

DRAFT VERSION

Oracles in Office: A Deliberators' Cascade.

Manwabisi Gebhuza
Research Assistant
Centre for Rhetoric Studies
Department of Social Anthropology
University of Cape Town
South Africa
E-mail: june16@ananzi.co.za

Or shall I bring you the sound of poisons?
This is rain now, this big hush.
And this is the fruit of it: tin-white, like arsenic.

____Sylvia Plath¹

‘Why I really went up there. Don’t laugh: to escape from good and evil.’ He didn’t laugh. ‘Are mountains above morality, in your estimation?’ he asked seriously. ‘This is what I learned in the revolution,’ she went on. ‘This thing: information got abolished sometime in the twentieth century, can’t say just when; stands to reason, that’s part of the information that got abolsh, *abolished*. Since then we’ve been living in a fairy-story. Got me? Everything happens by magic. Us fairies haven’t a ... notion what’s going on. So how do we know if it’s right or wrong? We don’t even know what it *is*. So what I thought was, you can go sit on a mountain, because that’s where the truth went, believe it or not, it just upped and ran away from these cities where even the stuff under our feet is all made up, a lie, and it is up there in the thin air where the liars don’t dare come after it in case their brains explode. It’s up there all right. I’ve been there. Ask me.’

Rushdie²

_____Salman

Introduction

¹ From Sylvia Plath’s *Elm*.

² Salman Rushdie, 313, 1988.

The current position in global politics enjoyed by South Africa accords a politician, as a deliberator, a rich and profound platform in which visions, programmes and ideals can be articulated with confidence to a contented world audience. The Government officials who frame these programmes come to occupy a distinguished and significant role in global politics. A new era distinguished by an ardent call to multilateralism by the underdeveloped world which has always been peripheral has found its champions in the zealous global-minded South African government. Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Mbeki regime is the embodiment of this era.

The domestic domain is also marked by incessant rhetoric or deliberations aimed at facilitating the perpetuation of visions, programmes and ideals. When the foreign ministry rants about neologisms such as NEPAD, its domestic counterpart, the presidency, rants about its own neologisms, such as ASGISA. Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka has since become the vehicle of these domestic governmental schemes. Both government officials, Dr Dlamini-Zuma and Deputy President Mlambo-Ngcuka, share a common task, that of 'selling' these programmes. Rhetoric, as perpetuated in speeches and addresses, is the vehicle of choice. The two officials' aim is to convince the public and stakeholders about the viability of the various programmes. Rhetoric, as the means of persuasion is abound in these efforts.

The officials do more than list their tasks and programmes in the speeches and addresses they make, they also use words deliberately to attain persuasion. The deliberate use of words involve the use of tools or tropes to achieve the desired end. This is actually what distinguishes political speeches from, for example, financial statements. The deliberator will use all means of persuasion available- such as the use of logic, the invoking of feelings or the invoking of confidence in the speaker. These tools serve to advance the deliberator's aims and positions. If the good, for instance in NEPAD, is to be appreciated by all, its proponents must convince the audience. This is what the speeches do.

A rhetoric analysis of some of the speeches and addresses given by Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka reveals the mechanisms which the two officials use to render their speeches persuasive. Where it

is considered inappropriate to evoke emotions, logic or syllogism is used. Aristotle had identified three ways of steering the audience to one's argument:

Of the modes of persuasion furnished by the spoken word there are three kinds. The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker; the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind; the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself.³

According to Aristotle, the three modes of persuasion serve in the three distinct species of rhetoric. Thus, in deliberative rhetoric the use of syllogism dominates. Deliberative rhetoric entails political oratory and thus the use of *logos* is central to political oratory. Syllogism, or *logos*, manifests itself in various forms including common places. The Rhetoric of Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma thrives in common places. The common places in her rhetoric provide her with the opportunity to link with her audience. It seems her common places are always picked to suit the audience. Here, common places of analogy or comparison establish a common ground with the audience and thus render the audience complacent to the main arguments.

The most defining theme of the Thabo Mbeki regime has been that of rebuilding the image of Africa, through what has been hailed as the African Renaissance. The African Renaissance programme has actually spawned such concrete projects as NEPAD and the reincarnation of the OAU, the African Union. It has been Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's task thus to sell the idea of African renaissance to the world. This has thus evidently affected her rhetoric. There is in it what one may call neo-Pan Africanism. It is a Pan Africanism that has relocated its sun crest from Accra to Tshwane. However, the old topics identifiable with the Pan Africanism of yore persist.

³ Aristotle <<http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/rhetoric.1.i.html>>

The Pan Africanism in Dr Dlamini-Zuma's speeches is what distinguishes her rhetoric. In this report, the rhetoric has been defined as the Diaspora rhetoric. Symbols and personages in her rhetoric are those of the classical Pan African movement; she however broadens her common places beyond Africa when the occasion calls and we see the invoking of world literature, incidents and personages of historical worth. There is thus an 'anecdote' for every occasion. This actually lends the Foreign Minister a sympathetic, amicable and cosmopolitan ambiance. The intellectualism in her speeches, the conjuring up of phrases from world literature and history are a signature of the Mbeki era. There is actually a parallel between the themes in President Thabo Mbeki's and Minister Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's rhetoric, the former has been accused by the media of intellectual aloofness and pretenses. Dr Dlamini-Zuma seems to have stepped into Thabo Mbeki's shoes.

There is a clearly discernible distinction between the rhetoric of Dr Dlamini-Zuma and Deputy President Mlambo-Ngcuka. The most telling distinction is that Dr Dlamini-Zuma is given a *laissez faire* to be ideological in her statements, her statements assume an assertive air and are charged with political sentiments. This is a sign of her seniority and common cause with the President of the country. On the other end, the Deputy President assumes a bureaucratic rhetoric of means and ways. Her concerns are on substantive issues and seldom touch on political ideals the way Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma does.

This report is a rhetorical analysis of the themes and common references contained in the speeches of the two officials. Speeches and addresses by the two officials have been picked to demonstrate some patterns of political talk prevalent in them. An appraisal of the two officials' speeches suggest a clear grouping of the types of speeches. We thus have speeches which may be described as being entirely deliberative, epideictic, gender based, Diaspora focused or merely pro-south African prominence in world politics, especially in Africa. In the appendixes the types of speeches have been labeled as 1(a...) Gender, 2 Deliberative, 3 Epideictic, 4 Diaspora, and 5 Pax South Africana.

The categorization is influenced by the themes in the speeches and the occasions where they were made

The speeches were gathered from the internet, mainly in governmental websites. The internet has proved to be the most flexible and efficacious way to archive speeches and other documents for easy public access. Thus, the technological revolution is proving to be resourceful in the whole project of political discourse and the permeation of argumentation and deliberation. This report is only a piece of work inspired by this technological intervention and the accessibility of political deliberation.

E-government and Information Accessibility

E-governance puts into its efforts a numerous technological interventions. In the South African context, where access to the internet is still a serious issue, there is a limit to what devices the government may use. There have been efforts made at kick starting a nation wide drive to facilitate the provision of ICTs geared at enhancing e-governance. There hasn't yet been a ground breaking move that has seen a wider availability and use of ICTs for political interaction between the government and the public and the citizen to citizen interaction. What ever kind of political interaction facilitated by ICTs takes place, occurs between private users of the internet.

The South African government has shown indications that it is well aware of the benefits of ICTs in the enhancing of communication between the government and the public. At the moment, the government has managed to transmit governmental information on the internet. This is in line with making policy declarations and other motions accessible to the public. There are governmental websites that provide information in large volumes on several policy positions. Speeches, policy documents, press statements and public notices are among the various types of information readily available on the governmental websites for public consumption. The Ministers Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka's copious collection of speeches, addresses and statements is part of that governmental effort to enhance e-governance. E-governance is part of the now vogue concept of e-democracy, that is, democracy mediated by electronic technology. It is hailed as a

breakthrough in the strengthening of the democratic interaction between the government and the public and between citizens. The concept can best be described as follows:

The term is both descriptive and prescriptive. Typically, the kinds of enhancements sought by proponents of e-democracy are framed in terms of making processes more accessible; making citizen participation in public policy decision-making more expansive and direct so as to enable broader influence in policy outcomes as more individuals involved could yield smarter policies; increasing transparency and accountability; and keeping the government closer to the consent of the governed, increasing its political legitimacy .⁴

The gist of the utility of the internet is in its potential for allowing general accessibility that is not restricted. This allows for transparency. In the South African context we still do not have ideal accessibility due to structural reasons such as poverty and underdevelopment. Thus, the only feature that is being enhanced is **transparency**. Even though not everyone has access to the internet, the government, by e-posting, can rest assured that it is meeting its responsibilities of rendering governmental documents and processes transparent and virtually readily accessible.

E-posting in the department of Foreign Affairs and in the government info websites does serve a normatively good end. The public can at least gain access to documents generated by the state officials. In this way the public is able to keep track of the activities and policy data.

This however doesn't necessarily mean that the e-posting has serious egalitarian attributes, if e-democracy is to be regarded as allowing egalitarianism. The posting entails already reached decisions and already processed policies. The public just has to sit and admire. Thus a cult following and hierarchical stratification is promoted. The merits of e-posting, in the absence of other interactive devices and the current limited access to ICTs, are indeed of little significance. In the websites that host

⁴ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/E-democracy>

governmental information and documents, there are no other interactive devices made available for public use. Thus governmental websites, including that of the department of Foreign Affairs and the office of the presidency through the agency of the www.info.gov.za website are still at their primitive stages as far as interactivity and real value e-democracy are concerned.

Signature Statements of an Era: Regime Assertion.

When former President Nelson Mandela stepped down from power, the question that occupied the media and the public at large was about the discrepancy in popularity, influence and stature which was to mar the career of his successor. President Thabo Mbeki was this successor. Early in his reign he was described as a big bathos when compared to the legend status Mandela enjoyed. President Thabo Mbeki was totally eclipsed by the prominence of his predecessor. However, soon he would over compensate for his lack of charisma by assuming the most practical and visionary position ever assumed by a single African politician in a long while. In spite of popularity, he gained respect for his zealous efforts in bringing stability and dignity in the continent of Africa. It was his African Renaissance mantra that soon came to dominate discourse about Africa. It spawned projects such as the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Union (AU), the Pan African Parliament, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), and a host of other acronyms and neologisms. Thabo Mbeki's career has thus gained a then unforeseen prominence and he has become a world 'statesman'.

Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma emerges in such a context. She herself has become a world stateswoman, not only through her job description but her ideological and practical contribution in the global discourse on peace and development. Prestige and prominence in world politics have been secured by Dr Dlamini-Zuma.

The Deputy President of the country Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka has had to negotiate through the elements to also signal her presence. As Minister of Minerals and Energy, she had already carved herself an ethos and a sense of presence. Dogged by controversy, she emerged as an unlikely candidate for Deputy Presidency, however

her appointment gained both positive and ambivalent sentiments from the press and the other establishments. In the article in the iafrica.com news website she was said to have been self-conscious of the controversies surrounding her before her appointment:

Concerns over family involvements

Mlambo-Ngcuka was allegedly reluctant to accept her new post because of concerns relating to her brother's (Bongani) alleged involvement in the Oilgate saga and her husband's (former Director of National Prosecuting Authority Bulelani Ngcuka) role in the downfall of her predecessor Jacob Zuma.⁵

This was not to be the end of her predicaments. Controversy raged over her misuse of public funds when she took an expensive trip to the Middle East. Various media lamented on how irresponsible her extravagance was and the fact that she was not remorseful about it. She proved recidivist when she soon embarked on another expensive escapade to a function in Sun City. All these incidents marred her ethos as the second most powerful employee in the republic. The *Sunday Times* newspaper's magazine supplement had this to say about the Deputy President's profligacy:

In the country's weekly publication, Mail & Guardian, the Deputy President received vilifying treatment, an investigative article was published, titled:

Phumzile's flight of fancy: The unanswered questions.

The article is dated 20 January 2006. A detailed list of incidents involving the deputy President was given, it stated the turn of events after the controversial trip:

Air farce

January 10: Media and Democratic Alliance claim that Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka took a five-day holiday to the United Arab Emirates. Estimated costs of the trip vary from R400 000 to R700 000. The government paid for it. In reaction, the Presidency confirms the claim and states it is standard practice to take full responsibility for the costs of both official and private travel of the president and his deputy.

⁵ iafrica.com

January 12: Mlambo-Ngcuka suggests the trip was part official as she had interactions relating to infrastructure development.

January 13: The Presidency denies that the trip was official, but confirms interactions and visits relating to project management skills development, which would boost South Africa's accelerated growth initiative.

January 16: Mlambo-Ngcuka is accused of taking Cabinet member Zola Skweyiya and his wife Thuthukile Mazibuko-Skweyiya, her close friend, along on her travels. The Presidency denies that Skweyiya was on the trip.

January 17: The Presidency admits that her husband Bulelani Ngcuka, Mazibuko-Skweyiya and her personal assistant accompanied the deputy president. The South African ambassador to the UAE arranged visits to various construction sites, related to her interest in project management. The DA and Freedom Front Plus request Public Prosecutor Lawrence Mushwana to investigate the deputy president's conduct, a request he later grants.⁶

The revelations are quite damaging to the Deputy President's reputation or *ethos*. A tainted image for a politician diminishes credibility and persuasiveness in the politician's statements. Public confidence in her capabilities to administer public affairs wanes. Another further blow is that the media reinforces that image of incompetence in every statement they make about the besieged politician.

The appointment of Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka took flak from another contentious front, the controversy surrounding the Presidential succession. The then deputy President of the country who had been made to resign due to criminal charges laid against him, had a fervent support base that became hostile to his successor. Her position as the deputy president thus had a shaky foundation. The media captured every moment of it:

Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka faced the wrath of Jacob Zuma supporters yesterday when she was shouted off the podium at a Women's Day event in Utrecht

⁶ <http://www.mg.co.za/articlePage.aspx?articleid=261851&area=/insight/insight-national/>

near

Newcastle.

Mlambo-Ngcuka was to have given the keynote address at the event, but her eight-page speech was replaced by hurried, off-the-cuff comments that barely took a few minutes to deliver when a large part of the crowd of about 10 000, which had been well-behaved until she took the podium, refused to settle down and shouted Zuma's name and slogans.⁷

What brought matters to perspective and revitalized her ethos, is her role in representing the underrepresented women in public life. Her appointment was hailed as a breakthrough in gender equality. She had thus secured her self a friendly bloc of supporters. As a woman deemed to be of strong character and resilience, her ethos received a boost. Even opposition party representatives remarked on the importance of her appointment and were quick to berate her antagonists:

DA gender spokeswoman Margaret Ambler-Moore said the rally had been marred by the unruly, undisciplined ANC cadres.

"Never before has South Africa had a woman as deputy president.

"The deputy president is a daughter of this province, yet she was barely able to address the gathering because of the chanting of 'Zuma' by the former deputy president's supporters," she said.

Ambler-Moore said the ANC members had done KZN a great disservice.

"The deputy president is to be congratulated on the very dignified manner in which she handled the situation," she said.⁸

Accolades streamed from various entities, congratulating the Deputy President for being the first woman appointee to her position. Apparently there were also certain sectors which were satisfied with her previous appointment as Minister of Minerals and Energy and as a freedom fighter. A reputation of Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka as an efficient official was already upheld by the public and the business sector, as seen from the report by the Biz-community website below:

Confidence in the new Deputy President

Issued by: ACNielsen

⁷<http://www.themercury.co.za/index.php?SectionId=2830979>

⁸<http://www.themercury.co.za/index.php?SectionId=2830979>

Despite her name still being relatively unknown amongst the general public, it is firmly believed that our new Deputy President will improve on the performance of her predecessor. Almost 70% of South Africans believe that Mlambo-Ngcuka will carry out her role more effectively than did Zuma, with only 13% maintaining that she will not.

These are the findings of a telephonic survey conducted by ACNielsen's Customised Research Division. Less than two weeks after her appointment, ACNielsen interviewers spoke with 200 South African adults, canvassing their opinions on Mlambo-Ngcuka as newly appointed Deputy President. Telephonic interviews were conducted on 29th and 30th June 2005, with respondents representing diverse demographic groups.⁹

Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka had thus moved away from obscurity and had now entered into public debate. She would now be a source of deliberative rhetoric, an orator in her own right. Controversy and prominence would now hover around her and the media and the public would anticipate her pattern of rhetoric, her image and her performance. She has become part of the presidential team responsible for selling the image of Africa and for carving up a role for South Africa in global politics. Her particular involvement are both local and global. The flagships President Thabo Mbeki has been trying to launch into international prominence are to become part of her job description. Her rhetoric now reflects this:

The hosting of the World Cup will also contribute to the development of South Africa, the Southern African region and the continent as a whole by making a practical contribution to the achievement of African ideals and fostering African development.

For us this is an African event in line with the imperatives of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the goals of the African Union.¹⁰

In the speech above we see themes which have come to distinguish President Thabo Mbeki and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's rhetoric. *Development* has become the watch word. The development is both domestic and regional. Every effort undertaken by the

⁹ <http://www.biz-community.com/PressOffice/PressRelease.aspx?i=7188>

¹⁰ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2005/mngcuk0810.htm>. Address by Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka on the occasion of the 2010 Bid Final Banquet, Sandton Convention Centre, 3 August 2005

country trickles' down to the magic bag of NEPAD and the AU. These are all offshoots of the brainchild of Thabo Mbeki, the African Renaissance. It seems the African cause is best served when it is driven by South Africa. The soccer world cup in 2010 was to be an Africa affair and the question was which African country would host it. South Africa's victory is seen as the one that is genuinely African. In the world where it has been Pretoria that has been setting the tone, this is bound to happen. A tragic fallacy has been adopted. A deduction that states that what is good for South Africa is good for the continent is proving to be persistent and is seldom challenged. The bona fides cannot be doubted. However a paternalist rhetoric is beginning to shape up and Pretoria is its author.

The Deputy President has localized responsibilities as well. It is here that we encounter the essence of her rhetoric. The localized issues also hover around development. However the localized development does not take overtly ideological manifestations. The development assumes a bureaucratic tone, the concern is about figures and targets. The Deputy President has been specially mandated to facilitate the actualization of the ASGISA program. Whereas regional concerns involve talks about ideals- democracy, stability and unity, the localized concerns involve figures and targets. It is economic growth that is being targeted. The fervor and determination is however the same in local concerns as in regional ones. In the localized concerns we see a politics of concrete blueprints, one acronym after another. When these acronyms are uttered, a sense of magical potency is invoked and all the challenges are instantly vanquished. A political ideal supplants reality. Speeches tend to do that, as linguist John Wilson concedes, "Since classical times it has been accepted that language plays a role in the creation of political reality (Wilson,1990, 10)." The diction or discourse invoked, is just another glance at the essence of the new regime. One begins to identify the regime through its discourse. The programmes and targets do not just aim at fulfilling concrete goals, they also serve to anoint and present the face of the regime. A mere reference to figures and targets creates a political reality. The Deputy President goes through the blueprints like a magic wand:

The three spheres of government have been working together for some months and in consultation with partners to elaborate on the specific interventions that will elaborate on the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa – ASGISA - whose

ultimate objective is to halve unemployment and poverty by 2014. As the President said “ASGISA is not intended to cover all elements of a comprehensive development plan, rather it consists of a limited set of interventions that are intended to serve as catalysts to Accelerated and Shared Growth Development” (State of the Nation Address 2006). ASGISA is not a new policy nor does it replace the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy and it is not an industrial policy. Most of the interventions are built on the micro-economic reforms and agreements reached at Growth and Development Summit. It takes advantage of a stable macro-economic environment, an economy that is growing at 4% plus in the past two years. Between 2005 and 2009 we seek an annual growth rate that averages 4,5% or higher. Between 2010 and 2014 we will seek a growth rate of at least 6% of GDP.¹¹

ASGISA is not the first notable economic blueprint to grace South Africa. It is preceded by the once notable Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP). No more references are made to RDP, it has thus gone catatonic. However the RDP used to grace a every political statement or address by government officials in the post 1994 Mandela regime. GEAR took prominence and annulled RDP. It is because of this apparent process of elimination that the deputy president is quick to state that ASGISA has not replaced GEAR. Otherwise an impression that the government hops from one project to the next whenever it fails to meet its target would be created. Apart from referring to figures to show targets, the Deputy President also uses the authority of the State President Thabo Mbeki to add credibility to the targets of ASGISA, her mandated program. The deputy president is also aware of the likelihood of ASGISA not meeting expectations, hence she adopts a modest tone, the one also adopted by the State President: “ASGISA is not intended to cover all elements of a comprehensive development plan, rather it consists of a limited set of interventions that are intended to serve as catalysts to Accelerated and Shared Growth Development”. Already a cautious outlook is maintained.

That ASGISA is not intended to cover all elements of a comprehensive development plan is a blank cheque that allows ASGISA not to meet all expectations. This wisdom

¹¹ <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2006/06020615151001.htm>. Parliamentary media briefing by Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, 6 February 2006.

comes from an experience of arrested developments. Politicians are rarely this modest in outlook. Also visible from the statement is the tautology that posits ASGISA with Accelerated and Shared Growth Development as if they are two different things. This lends incoherence to the state President's statement and an uncertainty about terms of reference. However the message is made clear: the aim of ASGISA is half unemployment. The mere articulation actually conjures up reality. We can all assume that ASGISA is already in full swing, without any concrete proof. That is how ambivalent are all economic blue prints. That, is the world of the Deputy President.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma plays an extremely profound role in defining terms of the Mbeki regime. All visions and ideals of the Mbeki era are carried everywhere by the Minister's rhetoric. Dr Dlamini-Zuma's rhetoric is less bureaucratic and assumes a tone of a senior statesperson who has a *laissez faire* in what she says. She is not constrained by concrete targets and immediate programs of her portfolio- she rather assumes a role of a world statesperson. Her statements are not confined to stating her Ministerial duties but allow her to circumvent all topics deemed relevant to the ideals of the African Renaissance scheme. This is what makes her presently the most interesting orator in the South African government to date. She has been allowed a true role of an orator and oracle. Below, is just one of many examples of the fluidity of her talk: Let us re-state the obvious, we are of Africa, her destiny, her fortune or misfortune, her pain is inescapably ours.¹² This charged and intense statement is the signature theme of the present regime. Ever since Mbeki uttered the landmark statement, I am an African, the flood gates of poetical assertiveness have never ceased to pour with sentimental utterances. Dr Dlamini-Zuma has come to champion this era of neo-Pan Africanism. More on Pan Africanism in the succeeding sections.

¹² <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/dzum0525.htm> . Minister 's Speech to Tribute Magazine Forum on Africa Day, 25 May 2001.

South Africa has boldly assumed a pro-Africa outlook and every plan by the Department of Foreign Affairs has something to say about Africa as a region. The commitment to Africa extends beyond prosaic forms and assumes a practical mold. The statement below by the Foreign Minister highlights this commitment:

This leadership is hard at work to create conditions where security, peace, stability, multi-party democracy, human rights, emancipation of women are the norm rather than exception, and where people themselves will regain their sovereignty to determine their destiny. To expunge from their political jargon models such as one party state, which themselves have become the cause and the source of instability and civil wars. Consequently, the decision by the Organisation of African Unity to ban from amongst their ranks those who usurp power by force confirms this relentless move towards the renewal of our motherland.

Pursuant to these bold initiatives, the O.A.U. mandated Presidents Mbeki, Bouteflika and Obasanjo to work on a plan for the economic rejuvenation to address the principal development challenge facing the continent. Presidents' Wade and Mubarak have joined the three Presidents. Following extensive consultation with their colleagues inside and outside the continent, with international financial institutions, multilateral institutions, business and the civil society an embryonic stage has been reached. These leaders working very closely with their regional counterparts have identified the following areas as deserving the undivided attention of the continent and constituting the basis for the Millennium Africa Recovery Programme namely (MAP).¹³

The Minister states as priorities the achievement of Peace, security and governance; Investing in Africa's people; Diversification of Africa's production; Investing in Information Communication Technology and basic infrastructure; Developing financing mechanism.¹⁴ Minister Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's terms of reference extend to the normative, she lists the ideals Africa should be pursuing such as multi-party democracy, human rights and the emancipation of women. A universal consensus over these issues seems to be crystallizing in the African continent.

¹³ <http://www.dfa.gov/docs/speeches/2001/dzum0525.htm>. Minister's Speech to Tribute Magazine Forum on Africa Day, 25 May 2001.

¹⁴ *ibid*

Relativism of ethics and standards has been discarded. These value laden principles have been a feature of the discourse of the south African government in domestic affairs. Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma extends this to the continent. Thus we are beginning to see principles endorsed by the South African government coming to determine continental policy. Those that desire to be part of the Mbeki round table with all its benefits, vogue appeal and prestige are finding themselves having to embrace these same principles.

Indeed we are seeing Pretoria beginning to be the normative heart of all that is considered progressive and vogue in Africa. The ideals themselves are a desirable thing or a good, as Aristotle would phrase it. However the manner in which they stream from one mouth suggests that perhaps South Africa has begun to posit herself as the moral custodian of the continent. It is the moral implications of this fact that cause alarm. The following section tackles this issue in a more direct manner.

Towards neo-Pan Africanism or a Pax South Africana?

The most telling statement by the Minister of Foreign affairs about her mission is definitely the following one: “The agenda of the African century for the African Renaissance will inform the programmes of the Ministry during my term of office. In pursuit of these, our policy and programme will rest on four broad pillars. These are Development, Peace and Security, Governance; and Transformation of the related institutions.”¹⁵

It was President Thabo Mbeki who first spoke of the African century and the African Renaissance, however Minister Dr Dlamini-Zuma’s zealous commitment to the same cause has been equally profound. Her portfolio in the foreign affairs places her in the cutting edge of the pan-African movement. She has effectively appropriated the

¹⁵ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2000/dzum0314.htm>. Foreign Affairs Budget Vote11 , Address by Minister Dlamini Zuma to the National Assembly, 14 March 2000

rhetoric of second generation pan-Africanism. The rhetoric is both prosaic and zealous, as seen in her budget speech statement below:

I stand before you at the dawn of the African century for the African Renaissance. A time in our history when we as a people of the continent are resolutely turning our backs to the ugly past of colonialism, apartheid and oppression; to ignorance, hunger, disease and poverty; to war, violence and an absence of peace; to intolerance of each other's differences, disregard for human rights and an absence of democracy; to socio-economic underdevelopment, economic dependence and poverty.¹⁶

This pan-Africanism acknowledges Africa's past as having being one filled with grief and injustice due to foreign subjugation. Africa is seen as turning away from this. The means of turning away from this are articulated:

They have set themselves a daunting challenge of ending all wars in the continent by the year-end. They have unambiguously rejected military unconstitutional regimes. As economic development is central to the African Renaissance, they are implementing the Abuja Treaty whose regional economic blocs will lead to the formation of African Economic Community. They have mandated our own President Mbeki together with the current chairperson of the OAU President Bouteflika to champion the continent's cause for debt cancellation. Through these and numerous other similar efforts, our leaders and people are showing, not only their impatience with the legacy of the past, but a determination to overcome it.¹⁷

What the Mbeki regime has brought to the African discourse is the conjuring up of the old ideological truisms of the Pan Africanism of the liberation era. It is rather within her scope as foreign minister to speak of African concerns. It is equally within her scope still to speak of the Diaspora. The charged rhetoric she employs in justifying her preoccupation with the Diaspora suggest that this has gone beyond the job description of her office and has become a personal project. President Thabo Mbeki nurses the same complex. Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma has this to say about the Diaspora (one should note that this is at the context of her Budget Speech.):

¹⁶ *ibid*

¹⁷ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2000/dzum0314.htm>. Foreign Affairs Budget Vote , Address by Minister Dlamini Zuma to the National Assembly, 14 March 2000.

Our efforts in forging links with the people of the African Diaspora are also because of our shared experiences and the need to unify African people despite their alienation from the lands of their ancestors. We have suffered as they have suffered for being black in the world under the system of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Our common pride in the achievement of Africa is also what binds us and the new hope for an African renaissance, which is already being translated into reality by the African people.¹⁸

The issue of the African Diaspora is regarded as a matter of national importance as far as state priorities are concerned. She justifies this by referring to the common suffering that the Diaspora has undergone We have suffered as they have suffered for being black in the world under the system of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The world is shown as having been unkind to black people in the past and continuing to be so in the neo-colonial era. Thus south Africa's relation with the Diaspora is on a point of compassion or empathy. The pathos is clear enough. It seems here, South Africa is the big brother reaching out to the long forsaken little brother. One can't help have the image of Haiti in mind. Of course South Africa has gone to justify its interference in the Aristide affair. The question of the importance of the presence of embattled President Aristide in south Africa was posed at the Department of Foreign Affairs' imbizo at the university of Cape Town in 2005, she had this to say (The question and answer are extracted as presented in the address page):

Q: What value is there in having former Pres. Aristide in South Africa, what can he do to contribute to peace from South Africa? Why did we take him in?

¹⁸ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2004/dzum0603htm>. By the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, at the Budget Vote of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town 3 June 2004

A: South Africa responded to Caricom's request to the African Union and we agreed to receive him in South Africa. He was elected by the people and was unconstitutionally removed. Haiti has been a country of struggle under US and French involvement and had to defeat French and Spanish dictators. It is clear that the situation in Haiti will not be solved while the leader of its biggest party, President Aristide in exile. If anyone wants to solve the problems of Haiti, they can't solve them by oppression. Some people are in jail and cannot do anything behind bars. They are struggling. There was a time when it was believed that apartheid would never go away - South Africans continued the struggle until they were free. The same will happen in Haiti - they will struggle until they are free. The struggle will have to continue until free political movement has been secured in Haiti. President Aristide has called for free and fair elections from South Africa. The United Nations is working hard to ensure some stability in preparation for elections. We will continue to work with the UN on this.¹⁹

Even though it is clear to all that the move to harbour Aristide was influenced by ideological beliefs held by the presidency and the department of foreign affairs, nothing in the above defence statement alludes to Pan Africanist discourse. Instead we see justifications of a contingency kind. Reasons for harbouring Aristide, as stated by the Minister, can be tabled as follows:

- (a) Response to a request by Caricom,
- (b) Ousted President was democratically elected,

¹⁹ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2005/dzum0829.htm>. Notes on the Address of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma at the Inaugural Imbizo of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Jameson Hall, University of Cape Town, 23 August 2005

- (c) Haiti has struggled under colonialism,
- (d) While biggest party is in exile, no problems can be solved,
- (e) Oppression can't solve problems in Haiti,
- (f) There's been oppression since the coup in Haiti,
- (g) Like South Africans, Haitians will struggle until they are free, even though it is thought impossible,
- (h) Resistance struggle must persist,
- (i) President Aristide has called for free and fair elections,
- (j) United Nations ensuring stability for free elections in Haiti
- (k) South Africa working with UN to ensure stability for elections.

This is basically how Dr Dlamini Zuma's statement can be broken down. It is a justification of why South Africa has decided to harbour President Aristide, it is because the Caricom has asked South Africa to do so. Caricom is a multilateral body and thus its requests are legitimate. South Africa has answered a formal request. Also, because the president was democratically elected, South Africa has to defend that. The repression meted by Aristide on his people is not alluded to. Haiti's colonial past is revoked. This is actually the main cause for sympathy with Haiti, if not the whole cause. Haitians are compared to South Africans, thus their fate is similar- victory. The common place of comparison is used here. On point (h) we see the advocacy of the struggle for freedom in Haiti- South Africa is assuming a normative position. Responding to Caricom as a justification sounds neutral, but advocating for the struggle there indicates the assuming of sides. On point (i) the Minister is giving a good reason why she is harbouring Aristide, because he has called for free and fair elections. Multilateralism is also alluded to, in points (j) and (k) the role of the United Nations in ending the instability in Haiti is cited. The Minister is indicating that South Africa is acting multilaterally in the Haitian Affair.

What is apparent in the discourse of the above statement is the lack of poeticism that has come to symbolise the rhetoric of the Minister. It seems the poetic references are not readily unleashed when the minister is addressing direct questions, as was the case in the above citation. The poetry needs planning, literature review, citing, name dropping and so forth. However, her commitment to her Pan African cause can not be taken with a pinch of salt, it calls for further studying.

Setting the (A)genda: Women in Deliberative Politics.

South Africans are so often reminded of the role played by women in the liberation struggle. The event of 9 August 1956 where thousands of women marched to the Union Buildings to demand the scrapping of pass laws has become a symbolic moment of women political advocacy in South Africa. The current involvement of women in politics in south Africa always claims descent from that occasion.

The nomination of women into political positions is seen as part of the struggle to breach gender imbalance. Female public officials have come to embody this transformation. They are deemed to represent the aspirations of all women in South Africa. The rhetoric that female public officials adopt reflects this. Equity in public office is a priority in the long struggle to end gender discrimination. Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma and Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka can be comprehended in this political context. They have proven themselves to be capable officials in their own right, however they are still conscious of the role they have to play in balancing gender representation in parliament. Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma vented strong emotions about the discrimination women still undergo in the society, at the.....:

Women are still denied access to technology, education, health and of critical importance are being denied access to political decision-making bodies. Ironically, despite the three world conferences on

women including the Beijing Platform for Action, women are yet to see the benefits of decisions taken at these meetings.²⁰

Thus we can see from the above that it is essential to women liberty that they also be able to be part of decision making bodies in the society. This she repeats when she says, in the same speech: “You would have thought that they would have been given the central place in decision-making structures of societies, be they political, cultural, legal, academic religious, social and so on, to ensure that those decisions do not impact negatively on humanity and its survival.”²¹

The above mentioned centres of decision making have been dominated by men. We see in the appointment of women in the South African cabinet and other public offices a move to reverse this. The themes that are revisited by the Minister, hover around the issues of war and poverty, domestic violence and discrimination. These situations plague many women in developing countries. Her plea is for women in developing countries. In a poetic lamentation, she alludes to the main problems plaguing women in developing countries:

You would have thought that women would have been protected against domestic violence, against the ravages of war, against hunger and disease. You would also have thought that there would have been given access to education and skills, health especially reproductive health, to food as to be better equipped for their responsibilities.²²

We see from the above that the problem of gender discrimination is intertwined with the problem of poverty and war in the underdeveloped world. The two entail each other. Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka also identifies similar challenges in her rhetoric:

²⁰ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2005/dzum0503.htm>. Speech by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma delivered at the Pan-African Center for Gender Peace and Development Conference in Dakar Senegal on 01 May 2005

²¹ *ibid*

²² *ibid*

Just in this new millennium we have already experienced September 11, 2001; we have seen atrocities in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, loss of life and limb in Middle East, invasion of Iraq. The economic downturn in Argentina, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Enron scandal and revelation of corrupt practices in the accounting profession further illustrates how complex the world has become.

Over the last decade of the twentieth century, the number of people living in poverty has increased by almost 100 million. This occurred at a time when the total world income increased by an average of 2.5 percent annually, growing the divide between the have and have-nots. We know for a fact that women and children bear the bulk of the burden in this situation.

This is despite unprecedented efforts firstly by women ; NGOs in general, Governments, the UN and to a much smaller extent the private sector to address gender-based discrimination. Given all these challenges what is the call to women in leadership?²³

The Deputy President's terms of reference, although referring to key events are quite mundane in their connection with the plight of women. She does not make a convincing link between these events and the plight of women. It is also clear that the sources she uses are the common internet references that have gained a clichéd status, for instance when she states: The fact that there are an estimated one billion people who live on less than a dollar a day in the world, that fifty percent (50%) of the people on earth have never made or received a phone call highlights the challenges we face. It is also estimated that more than one billion people have no access to clean water and contaminated water kills more than two million children every year.²⁴

The use of statistics is a common place or syllogism that comes in handy when the speech is written in haste. We see little of the Deputy President's insight. However she is also aware of the need to place women in decision making positions in the society. She is glad to announce that : Our parliament has more 30% women and soon local government will have 50% women.²⁵

²³ www.worldywca-org.ac.psiweb.com/WorldCouncil/speeches/phumzile.pdf.

WORLD YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, WORLD COUNCIL
BRISBANE AUSTRALIA: 6-7 JULY 2003.

²⁴ *ibid*

²⁵ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/20005/mngcuk1031.htm>. Address by Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka at the 150th Anniversary of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Geneva, Switzerland, 28 October 2005.

The two female officials of the South African government identify similar priorities that have to be addressed in order to eliminate gender imbalance and discrimination in the society, be they poverty alleviation, conflict resolution or the placing of women in key decision making bodies in the society. The message is clear, women continue to be the most vulnerable recipients of all social injustices and this has to stop.

Multilateral Agenda versus Washington Consensus.

The manner in which South Africa achieved its transition from a white racist minority rule into a multiparty democracy inspired a lot of world opinion. The South African peaceful transition gained reverence for the regime. It was a success story of negotiated settlement. This also gained South Africa a status of authority when it comes to multilateral talks in international politics. Actually, on most occasions, South Africa opted to champion multilateralism. South Africa came to exemplify multilateralism and actually inspired confidence among many states to also engage in global politics.

Another attribute that posit South Africa in the front line of global dialogue is its liberation history. For many decades world politics were dominated by ideological blocs and it so happened that South Africa received material and moral support from the Eastern bloc and the Non Aligned Movement. After the collapse of the Iron Curtain, the western bloc came victorious and went on to consolidate its grip on international politics. However this was also the time when South Africa emerged as a legitimate and sovereign state into world politics, it had allies and rooters on both sides of the iron curtain and at the time signified by the so called Washington consensus or the hegemony of the united States this was to prove pivotal. South Africa could now plead on behalf of its erstwhile supporters in front of the western hegemony. The ambivalent position occupied by South Africa could see it hold talks with states regarded as rogue by the west and still hold conference with Washington . This flexibility has resulted with South Africa brokering peace between ideologically hostile entities such as when former President Nelson Mandela facilitated the lifting of sanctions by the united States from Libya. The current policy South Africa has with

Cuba reflect this style of diplomacy. The statemet below was made at a South Africa-cuba consultative forum by the foreign Minister Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, it reflects the manner in which South Africa regards multilateral institutions:

We are also very aware of the critical issues being discussed at the United Nations - in this regard, we both have a keen interest in developments at the United Nations. It is important to remember that at the time of its inception, the United Nations was located within a particular paradigm of international relations and consisted of 50 countries. We now have an opportunity to shape the United Nations in a drastically changed international paradigm. However, if we are not careful, those who shaped the United Nations 60 years ago will continue to do so.²⁶

Here, we see the Minister showing both the appreciation of the United Nations as a multilateral institution yet at the same time acknowledging that it has not always reflected the interests of all nations. It is time, now, to make the institution a truly multilateral one. This she says with regard to Cuba's status in world politics. Cuba currently suffers economic and political sanctions unilaterally imposed by the United States. In this vain, Minister Dr Dlamini-Zuma is advocating for Cuba to play a more meaningful role in world politics. We see this advocacy in another setting:

Replies to Questions Addressed by Deputy Minister Aziz Pahad

Q: Iraqi Deputy President Tariq Aziz addressed a parliamentary caucus meeting and there was speculation that South Africa supplied Iraq with uranium. In fact, you visited Iraq yourself to deliver a letter from President Mbeki to Saddam Hussein. My question is - are these friendships healthy for South Africa's international image and will it not damage our push for a seat on UNSC?

A: South Africa had foreseen there would be war in Iraq, the pre-text being that there were Weapons of Mass Destruction in Iraq and we

²⁶ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2006/dzum0128.htm>. **SA-Cuba Consultative Forum 28 January 2006.**

decided to act to try and prevent that scenario, understanding what the consequences could be. SA said there should be UN support for action against Iraq. We also warned that an overthrow of Iraq would not be a long-term solution. We thought that through new initiatives the war could be stopped. But the war went ahead. Today we now have the reality to deal with - that the military option had not secured long-term solution. Our engagements re Iraq were aimed at preventing war.

South Africa will act against South Africans who are illegally involved in security work in Iraq in contravention of the Foreign Military Assistance Act. We cannot allow our citizens to undermine peace efforts in other countries and regions.²⁷

Here, Minister Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma explicates her multilateral approach- America had no business approaching Iraq unilaterally and the option of war should have been avoided. She is not worried about the image of South African being tarnished by seeking to engage with Iraq. This ethos brings a refreshing chapter to international politics. Here we have South Africa confident of her motives and equally sure of her approaches. This is indeed a strong challenge to the Washington consensus.

Minister Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma always takes time to remind her western colleagues about the importance of unilateralism in solving world problems, in the extract below, we see her consign the possibility of stability and prosperity to multilateralism. Prosperity and stability are here put in their negated forms as poverty and instability:

As a result of these discussions, as South Africa and the United Kingdom, we can say with confidence that we share a view that the problems of poverty and underdevelopment in the world as well as the reality of conflicts and

²⁷ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2005/dzum0829.htm>. Notes on the Address of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma at the Inaugural Imbizo of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Jameson Hall, University of Cape Town, 23 August 2005

instability need a multilateral approach in thinking and indeed in implementation. For the sake of the children of Africa, of Europe and the world, let us intensify our efforts to address these problems and give them the attention they deserve.²⁸

In her talk about conflict, instability, underdevelopment and poverty she places the fate of the Western World with that of the underdeveloped world. By thus doing she is trying to convince the west that the alleviation of global poverty and the end of conflict are also in its interests. Multilateralism is the only way or means of solving these problems. The cause for multilateralism receives a boost from this statement.

In its cause to bolster multilateralism South African has developed a tendency to speak as many nations. It takes many fronts- the SADC, the AU, the African Diaspora, the South, the Non-Aligned Movement, the G77 and the rest of the world. This tends to blur the gap between South Africa's political and economic interests with those of the rest of the world. This may have adverse results in the long term: Mini-Imperialism. However for now, it merely demonstrates South Africa's preoccupation with multilateralism.

Conclusion

It is difficult to ascertain whether a politician's speech is a word of honour or just a device to fabricate an alternative reality. However it gets easier to identify the soul of the politician from a trail of speeches she leaves behind. Here, one is able to identify recurrent themes and thus be able to actually identify the driving force behind a

²⁸ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2004/dzum0827.htm>. Closing Remarks by Minister Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma at the 2004 SA-UK Bilateral Forum, Cape Town 25 - 26 August 2004

politician's rhetoric, such as convictions, for instance. The e-posting of governmental official's speeches, statements and addresses, although still limited in terms of who has access to the internet, accords one the opportunity to discern the passions and vectors that drive a politician. We are able to tap into Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma's nascent Pan Africanism for instance, or Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo ngcuka's fascination with figures and statistics. A whole new world of rhetorical resources is opened.

What defines official South African rhetoric, is the role that south Africa currently occupies in global politics. We see a lot of talk about institutions of multilateralism and blocs. It is clear south Africa has entered an ideological realm and perhaps a Pax South Africana may soon be spelled out.

Bibliography

Lexcander, Alison W. et al (Ed). 1983. *The Norton Anthology of Poetry*. W.W. Norton. New York.

Rushdie, Salman. 1989. *The Satanic Verses*. Viking. New York.

Searle, John R. 1979. *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Teory of Speech Acts*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Wilson, John. 1990. *Politically Speaking: The Pragmatic Analysis of Political Language*. Basil Blackwell Ltd. Oxford.

Electronic Resources

Aristotle <<http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/rhetoric.html>>

<www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/dlamini_zuma.htm>

<www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/mlambo_ngcuka.htm>

<www.info.gov.za>

<<http://biz-community.com>>

<www.iafrica.com>

<<http://www.mg.co.za>>

<<http://themercury.co.za>>

< www.worldywca-org.ac.psiweb.com