

A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Political Speeches of Prominent African Leaders

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Abstract

This article analyzes the political speeches of prominent African leaders with a view to seeing how African leaders persuade the African people on the expediency of various political and socio-economic policies and plans that are capable of enhancing African economic recovery and development. In achieving this, the study specifically analysis the rhetorical and persuasive strategies employed in their speeches and the ways and means the political leaders seek to achieve their goals. Data are drawn from sixteen selected political speeches of prominent contemporary African Presidents from the five major regions of the African continents, namely, Southern Africa (Robert Gabriel Mugabe and Thabo Mbeki of South African), East Africa (Mwai Kibaki of Kenya), West Africa (John Evans Atta Mills of Ghana and Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria), North Africa (Hosni Mubarak of Egypt) and Central Africa (Joseph Kabila of Democratic Republic of Congo and Paul Biya of Cameroon). The analysis employs the framework of Aristotelian rhetoric, with an adaptation of Fairclough's socio-semiotic model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The findings suggest that African political leaders generally acknowledge the socio-economic problems of Africa and the need for change. Four dominant ideological preoccupations emerging from the analysis are (a) economic growth and independence in Africa, (b) national unity and nationalism, (c) globalism and (d) self-reliance while recurring persuasive strategies include greetings, the use of pronouns, modalities and contrasts. Little attention, however, appears to be paid to the ways and means of achieving the goals of socio-economic independence and recovery. One concluding concern is how African leaders have tried to make economic independence and development a reality, if they, indeed, seek to break the yoke of the culture of dependency.

1. Introduction

Within all types of political system (autocratic, oligarchic, democratic, etc.), political leaders and heads of nation-states, by virtue of their position, play a critical role in national development and international politics. They often rely on the spoken word to influence and mobilize their followers and convince people of the benefits that can arise from their leadership. Political speeches are motivated by the desire to persuade and convince the nation or society and familiarize the audience with their socio-economic policies, plans and actions (Denton and Hahn, 1986; Teittinen, 2000). As Burns (1978: 18) explains,

Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers.

In this paper, we seek to analyze selected political speeches of prominent African leaders from the five major regions of Africa with a view to seeing how these leaders persuade their people concerning the expediency and urgency of their policies, plans and actions towards African socio-economic and political recovery and development. Within the framework of Fairclough's socio-semiotic model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study tries to uncover the ideological preoccupations inherent in the speeches.

Socio-economic and Political Realities in Africa in Relation to the World Today

It is widely acknowledged today that there are socio-economic and political inequalities between the developed countries of the "West and the rest" of the world including Africa. This assertion is partly supported by trade and commercial activities in the global world. In the discourses on international economic relations, much attention is usually paid to the dominant success stories in the West (e.g. economic growth) vis-à-vis political and socio-economic crises in many developing, particularly Africa where we have poor economic growth, abject poverty, deteriorating standards of living and political instability. The issue at stake is how Africa nations can achieve appreciable economic growth and rising living standards. Related to this is the need for economic integration through the forces of globalization such as, trade, investment, production, information, knowledge, etc. As a global phenomenon, globalization refers to the process of expanding economic, political, social and cultural relations across international boundaries. According to Fafowora (1998: 5), globalization deals with the "increasing breakdown of trade barriers and the increasing integration of World market". This suggests that globalization seeks to systematically restructure interactive relationship among nations by breaking down barriers in such areas as culture, commerce, information and communication.

Steger (2003: 97 - 110) identifies five major claims of globalization as:

- (1) "Globalization is about the liberalization and global integration of markets";
- (2) Globalization is inevitable and irreversible;
- (3) Nobody is in-charge of globalization;
- (4) Globalization benefits everyone and
- (5) Globalization furthers the spread of world democracy.

Despite the globalization trends in the world today, as suggested in the above mentioned claims, there is still a wide gap between the developed and developing nations, between the *haves* and the *have nots* in the world. Though globalization has been embraced by all, it still faces serious challenges. Many critics still believe that globalization is

westernization (often understood as Americanization) in disguise in which Western (notably US) values and practices are imposed on economically less developed countries and cultures.

2. The Dependency Factor in Africa

As we have today, the relationship between nation-states concerns power, which in the modern context can mean the struggle for resources and competition for knowledge. Whether it is in the context of the struggle for resources or competition for knowledge, relationships within the international community is often an attempt to maximize power. In this respect, one can say that international economic relations constitute an extension of international politics of power. In the global scene, the relationship between nations can be seen in terms of the “haves” and the “have nots”. The world economic situation today is inequitable and lopsided as trade and relations are all determined by those whose have effective control of the power of knowledge, an important factor in the international economic relation. In the Marxists parlance, this relationship is explained in terms of conflict between the two power blocs: the “haves” of the North and the “have nots” of the South. Walter Rodney (1973) addresses this dialectical conflict in his classic: *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* and its' thesis has become the theoretical point of departure of the dependency theory of international economic relations. Dependency theory, a Neo-Marxist theory, is of the view that the affluence of the developed nations is what has led to the poor state of the developing nations. Thus, the theory maintains that Third World countries are underdeveloped because of the activities of the First World. According to Randall and Theobald (1998:120), dependency theory posits that “the condition of underdevelopment is precisely the result of the incorporation of the Third World economies into the capitalist world system which is dominated by the West and North America”. In general, what the theory of dependency entails is that both political and economic dependency are significantly related to economic prosperity; that is, the more dependent countries are, the less prosperous they would be. Therefore, international economic relation today has the challenge of redressing the imbalance between the developed nations of the North and the underdeveloped nations of the world, of which African nations have a significant number.

The end of the cold war which brought about a paradigm shift of international economic relation has not benefited Africa and the underdeveloped nations of south. Rather, the institution of the global integrated market has worsened the crisis of development in Africa. It is therefore expedient for Africa to change its orientation to becoming a producer rather than a consumer. This is the only pathway towards self-actualizations and economic emancipation. They need to brace up to the challenges of globalization and exploit the expanded trade that is currently flourishing. This is a task that should be vigorously pursued to the extent that globalization does not promote inequity or escalate the divide between the “have” and the “have nots” of the world. African countries need to work harder to ensure that they benefit from the expansion and improvement in the productive capacity of the integrated global economy.

As we shall soon see, African leaders in their reaction to the challenges that are faced in Africa have tried to express their views and policies in their various speeches. Our focus in the analysis to follow will be on the problem of imbalance in global economic relations as far as Africa is concerned. We shall try to identify the salient economic and political development issues raised by prominent African leaders in their political speeches in relation to African in world politics.

3. Rhetoric and Persuasion

Rhetoric is primarily defined as the art and science of deploying words for the purpose of persuasion (Wilkin, 2003). According to Malmkjaer (2002), rhetoric originates from the theory of how best a speaker or writer can, by application of linguistic devices, achieve persuasion. Similarly, Burke (1954) opines that Aristotle sees rhetoric as the faculty of discovering the persuasive means of using language to produce an effect on the audience. Rhetoric is primarily concerned with persuasion, the ability of a speaker/writer to influence and persuade an audience. Classically, rhetoric has three dimensions: logos, ethos and pathos. Ethos deals with the speaker's capability to display a personal character which makes his speech credible and trustworthy. Pathos is concerned with the speaker's power of stirring and arousing the emotions of the audience; and in logos lies the power to provide truth by means of persuasive and rational argument (Beer and De Landtsheer 2004). The classical traditions of rhetoric went beyond the orator's act of communication to his qualities of character or ethos. It uses simple, direct and emotive language; and selects appeals with the aim of persuading and effecting a change in behaviour of the readers. In addition, the political leaders in their speeches have the intent to convince the readers based on their ideological underpinnings and orientation. They do this through the selection of some rhetorical tools that directly appeal to the emotions of their audience (Kennan, 2001).

According to de Wet (2010), rhetoric and persuasion go together. Rhetoric is the art of persuading others; therefore, persuasion is inseparable from rhetoric. Persuasion refers both to the speaker's intention and to textual outcomes. The measure of a successful rhetoric is its ability to persuade. Rhetoric may therefore fail if it is not persuasive. A successful orator was necessarily morally virtuous and could persuade if his behaviour met with social approval. The values and behaviour (i.e ethos) of the speaker are crucial in classical rhetoric.

4. Critical-Rhetorical Framework and the Place of Ideology

Rhetoric is generally and often associated with the practice of using language to persuade others, that is, to achieve something predetermined and directional with others (O'Sullivan et al, 1983). It embodies the use of the artistic proofs (ethos, pathos and logos) by a speaker to persuade recipients. Summarily, the prominent leaders in the speeches try to show certain credibility (ethos), along with an appreciation of the emotions of their subjects (pathos) and also use logic (logos.) A critical rhetoric framework seeks to critically examine beyond the text and moment of discourse and reveal through argumentation how rhetoric works to promote or denigrate important social values. This is a critical and important issue, especially for a society such as Africa, which is in a process of social transformation having been long plagued by wars and starvation. Persuasion is an interactive communicative process in which a message sender aims to influence the beliefs, attitudes and behaviour of the message receiver though the receiver's role is passive, if persuasion is to be successful; the message needs to comply with their wants and needs, their desires and imagination. In democratic political contexts, the intention of aspirant leaders is to attract the potential followers to themselves through their policies. Persuasion is never devoid of intention; it involves exploiting existing beliefs, attitudes and values rather than introducing completely new ones. As Jowett and O'Donnel (1992: 22 – 3) put it “people are reluctant to change, thus, in order to convince them to do so, the persuader has to relate change to something in which the persuadee already believes.

Ideology is an important feature of critical discourse analysis. Ideology refers to “a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group, class or society and ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power” (Eagleton, 1991: 1). Ideology may be socio-political, socio-economic or socio-cultural. From the perspective of critical discourse analysis, no text is ideologically neutral and innocent. Ideologies are hidden or subtle.

5. Data and Methodology

Sixteen political speeches of prominent contemporary African leaders/presidents from the five major regions of the African continent are selected: Southern Africa (Robert Gabriel Mugabe and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa), East Africa (Mwai Kibaki of Kenya), West Africa (John Evans Atta Mills of Ghana and Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria), North Africa (Hosni Mubarak of Egypt) and Central Africa (Joseph Kabila of Democratic Republic of Congo and Paul Biya of Cameroon). The breakdown is: Southern Africa: 4, West Africa: 4, Central Africa 4, East Africa: 2, North Africa: 2 (see the appendix). Firstly, a content analysis of the selected texts is done to identify the major ideological and thematic preoccupations, followed by a critical-rhetorical analysis of the texts to discover the persuasive strategies in the speeches, all within the CDA framework.

6. The Analysis and Discussion

In this section, we analyze first the ideologies inherent in the various speeches followed by the analysis of the rhetorical strategies employed in texts.

Ideological Analysis

(a) Economic Growth

Text 1

What we need, Mr President, is not an imposition of solutions based on self-interests, but a consensus on the reduction of harmful emissions and a climate change regime that balances adaptation and mitigation backed by the transfer of technology and resources. We need to pay special attention to the to the three pillars of sustainable development, namely, economic growth, social development and environmental protection (President Mugabe's Speech, September 24, 2010)

Text 2

All together, we must safeguard our territorial sovereignty and integrity, as well as peace, to break with the Congo of old, synonymous with wars and extreme poverty (President Kabila's Speech, November 16, 2006)

Text 3

As the effects of the crisis are easing off, the first signs of recovery are showing and there seems to be a resumption of investments, I think we should envision the future differently. In fact, I believe that an era is coming to an end. To be explicit, I feel that the goal we should set ourselves is to make Cameroon an EMERGING COUNTRY within a period of about twenty years (President Biya's Speech, May 17, 2010)

In the texts 1 – 3 above, and in consistency with African leaders' general preoccupation with African economic recovery, President Mugabe, Kabila and Biya are of the view that Africa has been plagued with poverty and crisis and thus, there is the need to get rid of the problems. African leaders in their generally acknowledge the socio-economic crisis in the continent. Thus, President Mugabe collectively presents three key areas where Africans need to channel their developmental efforts, namely, economic growth, social development

and environmental protection. In the same vein, President Kabila of DR Congo presents the need for all Congolese to unite and strive to fight for Congo's economic rebuilding and reconstruction. As the first democratically elected President of Congo and the youngest African Head of State in one of the war-torn countries, President Kabila identifies the urge for collective reconstruction of the 'old' Congo. Between 1998 and 2003, Congo was engulfed in civil wars in which millions of people died due to violence, starvation and disease. During this period, many intervening nations exploited the war for economic gains by looting Congo of its resources in the process of fighting. Thus, the president on his election as the country's president compels the Congolese to collectively guard and defend their resources which will extricate from their predicament of depending on external forces. In text 3, President Biya, on the 50th Anniversary of the country's Independence speech assures Cameroonians that the period of economic crisis which Cameroon is caused by the global economic meltdown is almost over.

Rhetorical Devices:

(a) Use of the pronoun "we", "us" and "our":

We need to pay special attention...

I **think we** should envision the future differently.

I **believe** that an era is coming to an end.

I **feel** that the goal **we** should

Let **us** all put **our** shoulders to the wheel and begin to build

The pronouns "we", "us" and "our" in the above is a strategy of collectivization. The choice of the verbs of senses ("think", "feel" and "believe") suggest passion and emotional involvement.

(b) Modal auxiliary: "must" and "should"

We **must** safeguard our territorial sovereignty and integrity....

We **should** envision the future differently.

The use of modal auxiliaries above shows obligation and necessity.

(b) National Unity and Nationalism

In text 4 below, the thematic preoccupation is national unity. Here, President Mill in his acceptance speech as the president-elect of Ghana persuades all Ghanaians to welcome and support his emergence as the president as an opportunity for transformation and change in Ghana.

Text 4

*Change has also come to Ghana; let **us** all embrace it and forge ahead together with a common sense of purpose. Let **us** all put **our** shoulders to the wheel and begin to build a Better Ghana (President Mill's Speech, January 7, 2009)*

Text 5

*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....and so let*

our actions speak louder than our words (President Mbeki's Speech, September 25, 2007)

Text 6

*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 (President Mbeki's Speech, April 27, 2004)*

In text 5, President Mbeki employs the modals of 'can' and 'must' to admonish Africans to collectively join hands to fight poverty. President Mbeki is optimistic that if all work together, there would be socio-economic improvement in Africa. The modal "must" expresses a compelling obligation on the two regions to ensure a collective effort towards socio-economic advancement. In the same vein in text 6, modal auxiliaries 'can' and 'will' are repeatedly employed to emphasize the willingness and commitment of African people to deal with their problems. In addition, he expresses confidence that Africans have the will to improve the socio-economic situation.

Text 7

*To alleviate them, **I** invite and encourage a mutually beneficial economic cooperation between our two countries. **I** have no doubt whatsoever that if **we** stand together, **we will** resolve most of **our** economic and financial shortcomings (President Kabila's Speech, March 27, 2001)*

President Kabila of Congo in text 7 advocates cooperation between his country (Congo) and Zimbabwe in order to achieve economic development in the two countries. While the first person's pronouns "we" and "our" personify and collectivize the African economic crisis, the modal "will" emphasizes the need for African unity in resolving the economic crisis to be resolved. This need for African unity and cooperation is also reiterated by Kabila in the text below

*We all know that some economic problems have been created by hidden forces that do not appreciate the African solidarity that Allied countries have demonstrated. It is however, my strong belief that these are temporary problems that will be overcome. To alleviate them, **I** invite and encourage a mutually beneficial economic cooperation between our two countries. (President Kabila March 2001)*

Rhetorical Strategies:

(a). Greetings:

Fellow countrymen and women (President Obasanjo, June 29, 2005)

Fellow Cameroonians, My Dear Compatriots (President Biya's , 2010)

My fellow countrymen (President Kabila's speech, November 16, 2006)

Fellow countrymen (President Mugabe, August 10, 2010)

Fellow South Africans (President Mbeki, September 21, 2008)

Fellow Ghanaians (President Mills,)

Greetings also function as a persuasive strategy to show solidarity, oneness and a sense of national belonging.

(b) Use of modality “can”, “must” and “will”

...that as Africans we **can** and **will** solve **our** problems

North and South **can** and **must** truly hold hands and address the challenges of

The modals “must”, “can” and “will” express political will and commitment of the speakers

(c) Globalism

African leaders, no doubt acknowledge the need for globalism. African nations can not live in isolation. Text 8 below makes this clear. President Mill in text 8 above expresses optimism in the development of Africa in this persuasive piece. In the same vein, Presidents Kibaki and Obasanjo in texts 9 and 10 make this clear.

Text 8

Ghana, therefore, reiterates her support for a global integration that ensures inclusive and equitable development and effectively contributes to substantial poverty alleviation, including full and productive employment as well as broad access to social services (President Mill’s Speech, September 24, 2009)

Text 9

At the international level, I am glad to see that our Armed Forces are working closely with other countries on military activities in the region and beyond, especially in relation to peacekeeping missions under the auspices of the United Nations. (President Mwai Kibaki September 2006)

Text 10

*Fellow countrymen and women, these concessions are the outcome of **our** numerous campaigns, meetings, correspondences, and briefings on the new Africa and new Nigeria. It was on the basis of these efforts that the creditor nations saw with **us**. **They** had confidence in **our** country, its government, and its policies and programmes. **They** were satisfied that **we** had shown leadership on all fronts, developed the courage to take tough and at times unpopular decisions, but stayed the course on reforms (President Obasanjo’s Speech, June 29, 2005)*

In text 10 above, President Obasanjo makes use of the pronominals “they” and “we” to polarize Western economic power and the new Africa (Nigeria). “They” refers to the West that possesses powerful economic might while “We” signifies the African leadership efforts. In particular in this case, President Obasanjo’s economic team that solicited for Debt Relief for Nigeria. In the text, President Obasanjo also persuades the reader to see himself as a leader fighting for the economic independence of his nation.

Rhetorical Strategies:

Repeated Keywords are (i) “new” the new Africa and new Nigeria (ii) our country (iii) reforms

(d) Self-Reliance

Text 11

*As I said earlier, the sectors that suffered the most are commodity exports whose prices are fixed without **our** involvement. **We** therefore need to progressively free ourselves from such dependence by, where possible, setting up processing industries which **would** have the advantage of creating jobs (President Biya’s Speech, December 31, 2009)*

President Biya of Cameroon identifies the necessity for Cameroon people to disentangle and become economically independent. Cameroon is a country that agricultural activities mainly contribute to her largest share of income. Most of the prices of Cameroon exports (such as timber, cocoa, banana, coffee, sugarcane) are fixed at international market, without active participation of Cameroonians. Thus, President Biya, in his end-of-the- year (2009) speech, recognizes the need for Cameroon to establish industries that would process these agricultural products and in the process create jobs. This according to the president will liberate Cameroon from reliance, enslavement and foreign domination. Thereby, it will make Cameroon advance economically.

Text 12

*We are calling for a new international political, economic, and commercial order; an order that is more just and balanced; one free of discrimination and double standards, and which achieves the interests of all; one which takes into the consideration the concerns and priorities of developing countries, and establishes democracy as the basis for engagement between **rich and poor** states, as well as achieving balanced representation for the developing world in the agencies of international organizations, in existing financial institutions, in global economic decision-making mechanisms, and in the principle international groups, such as the G-8, and the G-20. (President Mohamed Mubarak’s July 11 2009)*

In text 12 above, President Mubarak advocates for pure democracy which would guarantee Africans fair play in world politics.

Text 13

*Recently, **we** have sought to re-engage the European Union on the issue of the immediate removal of the evil sanctions that are hurting our people. But no sooner had **we** started the re-engagement than we realised that the European Union is far from being sincere, as the bloc keeps on shifting goal posts. The European Union and America are keen to have **our** people continue suffering under the evil sanctions. Let all Zimbabweans unite on this matter, and with one voice, continue to demand **their** removal. (President Mugabe August 10, 2010)*

Text 14

*Part of this agenda is employment creation for **our** youth. I therefore do not expect you to continue purchasing expensive imported furniture when **our** young people are making quality goods locally. **You should** therefore support **our** local furniture industry and help create jobs for **our** youth (President Kibaki's Speech, February 5, 2010)*

Text 15

*It is now time for all parties, particularly Israel, to realize that peace is the normal condition for human life and the only means for the development of peoples and advancement of nations; that oppression **can** never make security, nor **can** aggression generate peace. Permanent and stable peace **should** be just and even-handed, ensuring balanced rights and obligation of parties involved. (President Mohamed Mubarak's October 21 2000)*

Text 16

*In the process of strengthening and sustaining **our** democracy therefore, **we must** maintain constitutionality with responsibility and expedience when there are situations that challenge or undermine the tenets of what we have all strived so hard to attain. (President Obasanjo's Speech, May 29, 2004)*

In texts 15 and 16, Presidents Mubarak and Obasanjo also advocate for a need to break the yoke of culture of culture of dependency

Breaking the Yoke of Dependency

The analysis has shown that Africa has not been a critical force in the race for economic power. African political leaders have therefore advocated for appropriate strategies for breaking the yoke of dependency of Africans on the developed countries. In this regard, as Bolaji Akinyemi, once said in his lecture on the Nigerian situation,

(A)n industrialized and agriculturally surplus Nigeria will be a shield against inimical foreign dependence; if there is one thing on which I suppose all scholars and students of international affairs agree, it is that foreign dependence by a state is inimical to the evolution and dependence of the national interest of that state.

The point implicit here is that for economic growth and independence to take place in Africa, there must be a state of national well-being. Without this, people will continue to depend on others for their economic sustenance. And if this situation persists, the capacity to protect national interests in global socio-economic relations will be limited.

Conclusion

As it was mentioned earlier, this article sought to analyse selected political speeches of prominent African leaders from the five major regions of Africa with a view to see how these leaders persuade their people about the expediency and urgency of their policies, plans and actions towards African socio-economic and political recovery of development. Four dominant ideological preoccupations emerging from the analysis are (a) economic growth and independence in Africa, (b) national unity and nationalism, (c) globalism and (d) self-reliance. Various rhetorical strategies have been used by African leaders in their texts to project their

policies and plans and to persuade the populace. These include: greetings, use of pronouns, contrasts and modality.

A major concern observable in this analysis relate to ways and means It is clear from the analysis of the speeches that African leaders are preoccupied with the political and socio-economic problems of the continent and the need for change. However, little attention is being paid to the ways and means of achieving socio-economic independence and self-reliance in Africa. The appropriate question that we ask in this paper is: how have African leaders attempted to execute and accomplish their avowed promises and intentions? In other words, how have they tried to make development and economic independence a reality in contemporary Africa if indeed they are to break the yoke of the culture of dependency?

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APPENDIX

(A) WEST AFRICA

Speaker A: President Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria)

Speech 1: “Debt Relief for Nigeria: A dividend of Democracy.” Obasanjo’s Address to the Nation on Debt Relief on June 29, 2005

Speech 2: “Building the Nigeria of our Dream.” Obasanjo’s Address to the Nation on the Occasion Marking the Thanksgiving and Democracy Day on May 29, 2004.

Speaker B: President John Evans Atta Mills (Ghana)

Speech 1: President Mills’ Speech to the United Nations General Assembly at its 64th Session on September 24th, 2009

Speech 2: Acceptance Speech by President-Elect of the Republic of Ghana, John Evans Atta Mills on January 7th, 2009.

(B) CENTRAL AFRICA

Speaker A: President Paul Biya (Cameroon)

Speech 1: President Biya’s Speech on 50th Anniversaries of the Independence and Reunification of Cameroon on May 17, 2010

Speech 2: President Biya’s End of the Year (2009) Address to the Nation on December 31st, 2009

Speaker B: President Joseph Kabila (Congo)

Speech 1: President Kabila’s Speech before the Parliament of the Republic of Zimbabwe on March 27th, 2001.

Speech 2: President Kabila’s Special Address following His Election as Congo’s President on November 16th, 2006.

(C) NORTH AFRICA

Speaker A: President Hosni Mubarak (Egypt)

Speech 1: President Mubarak’s Speech to the Inaugural Session of the Emergency Arab Summit in Cairo, on October 21 -22, 2000

Speech 2: President Mubarak’s Speech before the Opening of the 15th Summit of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement on July 11 – 16th, 2009.

(D) EAST AFRICA

Speaker A: President Mwai Kibaki (Kenya)

Speech 1: President Kibaki's Speech on the Commemoration of Kenya Army Day on September 8th, 2006

Speech 2: President Kibaki's Speech Graft Fight During a Workshop on Strategies to Fight/Eliminate Corruption in the Public Service on February 5th, 2010.

(E) SOUTH AFRICA

Speaker A: President Mugabe (Zimbabwe)

Speech 1: President Robert Gabriel Mugabe's Speech on the Commemoration of Heroes Day at the National Acre on August 10th, 2010.

Speech 2: President Mugabe's Speech to the 65th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York on September 24th, 2010.

Speaker B: President Thabo Mbeki (South Africa)

Speech 1: President Mbeki's Speech on the Occasion of His Inauguration and the 10th Anniversary of Freedom on April 27th, 2004.

Speech 2: President Mbeki's Address at the 62nd Session of the United Nations' General Assembly on September 25th, 2007.