine elevates and adds value to the information the magazine is disseminating to the audience. Moreover, the rhetor's (magazine) status as the official monthly organ of PLAN is boosted and it seems trustworthy when it comes to information dissemination. This is because it shows that it is reporting and working hand in hand with SWAPO which is led by Comrade Sam Nujoma, the respected arrowhead of the liberation struggle.

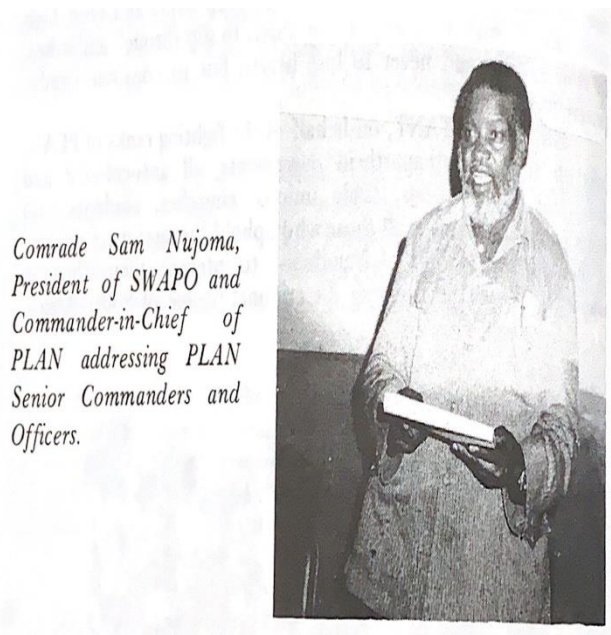


Figure 2 retrieved from *The Combatant* 1983 vol.5 No.1
p.6



PLAN Senior Commanders and Officers responding with a power salute to the Commander-in-Chief.

Figure 3 Retrieved from The Combatant 1983 Vol.5 No.1 p.8

The magazine also established its reliability by appealing to the ethos through republishing a message Kim Il Sung, the then President of North Korea, penned for Namibia. The message had initially appeared in a Korean newspaper. The Korean President's message read in part: "The liberation struggle of the southern African people, like the struggle of the peoples in other parts of the African continent, will surely triumph and the colonialists and racists will finally meet their doom on the African continent."

The presence/proof of the message in the magazine legitimized it. It also boosted its credibility and reliability alongside that of SWAPO and PLAN. Moreover, it created and showed the close bond between Namibia and North Korea, which could attract more international allies to SWAPO. Furthermore, the magazine appealed to the ethos of the Korean President Kim Il Sung by including his picture (Figure 4) in the magazine as well as a picture (Figure 5) of him with Comrade Sam Nujoma in Korea. Through the credibility and political influential roles of these people, *The*

Combatant elevated itself as a credible and reliable source of information on SWAPO, thereby endearing itself to the people of Namibia.

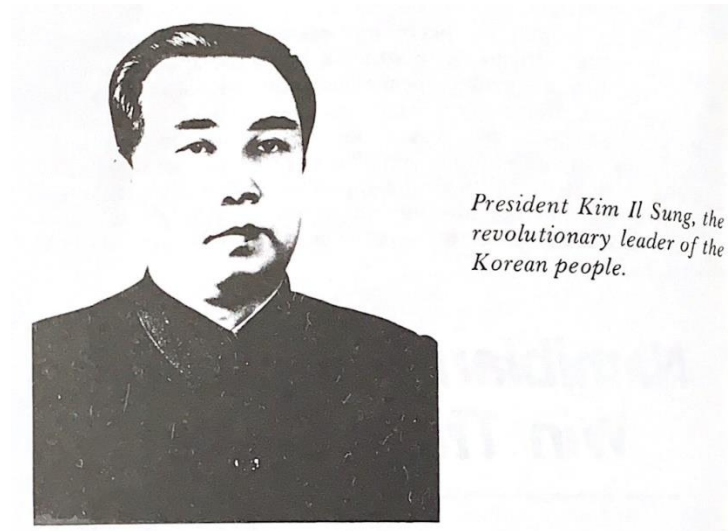


Figure 4 Retrieved from The Combatant 1983t Vol 5 No.1 p.20



Figure 5 Retrieved from The Combatant 1983 Vol 5 No.1 p. 21

The representation of *The Combatant's* ethos was realised by displaying its honesty and integrity in reporting and exposing the cruel tactics and behaviour of the apartheid regime, which was one of its main functions. The rhetor noted: 'THE COMBATANT will continue constantly and tirelessly to speak against imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism, for national independence, social justice, socialism and international understanding, solidarity and friendship. THE COMBATANT is the journal of the people. It will live on as long as the struggle continues'.

It is worth mentioning that both volumes used together words: "our bereaved", "killing us", "our people's movement", "we are", "they kill us", "our Moses Namiseb", "let us rise", "we have been", "our country", to mention a few to show and remind the audience that they shared the same racial injustices, oppression, torture and segregation being perpetrated by the South African apartheid regime. The use of these words was aimed at inviting the audience to join SWAPO - to rally and fight against apartheid as these words evoked the shared experiences of injustice, brutality and oppression.

4.3.1.2 Logos

Logos is known to be the logic and reasoning in the message. Baker (n.d.) refers to logos as the overall logicality and coherence of the message. According to Williams (2015), "Logos" is the use of strategies of logic to persuade an audience. The strategies of logical appeal include the use of deductive and inductive reasoning, analogy, comparison, logical cause, effect strategies and statistics. Additionally, Magyar (2010) states that, the argument must appear to be sound to the audience. The volumes for the study employed different logical strategies:

The Combatant appealed to logos in the 'NEWS FROM HOME' section of the magazine, to report and argue the increasing senseless murders of the Namibian people at the hands of the South

African Government. In news like that it is easy to use pathos as means to engage and disseminate such information. However, *The Combatant* engaged the audience's intellect and reasoning by providing a list of the murdered victims as proof of the rhetor's argument. The rhetor writes:

We have a long list of Namibians killed in cold blood by these racist soldiers. Their killers are all free from jail or guilt-conscience but must they go unpunished? Our Moses Namised died after being assaulted by three security police on 27 October 1981 in Windhoek at SWAWEK power station. His killers were Conradie (30), Havenga (37) and Nel (27). Efraim Iivula and his wife Hagar Iilvula (parents of Pendukeni Kaulinge, secretary for SWAPO women council and member of SWAPO Central Committee) were shot and killed by Koevoet, a SADF Task Force, on 10th April 1981, near their home in Ombathi in Ombalantu district Namibia.

...the list reaches thousands, and it is still growing at higher rate each day. How long is this senseless murdering of our people going to continue? When will justice prevail? How many of these murders of innocent lives are in jail? Are fire-arms of these racists only aiming at the black skin? Are mass graves, unknown graves, courts, jails, torture chambers or the noose only meant for the oppressed black people?"

The strategy of logical cause and effect was employed in Volume 4 to argue and give reason of why *The Combatant* was established, to stop misinforming and the false representation of PLAN freedom fighters as terrorists in the South African media. The volume remarked as follows: "the news emanating from Pretoria is geared towards winning the 'hearts and minds' of the oppressed masses and the sympathy of the world, by presenting racist South Africa - the true aggressor - as the victim defending its survival and sovereignty. While the freedom fighters are castigated as

terrorists, communist inspired and controlled agents, anti-patriotic forces, and everything they regard to be bad. Even the western press reports concerning the conflict inside Namibia are very far from objective. Most journalist on the staff of bourgeois mass media are deliberately attempting to misinform. Hence, *The Combatant* was called into life as a historical necessity to provide feedback on the revolutionary activities of the gallant fighters of our people's Army, PLAN. *The Combatant's* most vital function is to explain and defend our national liberation struggle from slander, misinformation and misrepresentation.”

Volume 4 of *The Combatant* continues to appeal to logic of the audience by using a dialogue between the magazine itself and a PLAN commissar as a testimony and witness to the brutality, injustice and illegal occupation of the South African apartheid Government in Namibia. In the dialogue, events the commissar witnessed himself such as the Cassinga massacre are reported, as well as the reason why the South Africans massacred innocent people that day.

“In 1945 the Americans dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in which killed 300 thousand innocent civilians. The Americans say they did it in order to force japan to stop the war. In 1978 the fascist Boers massacred about 800 innocent Namibian refugees at Cassinga. They, too, say that they did it to stop SWAPO terrorist campaign”.

The careful structure and evidence in the dialogue/interview was used by the rhetor to appeal to the audience and effectively convey intended communication potential.

To report news from the battlefield, *The Combatant* Volume 4 applied the logic strategy to give updates on the progress of what is happening on the battlefield to the audience. The rhetor used statistics as evidence in reporting that PLAN combatants had mastered anti-aircraft weapons. The magazine reports:

“In the ensuing “follow-up operations” enemy ground and air forces fell in neatly prepared ambushes in which SWAPO artillery pieces and anti-aircraft guns were properly deployed. Consequently, the enemy lost seven (7) helicopters and six (6) jet-fighters in the fierce battles fought on August 9 and 10. On the other hand about one hundred and fifty (150) corpses, many badly burnt and mutilated, were counted on the spot”.

A letter of a Namibian contract worker was used in the magazine’s Volume 4 as a testimony and strategy to appeal to logos in order to persuade and convey its intended communication potential, which was to inform the audience that the Boers and their ‘puppets’ were now linking the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola to the Namibian decolonisation question as yet another new pre-condition to the signing of a ceasefire with SWAPO.

Additionally, Volume 5 applied logical strategies as means of persuasion as well. In 1983 *The Combatant* celebrated 17 years of armed liberation struggle under the leadership of SWAPO with signs of justified optimism. The magazine made logical arguments to justify the signs of optimism through testimonies and evidence of the progress SWAPO made thus far.

“PLAN’s formation and its initiation of the national liberation war marked an advanced stage in the struggle for our national liberation led by SWAPO. And today the vibrations of our machine-gun fire throughout the length and breadth of Namibia are inexorably counting down the time of the hated occupation whose future is doomed in the face of our defiant masses. The following are a testimony to PLAN’s effectiveness:

- PLAN has grown into a formidable and battle-tested military wing, broadened its zone of operation, thereby compelling the enemy to commit more than 100 000 of its troops in Namibia.

- The expansion of the armed struggle has undermined the confidence and sense of security of the white settlers, thus forcing many of them, mainly commercial farmers, to flee Namibia. PLAN has succeeded in scaring of multinational corporations which are now unwilling to make new investments in Namibia.
- Investments in Namibia have dried up and the colonial economy is in ruins. Pretoria spends more than three million US dollars per day to fight SWAPO. The external debt of the colonial administration in Namibia is in excess of R500m.

To make a logical argument against the South African troops in Namibia, the magazine made use of deductive reasoning to inform the audience about the increasing numbers of the South African troop in Namibia. For effective persuasion and dissemination of information, the claim that Namibia is being converted into a South African military garrison depended on the evidence provided to support it. ‘

Namibia, more than ever before, is being converted in a military garrison of south Africa. For instance, there has been no reduction in the number of the South African troops in Namibia. Instead, there has been remarkable military expansion at a very fast rate. Troops are deployed everywhere; the whole country has been partitioned into seven military sectors as follows:

Sector 10- covering Kaoko and Owambo with headquarters at Oshakati, Sector 20- covering Kavango, Western Caprivi and so-called Bushmanland, with headquarters at Rundu, Sector 30- covering the northern area, with headquarters at Otjiwarongo, Sector 40- covering the central area, with headquarters in Windhoek, Sector 50- covering the eastern area, with headquarters at Gobabis, Sector 60- covering east Caprivi, with headquarters at Katima Mulilo.

Though it is difficult to give the exact number of South African troops, it is estimated that for every five adult Namibians there is one racist soldier. This would mean that there are well over 100 000 South African troops presently occupying the territory.

Volume 5 of *The Combatant* continues to use deductive reasoning to disseminate the tactics, intentions and persuade the audience to take up in arms against the South African Government occupying Namibia. The magazine achieved this by giving evidence and facts of what the prominent South African apartheid leaders had said. The magazine reported:

The true attitude of South Africa towards Namibia was reflected by many prominent South African VIPs. A look at the following statements will clear up the minds of those who are still living under illusions that South Africa might do something positive as regard Namibia's independence:

Kurt Von Schirnding, South Africa's permanent representative to the UN, made no secret that "south Africa will not deviate from the course it has set for South West Africa. Not even at the risk of war would it do so" (Windhoek Observer 28.05.83)

Colonel Ken Snowbal, an officer attached to the intelligence wing of the racist army in Namibia unveiled South Africa's plans for Namibia, saying that: 'the armed forces are capable of maintaining the status quo in Namibia for a long time. We have everything military in our favour now. It's up to the politicians to use this power-base that we've given them' (financial Mail 29. 10. 82).

Moreover, Volume 5 of *The Combatant* made use of the cause and effect logic reasoning to argue the unfair arrests of SWAPO combatants. To persuade the audience, the magazine claimed that the

cause of the arrests of the Heroic SWAPO combatants was simply them fighting against apartheid, a crime against humanity as declared by the UN. The volume reported:

After the glorious battle at Ongulumbashe on 26 August, 1966, between SWAPO freedom-fighters and racist South Africa forces, brutal actions and waves of mass arrests followed all over Namibia. Guerrillas as well as some of our leaders were rounded up and imprisoned under the South African notorious Terrorism Act created in 1967. These comrades, the majority of whom were in their mid-twenties, were sentenced to life or long imprisonment. They have committed no crimes at all, except that they have chosen to fight against apartheid which was declared as a crime against humanity by the United Nations.

4.3.1.3 Pathos

Pathos appeals to the audience's emotions, feelings and beliefs and may cause an audience to respond emotionally, or identify with the rhetor's perspective and ideology. Lawrie (2006) argues that a speaker can persuade the listeners effectively by appealing to their feelings, values, prejudices or interests. According to Baker (n.d.) Logos and pathos may be used on both sides, because a speaker could appeal to the audience's emotions, when a logical presentation has failed to persuade. A speaker may determine his audience's needs and concerns and make his address. Emotional appeal is employed in both volumes for the study.

The Combatant in Volume 4 No.1 employed pathos to appeal to the feelings of sadness and anger to remind the audience of the intensity of activities the South African apartheid Government was perpetrating in Namibia:

The racist troops and police, now estimated at 100 000 men, have intensified their terrorist campaign against the Namibian oppressed masses. Racist soldiers and police break into

homes, beat up residents, shoot people, steal and kill cattle and goats. People are blindfolded, kidnapped from their homes and left beaten up or murdered by the roadside. Women are often raped.

Employing and evoking the emotions of anger of the audience does not only make the reader angry and sad, but it also encourages those fighting in exile, activists and everyone else involved in liberation struggle to intensify the fight until freedom and justice prevailed.

The appeal to anger and happiness was employed in Volume 4, when the publication gave a report of their interview with a PLAN commissar: ‘a political commissar of one of the combat units which gave so much headache and trouble to the racist forces but caused joy and high hopes among the oppressed. The statement appeals to the emotions of happiness, joy and hope of the oppressed Namibians, as they are reminded and told that they have combat units that are giving headache and trouble to the racist forces that are causing injustices and oppression in their motherland. However, this statement appeals to the emotions of anger and defeat to the white apartheid government in Namibia as they are reminded that the guerrilla soldiers of SWAPO are causing them trouble through their resistance of the apartheid system and potential of defeating them.

Referring to the strength and courage of the soldiers, the publication appeals to the emotions of hope to the reader, hope that Namibia would be free from oppression:

They are men who don't care how strong the enemy is. They go into fire with fire. They are blinded by strong hatred for apartheid and by their burning determination to free Namibia. That is why the enemy refers to them as suicide squads.

The appeal to engage the reader's emotions of hope enhances the communicative intentions of the magazines and gives courage to those squirming under the oppressive government. Moreover, the

words describing the soldiers by their commissar gives and appeals to the emotions of hope of the soldiers as they learn that they are frightening the white troops with their courage and their determination. A visual image (figure 6) exposing the white troops (SADF) tactic in facing and attacking PLAN combatants engages the reader's emotions of hope and joy that the enemy will soon be defeated as PLAN had mastered skills in 'anti-aircraft weapons. Moreover, the magazine reported that the troops in the picture faced death soon after they were dropped amidst a well-planned ambush by PLAN combatants. The news appeals to the emotions of joy as it gives the audience reassurance that the SADF days in Namibia are numbered.

Figure 6 shows a picture of SADF troops alighting from a helicopter which provides air cover, which the magazine notes is "the only tactic and last hope of SADF in facing PLAN combatants".



Figure 6 Retrieved from The Combatant 1982 Vol 4 No 1 p.9

Volume 4 No. 1 further continues to employ the strategy of appeal to pathos, by appealing to the emotions of sadness, anger and pity through the words of a PLAN commissar quoted in the journal:

In 1978 the fascist Boers massacred about 800 innocent Namibia refugees at Cassinga. They say they did it to stop SWAPO terrorist campaign. I was personally there in Cassinga on that fateful day May 4. Till now I am haunted by the agonized screams of violently dying women and children. I saw how they were haunted down with guns, bayonettes, bombs and fire. A sight I will never forget as long as I am alive.

This statement appeals to the emotions of sadness and anger of the Namibians readers whose fellows innocent Namibians, especially women and children, had been massacred at Cassinga.

This allows the magazine to effectively expose the extent of oppression, brutality, injustice and evil tactics the Apartheid system in Namibia was imposing on the people. The appeal to pity is employed. The statement engaged the international readers'/audience emotions as the commissar graphically describes the psychological pain and torture the massacre of women and children had inflicted on him. Moreover, the emotions of pity are evoked as the audience learns of the weapons and strategies the white troops are using to exploit, oppress and kill innocent people especially defenceless women and children.

The emotions of anger, pain and sorrow continued to be applied in Volume 4 No.1 when the magazine reported the gruesome murder of Namibian people by the Boers. The magazine reported:

Today we are sad and angry! Can the racist tell us why they kill us in this way? Is it their inner bloodthirsty nature or is it for the sake of propaganda against SWAPO?

The inclusion of an image (Figure 7) which shows the brutally murdered victims invoke the emotions of sorrow and pain of the audience. Moreover, it adds value to the rhetorical message the magazine intends to disseminate to the audience. The emotions of vengeance are evoked in this massacre report after appealing to the emotions of pain, sorrow and anger of the audience. The publication exhorts:

Let us rise in the spirit of our forefathers and overthrow the yoke of colonialism or die out as a nation while fighting. The choice is ours. Our country, lives, dignity and the future depend on us. Don't wait. Act now!.

This statement can whip up emotions and send the masses on the path of retaliation and vengeance to stop racial injustice and save the country. It can appeal to the emotions of sorrow and pain that were evoked as well as the image showing evidence and thus intensifying the emotions.

The image (Figure 7) appeals to the psychological trauma in the audience that are sensitive to violent activities. The decomposing bodies of the brutally murdered victims in the image could embolden the audience to fight the apartheid regime as the intensity of the damage they were causing the Namibian people was captured in pictures, thus adding to psychological trauma among those that saw the images.

The image (Figure 7) moreover could communicates to those who did not know how to read. Fulfilling Scholtz-Kotzee (2021) notes that visual images communicate to both the literate and illiterate. The image itself said and reported a lot. From seeing the decomposing bodies of their own people, the illiterate audience could see the damage and trauma the apartheid regime was causing. That could prompt the masses to take radical steps to stop the massacres and exploitation.

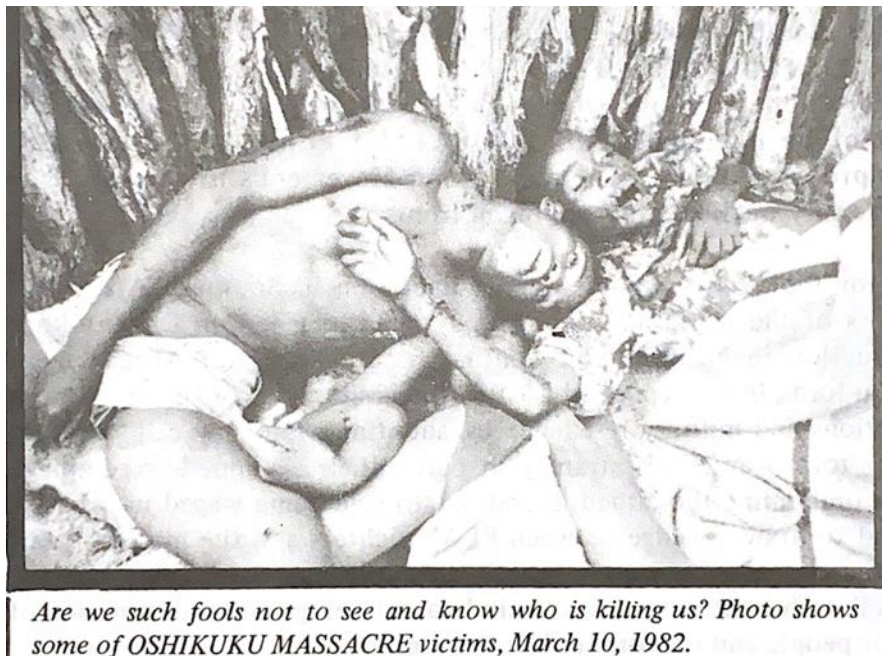


Figure 7 Retrieved from *The Combatant* 1982 Vol 4 No.1 p.13

Moving on, Volume 5 No.1 similarly employed more of the appeal to pathos. The journal engaged the emotions of fearlessness and hope of the audience when it reported the courage, heroism and perseverance of freedom fighters, some of whom had been imprisoned:

The courage and example set by these imprisoned patriots is a source of inspiration to our people. They have brought fear to the hearts of the racists, for these patriots represent the spirit of the toiling masses of our country...which causes the enemy to panic and desperately resort to the barbaric and fascist methods of brutality.

The image (Figure 8) of a person behind prison bars intensifies the feelings of hope in the audience as the man behind bars is portrayed and represented in a courageous way, standing and ready to be free from oppression. The image, however, appeals to the emotions of pity as well, as the living conditions of prisons are not favourable and can break the spirits of those imprisoned.



Figure 8 Retrieved from *The Combatant* 1983 Vol 5 No.1 p.16

Furthermore, *The Combatant* continues to apply the strategy of appealing to pathos in the News from the Battlefield section. An interview between *The Combatant* and Comrade Kalenga, a combatant in PLAN units, appeals and engages various emotions in the audience.

Those are cowards. See them in their newspapers, hear how they brag and you will hesitate. But on the battlefield they are watermelons. They ask the masses with big mouths about our whereabouts but never pursue us.

This statement by Kalenga evokes the emotions of joy in the readers as they learn that the combatants have the upper hand in the battlefield and they are not scared of the Boers. Rather, the Boers are scared. The interview inspires hope and confidence in the audience through the bravery of freedom fighters.

Boers can give us tough time. But we hold the initiative. You have heard them talking about the 'evasive terrorist'. We are not easy targets.

The oppressed audience's feelings of their need for freedom and justice was engaged in the interview:

THE COMBATANT: Do you like war?

KALENGA: No, not as long as the Boers do not get tired of oppressing my people.

THE COMBATANT: Do you like war?

KALENGA: no, but what can I do? It's my life, I prefer to die fighting, than to die as a passive slave.

According to Stiff and Mongeau (2003), emotional appeal is effective when the rhetor is trying to influence behaviour, or the rhetor wants the audience to take immediate action. The appeal to influence behaviour is employed when the magazine called out everyone to engage in the fight for freedom, *The Combatant* was persuading the audience to stand up and fight by any means.

On behalf of the fighting ranks of PLAN, call on various anti-apartheid movements, all anti-colonial and democratic organisations, trade unions, churches, students, and women's organisations- all those who uphold the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people in Namibia- to intensify their efforts in supporting SWAPO in isolating the criminal regime of south Africa.

4.3.2 Arrangement

Arrangement (disposition or taxis) the second canon, refers to the planned ordering of a message to achieve the effect of persuasion, clarity and beauty. *The Combatant* arranged its arguments and information in a way that is appropriate for the situation in an organised manner. In ancient rhetoric, arrangement referred solely to the order to be observed in an oration. However, the term has broadened to include all considerations of discourse. Both Volumes of *The Combatant* under study structured content into sections to maximize persuasion. The volumes were structured into *Editorial, Home News, International, News From the Battle Field, Readers Corner and Poems*.

The editorial of the magazine served as the introduction. On one hand it created a favourable impression on the audience towards SWAPO and its mission to fight for the liberation of Namibia. On the other hand, it created an unfavourable impression on the audience towards the South African apartheid Government. According to Crick (2014), "Introductions should be clear and interesting, ideally combining elements of argument and narrative that tell an audience that they

will be hearing a well-informed argument as well as some interesting stories along the way” and serve “to capture the audience’s attention, state topic of the speech and purpose, relate the topic to the audience, set a tone, preview highlights and provide a transition to the body of the speech” (p. 21). In the editorial section the magazine built its credibility and reliability by appealing to the ethos of prominent leaders such the Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu. Moreover, the appeal to logos was employed to engage the audience’s intellect through testimonies of the successes of SWAPO’s PLAN.

The Home News, International, News From the Battlefield and Readers Corner sections served as the body of the text. Most arguments and claims were made in these sections. The rhetor employed all Aristotle’s proofs of persuasion in these sections. Pathos and logic were mostly employed in *Home News, News From the Battlefield and Readers Corner* to maximize persuasion of the ideas the magazine was spreading across and achieve communicative potential. In the *International* section in the magazine, ethos and logos were employed. With credibility and logical reasoning, the information being disseminated, ideas or ideologies being imposed would be effective and persuasive with facts and authority accompanying the message.

Refutation (refutation), the act of counterpoising the arguments, was employed in the magazine through the appeals of logos and pathos throughout in most arguments it made. “The speaker tackles the arguments of the opposing side, trying to show that they are not valid, not important or not fully convincing” (Lawrie, 2006, p. 23). All refutations were made in the *The Home News, International, News From the Battlefield and Readers Corner* sections of the magazine.

The *Poems* sections of the volumes served as conclusion of the magazine. The sad and encouraging poems at the end of each volume served to summarise all that was reported in the magazine. The

audience would get a reminder of everything (home news, battlefield news and international news) through one poem that appeals to emotions and influence how to take and make decisions based on what they would have read in the magazine.

4.3.3 Style (Elocutio)

Although it is important that one has something substantive to write about, it is also equally important to know how one presents their ideas. The canon of style aids one to present ideas and arguments so the audience would want to engage with the text. According to Lawrie (2006), the canon of style concerns the choices rhetors make to form statements that will have calculated effects on the audience. It is worth mentioning that *The Combatant* in effectively communicating its arguments, ideas and ideologies, employed and exploited different styles of presenting ideas to effectively engage with the audience and achieve rhetorical and communicative potential.

4.3.3.1 Correctness

An effective communicator uses words correctly and follows the rules of grammar and syntax, to ensure clear and precise communication. Correctness means writing or speaking in accordance with the rules and norms of one's language. According to Harvey (2014), correctly using language establishes credibility (ethos) with one's audience because it shows that the writer or speaker is well-educated, understands the nuances of language and pays attention to detail. Finding language mistakes in a piece of text often arises the thought that if the author cannot follow the basic rules of grammar or even take the time and effort to review them, they cannot be trusted as rhetors.

A striking rhetorical mechanism *The Combatant* employed is correctness, it is striking given the time the magazine was written, a time where good education was for the white population and

majority of the black population/masses were given poor education. However, *The Combatant* employed good grammar, spelling of words, throughout both volumes under study. Moreover, political jargon was used to effectively communicate, describe events, issues, and people as well as engage with the audience: ‘racist South Africa’, ‘racist occupationist troops’, ‘colonial economy’, ‘white colonizers’, ‘enemy troops’ to describe the South African Government and their allies in Namibia, ‘cadres’, ‘Namibian patriots’, ‘decolonisation’, ‘neo-colonialism’, ‘combatants’, ‘guerrilla warfare’, ‘apartheid’, ‘massacre’, ‘atrocities’, ‘imperialist states’, ‘national liberation’, ‘slavery, Zionism, dictators’, ‘commemorate’, ‘solidarity’ were used to represent situations and people.

The magazine used political jargon above and more to establish its credibility and effectively achieve communicative and rhetorical potential which is to expose the racial and unjust tactics of the South African apartheid Government, encourage the masses that were under oppression and convey message to the agents of change. Moreover, correctness was employed to avoid distracting the audience from the argument towards grammar, spelling and diction choice mistakes which could result in discrediting the argument of the magazine.

4.3.3.2 Clarity

Clear and simple writing ensure that the message does not get lost between the rhetor and the audience. Harvey (2014) states that it is hard to be persuasive when people cannot even understand what the author is trying to say. *The Combatant* made sure that the arguments and messages were disseminated clearly to the audience. The length of sentences determines how easy it is to understand what the text is about. Ideas get lost in super long sentences. Hence *The Combatant* structured sentences that consist of not more than 20 words to effectively convey information to the audience.

Moreover, paragraphs were short with about six or less sentences and not too long to avoid different ideas sneaking in and ensure the audience were not getting lost in a jumble of different points and arguments.

4.3.3.3 Literary devices/figures

Subjective feelings of the rhetor or his/her description on objects can be expressed using figures of speech. They can be effective means to express, expand and explore the emotions, imagination and observation of rhetoricians/authors of texts. According to Regmi (2014), figures of speech deal with the vehicles which primarily make expression of language beautiful and effective. The author using these devices can deliver the message indirectly to the readers. “Figures of speech is a way of saying something other than the literal way, it adds extra dimensions to language and reveals one thing by relating it to something else” (Guatam, 2014). *The Combatant* made use of figures to pinpoint the areas for ample attention, make expressions memorable and effectively convey information.

4.3.3.3.1 Personification

The magazine employed personification throughout both volumes to improve and increase engagement with the audience. Human characteristics were used to describe abstract ideas, experiences, etc to bring the rhetorical text to life. Personification expresses the rhetor’s intent and takes the audience on a journey through what they have imagined or experienced. In the editorial of Volume 4, the rhetor remarked and emphasized the importance of SWAPO by giving it a human attribute during the remembrance of its 16th birthday ‘The birth of SWAPO in 1960, as a truly National Liberation Movement, opened up a new page in Namibia’s history’. By using the word ‘birth’ the rhetor referred to the beginning of a new movement that brought hope to the oppressed masses of Namibia. The birth of SWAPO is compared and given the same attribute to that of an

infant to highlight its importance, and represent the movement as pure just like a new-born human baby.

Personification was used in the editorial of Volume 4 again to appeal to the emotions of anger of the audience and produce clarity of the injustice the apartheid system was practicing in Namibia. “Racist South Africa turned a deaf ear to the voice of reason of the international community, continued killing, arresting, torturing and banishing political opponents”. The rhetor used the word “voice” to show the extent and importance of what the racists South Africa were ignoring.

To create a deeper connection with the reader and engage their emotions of hope as well as show the nature of imperialism to the audience and most importantly bring clarity on the situation being discussed, the magazine used human/animate attributes to describe imperialism and its short time left for the audience to better understand what is being discussed, the magazine used the words ‘student reluctant to learn’, ‘death’. The rhetor argued: “Imperialism is a student reluctant to learn the lessons of its defeats....imperialism is approaching its imminent death.”

The magazine continued to use this strategy of personification when informing the audience that the world knew what was happening in Namibia and it had been an issue of attention. The magazine achieved by giving human attribute of having eyes to the world. “The eyes of the world have increasing been focused on the unfolding situation in Namibia and South Africa.”

To convey the purpose and goal of SWAPO in a more relatable way, the magazine used the word ‘baptized’ to accurately describe the promise PLAN made as the official fighting army of SWAPO. Baptizing is the sprinkling of water or immersion of someone in water to symbolize purification and admission to Christianity. Therefore, the magazine used this human attribute to describe the

transparency, purity and admission of PLAN as an army that was entirely devoted to SWAPO and the liberation of Namibia. “PLAN was baptized as a dependable fighting arm of SWAPO”.

4.3.3.3.2 Metaphor

For rhetorical effect and clarity on the ideas and arguments being made, the magazine made use of metaphors. According to Soskice (1985), a metaphor is “that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms of which are seen to be suggestive of another” (p. 15). To relate to these *The Combatant* remembered the unfair arresting of Namibian combatants and the unfair trial they went through. The rhetor described the trial itself as a mockery to highlight the fact that the trial itself was ridiculous and a charade to create a respectable image of the apartheid regime and misrepresent the Namibian combatants. “The trial itself was a complete mockery”.

By saying “The people in Namibia are SWAPO and SWAPO is the people”, the magazine is comparing the Namibian people to SWAPO by saying one is the other. The comparison is rhetorical. By calling every Namibia person SWAPO, he invites the masses to join SWAPO in its mission to fight the liberation struggle and creates a connection between SWAPO and the people. The metaphor highlights that SWAPO is serving the Namibian people and they are one because they all have a common goal which is independence.

In the interview between *The Combatant* and a PLAN commissar, while attempting to describe the drive and motivation of the guerrilla fighters in such harsh and difficult conditions, the commissar comments: “They are blinded by strong hatred for apartheid and by their burning determination to free Namibia”. By using the metaphoric expression “blinded by strong hatred for...”, the commissar did not mean actual blindness, but numbness, disregard, heartlessness and pain the apartheid regime had inflicted in them. Moreover, the metaphoric expression ‘burning

determination’’ does not actually mean determination burning. However, the commissar is attempting to give clarity on the intensity of the determination and drive the PLAN fighters have to fight for the liberation struggle. Therefore, the metaphoric expression attempts to give clarity and hope to the audience that the SADF troops, difficult and harsh conditions do not dissuade the freedom fighters in fighting in the liberation struggle, but the numbness and pain that apartheid caused as well as the high internal drive to free Namibia motivates the guerrilla fighters.

In another attempt to give clarity on a situation, *The Combatant* in its international news section made use of metaphor, to address and give a clear picture of the invasion, bombing, and killing happening at the time in Lebanon. Calling Lebanon another synonym of human tragedy gives a clear picture of Lebanon; that what is happening was disastrous, a calamity and misfortune, therefore it engages the emotions of sorrow, pity and terror in the audience just like any tragedy would. ‘‘Lebanon is another synonym of human tragedy of enormous dimension with which the US is inextricably connected’’.

4.3.3.3.3 Allusion

The Combatant in a headline tries to describe and report the progress of liberation struggle by using an animal (pig). The magazine calls the South African apartheid government ‘‘racists still pig-headed’’ to report that they still stand by their racist government of exploitation and discrimination. With a pig being known to be a stupid and stubborn animal, it implies that the South African apartheid Government comprised of obstinate and stupid people by the time of reporting.

4.3.3.3.4 Satire

According to Lutrin and Pincus (2004) Satire is sharp wit, irony or sarcasm used to highlight, expose or ridicule human, social or political weakness or stupidities. *The Combatant* made use of satire to ridicule SADF troops to appeal to the emotions of home and joy of the audience. Moreover, it was used to describe the SADF troops to draw attention to their tactics which PLAN soldiers regarded as weak because they were not motivated like them who were blinded by hatred and burning determination for freedom; “they are adventurists who came for fun, to imitate what they see in cowboy films”.

4.3.3.3.5 Rhetorical question

Lutrin and Pincus (2004) alluded that posing a rhetorical question to an audience merely serves to consider or to focus on the posed question. Volume 4 also effectively made use of the power of this literary feature. Although it expects no answer, the rhetor made use of it to make his/her point as well as enhance the argument being made; “Is there something more honourable than to die while refusing to be a slave?”.

4.3.3.3.6 Consonance

According to Mack (2013) consonance is the repetition of the same consonant two or more times in direct succession. The magazine made use of this literary device to stress on the pain and damage the apartheid regime was causing in Namibia and her people. Moreover, it brings rhythm to the argument; “Know who is robbing, raping, arresting, detaining, torturing and killing us”.

The magazine made use of consonance again in its argument against imperialism and colonisation; “establishment of a world free of oppression, injustice and slavery free also from colonialism, racism, Zionism and fascist dictators”. The use of consonance stresses the points and arguments

of importance as well as it makes the text fun and easy to read, which can enhance its communication and rhetorical potential.

4.3.3.3.7 Paradox

According to Lutrin and Pincus (2004) a paradox is a seemingly absurd or contradictory statement which, when analysed, is found to be true. This strategy was used by *The Combatant*; “they go in fire with fire”. The statement contradicts itself and it is amusing at the same time. However, there is deeper meaning, which is the spirit and determination with which the PLAN fighters would fight (represented by fire in the statement), against the South African troops which are represented by fire in the statement.

4.3.3.3.8 Symbol

To evoke a bigger meaning and function, *The Combatant* made use of symbolism to tell the audience of its function and purpose, to build its credibility and reliability among the audience. Sword used in the statement does not mean a literal sword but it represents a vehicle, means and weapon that would spread the truth and fight for justice for the people of Namibia; “*The Combatant*, the sword of justice and truth”. Through symbolism, the readers/audience have identified the character of the rhetor as well understood their actions based on the symbol used; ‘sword’.

To provide a visual element which allows the audience a chance to understand the situation being discussed, the liberation struggle of Namibia, the magazine continued to use symbolism to paint a picture and create imagery. Bitter in the phrase; “bitter struggle” symbolises the unpleasant, uncomfortable and painful struggle to liberate Namibia from apartheid.

For the audience to actively understand the plan and future of South Africa in Namibia, the magazine used the word 'hell' to symbolise and represent the uncomfortable and alienated treatment they would experience in Namibia. Hell is the term given to the distant land of shadows where the dead are gathered and punished to pay for their sins. Therefore, hell perfectly symbolises and creates greater meaning and visual imagination of what the rhetor is trying to convey; "to turn Namibia into a hell on earth for the Boer militarists".

4.3.3.3.9 Parallelism

To give the magazine a rhetorical touch, *The Combatant* added balance and rhythm at the end of Volume 5, giving it a smoother touch by the use of parallelism after all the arguments and news that had been reported in the magazine. The rhetor used the unity slogan; "ONE NAMIBIA, ONE NATION".

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this study was to examine how PLAN's *The Combatant* employed rhetorical strategies through language and visual images to serve as a tool and sword of justice and truth against the apartheid regime in Namibia. Neo-Aristotelian rhetoric and visual rhetoric were used to guide the study. The study found that *The Combatant* in its fight against colonialism made use of these powerful rhetorical strategies to persuade their audience. Therefore, this chapter provides the conclusions and recommendations drawn from the analysis of the study.

5.2 Conclusion

This section is based on the results of the study, as it sought to find answers to the research questions. To disseminate their intended message effectively and persuade the audience, *The Combatant* made use of Aristotle's rhetoric and incorporated visual rhetoric. The following subsections provide answers to the research questions, the responses for each question are drawn from the findings of the study presented in Chapter 4.

5.2.1 First research question: How did The Combatant employ and use Aristotle's rhetoric to engage and persuade the audience?

In view of the fact that rhetorical discourses/texts come into existence as a response to a problem or situation, it has been demonstrated in Chapter Four that *The Combatant* came into existence as a result of the political situation at the time. The apartheid regime was led by the then South African Government, so the fight for national liberation and hope for Namibia's liberation from colonialism were the motives that prompted the rhetor (PLAN) to come up with the rhetorical act.

In the construction of the rhetorical text, the findings reveal that *The Combatant* applied Aristotle rhetorical strategies to persuade the audience into actively resisting the apartheid regime as well as in exposing their tactics. The strategies employed in the magazine to achieve maximum persuasion and effective dissemination of information involved the faculties of invention (*invention*), arrangement (*disposition*) and style (*elocution*) in creating the text.

The study revealed that in the process of invention, *The Combatant* (Volume 4 &5) employed the classical Aristotle's proofs of persuasion; *ethos, pathos and logos* to engage and persuade their audience as well as disseminate information they intended to spread. The study revealed that through the volumes under study, the rhetor established good character, credibility, reliability, integrity and authority through the proof of *ethos*. Mshvenieradze (2013) states that *ethos* is the style of a speaker by which he or she appeals and tries to attract the attention of the audience to earn their faith (as cited in Museta, 2017). The rhetor tried to earn the faith of the audience by appealing to the credibility and reliability of prominent leaders such as Desmond Tutu and Sam Nujoma. By doing so they gain integrity and the audience can trust the ideas and information the magazine was trying to communicate.

Furthermore, the rhetor appealed effectively to the audience's emotions by using appeal to anger, hope, sadness and sorrow as well as the appeal to the fundamental and human needs. Baker (n.d.) states that an appeal to *pathos* prompts an audience not just to respond emotionally, but to identify with the rhetor's perspective. In view of this, the findings revealed that the use of *pathos* to appeal to the emotions of the audience was aimed at winning the support of the audience as the leading party of the liberation struggle and getting the audience to join forces in resisting the apartheid regime by engaging their feelings on the issues of apartheid, massacres of the Namibian people, pain being sustained through colonialization, exploitation and unfair treatment of the people.

The study found out that the volumes under study used logos to appeal to the intellect and reason of the audience. Anderson (2008) contends that all knowledge and proof are acquired or achieved through deduction or induction. When a speaker uses logos as an appeal of persuasion, the speaker appeals to the audience's sense of what is logical; the speaker does this by providing facts and evidence to support claims and arguments. In view of this, deductive reasoning, statistics, testimonies, cause and effect and examples were predominant in the magazine when presenting arguments and claims on issues of the battle field, and massacres of the Namibian people to the audience.

In the process of arrangement, *The Combatant* fulfils McKay and McKay's (2018) claim that the process of arranging and organising arguments and claims is for maximum impact and Crick (2014) that resources for arrangement consist of templates that indicate where certain types of things should go and in what sequence. Although the volumes did not follow the Classical Oration Template consisting of introduction, statement of facts, division, proofs, refutation and conclusion, for the reason being that it is written discourse not oration, the study observed a coherent structure and template which divided the content of the magazine accordingly. The editorial section, *Home News* section contained all news that involved Namibia. *International* section contained all issues and news from outside countries. *News From the Battlefield* reported all developments from the battlefield and exile. *Readers Corners* carried letters and responses from the audience while the *Poems* section contained the poems written by Namibian people expressing their thoughts.

The study also found that the rhetor used plain, correct, easy to read and understand language in the volumes under study. This was demonstrated by the use of everyday language, appropriate jargon, and normal length sentences and paragraphs. In addition, linguistic features also played a prominent role in *The Combatant*. The researcher is of the opinion that the use of these linguistic

features such as literary figures and tropes were used to make a lasting effect of the information or ideas being communicated to the audience. Moreover, multiple feelings and meaning as well as engaging the audience on pressing matters regarding the liberation struggle were communicated through linguistic features. The linguistic tools observed were personification, metaphors, rhetorical questions, parallelism, allusion, satire, consonance, paradox and symbol.

It is safe to say that the first question was answered through the guidance of neo-Aristotelian approach as a framework.

5.2.2 Second research question: How did *The Combatant* incorporate visual images as complementary rhetoric strategies to engage and persuade the audience?

The findings reveal that *The Combatant* incorporated images in the magazines to achieve its communicative potential effectively. The visual images incorporated in the volumes under study add meaning to the information being conveyed through language. Images were incorporated in the magazine to appeal to emotions of the audience by using sensitive and real pictures that show massacres of the masses. Pictures were used, also, to engage with the audience's reason by using pictures as proof and testimony of the argument being made and achieve credibility and reliability through the images of local and international leaders such as the then North Korean President.

As already established, *The Combatant* was constructed in response to the situation that was happening at the time which was the apartheid regime. Education discrimination was one of the practices. Therefore, many Namibian people might not have been able to read English because the dominant official language was English. Visual images thus served to communicate vividly to those who could not read. In other words, *The Combatant* fulfils Scholtz-Kotzee's (2021) observation that visual images communicate to both the literate and illiterate. Therefore, the

researcher submits that the study's second question was answered based on the findings and guidance of visual rhetoric approach as a theoretical framework.

5.3 Overall judgement and recommendations

The study was a neo-Aristotelian and visual rhetorical analysis of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia's official revolutionary magazine *The Combatant*. The study is significant because it is a contribution to the areas of classical and visual rhetoric and the study of political revolutionary discourse which holds most of Namibia's history. From the analysis it is concluded that *The Combatant* was an outstanding rhetorician with an outspoken character that served its mission which was to expose the tactics of the apartheid regime and be the sword of justice and truth. Based on the findings and analysis drawn from this study, the following recommendations for possible future studies in the same area of study are made:

- Future studies can consider fantasy theme criticism to understand why *The Combatant* believed what they believed by understanding the settings and actions they supported.
- The present study used a neo-Aristotelian and visual rhetoric approaches for guidance. Future studies can consider feminist criticism to determine and understand the degree to which women's perspective and input in the liberation struggle are absent or discredited in *The Combatant*.
- The present study analysed only two volumes of *The Combatant*, one of many nationalist movements political discourse. Future studies can consider the same frameworks used in this study to explore how other Namibian political discourse utilised rhetorical strategies to spread their information across.

Overall future research is recommended to determine other variables not covered in the scope of this study but relevant for an enriched knowledge of how rhetorical strategies can contribute to effective communication.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Ethical clearance certificate



ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Ethical Clearance Reference Number: SHS 0016 **Date:** 28 February 2022

This Ethical Clearance Certificate is issued by the University of Namibia Decentralized Ethics Committee (DEC) in accordance with the University of Namibia's Research Ethics Policy and Guidelines. Ethical approval is given in respect of undertakings contained in the Research Project outlined below. This Certificate is issued on the recommendations of the ethical evaluation done by the School of Humanities, Society & Development Decentralized Ethics Committee.

Title of Project: Neo- Aristotelian and visual Rhetorical analysis of the Peoples Liberation army of Namibia Magazine, The combatant (Volume 4 & 5)

Researcher: Maria N Simon

Student Number: 201503553

Supervisor(s): Dr. C. Sabao

Centre for Research Services

Take note of the following:

1. Any significant changes in the conditions or undertakings outlined in the approved Proposal must be communicated to the ethics committee. An application to make amendments may be necessary.
2. Any breaches of ethical undertakings or practices that have an impact on ethical conduct of the research must be reported to the ethics committee
3. The Principal Researcher must report issues of ethical compliance to the ethics committee (through the Chairperson) at the end of the Project or as may be requested by the ethics committee
4. The ethics committee retains the right to:
 - i) Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance if any unethical practices (as outlined in the Research Ethics Policy) have been detected or suspected,
 - ii) Request for an ethical compliance report at any point during the course of the research.

The ethics committee wishes you the best in your research.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Trywell Kalusopa".

Prof. Trywell Kalusopa (Chairperson, Decentralised Ethics Committee)

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Davis Mumbengegwi".

Prof. Davis Mumbengegwi (Head, Multidisciplinary Research)