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**“A rhetorical analysis of
President Thabo Mbeki’s
Inauguration speech &
United Nations Speech”**

NOTE: Please note the speeches referred to are attached at the end of this paper (After the Bibliography). Each paragraph in these speeches is numbered. This helps the reader to identify where in the speech certain comments and analysis refer to.

Introduction

This paper analyzes two speeches delivered by President Thabo Mbeki. These being his inauguration speech on Freedom day and the speech he has recently delivered to the United Nations (UN). It compares these two speeches to each other and in doing so it tries to limit its argument to three points. These points are Thabo Mbeki's metaphorical usage in these speeches; his image usage as well as the logical arguments he uses in these speeches. Where these three points are concerned, this comparison takes an interest in whether or not they function in the same way in their respective speeches.ⁱ

These speeches will be critiqued in a rhetoric form. This critique makes the use of presidential rhetoric complimented by other forms of rhetoric such as logos, pathos, ethos and the argumentation structure of the speeches. These are referred to as the vertical structures of rhetoric. These speeches will also be critiqued through the use of forensic, epideictic and deliberative rhetoric these are referred to as the horizontal structures of rhetoric

To have a comprehensive comparison of these speeches, this paper comes in two sections. The first section provides you with a rhetorical description of each speech, focusing on what type of speech it is. Here there is more of an emphasis on presidential rhetoric. The second section compares the two speeches to each other. Firstly this paper provides you with an in depth analysis of one speech (Thabo Mbeki's inauguration speech on freedom day). Then through the process of analyzing the second speech (Thabo Mbeki's UN speech), it compares the two speeches to each other. Here there will be an emphasis on both presidential and general rhetoric principles (vertical and

horizontal structures). The purpose of organizing this paper in this manner is to demonstrate an understanding of a wide range of rhetoric principles.

SECTION 1

Brief description of Thabo Mbeki's speeches

Inauguration and the 10th Anniversary of Freedom, Pretoria, 27 April 2004:

The following speech by President Thabo Mbeki is an example of an inauguration speech. An inauguration speech is one of the first speeches a president will make in front of his or her nation as a president. For this reason usually an inauguration speech uses the occasion to commemorate the nation's past, to envision its future, and to try to set the tone for the next four years, (Singleman: 1996). In addition to this, in order to communicate affectively to the audience, the president has to consider many factors. These include unifying the audience, speaking in a common tongue; showing a symbol of unification and to rehearse traditional values. If we study Thabo Mbeki's speech, it seems to incorporate all of these characteristics. For this analysis I will be mentioning each characteristic and mentioning in point form where it can be found in this speech.

President Mbeki's speech:

Commemoration of the nation's past: Mbeki makes use of the weather and Freedom day to set a platform to speak about the country's past. This seems appropriate since its ten years after democracy in this country at this time. He then speaks about the dark days of apartheid which is a big part of this country's history and freedom day. Basically in this section he describes apartheid in detail in terms of who benefited in apartheid and who didn't. By making an emphasis on apartheid, Mbeki is focusing on the country's history or past which as stated by (Singleman: 1996) is a major aspect of inauguration speeches.

Envisioning the future: Here Mbeki doesn't immediately speak about the country's future, he slowly builds up to it. He does this by speaking about the present "we have gathered here today, on freedom day..." He also speaks about South Africa being Democratic and how a South Africa without a Democracy seems impossible. He then speaks about the future of the country and what needs to be changed in the country in order to keep Democracy and fair treatment in South Africa. He mentions things such as poverty, strong economy, illiteracy, and the creation of jobs. Basically Mbeki wants to witness transformation in South Africa's future. Here Mbeki envisions the future which has come to be expected in inauguration speeches, (Singleman: 1996). Also, in envisioning the future and the problems in country, Mbeki sounds like an expert which boosts his ethos in the eyes of the audience because he conveys sound judgment which will lead to the audience believing that he is a competent leader, (Lee & Spano: 1996)

Setting a tone for the next four years: The tone he sets in this speech is to encourage South Africa to fight and to keep fighting and maintaining transformation structures within the country. He talks about a journey (perhaps the 4 years) in which South Africans must strive to redress the harm that was caused to all Africans (the harm during apartheid). This according to (Singleman: 1996) is another aspect of inauguration speeches

Unifying the audience: The importance here is the clarity of the words and the language that the president uses, (Singleman: 1996). In this speech the president's language seems to be clear as it is relaxed and not too formal. Since the speech is held in Pretoria on freedom day, he may have expected a dominantly black audience. For this reason many of them may not have the highest education which is why his language doesn't seem too sophisticated. The regular use of words such as "we" and "ours" also helps to unify this audience. This is a good use of elocutory devices by Mbeki.

Speaking in a common tongue: To be affective here the president needs to speak in easy to understand sentences and more importantly the president must be concerned more about speaking to the general public and less about rhetorical techniques, (Singleman:

1996). Since the issue of transformation is a contentious issue in the country, it seems that Mbeki knew he had to get the message across to his audience. In order to do this, simple English would be the best way to do it. The reason for this more people (audience) would understand it. Mbeki's speech seem to have taken this into account

Symbol of unification and to rehearse traditional values: Here a symbol of unification seems to be the notion that we are all African. Mbeki uses epideictic speech to embrace Africa by referring to the continent as a being....thereby showing affection for it. Here he is trying to awaken emotion in his audience (a use of pathos). Another addition to his use of pathos is how he instills pride which is a strong emotion into Africa by stating that it is a place for human hope. The traditional values which are being rehearsed here seems to be the "struggle" notion. To keep fighting for change and democracy for a better South Africa for all. Here he persuades the audience to view things from his perspective. This is a very important skill, as stated by (Thurow: 1996)

The above demonstrates what is expected of an inauguration speech. Mbeki's speech fulfills these requirements however whether it is the successful usage of these principles will be discussed later in the comparison section of this paper.

2007/09/25 **T Mbeki: United Nations' General Assembly**

URL: <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2007/07092610451002.htm> Size:
18KB Source: Department of Foreign Affairs Speaker: T Mbeki Collection:
Gov

When studying Thabo Mbeki's UN speech, it seems that this speech comes in the form of an advocacy speech. The reason for this belief is because advocacy speeches are usually constructed in a way that the speaker speaks on behalf of someone else (to be the voice of someone). It also usually has the element of prudence and it strives to achieve justice. Mbeki's speech has these elements. In his speech Mbeki speaks largely on behalf of the poor people or poor nations of the world. He describes their condition as unacceptable. He therefore argues for justice and that there should be a change with their conditions. He does this well to a certain extent because of the way he has placed his arguments within the body of his speech.

Since advocacy speeches strive on the element of change, the speaker usually has a vision or a solution in place which is the stimulant for that change. In other words the "change" has to be motivated, (Penelope: 1986). In the body of this speech, Mbeki identifies the origins of the problem (the state of poor countries) by stating that the world is defined by the dominant and the dominated and because of this there is a skewed distribution of power. This skewed distribution of power comes in the form of political, economic, technological and social power and it is in the favor of the dominant, which is why the dominated (poor countries) are under developed. Mbeki adequately develops his argument and he systematically mentions that the maintenance of power has become the ultimate goal of the dominating countries instead of addressing issues of global importance such as poverty. He states that the UN is the body that addresses issues of global importance however in its current state it will not be affective, but he acknowledges that a change is needed. This is how Mbeki develops his argument

Although Mbeki to a certain extent does well to develop his argument, he does not directly propose any real solutions to the problems he has identified. Instead he argues in depth about the origins of the problem and why at this stage it seems that they will always be present. This is a major downfall of this speech. Since in its early stages the speech takes the form of an advocacy speech, it needs to carry the principles of an

advocacy speech throughout the speech. This means that when identifying problems, the speaker has to have a vision and solutions to those problems. This includes the limitations of those solutions, the magnitude of disparity, the extension of disparity, a consideration of the effects of the solutions (some thorough consideration of the solutions is needed), (Penelope: 1986). The fact that he did not have solutions to all the problems he had pointed out makes his speech less convincing as an advocacy speech. As stated by (Dailey, Hinck & Hinck: 2004) how well a candidate supports his claim has a great impact on his audience. Since Mbeki's audience here is very well educated, more solutions to the problems he pointed out could have also helped his speech to come across as more convincing in their eyes.

Although this speech falters in some aspects of advocacy speeches, Mbeki does seem to have another goal in this speech and he seems to achieve it. Mbeki's other goal in this speech is to be recognized by the UN as a competent individual with an analytical mind weary of the issues surrounding the UN. Not only is he weary of these issues but he has also weary of global issues. This adds to his ethos and makes him a viable candidate for a permanent seat within the Security Council of the UN. Mbeki has done well here in using an advocacy speech in order to create a political image, which is what advocacy speeches are usually used for (Dailey, Hinck & Hinck :2004)

As we can see, Mbeki tries to achieve gravity in this speech. It's a beauracratic style of writing. He is basically campaigning for a seat in the Security Council. He decided to appoint himself as the guardian of poor countries (third world countries). Since he is a member of the Security Council he does not speak on behalf of South Africa, rather he speaks on behalf of all of these third world countries. Through this and the rest of his speech, it is possible that Mbeki gained a lot of ethos.

When analyzing this aspect of Mbeki's speech, it is clear that he makes a lot of strong arguments. He goes about this in two different ways. Firstly he celebrates the efforts of the UN. However he also brings in new arguments from different angles which are suppose to highlight the downfalls of the UN. Secondly he rephrases arguments in

different ways. This is a deliberative move on Mbeki's part. He makes the use of epidictic speech when he urges every one to embrace addressing global issues such as poverty. Another form of epidictic speech he uses is the blame he shifts to the UN. He doesn't directly blame anyone in the UN; instead he highlights the fact that at some level they have failed.

Mbeki's speech above is an example of an advocacy speech as it has most of the characteristics of an advocacy speech. However it is not a concrete example of an advocacy speech. In a nutshell an advocacy speech does the following. The introduction has four functions: 1) To grab the audience's attention, 2) The proposal is approached in an original manner, 3) There must be a personal involvement between the speaker and his proposal and 4) It must bring together the occasion that must make the audience listen to the speaker. In addition to this, the body of the speech does the following: 1) It must flow free from one idea to another. Lastly the Conclusion does the following: 1) It summarizes the argument, 2) It must make reference to the audience's part in the functions and 3) The speaker must have closure in his argument and he must believe in what he proposes. As we can see from the above this speech does not fully achieve what is expected of an advocacy speech. The comparison section will analyze this speech in more detail.

SECTION 2

Analysis and Comparison of the two speeches:

The individual analysis of each of the speeches above has revealed that these speeches had different objectives. Because of these objectives, these speeches display different

styles in which a speech can be written. This section compares the different styles of writing within these speeches. That is to say it looks at the internal end as well as the external end of these speeches. Having said that however, as mentioned earlier this comparison will focus more on three aspects of these speeches. These include Thabo Mbeki's use of metaphors, images and logical arguments. This is also where aspects of both presidential rhetoric and general rhetoric principles (vertical and horizontal analyses) will be displayed.

When analyzing Thabo Mbeki's inauguration speech, (*Inauguration and the 10th Anniversary of Freedom, Pretoria, 27 April 2004*) it is clear that this speech has a good external end. That is to say that it is not well written but it is convincing. The main reason why it is not well written is that it tries to be all encompassing; it therefore tries to do too much by trying to deliver three speeches at once. These being an inaugural speech, freedom day speech and a ten year of democracy speech. This is the main downfall of the speech.

Although this speech is not well written, it uses the occasion (Freedom day and Ten years of democracy) very effectively. When analyzing the speech vertically, it seems Mbeki makes the use of logos, ethos as well as pathos in this speech. He also makes the use of elocutory devices in terms of the language he uses and the words he uses in this speech. He has used these forms of rhetoric alongside his use of images and metaphors. At the same time these images and metaphors are centered on Freedom day and the ten years of democracy, these days hold a lot of emotional connotations in the South African context. For this reason, this makes these images and metaphors all the more powerful.

In the paragraph number 1, Mbeki immediately opens his speech using imagery. He uses the good whether to embrace freedom day and to unite the people of South Africa. This is followed by an official welcome in paragraphs 2 and 3.

In paragraphs 4 and 5 he makes the use of metaphors. These metaphors are associated to apartheid and the notion of freedom which are emotional topics in this country. Therefore

his metaphors make the use of pathos by appealing to his audience's emotions by describing the appreciation and the happiness the country feels because of the role played by these guests during apartheid. Later he describes what things used to be like in the country, and in so doing emphasizes this appreciation. Phrases such as "Freedom's opportunities have given us the possibility to begin the long walk to a life of dignity for all people" have a heavy impact on the audience's emotions. In so doing these words and the emotions that come with them help Mbeki communicate his appreciation more extensively, (Linsford & Ruszkiewicz: 2001)

Paragraphs 6-8 build on from the above metaphor, in the form of an argument. It builds on what the country used to be like in terms of freedom. This argument comes in the form of logos in the inductive form. This is a true argument which highlights the inequalities which were prevalent in the country. It makes the use of examples of race and gender emphasizing that if you were a certain race or sex you enjoyed certain privileges that others didn't have. For this reason this argument is an example of logos in the inductive form, (Kennedy: 1991). This argument also appeals to the audience's emotions. Here he uses elocutory devices. Since he is appealing to the audience's emotions he uses simple language in order not to lose them through the point he tries to make. Also, he seems to stress words such as "to be born black was to inherit a lifelong curse". Since the audience of this speech was probably black, they are the ones who had this curse as stated by Mbeki. The way that Mbeki communicates these facts to his audience, certainly awakened emotions within them. Therefore there is also the use of pathos within this argument, (Kennedy: 1991)

Paragraph 9 follows on from the above argument in the form of imagery. Here Mbeki refers to the way in which certain areas (non-white) areas had to be sacrificed in order for the more privileged areas (white) could blossom. This imagery also makes the use of pathos through the use of its descriptive words which emphasize the point which is being made. These include words such as decaying rot, milling crowds of wretchedness and unending images of a landscape strewn with carelessly abandoned refuse. This could awaken emotions such as anger to those in the audience who had experienced what was

being described by this image. As stated by (Linsford & Ruszkiewicz: 2001) anger as an emotion could be used to sustain or carry an argument. It seems that Mbeki is using this emotion in that manner here.

This imagery is also carried in paragraph 11. Although it is carried in a different manner, it plays the same role and emphasizes there was a huge gap between the privileged and the under privileged. Again, this could awaken certain emotions within the audience, especially those who were part of the under privileged who is being described. The privileged who is also being described here would also have a rise of emotion, perhaps that of guilt. The emotions that are cleverly awakened by Mbeki here, especially that of guilt are usually used to create a bridge between the speaker and his audience. This is even more so when dealing with a sensitive issue as Mbeki is doing here, (Linsford & Ruszkiewicz: 2001). So this use of emotions illustrates to us that Mbeki was trying to become close with his audience at this point of his speech through the use of pathos

Paragraph 13, here Mbeki starts to make his audience aware of what happened if one tried to fight against the norms of South Africa before it was free. Here he makes the use of a metaphor which indicates that one who went against the norms was killed or tortured. Here he is also appealing to emotions (pathos), especially the emotion of fear, the fear of standing up for change. Mbeki makes use of this emotion to help the audience to identify with experiences of the apartheid era, (Linsford & Ruszkiewicz: 2001) As a result of this, the following paragraphs (paragraphs 14-24) discuss this matter in more detail (general discussion).

Paragraph 25 takes the form of a metaphor. It describes women's vote in the most recent elections during this time as a voice. This is a powerful metaphor and it introduces the way in which government is structured. It introduces how government has now changed. Through this Metaphor Mbeki introduces the "ten years of democracy" part of his speech. He thus discusses democracy at this point

Mbeki relates democracy with restoring dignity to all South Africans. He realizes that in order to restore dignity within the country, the notion of poverty needs to be addressed. In paragraphs 31-36 he makes an argument about poverty within the country. This is a use of logos in the deductive form by Mbeki. The reason for this is that it is probable argument, (Kennedy: 1991) The reason why it is a probable argument is that Mbeki's main argument is that all of the social problems in the country can not be addressed outside the context of job creation and eradicating poverty.

Horizontal Analysis (deliberative, forensic and epideictic)

In paragraphs 37-39 Mbeki starts to make the use of epideictic speech. He talks about values that bind countries together, especially African countries. He states that the notion of poverty binds all African countries together. He also celebrates the fact that these countries are liberated from colonial and white minority domination, which also unites them. Lastly he also celebrates the possibility of taking Africa forward in an African Renaissance which all African countries seems to be striving for. Here Mbeki starts using his ethos to unite the country as presidents have become expected to do (Thurow: 1996)

In paragraphs 40-41, Mbeki acknowledges that even though there's plenty to celebrate in Africa the reality is that there are global issues which detract from this and temper with this celebration. Here he makes the use of forensic rhetoric. He finds the source of what is detracting from this celebration and he firstly summarizes it down to violence and acts of terrorism.

Secondly he notes that globalization, the growing impoverishment of billions across the globe and the inefficiency of multilateral institutions (UN) are also detracting from the African celebration. By Mbeki finding the source that is detracting from the African celebration, he is presenting an argument that justice is needed. This is what forensic rhetoric seeks to do.

Mbeki then uses the above to start speaking about Africa's problems and its future as inauguration speeches often do, (Singleman: 1996). This is also the use of Deliberative rhetoric on his part and it takes place in paragraphs 42-44, (Kennedy: 1991). Mbeki sees Africa's future beginning on that day (Second Decade of Democracy). He makes the use of a metaphor in paragraph 42 by referring to Africa as someone who will record new advances as she pursues a better life for all and that she will do what she can to encourage a more equitable and humane world order. By giving Africa a human quality, he attaches emotion to the continent. This encourages his audience to have faith and to trust in Africa and its future. Here Mbeki also shows certain patriotism and a love for his country and continent. Presidents always have this quality in common, (Thurow: 2001). Here his patriotism indicates to the country that there is still a future for everyone in the country. Since Mbeki has the ethos of being president, his audience is more likely to have faith in what he is saying.

In Paragraph 45 once again Mbeki makes the use of epideictic speech to celebrate the heroes and heroines who sacrificed for our freedom. He also celebrates the rest of the world for the role they played in our freedom as well. Mbeki strategically unites the citizens of South Africa by using words such as "us" and "our". This is a very important part of an inauguration speech. These are qualities which are often used specifically in inauguration speeches,(Singleman: 1996)

Mbeki then concludes by stating that the second Decade of freedom has begun and he ends off with the African terms "Siyanqaba" which means "we will succeed". The use of this term is appropriate since the majority of his audience was probably black and they would understand the terms.

Conclusion: As it was mentioned earlier this speech has a good external end. That is to say it is not well written but it is convincing. The reason why it is so convincing is that Mbeki made the clever use of the vertical and horizontal rhetorical techniques, by clearly starting his speech by using the vertical principles and lastly ending his speech by making use of the horizontal principles. This assisted his speech in terms of its persuasive nature.

Also Mbeki cleverly appeals to the emotions that “Freedom Day” and the “ten years of democracy” awakens within his audience. This he does through the constant use of metaphors and images to paint a picture to his audience throughout his speech. In order not to lose his audience here, he made the use of simple language. In addition to this he has also cleverly made the use of arguments. His arguments often take place before or after the use of his metaphors thereby they seem more believable because at this point the audience is already taken by his use of metaphors or images. However because his speech tries to accomplish too much, his arguments struggle to flow on from one another.

A suggestion that comes to mind is that if Mbeki felt the desperate need to have three speeches in one speech (inauguration speech, freedom day speech and a ten year of democracy speech) he should have done this by creating a theme for each speech. This would have helped his speech in terms of its structure. An even better suggestion would have been for him not to deliver the speech on Freedom day. Instead he should have delivered it on a day where he would be able to target the South African public whilst they were among family and friends, therefore his speech would reach a wider target audience. These days include Christmas, Easter, New Year’s Day or even heritage day which is also known as national braai day. Also by doing this his speech would focus on two aspects, these being the inauguration and the ten years of democracy. This would also help the structure of his speech. At the same time he could still appeal to his audience’s emotions by using the significance of the day that has brought them together with family and friends.

On the other hand, Mbeki’s speech to the UN is somewhat different when compared to his inauguration speech. Perhaps this has to do with the fact that the two speeches have different objectives and different audiences. When analyzing Mbeki’s speech to the UN (*T. Mbeki United Nations’ General assembly*) immediately we notice that his speech has a better internal end than his inauguration speech. That is to say that his speech is well written however it is not as convincing as his inauguration speech. What can be noted

here is that Mbeki makes more use of logical arguments than the use of metaphors and images. Also, this speech does not try to cover too many topics, instead it has two objectives in mind and it argues along those lines.

In his first 3 paragraphs like in his inauguration speech, Mbeki acknowledges his audience and the purpose of the occasion. However the difference is that he does not make the use of metaphors or images here. Instead he uses his ethos as a member of the Security Council and keeps the greeting very formal.

In paragraph 4 Mbeki uses his ethos again to start advocating for the poor. He does this by calling for the rapid and more expedient action of the UN for the poor people of the world and he emphasizes the urgency of their issues. Here Mbeki has identified the issues and he is motivating why there is a need for change, this is very important in an advocacy speech (Penelope: 1986). Here Mbeki also makes the use of deliberative speech by highlighting the future vision and current challenges and the consequences for the future if challenges are not collectively resolved.

In paragraph 5 Mbeki makes the use of epideictic speech to unite the various countries. He does this by celebrating the common goals and common duties the people of the world and their respective nations have in this matter, (Carter: 1991).

In paragraphs 6-8 Mbeki starts off by establishing what has been achieved by the UN initiatives. He then uses his ethos once again to plea for the advancement of the interests of the poor and therefore we are aware of the fact that he has officially nominated himself as the guardian of poor countries and that his aim is to advocate on their behalf. In order to advocate on their behalf successfully, he makes the use of imagery. This imagery is used in the same way as it is used in his inauguration speech. That is to say that it is surrounded with arguments that make the use of pathos and appeals to his audience's emotions. This appeal to the audience's emotions is very important in the context of this speech. Even though this is an advocacy speech, sometimes the way a speaker can appeal to his audience's emotions is more important than his advocacy skills, this is why this

appeal is important (Dailey, Hinck & Hinck: 2004). His arguments which follow here also make the use of logos in the deductive form because in his arguments he expresses a deep knowledge of these issues, which in term produce probable arguments, (Kennedy: 1991)

After making these arguments, Mbeki strategically makes the use of forensic speech in paragraphs 9-10 to highlight the causes of poverty in the world and what the UN as leaders have to do in order to address these issues. Even though Mbeki highlights the causes of these issues, he is also aware that there will be challenges of collectively seeking resolutions. In terms of looking towards the future, this aspect of Mbeki's speech is similar to his inauguration speech. However it was more effective in his inauguration speech because it made the use of a metaphor by referring to Africa as a person.

In paragraphs 11-15 Mbeki makes the use of logos in the inductive form. He argues that as the UN they have come up with initiatives with the objective of addressing climate change, poverty and underdevelopment, and he goes on to make examples of these initiatives. He concludes by stating that these examples are supposed to be a testament and a declaration to the fact that they (UN) are committed to making the right to development a reality for everyone. These logical arguments rely heavily on the use of examples, which make it an inductive argument, (Kennedy: 1991)

Mbeki adds to the above argument in the form of a counter argument in paragraph 16. This counter argument comes in the form of a metaphor. This metaphor justifies why many may not have faith in the declarations of the UN anymore. Here Mbeki once again expresses the use of his ethos to be the voice of the poor.

In paragraphs 17-18 Mbeki once again makes the use of ethos as an insightful member of the Security Council to point out the UN's inadequate or insufficient efforts which have been followed by the lack of results where the poor are concerned. Later Mbeki points out the faults of the UN, holding them accountable for the lack of efficiency regarding important issues and its inability to achieve their set goals in fulfilling their mandate to

the world and its people. Here there is a use of epideictic speech because Mbeki is pointing the blame to the UN. Although the blame is not directed to anyone in particular, it is still directed at the UN as a body.

The above observation is developed further by Mbeki. In paragraphs 19-21 he makes the use of an argument (logos in the inductive form) to point out examples of the type of issues that the UN has not been able to address. The main example which he refers to is the prevalent power struggle in the world, where the between the dominant (rich) and the dominated (poor). Here Mbeki points out that the dominant will always retain power which makes the advancement of the dominated very difficult. This means that the dominant will carry on dominating the dominated. Here we see Mbeki starting make a certain argument which he carries for a few paragraphs. This was lacking in his inaugural speech which is why its internal end was not as good as in this speech.

In paragraphs 22-23 we see Mbeki reinforcing the fact that although the UN has had its short comings, it is still an important organization which plays an important role in the world system. He thus uses pathos to make an urgent plea to the UN stating that for the sake of the poor they should work towards a common global interest and not try to advance personal interests which will not benefit those in need. Here Mbeki sounds sincere and he uses very formal language in order to appeal to the UN. Also it seems that the emotion Mbeki is appealing to here is guilt. This appeal was also use in his inauguration speech. Appealing to guilt as it was mentioned earlier can be useful in speeches because it connects a bridge between the speaker and his audience, (Linsford & Ruszkiewicz: 2001)

In paragraphs 24-26 Mbeki closes this part of his argument. He does this by emphasizing the fact that the UN in its current state will struggle to achieve global interests such as alleviating poverty from poor countries. Therefore he states that there needs to be a change within the UN because if there is no change there will be a lot of noble suggestions about resolving the problem however the problem will not be actively resolved. Here there is a hint of a deliberative argument. That is to say Mbeki's argument

is looking at the future...what will happen if there's no change. Most importantly his argument questions the expediency (usefulness) of not bringing about change which according to (Salazar: 2003) is an important part of deliberative arguments. The aspect of usefulness was not considered in Mbeki's deliberative arguments in his inaugural speech. The consideration of this aspect adds to the internal end of this speech as compared to his inauguration speech. It thus highlights that there was more of an emphasis on the writing structure of this speech.

Mbeki decides to be more specific in terms of poor or developing countries in paragraphs 27-31. He does this by using South Africa as an example of a developing country in order to support his argument. This is an example of logos in the inductive form from Mbeki and the use of using South Africa and its developing economies is an appropriate example in terms of his argument, (Kennedy: 1991). The reason for this is that he has a good knowledge of the South African economy and for this reason he is able to bring about the apparent truth of his argument. In this case this apparent truth is that South Africa still needs resources from the more dominant countries in the world in order to help it's for the second economy in South Africa to be able to be able to bring a better life for poor Africans. This Mbeki believes is part of the UN's responsibility. It must also be added that in this argument Mbeki comes off as being desperate to get assistant for poor countries. For this reason he makes the use of pathos to appeal to the UN's emotions (guilt) in order to make them realize that poor countries around the world are indeed desperate and in need of help.

In paragraphs 32-33 Mbeki emphasizes the above argument by making the use of deliberative speech. He makes reference to the future and what the repercussions will be if the UN is not active in assisting the poor countries of the world. He also questions the usefulness of not assisting the poor countries. According to (Salazar: 2003) the aspect of usefulness important when using deliberative speech. Again, these types of arguments were lacking in Mbeki's inauguration speech. In other ways there is also the use of pathos here from Mbeki because he pin-points these repercussions of not helping the poor countries and he appeals to the emotions of the UN to play their role so that these

repercussions do not occur. Here once again Mbeki uses his ethos and formal language to appeal to the UN.

Mbeki carries on with his use of pathos to argue that indeed poor countries need the UN to play their role. He does this in paragraphs 34-36, by proposing what needs to be looked into in order to help the poor countries in Africa. At the same time he asks the crucial argument by asking the question of why Europe and Asia was able to receive assistance in its development in the past and today the UN is not able to help Africa in the same way. This is a very good argument from Mbeki because it is backed up by factual evidence. That is to say it is the use of logos from Mbeki in the inductive form (Kennedy: 1991). This argument appeals to the emotions of the UN because it is asking them to justify their actions. Where they can't justify their actions they could start feeling guilty about not playing their role adequately. Here we see that use of pathos is similar to that in Mbeki's inauguration speech in that it appeals to the emotion of guilt and it is surrounded by an argument of some sort. However the difference here is that the arguments made in this speech tend to flow better from the one argument to the next. This was also missing in Mbeki's inauguration speech.

In paragraph 37 we see a turning point in Mbeki's speech. He starts to make the use of a metaphor about the global village and the bridge that needs to be built in order to unite people over the river that separates them. The separation he refers to is that between the rich and the poor people in this world. This metaphor however does not function in the same way as the metaphors in his inauguration speech. That is to say it is not systematic and therefore it does not work in tandem with other metaphors. This according to (Penelope: 1986) is important when using metaphors. However the use of this metaphor is systematic in the sense that it works in tandem with the message and arguments which has been conveyed throughout the speech.

In paragraphs 38-40 Mbeki brings his speech to a close. He does this by making the use of epideictic speech. He celebrates the different backgrounds that we all have such as being rich and poor and being from the North or South but at the same time, he stresses

that although we have all of these differences in many ways we do have common goals. He uses these common goals to unite us. Here the common goals he refers to include the challenges of climate change and sustainable development as well as defeating poverty and underdevelopment to ensure every human being is saved from indecencies and humiliation that are attached to the poor. Here he makes the use of an image of everyone holding hands in addressing these common goals. This image is referring to everyone working together in order to address these common goals. This image functions in the same way as in his inauguration speech in that it is surrounded by a certain argument. Here the argument Mbeki is pushing forward is that we have common goals and therefore we should work together to achieve these goals.

Conclusion: This speech as it was mentioned earlier this is somewhat an advocacy speech which has a better or “good” internal end when compared to the inauguration speech. The reason for this could be the fact that the speech does not try to do too much by covering a large range of topics. In this speech there are basically two topics that are being covered. These are to address the issues of climate change and to advocate for poor countries so that there can be structures in place in order to alleviate their poverty circumstances. The only downfall of this speech in this aspect is that even though one of the aspects of the speech is climate change, it focuses heavily on the poor and poor countries. The main objective of the speech is thus confusing at times.

Even though this speech has a better structure than the inauguration speech, it is not as convincing as the inauguration speech. This is possibly because in this speech Mbeki doesn't make an extensive use of images and metaphors to emphasize his points as he did in his inauguration speech. Also, his use of rhetorical devices such as the vertical and the horizontal techniques was also not used strategically as it was in the inauguration speech. In this speech the use of the vertical and horizontal rhetorical techniques are scattered through out the speech. Where as in his inauguration there was a structural use of these techniques...where he made the use of the vertical techniques first and then the horizontal techniques. This made for a convincing speech as a whole.

However even though Mbeki's speech is not completely convincing, he manages to portray an image to the UN that he is man who is thinking about crucial issues that affect the UN. He does this through the way he uses his ethos and in the formal delivery of some of his arguments. Also that he has gone as far as to think of what the causes of some of these issues are and what the repercussions will be if these issues are not dealt with. This enhances Mbeki's ethos in the eyes of the UN and it makes him recognized as someone who should have a permanent seat on the security council of the UN. This, ultimately could have been what Mbeki was trying to achieve by writing an advocacy speech of this nature. If he did have these ulterior motives when he wrote the speech, it explains why this speech does not fully cover all the aspects of an advocacy speech. For example he does not provide as many solutions as he has cited problems in this speech. However this does not affect the body and the flow of the speech.

Final comments: This comparison of Mbeki's speeches has focused on three aspects essentially. It investigates his use of metaphors, images and arguments in his speeches. Essentially it investigates whether these function in the same way in his speeches. Through the comparison of these speeches it has been revealed that the extent of his use of metaphors, images and arguments in his speeches vary. His inauguration speech makes these use of metaphors and images to a large extent. On the other hand his UN speech uses arguments more than metaphors and images. However when these three aspects do appear in any of the speeches, Mbeki has used them in the same way. For example he uses metaphors and images in a way that always appeals to his audience's emotions. In terms of his use of arguments, they are often used before or after the use of a metaphor or an image. Perhaps this was an attempt to make his more appealing on his part.

It seems that the type of audience that Mbeki was expecting dictated his use of these metaphors, images and arguments. In his inauguration speech based on freedom day and the ten years of democracy he made an extensive use of easy to understand metaphors and images. This was perhaps due to the fact that he was expecting a largely black audience who would be moved by his appeal to their emotions because of the nature of the day. In his UN speech he relied heavily on his writing style and his use of arguments.

This is probably because he was expecting an audience who was very well educated and critical and therefore he had to display his competence in this manner. Also there is the belief that he also took this approach to sell his competence in order to be considered for a permanent seat on the Security Council. From these we can deduce that the audience interpretation is very important when writing a speech as stated by (Linsford & Ruszkiewicz: 2001)

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Address by the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki on the Occasion of His Inauguration and the 10th Anniversary of Freedom, Pretoria, 27 April 2004

Your Majesties
 Your Royal Highnesses
 Your Excellencies Heads of State and Government and Leaders and Members of delegations

Chairpersons of the African Union and the African Commission
Secretary General of the Commonwealth
Esteemed Members of the Order of Mapungubwe, the Hon Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk
Your Excellencies, Ambassadors and High Commissioners
Speaker of the National Assembly, Baleka Mbete
Chief Justice Arthur Chaskalson
My mothers, Epainette Mbeki, Albertina Sisulu and Adelaide Tambo
Distinguished guests
Fellow South Africans

1. The bright autumn sun smiles down on our people as we mark South Africa's Freedom Day, inaugurate the President of the Republic and celebrate our country's First Decade of Democracy.
2. We feel immensely honoured that on this happy day we have been granted the privilege to host the distinguished leaders and representatives of the peoples of the world who are with us here at this seat of our democratic government.
3. All our people extend a warm welcome to all our guests, as well as our deep-felt gratitude to you all, that you put aside everything to lend weight and dignity to our celebrations.
4. Your presence among us when we confronted the apartheid crime against humanity gave freedom the possibility to emerge triumphant. Your presence among us today expands our joy that freedom's opportunities have given us the possibility to begin the long walk to a life of dignity for all our people.
5. For too long our country contained within it and represented much that is ugly and repulsive in human society. It was a place in which happiness could only break through in short ephemeral bursts, briefly streaking across our skies like a dying comet.
6. It was a place in which to be born black was to inherit a lifelong curse. It was a place in which to be born white was to carry a permanent burden of fear and hidden rage.
7. It was a place that decreed that some were born into poverty and would die poor, their lives, in the land of gold and diamonds, cut short by the viral ravages of deprivation. It was a place where others always knew that the accident of their birth entitled them to wealth. Accordingly, these put aside all humane values, worshipping a world whose only worth was the accumulation of wealth.
8. It was a place where to be born a woman was to acquire the certainty that you would forever be a minor and an object owned by another, where to be a man was to know that there would always be another over whom you would exercise the power of a master.
9. It was a place in which squalor, the stench of poverty, the open sewers, the decaying rot, the milling crowds of wretchedness, the unending images of a landscape strewn with carelessly abandoned refuse, assumed an aspect that seemed

necessary to enhance the beauty of another world of tidy streets, and wooded lanes, and flowers' blossoms offsetting the green and singing grass, and birds and houses fit for kings and queens, and lyrical music, and love.

10. It was a place in which to live in some places was to invite others to prey on you or to condemn oneself to prey on others, guaranteed neighbours who could not but fall victim to alcohol and drug stupors that would dull the pain of living, who knew that their lives would not be normal without murder in their midst, and rape and brutal personal wars without a cause.

11. It was a place in which to live in other neighbourhoods was to enjoy safety and security because to be safe was to be protected by high walls, electrified fences, guard dogs, police patrols and military regiments ready to defend those who were our masters, with guns and tanks and aircraft that would rain death on those who would disturb the peace of the masters.

12. For too long our country contained within it and represented much that is ugly and repulsive in human society.

13. It was a place in which those who cried out for freedom were promised and rewarded with the gift of the cold and silent grave. To rebel for liberty was to invite torture, prison, banishment, exile and death.

14. To say that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and to say that those classified as sub-human would fight to ensure that those who held them in bondage continue to live in the country of their birth without fear and without rage, was to invite the wrath of the masters.

15. It was a place in which those who were enraged knew that to kill those who promised freedom for all was to rid the world of the anti-Christ. To achieve their purposes that they considered holy, they did not think it wrong to murder children or to accumulate weapons of mass destruction, with a little help from their friends.

16. They thought it right that they should turn our country into a mighty and feared fortress, a base from which to launch armed raids to take away the freedom that Africa had won, to remove governments that would not compromise with racist tyranny, to place in power those who were willing to be intimidated, bought and corrupted, to kill and reduce whole countries to a wasteland, everywhere burning, burning, burning.

17. For too long our country contained within it and represented much that is ugly and repulsive in human society.

18. We have gathered here today, on Freedom Day, because in time, our people, together with the billions of human beings across the globe, who are our comrades-in-arms and whom our distinguished guests represent, decided to say - an end to all that!

19. When these risen masses acted to end what was ugly and repulsive in our country, they also made a statement that we who are now free, have an obligation to honour the trust they bestowed on us.

20. It would have been impossible for us to respect that obligation if the majority of our people had not decided to turn away from a past of division into mutually antagonistic racial and ethnic groups, choosing the path of national unity and reconciliation.

21. We chose what seemed impossible because to have done otherwise would have condemned all our people, black and white, to a bloody and catastrophic conflict. We are proud that everyday now, black and white South Africans discover that they are, after all, one another's keeper.

22. We are determined that where once we were the terrible exemplar of racist bigotry, we should now and in future testify to the possibility of building a stable and viable non-racial society.

23. We are greatly encouraged that our General Elections of a fortnight ago confirmed the determination of all our people, regardless of race, colour and ethnicity, to work together to build a South Africa defined by a common dream.

24. As we engaged in struggle to end racist domination, we also said that we could not speak of genuine liberation without integrating within that, the emancipation of women. This very amphitheatre where we sit is home to a monument that pays tribute to the contribution of the women of our country to the struggle that made it possible for us to meet here today to celebrate our 10th Anniversary of Democracy.

25. Our last General Elections confirmed the women as the largest number of voters and the strongest voice in favour of the fundamental social transformation of our country. No government in South Africa could ever claim to represent the will of the people if it failed to address the central task of the emancipation of women in all its elements, and that includes the government we are privileged to lead.

26. Three-and-a-half centuries of colonialism and apartheid have more than amply demonstrated that our country could never become governable unless the system of government is based on the will of the people.

27. Despite the fact that we are a mere 10 years removed from the period of racist dictatorship, it is today impossible to imagine a South Africa that is not a democratic South Africa. In reality it is similarly impossible to meet any of the enormous challenges we face, outside the context of respect for the principle and the practice that the people shall govern.

29. Nobody in our country today views democracy as a threat to their interests and their future. This includes our national, racial and political minorities. This is because we have sought to design and implement an inclusive democratic system, rather than one driven by social and political exclusion.

30. We are determined to ensure that no one ever has grounds to say he or she has been denied his or her place in the sun. Peace and our shared destiny impose an obligation on all of us to create the space for every South African to make his or her contribution to the shaping of our common destiny.

31. Endemic and widespread poverty continues to disfigure the face of our country. It will always be impossible for us to say that we have fully restored the dignity of all our people as long as this situation persists.

32. For this reason the struggle to eradicate poverty has been and will continue to be a central part of the national effort to build the new South Africa.

33. None of great social problems we have to solve is capable of resolution outside the context of the creation of jobs and the alleviation and eradication of poverty. This relates to everything, from the improvement of the health of our people, to reducing the levels of crime, raising the levels of literacy and numeracy, and opening the doors of learning and culture to all.

34. For a millennium there were some in the world who were convinced that to be African was to be less than human. This conviction made it easy to trade in human beings as slaves, to colonise countries and, today, to consign Africans to the periphery of global human society, as a fit object for sustenance through charitable donations.

35. Necessarily, the great journey we have undertaken has to be, and is about redressing the harm that was caused to all Africans. It is about overcoming the consequences of the assault that was made on our sense of pride, our identity and confidence in ourselves. Through our efforts, we must achieve the outcome that we cease to be beggars, and deny others the possibility to sustain racist prejudices that dehumanise even those who consider themselves superior.

36. We must use our human and material resources and the genius of our people to build an economy that addresses their needs, that gives us the means to end the wretchedness that continues to define some as being less human than others.

37. We share this and other goals with the rest of our continent and the African Diaspora, as well as the billions across the globe who continue to suffer as millions in our country do. Nothing can separate us from these masses with which we share a common destiny.

38. Rather, we must and will at all times strive to strengthen our links with them, together to determine what we must do to solve our shared problems. We are greatly inspired that having achieved the goal of the total liberation of Africa from colonial and white minority domination with the defeat of the apartheid regime, our Continent acted to establish the African Union and initiate its development programme, the New Partnership for Africa's Development.

39. Our common task is to ensure that these historic initiatives succeed in their objective of taking Africa forward to the victory of the African Renaissance. Democratic South Africa will play its role vigorously to promote the achievement of this goal.

40. Our joy today, when we celebrate an African achievement, is tempered by the reality that we live in a troubled world. None of us can be indifferent to the violence that continues to claim lives in various countries in the Middle East, including Palestine, Israel, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. We cannot be indifferent to the acts of

terrorism that took away many lives in Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam, New York, Madrid and elsewhere.

41. Neither can we escape involvement in the struggle to confront the negative outcomes of the process of globalisation, the growing impoverishment of billions across the globe, and the failure of the multilateral institutions, including the United Nations, to respond quickly and effectively to the needs and aspirations of those who are poor and do not dispose of immense power.

42. Today we begin our Second Decade of Democracy. We are convinced that what has been achieved during the First demonstrates that as Africans we can and will solve our problems. We are equally certain that Africa will record new advances as she pursues the goal of a better life for all. She will do what she can to encourage a more equitable and humane new world order.

43. Having served as the prime example of human despair, Africa is certain to emerge as a place of human hope.

44. On this historic day, the beginning of our Second Decade of Democracy, I extend best wishes to all our people for A Happy Birthday! To our friends from and in all parts of the world, we say thank you for being with us on this momentous day.

45. We pledge to all the heroes and heroines who sacrificed for our freedom, as well as to you, our friends from the rest of the world, that we will never betray the trust you bestowed on us when you helped to give us the possibility to transform South Africa into a democratic, peaceful, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous country, committed to the noble vision of human solidarity.

46. The work to create that South Africa has begun. That work will continue during our Second Decade of Freedom. That struggle continues and victory is certain!

Siyinqaba!

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27 April 2004

2007/09/25 **T Mbeki: United Nations' General Assembly**
We meet here today under the theme: 'Responding to Climate Change',

during the United Nations (UN) Session that would mark the half-way point towards the freely-agreed period in which the nations of the world committed themselves to work, individually and collectively, so as to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Accordingly, there is an urgent need for massive resource transfers through development assistance, investment, trade, technology transfers and human resource ... [highlighted result]
URL: <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2007/07092610451002.htm> Size: 18KB Source: Department of Foreign Affairs Speaker: T Mbeki Collection: Gov

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Address by President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, at the 62nd session of the United Nations' General Assembly, New York

25 September 2007

Your Excellency, the President of the General Assembly, Sergjan Kerim
Your Excellency, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-Moon
Your Excellencies
Distinguished Guests
Ladies and Gentlemen:

1. Let me begin by adding my voice to the many salutations directed to His Excellency, Ban Ki-Moon for being elected as the Secretary-General of the United Nations and wish you, Your Excellency, a fruitful tenure, trusting that through your work the poor of the world would have good reason to increase their confidence in this organisation of the nations of the world.
2. Again, I reiterate the many thanks to Her Excellency, Sheikha Haya Rashed Al Khalifa, for the good work she did as the President of the 61st Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations (UNGA). Equally, my congratulations go to His Excellency, Sergjan Kerim on his election as the President of the 62nd Session of the General Assembly.
3. We meet here today under the theme: 'Responding to Climate Change', during the United Nations (UN) Session that would mark the half-way point towards the freely-agreed period in which the nations of the world committed themselves to work, individually and collectively, so as to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).
4. Billions of people of the world know as a matter of fact that the consequences of climate change – be it droughts, floods or unpredictable and extreme weather patterns; undermine our common efforts to achieve the MDGs. Today, we all understand that the costs of doing nothing about climate change far outweigh those of taking concrete measures to address this challenge. It is clear that delaying action on this matter of climate change will hit poor countries and communities hardest. Yet the pace of climate change negotiations is out of step with the urgency indicated by science.

5. I would therefore urge that we collectively aim for a significant advance in the multilateral negotiations when our negotiators meet in Bali in December this year. Together, we must ensure that we build a fair, effective, flexible and inclusive climate regime under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol and we must agree to this as a matter of urgency. Though we have different responsibilities, and developed countries clearly have an obligation to take the lead, we all have a common duty to do more and act within our respective capabilities and in accordance with our national circumstances.

6. The UN World Summit on Sustainable Development correctly reaffirmed sustainable development as a central element of the global action against poverty and the protection of the environment and identified important linkages between poverty, the environment and the use of natural resources.

7. To billions of the poor these linkages are real, the combination of their empty bellies, their degraded environment and their exploited natural resources, for which they benefit nothing, defines a hopeless and heart-wrenching existence.

8. Many of these who are the wretched of the earth, know from their bitter experience how their resource-rich areas were transformed into arid, uninhabitable and desolate areas forcing migration to better-endowed regions thus exacerbating conflicts and struggles for scarce resources.

9. Gathered here as representatives of the people of the world we know very well that climate change, poverty and underdevelopment are not acts of God but human-made.

10. Clearly, the starting point for a future climate regime must be equity. A core balance between sustainable development and climate imperatives will have to be the basis of any agreement on a strengthened climate regime. Any deal on the "fair use of the ecological space" will have to be balanced by a deal on giving all countries a "fair chance in the development space".

11. Under the United Nations, but also within our regional bodies, we have adopted many programmes and declarations, with clear implementation targets aimed at addressing the challenges of climate change, poverty and underdevelopment.

12. As this esteemed conclave knows very well, the many lofty agreements include among others those adopted at:

- * The Rio Earth Summit
- * Copenhagen Social Summit
- * Millennium Summit
- * World Summit on Sustainable Development and
- * Monterrey Conference on Financing for Development.

13. In all these and other summits we adopted declarations using moving and solemn words that express our profound understanding of the gravity of the challenges facing the modern world and unequivocally committing ourselves to defeat all and any miserable and dehumanising conditions facing large parts of humanity.

14. Indeed, this collective asserted in the Millennium Declaration that:

15. "We will spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanising conditions of extreme poverty. We are committed to making the right to development a reality for everyone and to freeing the entire human race from want."

16. Yet, the poor whose hopes have been raised many times as we make declaration after declaration against poverty and underdevelopment and as we are doing today on climate change can be forgiven for thinking that this important global leadership many a times sounds like an empty vessel.

17. That this collective is able, always eloquently to express the dire circumstances characterising the poor is without doubt. However, this organisation, which should pride itself with visible actions and results in the fight against climate change and poverty, would find it difficult to demonstrate decisive progress in this regard.

18. The reasons for this are not hard to find. Although the concepts of freedom, justice and equality are universal and fully embraced by the United Nations, this global organisation has not itself transformed and designed the necessary institutions of governance consistent with the noble ideals that drive modern democratic societies.

19. Because the nations of the world are defined by the dominant and the dominated, the dominant have also become the decision makers in the important global forums, including at this seat of global governance.

20. Accordingly, the skewed distribution of power in the world, political, economic, military, technological and social, replicates itself in multilateral institutions, much to the disadvantage of the majority of the poor people of the world.

21. Indeed, even as we agree on the important programmes that should bring a better life to billions of the poor, the rich and the powerful have consistently sought to ensure that whatever happens, the existing power relations are not altered and therefore the status quo remains.

22. The results of this situation are that the United Nations can and does correctly identify problems and appropriate solutions necessary to make the world a better place for all of humanity. Naturally, the dominant and the powerful very often respond positively to agreed programmes if these would advance their own narrow interests.

23. At the same time, the poor will continue to strive for the improvement of their wretched conditions. They therefore see the UN as the natural instrument that would help accelerate the process of change for the better. Hence, they correctly see implementation of all UN programmes as being central to the efforts around climate change and the struggle against poverty and underdevelopment.

24. Yet, the cold reality is that it will be difficult for the UN in its present form fully to implement its own decisions and therefore help the poor achieve urgently the MDGs.

25. Indeed, until the ideals of freedom, justice and equality characterise this premier world body, the dominant will forever dictate to the dominated and the interests of the dominated, which are those of the majority of humanity, would be deferred in perpetuity.

26. Thus, noble statements would continue to be uttered on all matters facing the majority of the people of the world such as the need to successfully conclude the Doha Development Round, while little is done to implement this and the many critical agreements necessary to pull the poor out of the morass of poverty and underdevelopment.

President,

27. We are of the firm belief, in my country, that we will achieve the development goals. Having emerged from more than three centuries of colonialism and apartheid, we inherited two inter-linked economies that we characterise as the First and Second economies.

28. The two economies, one developed and globally connected and another localised and informal, display many features of a global system of apartheid.

29. As South Africans, we sought to strengthen the First economy and use it as a base to transfer resources to strengthen and modernise the Second economy and thus embark on the process to change the lives of those who subsist in this Second economy.

30. Indeed, without the requisite resource transfers it would not be possible to achieve the MDGs because on its own, the Second economy in our country cannot generate the resources needed to bring a better life to millions of poor South Africans.

31. I am mentioning this because, as we all accept, central to the attainment of MDGs globally, is the critical matter of resource transfers from the rich countries of the North to poor countries of the South.

32. Many developing countries, especially those from my own continent, Africa, do not have the material base from which to address and attain the MDGs on their own. Accordingly, there is an urgent need for massive resource transfers through development assistance, investment, trade, technology transfers and human resource development to these poor countries if we are to achieve the development goals and successfully adapt to the devastating impacts of climate change.

33. If we do not succeed in building a climate change regime that balances adaptation and mitigation, underpinned by the transfer of technology and financial resources, we will place an unmanageable burden on future generations.

34. In this regard, given Africa's specific and dire challenges, we believe it is important to enter into a partnership with Africa using the African Union's programme of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which this assembly has adopted, so that the measures that the continent has undertaken, with

limited resources for the regeneration of all the African countries, are strengthened by support from the international community guided by the programmes of UN.

35. As history teaches us, it was because of the massive resource transfers in the aftermath of the World War II that Western Europe recovered and was set on its development path. A similar intervention helped put a number of Asian countries onto their own development trajectory.

36. The question we should ask is why is there an absence of the same resolve to assist poor nations today?

37. The global village to which we constantly refer should encourage us to expand human solidarity. Thus would we build a durable bridge over the river that has divided our common global village and ensured that one human being lives a fulfilling life while another experiences a miserable existence.

38. Representing the citizens of the world, we have set for ourselves programmes that are central to all of us working together to create better living conditions for humanity and ensure that we achieve that which is necessary for our mutual prosperity.

39. Together, rich and poor, developed and developing, North and South can and must truly hold hands and address the challenges of climate change and sustainable development; work together to defeat poverty and underdevelopment and ensure that every human being is saved from the indecencies and humiliations that are attached to the poor.

40. But to do that, we need first and foremost, to implement the decisions that we have adopted freely in this eminent house of the representatives of the global community. And so let our actions speak louder than our words.

41. Thank you.

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ⁱ This paper was initially prepared for a graduate examination.