

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE USE OF METAPHOR IN
THE SPEECHES OF NKRUMAH AND RAWLLINGS

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BY



**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH
DEGREE**

JUNE, 2011

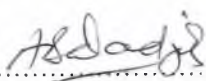


DECLARATION

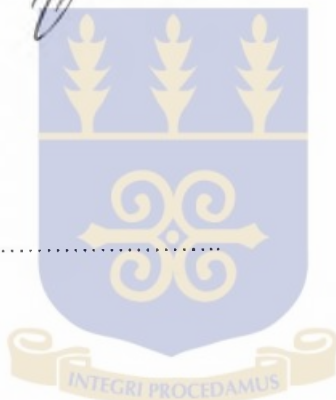
I hereby, declare that this thesis is the result of my original research, except for sources which have been duly acknowledged, and that no part of it has been published or presented as part of the requirement for any degree in any university in Ghana.

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Professor A.B.K. Dadzie





Dr. Jemima Anderson

DEDICATION

I, humbly, dedicate this thesis to the honour and glory of God Almighty, without whose grace and love this work would not have seen the light of day. The many challenges of the task have been worth my while. To him be the honour.

I also dedicate this to my lovely daughter, AKUA AMPOFOWAA ADJEI-FOBI, for the light she brought into my life.

Finally, it is to the Life-Long Memory of my father, the late NANA KWAKU FOBIRI TUO II. I still believe in you, Dad!



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My profound gratitude is for my supervisors for their immense guidance, support and patience for me while this work took gradual shape.

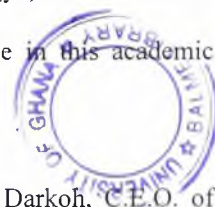
Professors Kari Dako and Albert Mensah both of the English Department, Legon, also did their best by way of research material and advice. Dr. Helen Yitah also provided a great deal of counseling which propped me up at the most crucial movements.

Professor Yaw Sekyi-Baidoo of the Department of English Education, University of Education, Winneba, as always, a teacher, friend and mentor, did for me what he is famed for -- prodding his students on, in the right direction. Mr. Francis Ahiafor and Mrs Juliana Ben-Eghan, current headmaster and former assistant headmistress respectively of St Thomas Aquinas Senior High School, Cantonments-Accra cannot be left out for permitting me long absence from the classroom to enable me attend lectures, and for their encouragement.

Mr. and Mrs. Dan Ayitiah of The Light Academy were as supportive in giving me free access to printers and copiers as was my good, old pal, Mr. Kwasi Ohene Aboagye, Head of School at The Light Academy, Adenta. You should all be proud of your role in this academic endeavour.

My uncle, Kwabena Opoku-Asare and my big brother, Yaw Nuamah Darkoh, C.E.O. of Rosapak Rentals and Ahenfie Night Club offered all the help to firm my feet throughout this course, and I am grateful to them.

Finally, I want to thank my dear wife, Awurakua, for her support; and my mother, Asante Ama Twumwaa Fobi, for the gift of Life and intelligence.



ABSTRACT

Politics is one vocation which is indispensably yoked with language. Politicians need to be at their persuasive best to win voters over. The best speakers stand the best chance of getting elected or swaying the opinions of others one particular way or the other. Oratory is about the best endowment in politics. This thesis is based on the part metaphors played in the political speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings.

Nkrumah and Rawlings' long reigns can be attributed to their oratory, to some extent. They used the spoken word, not only as a medium to convey their intentions, but also to mask them. The study focuses on the similarities and differences in their use of metaphor. It also attempts to find out how the different backgrounds of the two politicians are reflected in their choice of metaphors. The study used printed data with twenty speeches: ten from each of the politicians. The framework is Aristotle's Rhetorical theory, Burke's theory of Dramatism and Lakoff's theory of Metaphor. They all help point out the major similarities and differences in the metaphors chosen by Nkrumah and Rawlings and that these were the effect of their different backgrounds. This research intends to prove that metaphors were utilized as a deliberate communicative tool in the rhetoric of the two ex-presidents.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page	i
Declaration	ii
Dedication	iii
Table of contents	iv
Abstract	viii
Acknowledgement.....	ix

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background	1
1.1.1 Origin of Rhetoric	5
1.1.1.1 Classical Rhetoric.....	6
1.1.1.2 Medieval Rhetoric	7
1.1.1.3 Modern Rhetoric.....	8
1.2 Statement of the Problem	10
1.3 Research Questions	10
1.4 Hypothesis	11
1.5 Limitations and Delimitations	12
1.6 Significance and Purpose.....	13

1.7	Organization.....	13
1.8	Conclusion.....	14

CHAPTER TWO – REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1	Literature Review.....	15
2.2	Definition of Rhetoric	24
2.3	Types of Rhetoric	25
2.4	The Canons of Rhetoric	25
2.4.1	Invention.....	26
2.4.2	Arrangement.....	26
2.4.3	Style.....	26
2.4.4	Delivery.....	27
2.4.5	Memory.....	27
2.5	The Language of Rhetoric.....	27
2.5.1	Figuration	28
2.5.2	Modes of Figuration	30
2.6	Interpretation of the Metaphor	32
2.7	Methodology and the Emergence Problem	35
2.8	Metaphor and Culture.....	39

1.7	Organization.....	13
1.8	Conclusion.....	14

CHAPTER TWO – REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1	Literature Review.....	15
2.2	Definition of Rhetoric	24
2.3	Types of Rhetoric	25
2.4	The Canons of Rhetoric	25
2.4.1	Invention.....	26
2.4.2	Arrangement.....	26
2.4.3	Style.....	26
2.4.4	Delivery.....	27
2.4.5	Memory.....	27
2.5	The Language of Rhetoric.....	27
2.5.1	Figuration	28
2.5.2	Modes of Figuration	30
2.6	Interpretation of the Metaphor	32
2.7	Methodology and the Emergence Problem	35
2.8	Metaphor and Culture... ..	39

2.9	Metaphor and Context	42
2.10	The Conceptual Metaphor and Culture	44
2.11	Theoretical Framework	45
2.11.1	Aristotle’s Rhetoric	45
2.11.1.2	Logical Proof: Lines of Argument that makes Sense.....	46
2.11.1.3	Ethical Proof: Perceived Source Credibility.....	47
2.11.1.4	Emotional Proof: Striking a Responsive Chord.....	48
2.11.1.5	Critique of Aristotle’s Theory.....	49
2.11.1.6	Relevance of Aristotle’s Theory to the Study.....	50
2.11.1.7	The Theory of Dramatism	50

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY

3.1	Methodology.....	52
3.1.1	Research Design	52
3.2	Setting.....	54
3.2.1	Justification for the study of Nkrumah and Rawlings.....	54
3.3	Method of Data Collection	56
3.3.1	Sampling Procedure	56
3.3.2	Treatment of Data	57

CHAPTER FOUR- DATA ANALYSIS

4.1	Data Analysis.....	60
4.1.1	Nkrumah’s use of metaphor	60
4.1.2	Rawlings use of Metaphor	71
4.1.3	The use of Metaphor: A Comparison between Nkrumah and Rawlings...81	
4.1.4	Summary.....	91

CHAPTER FIVE -SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1	Summary	92
5.2	Conclusion	94
5.3	Recommendations.....	95
	References.....	97
	Appendices.....	106
	Samples of Rawlings’ Speeches.....	106
	Samples of Nkrumah’s Speeches.....	125

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

“The mouth of a man can lead to his doom but the same can liberate him.” This Akan proverb indicates the power and effectiveness of language in the cultural context in Ghana. The same can be said of the other Ghanaian languages. Taiwo (2009, p.192) describes politics as “the struggle for and control of resources, values, norms and behaviour of a social group”. It is little wonder then that to attain political power, one needs language as a powerful tool. It is true that the politicians’ targeted struggle and control of whatever resources, values and norms there are cannot be achieved without the use of language.

Stubbs (1983) makes an interesting observation as regards the interface between language, action, knowledge and situation. That they are inseparable is true and even truer for politics. For example, much has been said about the political success of the American President, Barrack Obama, being the consequence of his oratory and his media savvy. That he exploited his language skills to his advantage is well-known. It has been said repeatedly that the world is in an information age, and it is language which is the basic facilitator of communication.

Stubbs explains:

Some actions can be performed only through language (for example, apologizing), whilst others can be performed either verbally or non-verbally (for example, threatening). In addition, as soon as we start to study how language is used in social interaction, it becomes clear that communication is impossible without shared knowledge and assumptions between speakers and hearers. It follows also that knowledge and situation are inseparable. There is no deterministic relationship, of course, except in highly ritualized situations. In certain games, ceremonies and formal rituals, actual forms of words may be laid down as part of the proceedings, but most everyday uses of language are much more flexible. (p. 57)

Obeng S.G. (1997), states that:

Although it is impossible to talk about politics without the mention of language (speeches, campaigns, debates, political texts like manifestoes among others) or to discuss language without entering politics, oftentimes these two important issues are discussed in mutually exclusive scholarly contexts as if they have nothing in common. (p. 8)

“One of the major goals of language use in political campaigns is persuasion” according to Taiwo (2009, p. 184). It is meant to function as “a powerful instrument of mass mobilization and socio-political engineering.” Adeyanju (2009, p. 192).

Like all other countries, Ghana’s political scene is and has always been vibrant with activity, and speeches, letters and other forms of discourse have featured prominently from the pre-colonial to the modern era. From John Mensah -Sarbah’s push for the emancipation of the native Ghanaian and Nkrumah’s drive for independence, to Rawlings’ revolutionary diatribes and the myriad of voices of the opposition, political discourse has played its role in conscientizing the people and giving them a further inkling into what they stand for, at least, at the face value. But language, specifically English, is not used by politicians only. Ordinary citizens also exploit it to make personal or group inputs in political debates. Letters to newspaper editors and telephone calls into live radio and television programmes are means by which members of the larger populace make their voices heard.

It is significant that this research focuses on two historical figures: Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah needed great rhetorical skills, not only to lead the drive for political independence of Ghana, in particular, but for that of Africa, in general. But the use of rhetoric was also aimed at holding onto it and for propagating his socialist ideology as well as aggressively pursuing his concretization of

groups like the Boys' Brigade which he christened 'Young Pioneers'. At a dinner with businessmen in 1963, he said:

We are in the process of establishing a society in which men and women will have no anxiety about work, food and shelter, where poverty and illiteracy no longer exist and where disease is brought under control; where our educational facilities provide our children with the best possible opportunities for learning; where every person uses his talents to their fullest capacity and contributes to the general well-being of the nation.

Whereas he was quite implicit above, he was more open with his proposal in the next paragraph of the same speech:

In order to attain these objectives we have accepted the socialist pattern of society believing that a certain level of economic growth of a less-developed country such as Ghana, state enterprises can co-exist with private business, interest provided certain rules are observed on both sides.

But Nkrumah is remembered, indeed, revered by many, not for his socialist leanings, but for his calls for the total liberation and emancipation of Africa and Africans in the Diaspora. He set himself up to champion that cause by declaring, famously, on the eve of Ghana's independence, when he declared:

The independence of Ghana is meaningless, unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent

Long after Ghana attained independence, he still spoke vehemently, about African unity and against neocolonialism. He made it a priority to attend conferences of African Heads of states at which he made many fiery speeches on what he referred to as 'The African Revolution'.

In his speech at the Conference of African Heads of States and Governments, on May 24, 1963, Dr. Nkrumah demanded of his colleague heads, unity of the entire continent, warning:

...no sporadic act or pious resolution can resolve our present problems. Nothing will be of avail, except the united act of a united African. We have already reached the stage where we must unite or

sink into that condition which has made Latin America the unwilling and distressed prey of imperialism after one-and-a-half centuries of political independence

It is worthy of note that Nkrumah always seized the opportunity of addressing various audiences to speak to issues that resonated beyond national and even continental borders. He was not only addressing Ghanaians and Africans, for that matter. He was speaking to the British government and, indeed, the whole world. Thus, he chose his words carefully to achieve the effects he intended. While palliating many Ghanaians, he sent shivers down the spine of the British as well as his opponents at home. Obviously, few ordinary Ghanaians of his era understood his rhetoric, and one can safely conjecture that it was not meant for their consumption and analysis. The people seemed to have implicit trust in him and the trappings of independence that he won for them.

Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings entered the political fray much later with revolutionary sermons. His own linguistic fervor is analyzed against the background of his military training and political ideology, if he had any. His regime was replete with populist statements and catch phrases typical of military juntas in Africa, especially, at their initial stages. At a ceremony to inaugurate the Kpong Hydro-electric Dam as an additional source of power for Ghana and as a branch of the Volta Aluminium Company, he said:

The (government of the) PNDC is committed to the achievement of certain basic objectives for the people of this country. Our task as a government is principally to extend and give meaning to Democracy for the mass of our people. For the so-called democracy which has existed in this country until the revolutionary process began has been a restricted one. At the level of political power, in a country where over 60% of the population cannot read, or write in English only those who were literate in English could go to Parliament. Further, the high fees charged as registration for political parties made them a preserve of the rich. At the level of the economy, democracy meant plenty for the rich and a freedom to starve for the broad majority, and a lack of sensitivity to the plight of the poor dominated all our major institutions. It is only this, which explains a situation in which cocoa farmers were not paid for years.

The military fervor in Rawlings' rhetoric is never missing and his brand of militancy and its goals are in stark contrast to that of Nkrumah. In his broadcast to the nation on December 31, 1981, the day on which he led a successful coup d'état that overthrew the Limann administration, he declared:

The wealth of this country will need to be defended by 14million warriors: that is, by 14 million Ghanaian citizens. I would like to take this opportunity to warn you to be on your guard and in the same way; I'd like to provide a firm warning to any country outside Ghana who might attempt any kind of invasion. WEST AFRICA WILL BURN. We in Ghana are prepared to die for our Freedom! There is no justice in this society, and so long as there is no justice, I would dare say that "LET THERE BE NO PEACE". You will hear from me again.

As perlocutionary acts, all such discourse are utterances intended to sway others' opinions, the way the speakers and writers wish, to espouse an opinion, to criticize opponents or to deepen already-made impressions, for better or for worse. Obviously, language has as much influence on politics as politics on language.

The contextual properties of a discourse, according to van Dijk (2000), enables one to categorize them into, conversational, judicial, therapeutic, political or educational classes.

It is the focus of this study to analyze the speeches of two prominent Ghanaian politicians, both ex-presidents, with a view to analyzing the way in which they used English to advance their causes, with particular reference to the deployment of the rhetorical device, metaphor.

1.1.1 THE ORIGIN OF RHETORIC

Rhetoric is the art of persuasion. It aims at verbally influencing others to think or behave in the speaker's intended direction. Whether spoken or written, rhetoric is a display of eloquence. Spoken rhetoric is oratory. Rhetoric defines the rules that should govern all prose,

composition or speech designed to influence the judgment or the feelings of people and is thus a form of propaganda. It therefore treats all matters relating to beauty or forcefulness of style. In a narrower sense, rhetoric is concerned with a consideration of the fundamental principles according to which oratorical discourses are composed, these being invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery. A rhetorical situation is one that calls for the use of persuasion—it is a situation in which an argument would be an appropriate response (McInelly & Perry, 2008). It is the interaction between speakers/writers and audience/readers.

1.1.1.1 Classical Rhetoric

Many linguists agree that Greece is the cradle of oratory. The Greeks regard Homer as the father of oratory. This honour, obviously, stems from his work, *The Iliad*, in which characters like Achilles, Nestor and Odysseus display great eloquence. The establishment of democratic institutions in Athens in 510 B.C. imposed on all citizens the necessity of public service, making skill in oratory an essential prerequisite; hence a group of orators, known as Sophists, arose. The Sophists endeavoured to make men better speakers by rules of art. The first of these practitioners, Protagoras, made a study of language and taught his pupils how to make the weaker cause appear the stronger. The actual founder of rhetoric as a science is said to be Corax of Syracuse, who defined rhetoric as the “artificer of persuasion” and composed the first handbook on the art of rhetoric. Later masters of rhetoric were Corax’s pupil, Tisias, also of Syracuse; Gorgias of Leontini, who went to Athens in 427 B.C., and Thrasymachus of Chalcedon, who taught at Athens. Antiphon, the first of the so-called Ten Attic Orators, was the first to combine the theory and practice of rhetoric and with Socrates, the great teacher of oratory in the 4th century B.C., the art of rhetoric was broadened to become a cultural study, a philosophy with a practical purpose.

Plato satirized the more technical approach to rhetoric, with its emphasis on persuasion rather than truth, in his *Gorgias*, and in the *Phaedrus* he discussed the principles constituting the essence of the rhetorical art. Aristotle, in his *Rhetoric*, defined the function of rhetoric as being, not that of “discovering all the available means of persuasion”, thereby emphasizing the winning of an argument by persuasive marshalling of truth, rather than the swaying of an audience by an appeal to their emotions. He regarded rhetoric as the counterpart of logic.

The instructors in formal rhetoric in Rome were at first Greek, and the great masters of theoretical and practical rhetoric, Cicero and Quintilian, were both influenced by Greek models. Cicero wrote several treatises on the theory and practice of rhetoric, the most important being *On the Orator*; Quintilian’s famous *Institutio Oratoria* still retains its value as a thorough treatment of the principles of the rhetoric and the nature of ideal eloquence. He sees rhetoric as the good man speaking well. Scholastic declamations of the early empire are found in the extant ‘*suasorioe*’ and the ‘*controversioe*’ of the rhetorician, Seneca, the former belonging to deliberative rhetoric, the latter dealing with legal issues and presenting forensic rhetoric.

During the four centuries of the Roman Empire, rhetoric continued to be taught by teachers who were called Sophists, the term by this time used as his academic title.

1.1.1.2 Medieval and renaissance rhetoric

Rhetoric was one of the subjects that constituted the Trivium , or the three preliminary subjects of the seven liberal arts taught at the universities, the other two being Grammar and Logic. The chief medieval authorities on rhetoric were three Roman scholars of the 5th , 6th , and 7th centuries: Martianus Capella, author of an encyclopedia of the seven liberal arts

(arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and music in conjunction with grammar, logic and rhetoric); Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, historian and founder of monasteries, famed especially for his *Institutiones Divinarum et Humanarum Lectionum*, the second book of which contains an account of the seven liberal arts; and Isidore of Seville, a Spanish archbishop who compiled an encyclopedic work setting forth the erudition of the ancient world.

During the Renaissance, the study of rhetoric was again based on the works of writers of classical antiquity such as Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. A number of contemporary dissertations were produced, among them, the *Art of Rhetorique* (1553) by the English statesman and writer, Thomas Wilson; the *Art or Craft of Rhetoryke* by the 16th-century English schoolmaster, Leonard Cox, and treatises by the Pierre de Courcelles and Andre de Tonquelin, both 16th-century French rhetoricians. Rhetoric was a prescribed subject in colleges and universities with public disputations and competitive exercises keeping the practice alive for long.

1.1.1.3 Modern Rhetoric

In the early 18th century rhetoric declined in importance, though this decline was more on its theoretical than its practical side, since the political arena and the debating platform continued to furnish numerous opportunities for effective oratory. For the succeeding half-century, the art of rhetoric had increasingly fewer exponents. The *Lectures on Rhetoric* (1783) by the Scottish clergyman, Hugh Blair, achieved considerable popularity in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, as did the *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776) by the Scottish theologian, George Campbell and the *Elements of Rhetoric* (1828) by the British logician, Richard Whately.

In the first half of the 20th century, a revival of the study of formal rhetoric, encouraged largely by the exponents of the linguistic science known as semantics, occurred throughout the English-speaking countries of the world. Among the modern educators and philosophers who made notable contributions to this study were the British literary critic, I. A. Richards and the American literary critic, John Crowe Ransom. The 20th century produced great rhetoricians like Kenneth Burke (1950) and Walter Fisher (1987) who introduced the theory of Dramatism and Narrative Paradigm, respectively, as forms of new rhetoric. The practice has been greatly exploited in previous centuries by great speakers to achieve diverse ends, especially in the political arena. Among such speakers are Niccolo Machiavelli in *'The Prince'*, Adolf Hitler in his *'Mein Kempf'*, Abraham Lincoln's *'Gettysburg Address'*, Thomas Jefferson's *'Declaration of Independence'*, Malcolm X's *'The Ballot or the Bullet'* (1964), Martin Luther King's *'I Have a Dream'* (1963), Kwame Nkrumah's *Declaration of Independence'*, (1957) and Barack Obama's *'Yes we can'* (2009). There have also been great speakers like Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria. These men displayed rhetorical proficiency in different ways. In recent times, rhetoric has become a great tool in the hands of world leaders. Noteworthy among them are President George Walker Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair. After the September 11 disaster, President Bush was at his rhetorical best when he gave a moving address which was filled with so much pathos and energy to the American nation. In his introduction, he says:

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people.

Again, he makes a poignant point when he says:

¹ obamaspeeches.com/E11-Barack-Obama-Election-Night-Victory-Grant-Park-Illinois-November-4-2008.html

...Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, this will be done²

President Bush's employment of anastrophe, a repetitive device, in the second sentence brings home his message. President Bush's address which forms parts of a strong evidence of rhetoric practice in our present time has its antecedent in the past centuries.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Language reflects the culture of a people. It is, indeed, a socio-cultural tool for communication and social cohesion, but it can often be manipulated in the hands of politicians. Political communication domains include presidential inaugurals, state of the union or nation addresses, parliamentary debates, political debates and rallies, election speeches, presidential debates, or propaganda leaflets (Obeng, 2007). According to Yankah (1989), rhetoric has been practiced since long in Africa, and in Ghana, for that matter. It may have taken on the Greek or Roman prescription later on but Africans have long been at it, especially, in the palaces of the Chiefs and Kings where they and their spokespersons flourished by captivating audiences with their linguistic prowess. This study aims at finding out how metaphor is employed in the political speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings. This is to identify what similarities and differences there are in the use of this rhetorical device in their speeches and the results they achieved.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study attempts answering such pertinent questions as identifying and describing the problem:

1. What role does metaphor play in the rhetoric of Nkrumah and Rawlings?

² www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/gwbush911jointsessionspeeches.htm

2. Are there any similarities and differences between the two speakers in their use of metaphor and analogy as rhetorical devices?
3. Is there any relationship between the backgrounds of the two politicians and their use of the devices in question?
4. What were the aims and results of these politicians' use of metaphor?

1.4 HYPOTHESES

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, Ghanaians referred to their state as a fledgling democracy. After several attempts at military-led revolutions, it seems that the consensus is for multi-party democracy to thrive without disruption. Rhetoric is the choice of not only politicians but also the masses who at the least opportunity speak out via the mass media.

The battle for the control of power and resources is generally accepted as best fought with words than with guns and swords. When Adeyanju (2009) refers to the powerful nature of language in the body-politic of Nigeria, he was in fact, echoing what many African nations, like Ghana, have come to accept. Historical political figures like Dr Martin Luther King of the United States of America and Sir Winston Churchill of Great Britain, and more contemporary ones like former Labour Party leader, Neil Kinnock of Britain and President Barack Obama of U.S.A. have all established the truism that language is key to having the masses on one's side.

A current addition to the cacophony of political rhetoric in Ghana is what has become known as "serial callers". These men and women, who make it their duty to phone into radio programmes to air partisan views, criticize opponents, praise their favourites and make suggestions. This is indicative of the general recognition of what language can achieve and

political parties seek out smart, linguistically-endowed speakers to add impetus to political views for better or for worse.

The research questions stem from the following hypotheses:

1. That metaphors play a significant role in politic rhetoric in general and, in particular, in the political strategies of Nkrumah and Rawlings
2. That Nkrumah and Rawlings have some differences and similarities in their use of metaphor.
3. That their unique backgrounds influence their choice of this rhetorical device.

1.5 LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

There were limitations to the present research. The first was the identification of data for the research. Though much has been written and orally discussed on political discourse worldwide, the same cannot be said of the specific case of Ghana. Most political discourse analyses have been more political than linguistic. Most probably, this is as a result of the linguist giving it little attention as opposed to the political scientist who, literally, catches the words of politicians before they land. This has led to the situation in which much of the material one could cite from being lopsided in favour of foreign ones.

The need to locate the different backgrounds of the individual speeches in order to be able to put the speeches into their unique socio-political perspective was another real challenge. Some of the speeches of Nkrumah, for instance, were difficult to locate in the National Archives. However, since these speeches did not necessarily form the core of the data for the analysis, their unavailability did not affect the quality and size needed for the research.

Furthermore, it has been intimated that political discourse, like any other category of discourse, is primarily about language and content and, as such, it explores the relationship between the 'how' and 'what' of textual meaning and variation (Leckie-Tarry, 1995). Despite this assertion, this research is not a study of the ideological content of the political speeches. Content analysis, therefore, was limited to the rhetorical language tools employed in selected political speeches of the named politicians. Also, this work did not focus on analyzing the features of oral presentations of the speeches. Nevertheless, such features will serve as resourceful points of reference.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The ultimate purpose of this study is to be able to set out the rhetorical structure of Nkrumah and Rawlings, and to find out how they use metaphor in their public speeches. This work seeks to add to the already existing scholarship on the identification and preservation rhetorical structure models and the language tools considered effective in rhetorical practices of such nature.

Additionally, the study is expected to serve as a reference source for work on the different dimensions of political persuasion. Finally, it is also hoped that this work would be resourceful to politicians and leaders of various persuasions whose positions require of them to engage in public discourse.

1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One begins with a general introduction leading to the statement of the problem of the study. It is followed by the research questions, hypothesis and delimitations of the study and then the significance of the study.

Chapter Two is the literature review. It examines existing works on the subject so as to provide a basis for the study. Works which will be reviewed will include some relevant theories of rhetoric, figuration and metaphor. The chapter will then identify and discuss the theories upon which are the foci of the study.

Chapter Three discusses the methodology used for the study. This includes research design, setting, sampling procedure, procedure for the treatment of data and the limitations encountered in gathering the data. This chapter also discusses the theoretical framework on which the study was based.

Chapter Four will analyze and discuss the data collected which will be ten speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings to see how each of them uses metaphor for persuasive purposes.

Chapter Five, will be the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

1.8 CONCLUSION

Looking at the historical overview of the use of rhetoric and political oratory, there is no doubt that the subject of rhetoric is a quintessential aspect of the political discourse of societies both past and present. Therefore the research aims at examining the rhetorical language of two contemporaneous speakers, who have been considered as great speakers of their time, finding out the role metaphor plays in their rhetoric, the similarities and differences in their metaphor and how their different backgrounds influenced them in their choice of metaphor.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Linguists like Reeves (1983), van Dijk (1993, 1997, 2000, and 2001), Beard (2000) and Opeibi (2009) have written on political discourse from diverse perspectives, ranging from its contextual properties to the use of linguistic and communicative devices. Others have targeted what such discourse aims at achieving. Opeibi (2009) observes:

In recent times, political communication has occupied a central stage in discourses on governance because democracy as a form of government itself has become a global phenomenon. Scholars have long been interested in discussions on the relationship between politics and rhetoric or more recently, political discourse. Early attempts in this area of study date back to the early Greeks when the study of language used to persuade was popularized by Aristotle and Cicero, among others. Language and politics are two dynamic social phenomena that are inseparable. (p.210)

The relationship between language and politics, as stressed above, is one of interdependence. Many vocabulary items originated from political intercourse. Thus, language owes a part of its development to politics, just as the reverse of the argument is true. McNelly and Perry (2008) explain:

Rhetoric began with the study and practice of oratory or public speaking. When a person speaks in public, and does it well, things can change significantly. This has been true throughout history and it is true today. For most of us oratory is mostly what leaders do in public. Behind closed doors, of course, leaders do a lot of another sort of rhetorical work: negotiation. But in public, much of the job of leadership takes the form of making statements and speeches that attempt to change the ideas and beliefs of an audience. That's what Abraham Lincoln did... (p. 9)

This is what Nkrumah and Rawlings also did in their own ways. They are unique individuals, no doubt, but there will be similarities and differences in their rhetoric and this is the focus of the study.

It is notable that further insights into the realm of politics have been provided by scholars, indicating that its use of language is not restricted to public acts but that behind closed doors, diplomacy is often about the politicians' language skills in the manipulation of rhetorical devices.

Analyzing utterances poses challenges, some of which are the various linguistic perspectives and settings. Austin (1962) postulates speech acts, which Searle (1976) recategorized and sought to simplify into taxonomies of speech act types fewer and easier to explain. Halliday (1975) proposes that language has three broader functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. About the challenges of analyzing discourse, Stubbs (1983) says:

One source of difficulty in discourse analysis is that utterances perform acts at very different levels of abstraction, which can probably be hierarchically ordered. There is a large literature which emphasizes that language serves different functions, but such discussions differ greatly in the level of abstraction which they propose. (p. 68)

The obvious question that arises is how one can safely categorize an utterance as political. Obeng (2009) suggests that one could consider the physical settings, the content, intended goals and outcomes and intended functions of the message in coming to a decision. This clearly excludes the speaker; pointing to the fact that context makes language more political than the designation of the speaker, per se. Thus, as explained by McNelly & Perry (2008):

As with any written communication, it's important to always keep in mind the audience we are addressing and the purpose for which we are addressing them. In the back of our minds we should have the constant nagging thought that ultimately we are writing to persuade someone of something. (p. 12)

One other very important angle from which one can look at political discourse is how the consumers or electorate interpret what they are told. West (1984) says:

that communication plays an important role in political campaigns. Candidates communicate various messages to various constituencies, which the people receive and interpret. The successful interpretation of the intention of the politician by the electorate and their subsequent response then becomes a manifestation of the effective use of language. (p. 34)

The assertion above, in effect, tasks the political communicator to tailor –measure their message, syntactically, semantically and morphologically to ease the interpretation of their audience. Ikiddeh (1983) highlights the benefits of language to the political well-being of a country. He points out that the scientific advancement and national development witnessed by the erstwhile USSR is attributable to effective language policy. He further urges that

there is no doubt that the gigantic economic and scientific advancement which the Soviet Union recorded in half a century would not have been possible without the harmony engendered amongst her peoples by a realistic language policy pursued as part of a socialist reconstruction (p.79, quoted in Essien,1990, p.166)

This is indicative of the powerful role of language in nation-building. It unites as easily as it divides. Armed with such knowledge, politicians are often aware of how selective they need to be in packaging information. It is much easier persuading and even controlling a group of people by ensuring they share a common language, thereby making it easier to employ rhetoric as a political tool.

According to Opeibi (2009), language is vital to the implementation of effective democratic principles, sociopolitical policies, economic advancement, and national development in any federally-operated system of governance. Further, he states that it has been argued that language is at the centre of political mobilization especially in a multilingual context, where minority and majority languages co-exist. Human society cannot survive without communication, which underlies any political activity. We interact, encode and transmit our experiences through language. He adds:

it is an undeniable fact that the power of verbal communication in a political community underlies inter connectivity between language, culture and society and the ways in which language affects or contributes to social practice through which members of a speech community transmit ideas, share knowledge, and influence one another in order to achieve communicative goals.” (p, 211)

While attempting to explain rhetoric as a device in political discourse, Obeng (2009) explains:

In political discourse, persuasion is achieved by choosing a form of discourse that appeals to both supporters and opponents. To manipulate an audience with a view to persuading them to support ‘unsupportable’ policies and issues, a political actor may play on the audience’s emotions by instilling fear in them. (p. 10)

Instilling fear is not the only means by which politicians try to get the people to their side. Often, they whip up the enthusiasm of their audiences by raising their hopes and expectations with carefully-chosen words. They condemn the words and actions of their opponents while promising, supposedly, much better alternatives. For example, Nkrumah promised that independence from the British will bring the Ghanaian freedom, but lots of people felt betrayed as a result of the arrest and imprisonment of his political opponents.

Obeng goes on to cite the role of rhetoric during the 1992 presidential elections in Ghana. According to him, one of the presidential candidates, Mr. Rawlings, (who won the elections after the opposition pulled out), was portrayed as a murderer by the opposition to hype his role in a previous dictatorial regime that executed several of its opponents. He further points out how in the United States presidential elections, fear about social security drying up, and hence the need for a responsible administration to fix it, was instilled in the electorate by the Democrats. The use of threats and fear to persuade an electorate has also been used effectively by Ghana’s previous elected regime of the New Patriotic Party.

Van Dijk (2000) stresses that in particular, politicians like to use the ‘number game’, that is, as Obeng (2002) shows with examples from Ghana:

they engage in the selective mention of very rough figures to show the extremely pathetic state of Ghana’s economy. This strategy enables political actors to draw support for the implementation of unbearable economic reform measures needed to make the wheels of the nation move. (p. 8)

It is impossible to discuss political discourse without talking about spin, the situation in which what is said is explained away by other politicians or the media often referred to as ‘spin doctors’. According to Beard (2004), a spin doctor is someone who deceives, who presents a false picture to suit the politician’s whims and caprices. This, he adds, means the politicians are perceived to be devious. Beard explains further:

How spin is placed on a story will depend upon a number of things. These include: the overall political effect that is desired, either celebrating success or ridiculing failure; the way information is presented; or what metaphorical uses are brought in to influence the audience’s view of events.

To Awonusi (2000) the relationship between language and politics is “bidirectional”. He emphasizes that “language affects politics as politics affects language” He adds that “the intersection of language and politics provides the plank for using politics to affect people in society”

Languages, on their own, are not powerful, according to Wodak & de Cilia (2006). They assert that they gain power when powerful individuals use them powerfully. This assertion leads to a chicken-and-egg syndrome since one could easily say that through the gift of language, many individuals acquire and maintain a state of power. The gift of oratory has elevated many ordinary personalities to a level of greatness and, subsequently, power. Little wonder, Fairclough (1989) states that

language is significant in the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power. Indeed, it is a political tool employed to grab the attention and support of the electorate and manipulate their minds with the view to gaining and retaining political power. (p.74)

Chilton and Schaffner (1997) arguing about speech acts and their influence, state that “the notion of speech acts is central to political discourse analysis because it dissolves the everyday notion that language and action are separate.”

Opeibi (2009) adds:

According to them (Chilton and Schaffner), political actors often act coercively through discourse in setting agenda, selecting topics in conversation, positioning the self and others in specified relationships, and making assumptions about realities that hearers are obliged to, at least, temporarily accept in order to process the text or talk. At the other end of the rope, opposition in any political setting often responds to the use of discourse strategies by the powerful to control them by deploying specific linguistic structures such as slogans, chants, petitions, rallies, or even graffiti” (p. 211)

Obeng (2009) explains the socio-political dimension further:

Political discourse analysts (Reeves, 1983; Solomos & Back, 1995; van Dijk, 1993; 1997, and others) note further that an important contextual feature of political discourse is comprised of the social roles and actions of the political actors. Thus, actors; senators, prime ministers, heads of states, senators, congressmen, members of parliament, chiefs or orators of chiefs(in African traditional politics) are relevant for the understanding and production of political discourse. In Traditional Ghanaian politics, for example, one’s role as an orator makes one the chief’s mouthpiece and hence makes one an important political actor since one’s voice represents power and authority. Acting in such political or social roles also subjects one’s utterances to political interpretation. Thus, as van Dijk rightly points out, the personal opinions and knowledge, the attitudes and ideologies of political actors are important contextual issues in the study and characterization of political discourse. (p. 11)

Successful political actors have often been successful users and managers of language. They are often mindful of context and setting. Obeng (2009) asserts that

political actors have several oblique strategies for managing political talk, and more appropriately, for speaking the unspeakable and

getting away with little or no political risks especially if such oblique strategies are managed appropriately. Successful political actors are aware of the strengths and weaknesses of their oblique strategies in the management of communicative difficulty and therefore employ them in the right communicative and rhetorical contexts. Thus, effective political communicators know which discourse strategies to use in what political discourse environment because an effective use of such discourse tool in the right political context not only creates interaction advantage for the political , it also creates political advantage for them and enables them to have decent political lives. (p. 11)

According to Beard (2000), when viewed from linguistic perspective, political campaigns are of interest because they show language being used for such a clear and central purpose. He adds:

Although political campaigns, with their speeches, their written texts, their broadcasts, need to inform and instruct voters about issues that are considered to be of great importance, ultimately all the written and spoken texts that are produced during an election campaign are designed to persuade people to do one thing: to vote in a certain way''(p.57).

Politicians are, so predictably, often masters of conceit and deceit. Opeibi (2009) notes that:

they explore language and other communicative skills and exploit them as implements for selling their personality and programmes to the public, with the primary aim of gaining their support and mobilizing them to participate in the process of securing and controlling power. (p. 211)

He adds that:

beyond the election campaign periods, it no doubt continues to occupy a central place in obtaining the approval of the people and continue to rally their support while in power. (ibid)

But many from all walks of life are also crafty in their use of language. Stubbs (1983) expounds on this assertion:

If speakers always said what they meant, then there would be few problems for speech act theory or for discourse analysis. But, of course, they do not, and in principle could not, say in so many words exactly what they mean on any occasion of utterance. A central

problem for analysis is therefore the depth of indirection involved in much discourse: the distance between what is said and what is meant, and the multiple layers of meaning between the literal propositional meaning of an utterance and the act which it performs in context. (p. 86)

Beard (2000) postulates that the political branch of discourse analysis needs to be taken more seriously when he says:

looking at the language of politics as an occupation is important because it helps us to understand how language is used by those who wish to gain power, those who wish to exercise power and those who wish to keep power (p.2).

Searle (1969) argues from the viewpoint that the theory of meaning is a sub-part of the theory of actions hence a need for a pragmatic approach to language study. In this regard, meaning is best defined in terms of what speech acts speakers perform relative to hearers. Opeibi (2009) relates the Speech Act Theory to the analysis of political discourse:

The concept of a rhetorical model of pragmatics (Leech, 1983) reflects the major concern of the proponents of persuasive discourse in which political or election campaign discourse is a sub-discipline. The study of political discourse is in essence the study of rhetoric, which has been regarded as the study of effective use of language in communication. It has often been viewed as an art of using language skillfully for persuasion or to influence the hearer towards a course of action. (p.214)

According to Opeibi (2009), an important aspect of the thrust language is inseparable from politics largely because free speech for all is embedded in a democracy. There is still language from the politicians to be analyzed even in a dictatorship. Taiwo (2009) explains that one major feature of a democratic society is freedom of speech, which allows for choice of language to express the happenings in the polity.

Language, according to Nwagbara (2006), is used in the public domain in a democratic setting to optimize the realization of the democratic ideal of freedom of speech. Nwagbara

shows through a pragmatic analysis of language in the media how language is used to project democratic entailments. His analysis exposes the pragmatic and rhetorical force and functions of some political texts in the news media.

Chilton (2004) names legitimization and coercion as two of the strategies speakers use to enact power in political discourse. He explains that political actors do so coercively via language when they set agendas, select topics in conversation, or position themselves and others in specific relationships. For Chilton, legitimization involves such techniques as the use of charismatic leader projection, boastfulness about performance, self-praise, self-justification and self-identification as a source of authority. These techniques are typified by both politicians under study. For instance, at a dinner hosted for the University of Ghana authorities on February 24, 1963, Dr. Nkrumah said:

Speaking for myself, if I may do so with your permission, there was not an academic year in all my twelve years abroad when I was not at one university or another. I even augmented this with summer courses. I know the inside and outside of a university. And I know the value of academic freedom. And I think you know what I am talking about.

Rawlings had this to say about his junta, on August 26, 1991:

I would like to assure the country that for us in the PNDC, this is not a return to some previous order that was far removed from the ordinary man. This is still the people's time because it is a time of democracy a time to give further institutional shape to the stirring in our hearts which led to June 4 as well as December 31. This is what constitutions have really meant in the history of humanity and the world.

Taiwo (2009) explains these strategies of language use and how they work in politics by various speakers to enact power:

Coercion and legitimization are interconnected in practice. For instance, a discourse that presents the speaker strongly as the sole source of reason and vision may also present the speaker's discourse

as a threat, thereby having the tendency to intimidate or coerce the addressee. (p. 195)

Politics is social intercourse at a formal level. Language is the fuel that facilitates its progress each step of the way. The best of political actors often are the best initiators and manipulators of the linguistic process. They do this, in many cases, through very careful studies of the various settings and characters involved. It is a fact that most modern politicians employ the services of communication experts in their bid to maximize their efforts at attaining or retaining power. The various strategies they employ are well documented by various discourse analysts as discussed above.

2.2 DEFINITION OF RHETORIC

The term, rhetoric, comes from 'retor', the Greek word for 'speech' or 'spoken'. Aristotle defines rhetoric as the faculty of finding all the means of persuasion on a subject. Also, Cicero refers to rhetoric as the art of persuasion; whilst according to Griffin (2001), Quintilian, the Roman rhetorician, sees rhetoric as 'the art of speaking well'. In modern times, rhetoricians like Buehler and Johannesen (1965) see rhetoric as the portrait of a compelling thought, while a communications professor, Lloyd Bitzer, says 'Rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse'. Moreover, George Kennedy (1980) defines rhetoric as the art, study and practice of the use of language orally and written.

Political rhetoric therefore becomes a linguistic exercise aimed at persuading others to tow a particular political line to either include or exclude a certain line of thinking or behaviour; or to include or exclude a person or a group of persons as regards leadership or decision-making roles.

2.3 TYPES OF RHETORIC

Traditionally, there are genres of rhetoric tied to three formal oratorical occasions (or to three types of audience): the judicial genre is the oratory of the law court (forensic), i.e. the art of accusing and defending, which addresses judges who are trying to decide the facts of a person's guilt or innocence. The judicial genre is not alien to the African traditional practice of jurisprudence. In his seminal work, The Proverb in the Context of African Rhetoric, Yankah (1989) examines how proverbs are used in the Akan traditional courts. Therefore, there is no doubt why it was common to see a great display of rhetoric by African traditional leaders, their spokesmen and litigants in the courts of justice in the Protectorate (Finnegan, 1970).

The oratory of parliament and popular politics make up the two deliberative forms of oratory. The other is the demonstrative genre which is the oratory of ceremonial occasions. This study looks at oratory of the latter genre. In this instance, a speaker needs to consider context, which includes the setting. Unlike the deliberative form where one needs to accommodate other speakers and so often wait to take their turn, the demonstrative form often is mono-directional with the speaker often going on uninterrupted. Usually, a speaker's sources of feedback are roars of approval or angry heckling boos.

2.4 THE CANONS OF RHETORIC

Scholars and speech practitioners synthesize Aristotle's Rhetoric into four distinct standards for measuring the quality of the speaker: the construction or creation of an argument (invention), ordering of material (arrangement), selection of language (style) and techniques of delivery (Griffin, 2000), to which a fifth, memory, was added by later scholars as the list

of skills the accomplished speaker must master. Griffin's explanation of the five canons of rhetoric is as follows:

2.4.1 Invention

It is the process of drawing on specialized knowledge about the subject and general lines of reasoning common to all kinds of speeches aimed at creating or generating effective and appropriate enthymemes and examples. According to McNelly & Perry (2008), invention amounts to planning what one will say, adding that it is all the work one does before one begins writing a script. A new argument could be generated by visiting mental repositories of wisdom by way of information. It is these mental sites that Aristotle calls *topoi*, Greek for 'places' or 'topics'.

2.4.2 Arrangement:

According to Aristotle, information should be organized in a sequence that is clear and persuasive to the audience. One should avoid complicated schemes of organization. There are two parts to a speech; for it is necessary first to state the subject and then to demonstrate it. The instruction should capture attention, establish your credibility and make clear the purpose of the speech. The conclusion should remind your listeners what you have said and leave them feeling good about you and your ideas (Kennedy, 1991)

2.4.3 Style:

This relates to one's choice of words (diction) and word order (syntax) (McNelly & Perry, 2008). It includes the writer's choice and use of figurative language. Aristotle believed that to learn is naturally pleasant to all people, and that metaphor most brings about learning (Kennedy, 1980). Furthermore, he taught that metaphor especially has clarity, sweetness and strangeness.

2.4.4 Delivery:

Audiences reject delivery that seems planned or staged. Being natural on stage is persuasive. Any form of presentation that calls attention to itself takes away from the speaker his persuasive proofs.

2.4.5 Memory:

In Aristotle's time a speaker's ability to draw upon a collection of ideas and phrases from the memory was a mark of a great speech. So was it among the Romans. But in our modern day of word processes, memory seems to be a lost art. Probably, the modern equivalent is rehearsal and the power point.

2.5 THE LANGUAGE OF RHETORIC

The discipline of rhetoric from the period of Aristotle up to the advent of modern social psychology was the primary repository of Western thinking about persuasion (Barthes, 1970). The central concern of rhetoric has always been method and manner: how to discover the most effective way to express a thought in a given situation and how to alter its expression to suit different situations.

Rhetorical figures were first identified and discussed over two thousand years ago in classical antiquity (Todorov, 1982). Effort to systematize the wealth of available figures are almost as old (Wenzel, 1990). Modern efforts at systematization begin with Jakobson & Morris (1956) and Burke (1950). Previous efforts to systematize the set of rhetorical figures have all been handicapped by one of the following shortcomings: either the taxonomic categories are vague or so coarse-grained or the focus is on outcomes other than persuasion.

2.5.1 FIGURATION

A rhetorical figure has traditionally been defined as an artful deviation (Corbett, 1990). More formally, a rhetorical figure occurs when an expression deviates from normal expectation, the expression is not rejected as nonsensical or faulty. Deviation occurs at the level of form rather than content, and the deviation conforms to the template that is invariant across a variety of content and context (McQuarrie & Mick 1996). This definition supplies the standard against which deviation is to be measured (i.e., short of a mistake), locates the deviation at the level of the formal structure of the text and imposes a grouping requirement (i.e. there is a limited number of templates, each with distinct characteristics). For example, when Rawlings refers to the state of Liberia as “a shining and inspiring beacon of hope”, the deviation is found in the expectation that a country will not be described as if she were a lighthouse or any tangible object, for that matter. To understand this metaphor, a reader or listener has to know what a beacon is in order to relate it to a country. One needs to tell the ‘literary’ from the ‘literal’.

The exact nature of the deviation that constitutes a figure has been the subject of dispute (Cohen, 1982). For classical authors, a figure was an artful deviation from the normal or ordinary manner of expression (Corbett, 1990). However, we agree with the position that metaphor and other figurative expressions are common to everyday speech (Todorov, 1982). Hence, we choose the term *expecting* to overcome the difficulties associated with defining figures as abnormalities. Our use of expectation is consistent with several aspects of the classical tradition, particularly the notion that a figure represents an unorthodox usage or a violation of some norm or convention.

In terms of the Speech Act theory, every communication encounter sets up expectation as it proceeds, and more general expectations that holds across encounters function as convention

or constraints (Grice, 1989). With respect to metaphor, for instance, listeners are aware of the conventions concerning the use of words, one of which might be formulated as ‘words generally used to convey one of the lead meanings given in their dictionary entry’.

A metaphor violates the convention, as in the State of the Nation address of President Bush (2004). In this address, he pictured a world in which history is starting to move forward again now that communism no longer holds it ‘captive’. In the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (1995), the word ‘captive’ is defined as “being kept as a prisoner” or “being unable to escape”. But in this context, the abstract term “history” has been considered as a prisoner who has no freedom to move. So one needs to relate to both objects of comparison in order to draw the correct linkages that can help them arrive at the desired or intended meaning.

President Bush said further that “... Economic progress... supplies the soil in which democracy grows best”. According to Sperber and Wilson (1986), learners know what exactly to do when a speaker violates a convention: they therefore search a context that will render the violation intelligible. For example, a student ‘A’ hears a friend, student ‘B’, say “my flat mate is a pig”. In understanding this metaphor, the listener, student ‘B’, has to consider the set of properties of a pig that the flat mate shares, such as ‘being filthy’, ‘being messy’, ‘not being hygienic’, ‘smelling funny’ etc. On these grounds, the friend’s message will become intelligible.

Deviation can, to a large extent, be measured. If a deviation drops below some threshold then there is no longer a figure. This can occur, for example with metaphors that have become frozen or conventional. Because deviation may be temporally situated, what once was a

figure needs not always remain one. In fact, a rhetorical structure resides and operates within a complex web of sociocultural signs and meanings (Eco, 1979). This is because many metaphors are culture-bound. What one is being likened to may be best appreciated within a particular cultural context. If a Ghanaian says to a European lady: “you are a wife of a fetish priest”, she might be confused if she cannot relate to what or who that type of priest is. The addressee needs further to relate to what their wives often do or are culturally perceived to do.

Figures also yield what the semiotician, Barthes (1970), called “pleasure of the text”; that is the reward that comes from processing a clever arrangement of deviation. According to Berylne (1971), incongruity (deviation) in message can produce a pleasurable degree of arousal and this is usually one of the experiences of a persuasive speaker. Therefore the rewarding character of artful deviation suggests that figurative speech, as compared to literal speech, should produce a more positive attitude toward the figurative speech.

Lastly, we expect a speech with figurative language to be more memorable. However, the processes underlying memorability are quite different for schemes and tropes (schemes and tropes are the two main modes of figuration).

2.5.2 MODES OF FIGURATION

These modes correspond to the classical distinction between schemes and tropes (Leech, 1969). A figure in the schematic mode occurs when a text contains order of regularity, while a figure in the tropic mode occurs when a text contains a deficiency of order or irregularities. Schemes and tropes thus encompass two distinct modes of formal deviation. Familiar examples of schematic figures include antithesis, epistrophe and alliteration, while hyperbole,

irony, metaphors and puns would be familiar examples of tropic figures. In classical rhetoric, the tropes and schemes fall under the canon of style. Below are some illustrations of the schematic and tropic mode from Leech (1969):

Antithesis: A scheme that makes use of contrasting words, phrases, sentences, or ideas for emphasis (generally used in parallel grammatical structure). An example is: ‘We need love, not war; our families pray for peace, not chaos’.

Apostrophe: A scheme in which a person or an abstract quality is directly addressed, whether present or not. An example is: ‘Oh, Death! You are so cruel’.

Epistrophe: A scheme in which the same words are repeated at the end of successive phrases, clauses, or sentences. An example is: I need love. You said to me that you too need love. Obviously, every one of us needs love.

Hyperbole: A trope composed of exaggerated ideas used for emphasis and not to be taken literally. An example is: I tried a billion times calling your line!

Irony: A trope in which a word or phrase is used to mean the opposite of its literal meaning. An example is: Jail is the best hotel.

Metaphor: It is a trope in which a word or phrase is transferred from its literal meaning to stand for something else. Unlike a simile, in which something is said to be “like” something else, a metaphor equates two disparate things. An example is: Life is war.

The deviations that constitute schemes and tropes respectively can be understood, in part, in terms of the linguistic distinction between combination and selection constraints (Leech, 1969). A combination constraint limits how signs can be combined into sentences, while a selection constraint limits which signs can fill certain positions (subject, object, verb, etc.) in a sentence. Schemes can be understood as deviant combinations. (Opoku Mensah, 2008)

Many tropes, particularly metaphors and puns, effected in a single word, can be understood as deviant selections. In addition, schemes are distinct quantitatively from tropes. Specifically, a depth of processing perspective argues that, on average, schemes will be less deviant than tropes. This is because excess regularity is obtained via rearrangements of the surface of the text; that is, it occurs at a sensory level, as when one repeats sounds to achieve a rhyme or inverts the order of words to create an antimetabole. (ibid)

By contrast, a rhetorical question or pun is not a sensorially apparent feature of a speech, but becomes manifest as the speech text is related to semantic and background knowledge (Childers & Houston, 1984). Deviation thus tends to be greater in the case of tropes because irregularity represents incongruity occurring at a deeper (semantic) level of processing. In fact, figurative speech should be more memorable than literal speech. However, in view of the distinct processes involved, there are no grounds for expecting a main effect on recall between modes of figurations. Instead, a variety of moderating factors will determine whether schematic speech language or tropic speech language is more memorable in a specific instance. A general view of the nature of these moderating factors can be derived from the distinction between undercoded and overcoded text. (ibid)

2.6 INTERPRETATION OF THE METAPHOR

According to Hanson (1980), the metaphor is sometimes used synonymously with ‘figurative speech’ in general. However, any theory of metaphor interpretation must be sensitive to the various complexities arising out of the interaction with different figures. For instance, metaphors can be embedded in other figures, as when uttered ironically or hyperbolically. One can imagine a different ending to Romeo and Juliet in which Romeo discovers that Juliet has betrayed him, and utters his precious words “Juliet is the sun”, with an entirely new point

(Hanson, 1980). Metaphors can also be mingled with similes, as in this sentence of Conrad's, cited by Mooij (1975):

Thunder squalls hung on the horizon, circled round the ship, far off growling, angrily, like a troop of wild beast afraid to charge home (p. 268).

Many scholars hold it strongly that the interpretations of metaphors are 'rule governed', Cohen (1975) argues against that assertion:

Given a sentence that is known to be a metaphor, along with the literal meaning of the sentence and components, I think there is no canonical way of arriving at the metaphorical meaning. The metaphorical meaning is somehow constructed out of literal meaning, but not according to any function. Irony, for example, typically incorporates a function that leads from a given meaning to its reverse or opposite. It is not like this metaphor. Whatever it is that a metaphor means, it is not in general true that this meaning can be calculated functionally from the literal meaning of the metaphorical sentence. . . , although it arises from the literal meaning, it somehow seems to do so spontaneously, and not according to any recognized rule (p. 670).

So the sense in which Cohen here denies that the interpretation of metaphors is rule-governed is this: there is no functional rule that gives us the metaphorical interpretation of a sentence from its literal interpretation, even though the metaphorical interpretation "arises from" the literal one (Opoku-Mensah, 2008).

We ask the question about how it arises, and Cohen gives a hint in his closing remarks when he says "it takes ingenuity to make metaphors and to understand them". It seems therefore that the metaphorical interpretation apparently arises from the literal one by virtue of something like a "creative mental act".

Also, Davidson (1978) has more than echoed these sentiments, saying that, "... understanding a metaphor is much a creative endeavour as making a metaphor and as little,

guided by rules". But do such statements mark the beginning of an account of the interpretation of the metaphor, or rather the beginning of a retreat from theorizing into obscurantism? By contrast, Cohen and Margalit (1972) have reasoned as follows:

What is essential to recognize is that the novelty of a metaphor in speech no more constitutes an innovation in the language than the fact that a sentence has never been uttered before constitutes its utterance a product of syntactic change (p. 471).

But, according to Opoku-Mensah (2008), if one thinks that sentencehood is a recursively specifiable and thus an explicitly understandable property of a string of words of a language, Cohen and Margalit's analogy suggests that metaphorical readings are similarly specifiable. Of course, this is not by itself an argument for the interpretation of the metaphors being rule-governed. But it does at least counsel caution when evaluating the claim that a seemingly "spontaneous" phenomenon really is so.

Indeed, one wonders how metaphorical senses could arise spontaneously and not yet arbitrarily. But typically there is a high degree of subjectiveness on the interpretation of a given metaphorically intended utterance in a given context.

Binkley (1974) has put the point well:

Although the boundaries are not sharp, we all know pretty much what it means to call a person a fox and how one would go about determining whether that assertion is true or false. The claim is no more vague and ill-defined, no less connected with definite criteria, than "Richard is a good husband" or "Richard is a Scoundrel". What indeterminateness that is in the claim is not something peculiar or endemic to metaphor (p. 174).

Bearsley (1962) has also stressed that disputes about metaphorical interpretations are in principle resolution. Goodman (1979) has remarked that it is perhaps easier to decide whether a man is metaphorically a Don Quixote or a Don Juan than whether he is literally a schizoid or a paranoid. Such empirical matters seem not to be properly taken into account by

Cohen and Davidson. Indeed, there are, perhaps, rare cases where philosophers are apparently divided on the philosophical issue in part because they are divided on empirical matters.

However, we hold the view that the metaphorical interpretation of an utterance is not at all arbitrary. One must not be mesmerized by the complexity or apparent “spontaneity” of the phenomenon. The interpretations of metaphors must somehow be guided, if not by functional rules, then by some other kind of rule. As Margalit (1978) has suggested elsewhere, the contrast to recursive rules for working out the meaning of a figure is not “intuition” but rather the notion of context sensitive heuristic rules. Now rules could be seen as semantic, as opposed to intuitive.

2.7 METAPHOR AND THE EMERGENCE PROBLEM

When it comes to the interpretation of the metaphor, early cognitive accounts typically assume that understanding consists in matching or contrasting properties of metaphor topic or tenor and metaphor vehicle so as to identify a subset of properties which they have in common (Tversky, 1977; Ortony, 1979). The tenor or topic of the metaphor is that which is actually under discussion and the vehicle is the image or analogue in terms of which the tenor or topic is represented (Leech, 1969).

Following this line of thinking, understanding a metaphor such as ‘my mother is a tigress’ would involve considering those properties the hearer has stored as part of his knowledge of the speaker’s mother and those of tigresses, and selecting a subset of these properties which the speaker’s mother and tigresses have in common. For example, the properties of ‘being wild’, ‘being aggressive’, ‘being unfriendly’, etc, are ingrained in the tiger and could well be in the speaker’s mother.

These properties are taken to form the grounds for the interpretation. However, many modern approaches take metaphor interpretation to consist in the attribution of properties of the vehicle to the topic, rather than in a mere match (Glucksberg & Keysar, 1990; Glucksberg, 2001; Gentner, Bowdle, Wolff & Boronat, 2000; Tourangeau & Sternberg, 1981; Tourangeau & Rips, 1991). The hearer of the metaphor above may indeed know certain things about the speaker's mother: he may know that she is French, that she speaks English, that she likes football, that she hates rap music, etc. However, he may not know that she is wild, aggressive and so unfriendly towards strangers. It is this new information which the metaphor aims to provide and that contributes to making the utterance informative to the hearer. Therefore, understanding this metaphor will involve the listener selecting a set of properties of the vehicle which can apply to the topic, and attributing them to it. Any other property of the vehicle (e.g. tigers have stripes) is rejected or suppressed (Gernsbacher et al, 2001).

Experimental research has shown that 'emergent features' play a fundamental role in metaphor interpretation. Tourangeau & Rips (1991), for instance, found that in providing interpretations for a list of metaphors, subjects produced more emergent features than common features. Furthermore, they judged emergent features as more relevant to interpretation than either topic-based, vehicle-based or common features. Emergent features therefore can be explained as those attributes which a hearer or reader discovers through their interpretation of a given metaphor. These new attributes emerge from the metaphor vehicle.

So, for a metaphor such as 'the wolf is the lion among dogs', a feature which is associated neither with the topic nor the vehicle individually, was found to figure prominently in subjects' reported interpretations as well as being judged as highly relevant to those interpretations. Findings like this are repeated across the literature. (Gineste, Indrkya & Scart (2000), for instance, show that over 60% of the properties produced during the processing of

poetic metaphors emerge during interpretations. So, for a metaphor such as ‘the call is food’, the subjects produced properties such as ‘intense’ or ‘reward’, which are not normally used to characterize either the topic or the vehicle individually. In a series of experiments, Berker (1997) also found that, significantly, more emergent features and vehicles-based features appear in subjects’ interpretations of metaphors than topic-based or common features.

Finally, rather than asking subjects to report interpretations, Tourangeau & Rips (1991) provide subjects with two possible interpretations for a set of poetic metaphors, one based on features common to topic and vehicle, the other based on features which were not commonly associated with either but were nevertheless relevant to interpretation. They found subjects systematically preferred the interpretations based on emergent features.

Scholars generally agree that the existence of emergent properties fits nicely within the interaction view of metaphor (e.g. Gineste et al, 2000). According to Black (1962), a metaphor such as ‘man is a leech’ consists of a primary subject ‘man’ (metaphor topic), and a secondary subject ‘leech’ (metaphor vehicle) each of which is associated to a system of commonplaces which correspond roughly to the set of assumptions one has about the entities they denote. These assumptions which are actually true or false assumptions which, although false, are held as true (e.g. the assumption that leeches are dangerous and parasitic creatures). Metaphor interpretation is seen as resulting from an interaction of such ‘commonplaces’.

Black (1962) describes the process figuratively:

Suppose I look at the night sky through a piece of heavily smoked glass on which certain lines have been left clear. Then I shall see only the stars that can be made to lie on the lines previously prepared upon the screen, and the stars I do see will be organized by the screen’s structures (p. 41).

In understanding the metaphor 'man is a leech', the metaphor topic 'man' acts as a frame to highlight commonplaces which are associated with the vehicle, 'leech' (the smoked glass), and the vehicle, 'leech', projects back these selected assumptions (the smoked glass with lines on it) which acts as a grid to select a set of commonplaces associated with the topic 'man' (the set of stars visible through the glass). Looking at the topic through this grid results in the enhancement of some commonplaces associated with it (visible stars) (e.g. assumption about men's basic instincts, being opportunistic, ruthlessness, etc), and the suppression of other assumptions (stars which cannot be seen). This reorganization of assumptions associated with the topic is said to result in the creation of something new, namely a new way of looking at men who are somehow dehumanized (Opoku-Mensah, 2008).

Black's interactive view of metaphor as a process in which two concepts or domains of knowledge interact to form something new has influenced a great deal of psycholinguistic research (e.g. Tourangeau & Stenberg, 1981; Glucksberg & Keysar, 1990; Fauconnier & Turner, 1998; Gineste et al, 2000; Gentner, Bowdle, Wolff & Boronat, 2001). Much of this research sees the emergence of properties during interaction as an expected outcome. However, saying that features emerge from interaction seems not to be explanatory for Moreno. According to her, one needs to spell out how it is that they are derived. Being a philosopher, Black's aim was not to provide a detailed account of the pragmatic or cognitive steps involved in interaction or interpretation. Instead, he aimed merely to support the view that metaphors exploit the ability to see something in a new light by means of seeing that thing in terms of something else, and the view that similarities between both entities are created as a result of this interaction. One should then expect the cognitive models inspired by Black's idea to provide a detailed account of the pragmatic or cognitive steps involved in the derivation of new mental structures and the emergence of new properties. Unfortunately,

although a substantial amount of experimental research has been stimulated by the romantic idea of metaphor as powerful and creative, very little work has been done to explain how emergent properties are derived (Opoku-Mensah,2008).

In fact, experimental work which deals explicitly with the issue, such as that presented above, has mostly been concerned with presenting evidence for the existence of emergent features rather than explanation of the cognitive processes involved in their derivation. This argument provides a basis for our understanding of the relationship between the topic and the vehicle and also the other side of the interpretation which is usually ignored (the emergent properties). Therefore, it provides background knowledge for understanding metaphor and the possible interpretation(s) that can be seen (ibid).

2.8 METAPHOR AND CULTURE

The relation between language and culture has been discussed extensively by linguists like Lakoff (1987) and Leech (1983). The way through which culture aids understanding of metaphors has been a matter of considerable debate and this has manifested in the question as to whether culture models are based on conceptual metaphors or not (Gibbs, 1994; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Quinn, 1991). Metaphor theorists seem to have been interested in metaphor primarily from a cognitive point of view (Gentner et al, 2001; Glucksberg & McGlore, 2002; Holyoak & Thagard, 1995; Lakoff, 1993, Caballero, 2003; and Koller, 2004). However, most of these theorists will not deny that there are culture dimensions to metaphor as well, although the actual nature of the cognition – culture interface has been a matter of debate. For example, Quinn (1991) argues against the theory on conceptual metaphor proposed by Lakoff and his associates (Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Gibbs, 1994) as promoting “a seemingly unqualified claim that metaphor

underlies and constitutes understanding”. Quinn’s (1991) position, in contrast to the theory of conceptual metaphor, is that culture should be given a more foundational role, so that “metaphors, far from constituting understanding, are ordinarily selected to fit a pre-existing and culturally shared model”. Though Quinn stands for the culture model, she does not think there are never cases where conceptual metaphors provide the base for cultural knowledge. Her major concern seems, however, to be an attempt to mitigate the strong claims being made for the theory of conceptual metaphors by pointing out that the theory does not hold at least in some cases (ibid).

Wee (2005) uses the frame of Quinn and contributes to the debate by examining a new set of metaphorical expressions involving proper names, which are widespread in Singaporean society and further argues that these expressions are manifestations of a cultural model. These expressions indicate that Singaporeans tend to describe local entities in terms of American ones (these are metaphorical expressions that use American entities as sources for local targets). Wee provides several examples of these from the local media in Singapore to substantiate his claim. For example, he reports on a statement made by Inderjit Singh, a local Singaporean politician, on the current affairs programme “In Parliament”, on 3rd August, 1998 and said:

“We should try to be the Silicon Valley of the East”.

Silicon Valley refers to that district of California known for the technologically innovative computer industry. Another example presented by Wee is a statement made on a television commercial on 12th August, for a forthcoming episode of the documentary programme which promises a feature on a young golfer, who is described as:

“Singapore’s Tiger Woods”

Tiger Woods is the well-known American golfer who has been rated number one in the world for a long time.

These illustrations suggest that Singaporeans are generally quite favourably predisposed towards American culture. These metaphorical expressions are treated by Wee as manifestations of Singaporean “cultural script” (Goddard, 1997; Wierzbicka, 1994, 1998) or ‘cultural model’ (Quinn, 1991). Wee argues that no conceptual metaphor can be plausibly said to support this model. This study by Wee in particular is of importance to the present study because it explains how culture provides understanding to metaphors and the way in which metaphors are used to fit into certain cultural frames.

In Ghana, awareness of international sports culture is evident in metaphorical references to the names of sportsmen and venues. Sports commentators, especially, Kwabena Yeboah of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, often describe the Accra Sports Stadium as:

“the nation’s Wembley”

Names of many footballers are also quite revealing of the proliferation of nicknames which are evident of cultural awareness. For instance, the popular three-time African best footballer, Abedi Ayew, is referred to as:

“Ghana’s Pele”

All these examples notwithstanding, it is only fair to point out that most metaphors used anywhere are most likely to originate from the culture of the speakers or writers. For example, when Nkrumah refers to the Institute of African Studies of the University of Ghana as “a growing child”, it does not require of the hearer or reader an awareness of the culture of another country.

2.9 METAPHOR AND CONTEXT

Beard (2004) also analyzes political discourse by focusing on the use of metaphor among others and this study will analyze such rhetorical strategies to the extent that they invoke special metaphorical senses, references or truth conditions.

While Cohen speaks in support of “metaphorical meanings”, Davidson (1978) inveighs against any appeal to semantic factors in an account of metaphor interpretation in the following passages:

It is no help explaining how words work in metaphor to posit metaphorical or figurative meanings, or special kinds of poetic or metaphorical truth. These ideas do not explain metaphor. Metaphor explains them. Once we understand a metaphor we can call what we grasp the “metaphorical truth” and (up to a point) say what the “metaphorical meaning” is. But simply to lodge this meaning in the metaphor is like explaining why a pill puts you to sleep by saying it has a dormative power. Literal meaning and literal truth conditions can be assigned to words and sentences apart from particular contexts of use. This is why adverting to them has genuine explanatory power (p. 33)...

what we attempt in “paraphrasing” a metaphor cannot be to give its meaning, for that lies on the surface. Rather, we attempt to evoke what the metaphor brings to our attention. I can imagine someone granting this and shrugging it off as no more than an insistence on restraint in using the word “meaning”. This would be wrong. The central error about metaphor is most easily attacked when it takes the form of a theory of metaphorical meaning, but behind that theory, and storable independently, is the thesis that associated with a metaphor is a cognitive content that its author wishes to convey and that the interpreter must grasp if he is to get the message. This theory is false, whether or not we call the purported cognitive content a meaning (p. 46).

Despite the assertions of Davidson (1978) above, the question which arises is: ‘why do speakers employ metaphor?’ The obvious response is for them to communicate more effectively. Meaning, after all, is the goal of every linguistic operation. Yet, meaning is best achieved when one considers the context within which such metaphors are uttered.

Furthermore, Searle (1978, p. 207) argues that “. . . in general the notion of the literal meaning of a sentence only has application relative to a set of contextual or background assumptions. . . .” Davidson’s explanation of the efficacy of invoking literal meanings and truth conditions was precisely that they can be assigned apart from contexts of use. If Searle’s argument is cogent, Davidson must look elsewhere for the explanatory power of literal meanings and truth conditions, say, in the relative stability of the contextual features on which literal meaning and truth and background assumptions depend. But then, the mere fact that sentences are interpreted metaphorically, relative to a context of utterance, will not rule out an explanatory role for metaphorical meanings and truth conditions.

Clearly, though context can provide a suitable condition for the interpretation of a metaphor, it has been argued by Bergmann (1979) that it is only the ideal context that can provide an appropriate condition for the interpretation of a metaphor. He says:

... not all contexts are ideal contexts in any sense. Perhaps there are very few ideal contexts in actual communicative situations. It is this fact; above all, that gives metaphor its special flavour. For without an ideal context, there are no strict rules for interpretation of metaphors. When we attach specific interpretations to metaphorical expressions, we do something like filling out the ideal context. That is, if in some circumstance there are no special indicators for preferring one way of interpreting a metaphorical expression over a number of others, we may still make a decision as to how the interpretation should be carried out . . . or we may choose to give the expression a programmatic saying that no indicative claim is being made but a lot is suggested (p. 228).

In fact the arguments which have been put forward by Searle and Bergmann do not necessarily push out the literal truth conditions for the interpretation of metaphors, but are in the same boat. For in general, contextual presuppositions are in reality built into literal truth conditions, that if we fail to be aware of them, it is because they form a relatively (but not absolutely) stable background to our communicative intercourse.

However, Bergmann never explained in detail what he refers to as the ideal context for metaphor interpretation. These arguments are very important to the present study for, so far it seems the case is that, in one's attempt to find the metaphorical truths of the metaphor used by Nkrumah and Rawlings, one cannot ignore context, and this is in line with the view of the researcher.

2.10 THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR AND CULTURE

The conceptual metaphor helps to gain a certain understanding of the world, according to Opoku Mensah (2008). It is therefore a manifestation of a speaker's creativity based on certain concepts or experiences of the speaker without which they are obviously limited. This is clearly explained by the model created by Lakoff & Johnson (1980). In this model, they argue that there is a set of metaphorical concepts around which we conceptualize the world, or better, our worldviews. Following this, it seems that the metaphor is rather a matter of experience or everyday life. Or a matter 'of thought and reason' (Lakoff, 1993) than merely a matter of language. This model was further developed by Lakoff & Turner (1989). In their reference to poetic metaphor they argue that:

General conceptual metaphors are thus not the unique creation of individual poets but are rather part of the way members of a culture have of conceptualizing their experience. Poets, as members of cultures, naturally make use of these basic conceptual metaphors to communicate with other members, their audience (p. 9).

This view is supported by others. For example Johnson (1987) claims:

Metaphors are sometimes creative in giving rise to structures within our experience. That is, they do not merely report pre-existing, independent experience; rather they contribute to the process by which our experience and our understanding are structured in a coherent and meaningful fashion (p. 98).

Though these models on conceptual metaphor by Lakoff and others were developed looking particularly at the poet and his creative ability using the conceptual metaphor, they are

relevant for the present study. This is because, together, they provide a background to understanding the peculiar metaphors which are created by Nkrumah and Rawlings as they communicate with their different audiences in their different cultures. For example, Nkrumah's reference to the 'cock' in his address to the members of his political party is not only suggestive of the prompting of the African that the time has come for him to wake up from a metaphorical slumber as the cock literally does at the dawn, but also it indicates Nkrumah's awareness of that bird as the symbol of his political party. In the case of Rawlings, his use of 'trenches' as a metaphor in his speech at a reception in his honour in Uganda, is significant. Both Rawlings and his host, President Yoweri Museveni, have military backgrounds so the choice of a war metaphor is just apt.

Since our understanding is influenced partly by our cultural experience, conceptual metaphor, which is created within the boundaries of a speaker's culture experience, is undoubtedly a good communicative tool for the persuasive speaker.

2.11 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The second part of this chapter discusses the rhetorical theories of Aristotle via Kennedy (1991), Burke (1950) and Lakoff's Cognitive Models (1980) upon which this research is based.

2.11.1 Aristotle's Rhetoric

Aristotle saw the function of rhetoric as the discovery in each case of "the available means of persuasion". According to him, the available means of persuasion are based on three kinds of proof: logical (logos), ethical (ethos) and emotional (pathos). Logical proof comes from the line of argument in the speech, ethical proof is the way the speaker's character is revealed in the message, and emotional proof is the feeling the speech draws out of the hearers. Some form of logos, ethos and pathos is present in every public presentation.

When Rawlings says at the inauguration of the Consultative Assembly that was tasked to write a new constitution for Ghana, that “truth and integrity can become a weapon to defend the honour and well-being when that weapon is held by both the ruler and the ruled”. The logos lie in the fact that there is a general belief that the people have the power to select and change their leaders who by their selection are also empowered to take many decisions for the people. The ethos is evidenced in the context. The strategy is persuasive in the sense that the timing is perfect, after all, power is said to be enshrined in the constitution so the occasion is right and using his authority as the incumbent, he is more likely than any other to convince his audience.

As regards pathos, which is a speaker’s or writer’s appeal to the emotions of their audience, Rawlings is spot on as his choice of metaphor appeals to the audience’s sense of fear. It is as good as saying ‘if you give all the power to the ruler you will suffer for it’. This is a direct emotional appeal meant to persuade the audience to react in the desired way of the speaker.

2.11.2 Logical Proof: Lines of Argument that make Sense.

Aristotle focused on two forms of logical proof – the ‘enthymeme’ and the ‘example’. He regarded the enthymeme as “the strongest of proofs”. (Bitzer, 1959, p.310). An enthymeme is merely an incomplete version of a formal deductive syllogism. Logicians can create a syllogism on the natural equality of all men based upon Aristotle’s logical proof, from which one can make another based on the same principle:

Major or specific premise: All women are female.

Minor or specific premise: I am a woman.

Conclusion: I am female.

Typical enthymemes, however, leave out a premise that is already accepted by the audience: “All women are female ... I am female”. In terms of style, the enthymeme is more artistic than a mere syllogistic argument. According to Bitzer, Aristotle had a greater reason for advising the speaker to suppress the statement of premise that the listeners already believe. Because they are jointly produced by the audience, enthymemes intuitively unite speaker and audience and provide the strongest possible proof. The audience itself helps construct the proof which it is persuaded (Bitzer, 1959).

2.11.3 Ethical Proof: Perceived Source Credibility

According to Aristotle, it is not enough for a speech to contain plausible argument. The speaker must seem credible as well. Many audience impressions are formed before the speaker even begins and this is even more so in the political arena. Aristotle was more interested in audience perceptions that are shaped by what the speaker does or does not say. In the Rhetoric he identified three qualities that build source credibility – intelligence, character and goodwill.

1. Perceived Intelligence – The quality of intelligence has more to do with practical wisdom and shared values than it does with training at Plato’s Academy. Audiences judge intelligence by the overlap between their beliefs and the speaker’s ideas, hence, one’s ideal of an agreeable speaker is one who agrees with them.
2. Virtuous Character – Character has to do with the speaker’s image as a good and honest person.
3. Goodwill – Goodwill is a positive judgment of the speaker’s intention towards the audience. Aristotle thought it is possible for an orator to possess extraordinary intelligence and sterling character, yet still not have the listener’s best interest at heart.

Although Aristotle’s comments on ethos were stated in a few brief sentences, no other portion of his Rhetoric has received such close scientific scrutiny (Griffin, 2000). The results

of sophisticated testing of audience attitude show that his three-factor theory of source credibility stands up remarkably well. Listeners definitely think in terms of authoritativeness (intelligence) and trustworthiness (character). Sometimes goodwill seems to overlap with the issue of character and, at other times, a new dimension of speaker dynamism or energy surfaces. This seems to be the case in the election campaign of the then candidate, Barack Obama.

2.11.4 Emotional Proof: Striking a Responsive Cord

Aristotle believed that the affective speaker must know how to stir up various emotions in the audience. He catalogued a series of opposite feelings, then explained the conditions under which each mood is experienced, and finally described how the speaker can get an audience to feel that way. Aristotle scholar and translator, George Kennedy, claims that this analysis, which has been highlighted below, is “the earliest systematic discussion of human psychology” (Kennedy, 1980, p. 22).

Anger versus Mildness – Anger is provoked when people are thwarted in their attempt to fulfill a need. Remind them of interpersonal slights, and they become irate. Show them that the offender is sorry, deserves praise or has great power and the audience will calm down.

Love or Friendship versus Hatred – the speaker should point out common goals, experiences, attitudes and desires. In the absence of these positive forces, a common enemy can be used to create solidarity.

Fear versus Confidence – The speaker should paint a vivid word picture of the tragedy, showing that its occurrence is probable. Confidence can be built by describing the danger as remote.

Shame versus Shamelessness – We feel embarrassed or guilty when loss is due to our own weakness or vice. The emotion is especially acute when a speaker recites our failing in the presence of family, friends or those we admire.

Indignation versus Pity – Aristotle saw that individuals have a built-in sense of fairness. As a result, it is easy to arouse a sense of injustice by describing an arbitrary use of power upon those who are helpless.

Admiration versus Envy – People admire moral virtue, power, wealth and beauty. By demonstrating that an individual has acquired life's goods through hard work rather than mere luck, admiration will increase.

2.11.5 Critique of Aristotle's Theory

Scholars are puzzled by the failure of Aristotle to define the exact meaning of the enthymeme, a confusing system of classifying metaphor according to type (Griffin, 2000). At the beginning of the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle promised a systematic study of logos, ethos and pathos but he failed to follow that three-part plan. Also, his view of audience as passive has been criticized by modern-day speech scholars (Enos & Agnew, 1988). Speakers in Aristotle's world seem to be able to accomplish any goal as long as they prepare their speeches with careful thought and an accurate audience analysis. In talking about the situation one should not be tempted to look only at the immediate context, for there can be millions of non-immediate audience who though might not be present but whose reaction to the rhetorical speech or activity cannot be underestimated. Therefore any analysis of the speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings must not ignore the extended audience. Beyond the immediate audience, every politician worthy of their sort is aware of their speeches being reported by those present to those absent. In modern situations, radio, television and the internet means that one is always conscious of the immediacy of the extended audience.

2.11.6 Relevance of Aristotle's Theory to the present Study

The logical, ethical and emotional proofs of Aristotle underlie most persuasive speeches. They may not all be present in a single speech or single statement (for instance, in metaphor) but they are evidence in different ways in the underlying focus of metaphor as a persuasive device, it is interesting to see how these different proofs manifest in the selected speeches of Presidents Nkrumah and Rawlings. The presence of these persuasive proofs of Aristotle in any speech therefore becomes a test of the persuasive means available to all persuasive speakers as prescribed by Aristotle.

2.11.7 The Theory of Dramatism

In modern day rhetorical practice, Burke has made giant strides in prescribing how rhetoric should be practiced by moving slightly from the traditional position of Aristotle. Introducing A Rhetoric of Motives, Burke (1950) points out that “traditionally, the key term for rhetoric is not identification, but persuasion” (p. 1019). For Burke, though, “persuasion”, as a representative term of rhetoric is lacking in its ability. To him, the ultimate function of rhetoric is “the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols” (p. 1032). In support of “identification” as the better term, Burke cites W. C. Blum, who stated, “In identification lies the source of dedications and enslavements, in fact of cooperation” (p. 1019). As examples of each, Burke offers, “persuasion ranges from ... sales promotion or propaganda...to courtship, social etiquette, education ... and identification ranges from the politician who, addressing an audience of farmers, says, ‘I was a farm boy myself’ (p. 1019).

Burke links identification with “consubstantiality”, or the connections people make with one another through shared experiences or goals. Burke explains that, for example, A is not

identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or he may identify himself with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so. Two persons may be identified in terms of some principle they share in common, an identification that does not deny their distinctness. To identify A with B is to make A consubstantial with B. A further complex part of Burke's theory is what he refers to as the "dramatics pentad". It is a tool to analyze how a speaker tries to be persuasive. Burke's pentad directs the critic's attention to five crucial elements of the human drama: act, scene, agent, agency and purpose.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology on which this study is based. Here, the researcher presents the general plan by which the analysis of data was carried out. It considers items, including the research design, data collection, sampling and treatment.

3.1.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study uses the qualitative approach for analyzing the data. According to Priest (1996, p. 250), any method for doing social science research that uses general observations, depth, and verbal descriptions in place of numerical measures is qualitative content analysis. This view is also supported by Reinard (1994, p. 5), who says that the qualitative method uses “...descriptions of observation expressed in predominantly non-numerical terms...Qualitative research emphasizes description or interpretation of communication events.” Reinard adds that sometimes qualitative methods make passing reference to quantitative analysis (or methods), which he defines as methods of research that are enquiries in which observations are expressed predominantly in numerical terms. Priest (1996) also defines the qualitative method of study as “any method for doing social science research that uses general observations, depth, and verbal descriptions in place of numerical measures” (p. 250). Fraenkel & Wallen (2000) see it as research studies that investigate the quality of relationships, activities, situations, or materials. Qualitative research therefore places a greater emphasis on holistic description – that is, on describing in detail all that goes on in a particular activity or situation. According to Fraenkel and Wallen, qualitative research is usually concerned with process as well as product, that is, it is interested in how things occur, and therefore likely to observe how people interact with each other.

This analytic procedure was informed by the fact that the study deals with written political speeches which are searched to unravel the rhetorical language tools embedded in them. The

qualitative method of analysis is therefore the most suitable for such a study (Creswell, 2009).

This study does not follow a fixed sequence of events and involves, primarily, the analysis and interpretation of texts which may evolve into different shades of meaning, subtle connotations or contextual distinctions. It is therefore nonlinear. The study seeks to discuss the use of metaphor as a rhetorical device in selected political speeches. According to Neuman (2003, p. 141), the qualitative method is the most effective method for "...grasping subtle shades of meaning, for pulling together divergent information, and for switching perspectives" and therefore by extension, an effective method for the present study.

The rhetorical method of analysis was adopted in this process. Central to rhetorical analysis is the fact that messages are presented visually or textually. It is broadly a kind of stylistic analysis with the organization, the presentation of a message and the choices the communicator makes at the core of this type of analysis. It focuses on distinctive features such as composition, form, use of metaphors and structure of argumentation or reasoning. Different authors, including Kaplan (1992) and Durand (1987) have used rhetorical analysis to conduct research in advertisements, but for the purpose of the current study, the research will be focused on political speeches.

The rhetorical method of analysis involves unraveling formal characteristics of the language and imagery used. Sometimes emphasis is laid on the construction or syntactical properties of a text, sometimes the stress is on pragmatic aspects of language use, and therefore on communicator choices, practices and strategies. Procedures in rhetorical analysis are primarily focused on qualities of the natural text.

Through examining the rhetorical devices employed in speeches, some researchers like Andern, Ericsson, Oldsen & Tannsjo (1978) used rhetorical analysis to examine advertising messages but it is arguable that it is possible to dissect the contents of political speeches in order to understand better how their persuasive purpose is achieved just like in advertising messages. Under the framework of rhetorical analysis, political speeches were examined for their use of metaphor to persuade an audience.

The justification for the choice of the rhetorical analysis is that the present study discusses linguistic items (metaphor) that are used in political speeches to persuade an audience. This framework of analysis has been used in similar works (Andren, Ericsson, Oldsen & Tannsjo, 1978; Pitiela 1992; and Durand 1987), and so the researcher thought it would be relevant to the present study.

3.2 SETTING

The main source of data for this work will be some of the published speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings. According to Beard (2004), language tells us a great deal about the ideology of those who use it—including politicians, and those who report on the work of politicians.

3.2.1 Justification for the study of Nkrumah and Rawlings

In looking for personalities whose speeches will be appropriate for this study, Nkrumah and Rawlings were considered for a number of factors which will be outlined below. However, it must be noted that these two individuals have some major similarities and differences that make them worth studying together.

Since the work is based on the subject of rhetoric, the researcher was, first and foremost, interested in personalities whose work, particularly speeches, have been considered to be

persuasive by many people. Rawlings has been identified as one of the most influential Ghanaian leaders through his fight for social justice for the ordinary Ghanaian. As a result of his two coups d'état, which were revolutionary in nature because of the sudden violent changes Ghana went through, many Ghanaians remember Rawlings for his militancy. His charisma and public speeches also helped his cause to a large extent despite the fact that much of his rhetoric is deemed controversial by his critics. His work as leader of Ghana won him a few awards among which was one for fighting hunger, a prize Nkrumah had earlier won. Nkrumah's stature as, arguably, the greatest leader the African continent has produced, is unrivaled in the history of the continent. In the year 2000, Nkrumah was voted African Man of the Millennium by listeners to the BBC World Service (2000). This, the researcher believes, was a man whose words affected many on the African continent and the world as a whole. As a result, the researcher thought that Nkrumah is worth studying alongside Rawlings in view of their huge stature in the political history of Ghana.

The second consideration for the study of the two individuals is that they were inclined with a similar cause, Nkrumah's life-long preoccupation was with the fight to free the entire continent of Africa from colonialism by Western Imperialist governments (Nkrumah, 1963) while Rawlings' was the local fight for social justice. Another major consideration for the study of these two individuals is that they were both charismatic politicians who commanded large followings wherever and whenever they spoke. The major difference between them is in the fact that Nkrumah was a politician both by training and vocation while Rawlings was a career soldier who overthrew elected leaders before casting aside his army fatigues. Nkrumah became the first president of the Republic of Ghana.

Moreover, the two individuals are worth studying because they both claimed socialist leanings. Nkrumah was unapologetic in his belief in the concept and practice of socialism, whereas Rawlings, in his early days claimed not only to be socialist, but also, Nkrumahist.

3.3 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

The data used in this research is secondary. The first part of the task was the collection of published speeches which have been the basis of discussion in Chapters Four and Five. Two advantages of this type of data are that, first, it gives the researcher the advantage of obtaining the language and words of participants and secondly, the data can be accessed at a time convenient the researcher. It is an unobtrusive source of information (Creswell, 2009).

The second part of the data is the information used in the introduction and the review of related literature; they were obtained from books, journals, articles from the library and the internet. The source of the data is the library.

With the sampling of the data, speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings from published books had to be selected on the basis of how well they use metaphors as rhetorical devices. A collection of about twenty important speeches of Rawlings, from books published in volumes by the Information Services Department of the Ministry of Information were selected for scrutiny. For Nkrumah, there is a publication of about one hundred of his notable speeches in five (5) volumes by Samuel Obeng (1997) out of which about twenty, from the first and fifth, were scrutinized.

3.3.1 SAMPLING PROCEDURE

In the collection of data, the purposive sampling technique was used. The purpose of this technique is to demonstrate the pervasive use of metaphors as the reason for the success of

the persuasive speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings. In purposive sampling, the researcher uses his previous knowledge of the data as well as the purpose of the research to select the data that will be representative of the data under study (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2000). It ensured that no unwanted data were included. The primary data for this research are speeches. It is important to state that the speeches were selected primarily because some have been considered among others as the most important speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings. Moreover, the selected speeches are considered by many as successful, not because of the metaphors they contain but because of the occasions during which they were made and the general effect that they had.

This method was used to ensure that only speeches that fall within the scope of this study are chosen. It was therefore done by selecting speeches that were revealing with respect to the research objectives.

Stubbs (1983, p. 231) supports this method. Explaining the concept of theoretical sampling, originally proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Stubbs writes that the method involves seeking out situations, which are likely to be particularly revealing or fruitful with respect to the phenomena in which one is interested. His argument is that concepts that are grounded in data collected by theoretical sampling will be more understandable than grand theory, which has often no explicit links with data.

3.3.2 TREATMENT OF DATA

Firstly, there was a general reading of all the speeches collected. This first reading was an initial attempt to become acquainted with the messages that had been presented in the speeches. After this, the researcher continued to read about the background information of the

speeches, regarding the reason, occasion and the period in which the individual speeches were read.

In the next stage, five (5) speeches, each of Nkrumah and Rawlings totaling ten (10), were chosen for the research. This was considered appropriate for the study since the study required a deep understanding of the speeches to be able to meet the objectives of the research.

The use of a large body of data therefore would have defeated the purpose for the study. Since time was a crucial factor in the current study, the size of data needed a careful consideration. The ten speeches were selected to find out about the occurrences of metaphor in them.

The first thing was to find out about the number of times both Nkrumah and Rawlings use metaphor in their speeches. Secondly, the researcher went ahead to also find the nature of the metaphors used in them. Again, sources of the imagery in the metaphors were investigated to show whether they have any connection with the background of the two speakers. The research went further to identify the differences and similarities of the metaphors identified in the selected speeches. It took considerable effort to bring out all metaphors which had been used in all the selected speeches for the research. The only tools that were needed in this part of the analysis were pencils and tally cards. The process of tallying the number of occurrences for both repetition and the metaphor was not the most difficult aspect of the task up till this point, but it was the ability to identify the different metaphors that proved daunting sometimes.

The analysis of each single metaphor in all the selected speeches of both Nkrumah and Rawlings followed. The speeches of Nkrumah were also examined to find out traces of his socialist ideals. The last aspect of the work focused on a comparison of the two ex-presidents to find out their similarities and differences in their use of metaphor.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 DATA ANALYSIS

4.1.1 NKRUMAH'S USE OF METAPHOR

Some of the metaphors that were used by Nkrumah in some of his political speeches are analyzed below. In one of Nkrumah's speeches given on the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the Convention People's Party to their members, some interesting ones can be identified. At some point, he said:

1. We live in an age when the peoples of Africa are resolutely throwing off the abominable yoke of colonialism, in order to organize their national economies in the paramount interest of their peoples after centuries of foreign unjust domination.

(Fourteenth Anniversary of the Convention People' Party)

The image presented in the metaphor of the 'yoke of colonialism' concretizes the burden of a people restricted by others; worst so when the perpetrators are foreigners. The image is one of slavery, one of a people bound together like oxen on a farm, pulling the plough or a heavy cart full of all kinds of stuff. Add to that the master's whip, and Nkrumah's message becomes even more succinct and poignant. The yoke is restrictive and needs to be thrown off before Africa's economic prosperity can be realized. His choice of adjective, 'abominable' turns a well-worn phrase into one with a character. Though his audience would have been aware of this saying, the intrusion of 'abominable' is meant to shock them to the reality of the situation. It is not only a message for the African, but also one for the neocolonialist, especially, at a time when slavery in its overt form was abolished worldwide.

On the same occasion, he attacks another social problem, which may be referred to as a twin evil of colonialism:

2. Racial oppression and injustice in any form cannot be condoned or ignored. Racialism is a blot on the conscience of mankind, and the sooner it is removed the greater the prospects of world peace will be.

(Fourteenth Anniversary of the Convention People's Party)

The contempt with which he views racial oppression is obvious. Again, his audience would have known this saying but he makes sense by elaborating the consequences.

The uselessness of a blot of ink is significant. It occludes as it gets rid of any good work or deed. It is therefore soaked onto a piece of material and subsequently cast in to the waste bin lest it spoils good work. Nkrumah sees racialism as something which renders the collective psyche of all human beings stained and deserving to be discarded.

Addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York, he draws the attention of the world to the changes taking place, especially, in the colonized countries. These changes are obvious, except to those who decided not to see:

3. The great tide of history flows and as it flows, it carries to the shores of reality the stubborn facts of life and man's relations

("At the United Nations")

The metaphor introduces his address to the United Nations' General Assembly. Nkrumah borrows from the power of moving water and uses it as the force that carries with it historical facts and brings the facts to man on the 'shore'. Here 'tide' is seen as the vehicle that carries facts from the high oceans of history. Nkrumah, through this metaphor, paints a picture of a tangible substance that is being carried on the high seas till the time it gets ashore. In this instance, the intrusion of the adjective 'great' is suggestive of his megalomaniac tendencies. He continues to elaborate on the metaphor and proceeds to stay on top of it. The image is thus consolidated and keeps the imagery in sharp focus.

Having spoken about historical events earlier in the same speech, a reference to some of the most poignant ones seems appropriate:

4. ...her sons languished in the chains of slavery and humiliation.

(“At the United Nations”)

According to Cohen (1982) it takes ingenuity to make metaphors create understanding. This is what Nkrumah does in creating a mental picture of the state of the African continent. The metaphor lends concreteness to the abstract issues namely ‘slavery and humiliation’. Nkrumah paints a picture African people bound in some form of chains, thus depicting bondage. These chains are restrictive hence the movement and development of the continent are held back. Therefore the use of chains gives force to the meaning of the metaphor which brings his central message to the fore. This metaphor shows the skill and ingenuity of Nkrumah in his ability as a persuasive speaker to paint a picture of the continent’s underdevelopment as a result of colonialism. He appeals to the listener’s emotion, specifically, their senses of fear, anger or compassion. It is also worthy of note that the idea of ‘chains’ is socialist rhetoric.

5. The United Nations must therefore face up to its responsibilities and ask those who would bury their heads like the proverbial ostrich in their imperialist sands, to pull their heads out and look at the blazing African sun now traveling across the sky of Africa’s redemption.

(“At the United Nations”)

The use of an extended metaphor helps Nkrumah intensify the crux of the message. The ‘ostrich’ obviously refers to the colonialist in Africa and the ‘sands’, the lands of the colonialists. This action of the ostrich portrays the shameful, pretentious feelings of the imperialists about their actions on the continent of Africa and the fact that the imperialist

pretends to be oblivious of the blazing African sun moving across the continent. This sun symbolizes the energy and vitality engendered by hope which has swept over the land of Africa and the people of Africa. 'Blazing' is indicative of the power and force of this action of Africans seeking their freedom. It further suggests the blinding activity of the actions of the Africans which the imperialists can only ignore to their peril.

Nkrumah kept hitting away at the wrongs meted out to the African at the hand of their colonial 'master':

6. In all those years Belgium applied a system of calculated political castration in the hope that it would be completely impossible for African nationalists to fight emancipation.

("A the United Nations")

The sense of 'castration' portrays a weakening in political ability and therefore makes, according to Nkrumah, the African incapacitated in his quest for socio-political emancipation. The sense that is carried along with 'castration,' which is the emasculation of the once virile individual, is more poignantly the inability to reproduce. These undesirable conditions are associated with the basic state of the African in view of their deprivation and incapacity to fight for political emancipation.

7. ...in order to save the Congo from chaos and confusion, from strife and political and economic instability, drive the cold war out of Africa...

("At the United Nations")

With the command, 'drive the cold war out of Africa' a metaphor is expressed suggesting that there needs to be a concerted effort in the fight against the Cold War. The driving force Nkrumah might be suggesting in the metaphor might be the force that is used in fighting any canker that bedevils any society. The dynamism suggested by the word 'drive' typifies

Nkrumah's speeches and use of metaphor. Therefore the idea that Cold War is an undesirable element on the African soil is carried across.

In contrast to the dynamism expressed in 7 above, the metaphor in 8 below, expresses a need to prevent motion.

8. The devastation which they have wrought in Africa is without parallel anywhere in the history of the world, but now Africans have arrived on the scene. We have arrested their progress and are determined to give battle with the forces at our command until we have achieved the total liberation of the African continent. And have built a strong Union of the African States.
[At the United Nations]

The metaphor here is captured in the painting of a picture of conflict on the stage. African freedom fighters are serving as the protagonist, the imperialist, the antagonist. The antagonists are seen with their destructive tendencies while the protagonists normally arrive to save the situation. The progress of the colonialists is personified as someone literally stopped in his track to prevent him from causing more harm. In this case or situation, Nkrumah subtly indicates that Africans themselves will be or can be only saviours of themselves from the crippling and destructive situation created by the imperialists. His choice of pronoun, 'we', steers the spotlight onto himself and all other Africans. In other words, it presupposes that if a solution is going to be brought to save the situation in Africa then Africans themselves hold the key to that solution.

Having successfully arrested the progress of colonialism, what Nkrumah sets his sight on is uniting the entire continent:

9. Your Majesty, Excellencies, let us unite, for in unity lies strength and as I see it, African states must unite or sell themselves out to imperialist and colonialist exploiters for a mess of pottage, or disintegrate individually.

(“The Casablanca Conference”)

This metaphor captures a biblical allusion of Jacob and his brother Esau (Gen. 25: 29-34) which recounts how Esau sells his natural right and status as an older brother just for a meal because of the need to satisfy his hunger. Through this biblical allusion, Nkrumah brings to the fore the colonialists’ effort in the past in giving the African something very temporary and trivial and taking away their God-given right of eternal freedom and sovereignty. He deplores the situation where Africans might reduce themselves to mere merchandize. This also alludes to the slave trade. Therefore he spells doom that without unity, Africans can find themselves selling their inalienable rights.

He further admonishes his fellow African leaders, this time highlighting subtleties of the colonialists’ agenda:

10. ...we would soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires, to make us cut each other’s throat for the sake of their diabolical purposes in Africa.

(“The Casablanca Conference”)

Nkrumah borrows from the puppet theatre as he laments about the evil intentions of the imperialist. The pulling of ‘vicious wires’ on the stage in this metaphor presents the imperialist as the controller and the manipulator of the African political stage. This reveals clearly that even though Africans are the main political actors, their actions and intents are not their own, but the dictation of western imperialists who are the main directors. But Nkrumah paints a more vivid picture of the manipulator’s character and intentions. They are ‘vicious’. The action is much more than the clichéd pulling of wires but one with a malicious intent.

He proceeds to prescribe the remedy that will prevent this manipulation and subsequent neo-colonialism:

11. Now that the blazing fire of African nationalism sweeps everything before it in our continents... let us determine more than ever before to crush colonialism and imperialism from the face of our beautiful Africa.
(“The Casablanca Conference)

In the above metaphor, Nkrumah borrows from fire and heat. The nationalist movement in the African continent is deemed a ‘blazing fire’ that consumes all before it. With all the heat African nationalism has the power to burn out all traces of imperialism on the continent. The overt comparison between the fire that generates heat and nationalism is suggestive of the strength and power in Nationalist Movements, and therefore a continuous fight of Africans in their quest for total liberation will yield results.

Addressing his own political party, his rhetoric still alludes to a battle across history. The message this time round is meant for local consumption:

12. Comrades... I cast my mind back across the field of struggle and see the historic landmarks telling the story of progress which has covered the trail of the Convention People’s Party.

(“The Kwame Nkrumah Institute”)

In the metaphor in 12, an image of a battle field is created which has symbolic landmarks serving as physical evidence to tell the stories of the successes of the Convention’s People’s Party. The imagery of ‘trail’ carried in the metaphor, literally, can be interpreted as the dust carried along in their journey of struggle, but is in another sense compared to history. Therefore there is a conscious depiction of the historical achievement of the Convention People’s Party.

He hits a more personal tone as a means of urging on the members of his party:

13. I can feel once more the violent throbbing of my heart as the blood of inspiration runs through my veins and steels my nerves for the tough struggle ahead.

(“The Kwame Nkrumah Institute”)

The extended metaphor in 12 brings ‘inspiration’ to the fore. ‘Inspiration’ is presented as the very source of the speaker’s life and it is that force or element that moves and quickens the speaker into action. In fact, Nkrumah seeks to highlight his own commitment to the party and his preparedness to do even more. This ‘inspiration’ further turns the ‘nerves’ of the speaker into ‘steel’ hardening the speaker to face the struggle ahead. Therefore ‘inspiration’ becomes a very important element to the speaker as a strengthening force that moves him on.

Subsequent to 13, Nkrumah goes on, this time leaving out the individualism for a more all-embracing one, obviously aware of the fact that it took the efforts of the whole membership of the party to achieve political victory:

14. The sweeping victory of our party in the 1954 general elections followed. We were seated firmly in the saddle, moving steadily onto our goal.

(“The Kwame Nkrumah Institute”)

Nkrumah, in metaphor 14, borrows from horse riding. The members of the party are like all-conquering warriors, probably, with him as the captain, like Genghis Khan and other mythical figures riding ahead. This shows his view of himself as the leader of the brigade seated on his charge. There is a depiction of focus and the horse riding imagery in the metaphor is likened to power and with this power they can ride ‘steadily’ to reach their ultimate goal which is ensuring independence from the colonial government. The seating of the horse riders is ‘firm’, showing the confidence and security that is carried out through the message of the metaphor.

With this level of confidence, there is little wonder why Nkrumah then talks of the dawn of a new era:

15. I see a beam of hope shooting across our continent, for the things which will be taught in this institute will strengthen African youth and manhood...

(“The Kwame Nkrumah Institute”)

The metaphor in 15 is borrowed from the galaxy, particularly a star or a meteor. And this reflects the African star which, for Nkrumah, is the embodiment of hope, strength and unity of the African people against western domination. This is the kind of hope that may be held throughout the different countries on the African continent.

Nkrumah expresses more hope, except that this time round, he does so by way of a vision which he recounts like a prophet:

16. I see before my mind’s eye a great monolithic party growing up out of this process, united and strong, spreading its protective wings over the whole of Africa- from Algiers in the north to Cape Town in the south; from Cape Guardafui, in the east, to Dakar in the west.

(“The Kwame Nkrumah Institute”)

It further expresses the nationalistic consciousness across the continent of Africa and how the Kwame Nkrumah’s Ideological Institute seeks to deepen that fledging consciousness among the people of Africa.

In the instance of 16, Nkrumah uses the image of a tree. The Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute is likened to a tree with branches. Therefore this ideological institute is seen as the cornerstone of Nkrumah’s ultimate political agenda, that is, the bringing of the entire African people under a single political umbrella. It is therefore the hope of Nkrumah that the establishment of this Institute would figuratively lead to the growth of the numerous

'branches of the tree' (African states) to provide freedom and security to the entire countries on the African continent. In fact, this metaphor also shows that it is through the growth of systematic ideological consciousness among African people, that the fight for freedom from imperialism can be won.

But Nkrumah foresees the disintegration of Africa if certain leaders bow to the dictates of the colonialists and allow them re-colonize the continent in a different way:

17. The malaise that has affected the very heart of Africa threatens to involve the future of the whole of our continent.
 "Peace and Progress (the Conference of Non-Aligned States)"

The metaphor in 17 is captured from the image of disease. Here, imperialism is likened to a malady which affects the whole being of the African. In fact, this disease threatening the future of Africa is seen as a cardiovascular one that has the tendency of slowing down the very heart beat of the African. Therefore, the metaphor presents the crippling effects of the western imperialist tactics being employed in Africa. The metaphorical presentation of Africa as a person is, thus, anthropomorphic. Perhaps, the malaise of Africa may have been caused, among others by her overlooking the threat of colonies like those in Southern Africa:

18. The minority regime in Southern Rhodesia clings blindly and stubbornly to a course which can only lead that unhappy nation down the road to violent revolution.
 "Peace and Progress (the Conference of Non-Aligned States)"

The first metaphor in 18 thrives on an imagery of the blood-sucking leech. It is a powerful portrayal of how the colonialists stole and depleted the resources of the continent. Besides, the second metaphor presents the imagery of the highway, which is linked to an imagery of reckless driving that leads down the 'steep' road and ends in destruction. This is a consequence in the action in the first. This destruction is captured in the 'violent revolution'

which may come about as a result of the blindness and, possibly, the recklessness of the colonialists.

Nkrumah tries to show Africa has moved through phases. He alludes to a change for better based on the continent having learnt bitter lessons from her history:

19. The foundations of the new Africa are based, therefore on complete emancipation from foreign domination: the political unification of all Africa and a determination to breathe the air of freedom which is theirs to breathe.

“Peace and Progress (the Conference of Non-Aligned States)”

The metaphor here borrows from the concept of building. This imagery is associated with what Nkrumah refers to as ‘the building of the new Africa’. Thus, the old Africa had a foundation from which that of the new African building is a deviation. In fact, Nkrumah indicates clearly that the new building construction of African society that is taking place is a new construction or project which has no place for foreign influences or other external force and that this new ‘building’ will ensure the political unification of all African people.

Nkrumah’s pan-Africanist views were almost unstoppable. He sought the emancipation of every single African nation. In a letter to U Thant, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, he said:

20. ...but when the tools and thugs of the Union Miniere murdered the same Patrice Lumumba, no one in these quarters referred to that as interference in the internal affairs of the Congo.

Calling other Africans, who had something to do with countries like the U.S.A., France and the U.K. names, was typical of Nkrumah, and his contempt for such persons is obvious in his description of them. These are people who, he felt, allowed themselves to be used by the

colonialists as ‘tools’ in their bid to dominate the continent. Labelling such elements as ‘thugs’ shows his attitude towards these traitors as that of anger.

An examination of Nkrumah’s metaphors reveals a speaker with great power of expression, looking at the sources and the development of the metaphors in relation to the messages he presents. It is noteworthy that he employs metaphors that use confrontation as a catalyst to persuade his audiences. He uses many well-known sayings and clichés, yet he manages to make them more interesting through the use of, mostly, adjectives which strengthen them with violent and poignant imagery. Again, he chooses mostly dynamic verbs like, drive, arrest, pulling, etc, and they help him to elaborate on his messages, thus, his rhetoric becomes more persuasive.

4.1.2 RAWLINGS’ USE OF METAPHOR

As the leader of a military junta, Rawlings needed to be at his persuasive best to get the people on his side. Obviously, he and his men knew well that brandishing guns were not enough. He turned to rhetoric. Some of the metaphors found in the speeches of Rawlings are analyzed below:

As a leader who was popular in the sub-region, he made strenuous efforts at reconciling the factions, mostly by bringing them over to Ghana. At one of such function, he said:

- a. Liberia has, since its founding, been a true symbol of Africa’s struggle for liberty. Thus, to those of us struggling for independence from colonial regimes in Sub-Sahara Africa in the 1960s, it was a shining and inspiring beacon of hope, while its leaders were looked upon as Africa’s elder statesmen.

(The Liberian peace talks)

The use of the metaphor in (a) is indicative of Rawlings’ sense of history. It alludes to how many African states regarded the independent country of freed slaves, Liberia. He uses an

image of navigation. The beacon was the guiding light leading other states on to the path and, ultimately, the place of freedom and political independence. That country and her leaders were politically attractive to many on the continent, but many on the continent were disappointed at the turn of events.

Rawlings addresses the leaders of the factions by appealing to them to consider the plight of the ordinary people:

- b. Driven by their undying belief that peace would return, should return and must return to Liberia, the people of Liberia are making a heroic effort to assert their God-given right to live their lives in peace. They are tired of war. They are tired of being rootless refugees in other countries or suffering total dislocation of their lives internally. They yearn to go back home to get on with their lives once more.

(The Liberian peace talks)

'Rootless' is such an apt metaphor for describing the 'refugees' of Liberia whose predicament, leading from the civil war, has left them moving from one country to another in search of peaceful habitation. Since Ghana played and still plays host to many Liberian refugees, the image of a dislocated branch or shoulder comes with the inevitable pain from the injury. The plight of the people is thus poignantly conveyed.

- c. Are we just returning to old times, they ask. Are we returning to those times when the selected few determined the destiny of all of us? The people of this nation have no wish to return to the conditions which ignited their anger in 1979 and 1981.

(The inauguration of the Consultative Assembly, Accra)

The metaphor here seeks to explain that the coups d'état were spontaneous, in that they sprang out of the socio-political situation over which no single person had any control. Like a time bomb, the moment arrived, and the explosion was inevitable. That he chose a violent

metaphor here is also significant, in that, it is an apt imagery of the violence which led to deaths.

- d. Probity and accountability are only alive if they are borne up by truth and integrity. Truth and integrity can only become a weapon to defend the honour and well-being of a nation when that weapon is held by both the rulers and the ruled. In the hands of only one of them, it becomes a danger turned against those who hold it.

(The Inauguration of the Consultative Assembly,
Accra.)

The manipulation of power is at the core of the metaphor here. The concreteness of it is significant as well. What is more significant is the militaristic nature of the metaphor, as the speaker is an ex-serviceman. Rawlings seeks to empower the people with that with which they can exercise their sovereign rights As well; he reminds them of the inherent dangers in allowing uncontrolled power to be reposed in politicians. Weapons can be useful or dangerous depending on whose hands they are in. In other words, the people must beware who they select as their leaders.

- e. I said at the beginning that our Movement had made great progress in decolonization, but even there we cannot be complacent; there are still many small often forgotten countries under the yoke of colonial rule; insignificant size cannot deprive any of them of our concern It would be a tragedy to enter the 21st century with colonialism still part of mankind's reality, with hunger, poverty and misery still such a shackle on the possibilities of the majority of mankind, the crushing weight of debts stifling much-needed development for the most of our countries

(At the Ninth Conference of the Heads of States of
the Non-Aligned Countries).

The image of slavery is interesting in that it alludes to the trans-Atlantic slave trade and to colonialism. Whereas slavery, in the form and scale of the past, has been abolished, the same cannot be said of colonialism. Rawlings, therefore, is referring to neo-colonialism, a means of

recolonizing independent African states through various political and economic subterfuges. The neo-colonialists will put the African under a yoke, with feet bound by shackles. The use of the adjective 'crushing' signifies a violent situation from which recovery will be difficult.

He highlights the importance of the state of Sudan to the rest of Africa:

- f. The people of Sudan, whose ethnic diversity is a mirror of our whole continent, must seek more urgent ways to achieve peace so that their resources can be available for their own development.

The state of Sudan is presented as a microcosm of the entire continent. In her, one sees a representation of Africa's diversity of race, ethnicity and religion. Literally speaking, looking into that country, one sees themselves in there, one way or the other. Rawlings seeks to suggest that, as a microcosm, the failure of the state of Sudan is a failure of the whole continent, hence his appeal for her to make peace. But the 'mirror' is also symbolic as a means of seeing oneself to discover strengths and weaknesses; and as an item which can be easily broken. This image captures the fragility of that country.

- g. There are those who want to swoop on the gains of our people, especially our hardworking rural producers, our farmers on whose sweat and blood we have for so long survived as a people.

The hawk swoops on chicken, so does the eagle on a variety of prey. The police and military swoop on criminals. The prey is often helpless, and the predators, hungrily violent. The gains of the ordinary people are prey, and the politicians are remorseless in their bid to amass wealth at their expense. The image of the ordinary person suffering in order to make ends meet is what makes the violent 'swoop' even more significant. What is stolen is what had been attained the hard way.

- h. Let our detractors know that revolutionaries in Ghana and Uganda stand in the same trench, ready to die for the emancipation of the continent!

The sense of standing in a ‘trench’ is a war image. To Rawlings, revolutionaries, Ugandan or Ghanaian, are soldiers who, subsequently, stand the risk of losing their lives but are ready to do so. For him, there were battles to be fought, ostensibly, against ‘detractors,’ and a united front and a state of readiness were situations they were in. This is a warning to the counter-revolutionaries.

- i. It is painful to acknowledge these shortcomings of the past which cost us so dearly as a nation. More than two million Ghanaians during this left Ghana in search of greener pastures, and when some of those pastures themselves became overgrazed with similar shortcomings we were compelled in 1983 to receive over 1.2 million of our countrymen and women expelled from neighbouring countries.

The metaphor here captures the perception of the people that the economic situation in Ghana is worse than it is elsewhere. The grass in Ghana is less fresh, hence, the urge for many of her citizens to leave for those other countries. It is also noteworthy that the state of Ghana is compared to ‘pasture’ where her people can feed. He uses an agricultural image. Grazing involves browsing and skimming off what others have cultivated. The metaphor suggests migration compelled by want; a move en masse for survival with its attendant suffering. The effect of the exodus of labour is also evident in the metaphor of the receiving countries being economically drained (overgrazed).

Rawlings attempts to explain away accusations of nepotism and partisanship in a speech to the members of his political party:

- j. All the same time, where it comes to a choice between two firms of similar competence and proven efficiency, there is absolutely nothing wrong in choosing the one whose manager or proprietor is on our side. This is standard practice throughout the world, including the citadels of pluralistic democracy, and it would be ridiculous to claim otherwise.

(Second National Congress of the N.D.C. Kumasi)

Rawlings' reference to some countries as 'citadels' would have been remarkable for someone who has, on numerous occasions, castigated so-called western democracies. Seeing some other states as being worthy of emulation significantly would have pointed to a change in tone for someone used to revolutionary rhetoric. Politically, it would have been a reflection of the recognition that there are leaders or pacesetters in the political race. Theirs would have been portrayed as impregnable, tried and tested democracies. But it is obvious Rawlings was only being sarcastic.

- k. Ladies and Gentlemen, we have consistently stressed our commitment to private enterprise as the engine of growth of our economy. The genuine private investor – large or small, local or foreign- must be given every reasonable incentive and facility to create jobs and to produce efficiently.

(Second National Congress of the N.D.C., Kumasi)

The use of the metaphor in (j) above is like an admission that private business is indispensable to the economic wellbeing of Ghana. For a leader whose ideological posture had been socialist, it must have been so refreshing to notice for his audience to note his high regard for the contribution of country's economy. Engines drive vehicles and none works without one. Growing the economy is a priority for any government and the 'engine' as a symbol of power is significant. If Rawlings thought the growth of the economic sector important, then he thought the rights of the people were crucial:

- l. All too often, however, the Rule of Law becomes a double-edged sword which works to the disadvantage of the majority. Our people become lost in its procedural delays and complexities.

(Inauguration of the Consultative Assembly,
Accra)

Once again, Rawlings uses a military or violent image with the metaphor in (k) above. The Rule of Law is, ordinarily, supposed to protect the ordinary people, but just as the lawyers say ‘the law is an ass’, the people are made to suffer through the manipulation of the same laws. The violence suffered by the people is carried by the same weapon meant for their protection.

- m. Our country, Ghana, played its modest role towards the launching of the Non-Aligned Movement...were in danger of having their independence and sovereignty rendered meaningless in the theatre of the super-powers.
(Ninth Congress of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries)

The image in (l) is borrowed from the performing arts. The “super-powers” are obviously shown as the directors of a stage performance or the manipulators in a puppet theatre. Like what occurs on stage, the Non-Aligned countries risk being used. Rawlings reflects on the threat posed by developing countries pandering to the dictates of the developed ones.

As one way of getting a country weaned of her dependence on the developed ones, Rawlings suggests:

- n. Mr. Chairman, science and technology have been hand maidens of much economic development in today’s world. Indeed, the rapidity with which scientific research finds practical applications in the developed world contrasts sharply with the experience of developing...

(Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, Belgrade).

The metaphor used in (m) suggests that for a country to develop, she needs a helping hand. It is an image from the performance of domestic chores. For speed and efficiency, the “hand maiden” is employed. This portrays the developed countries as handicapped unless and until

science comes to their aid. To catch up quickly enough with the developed countries, Rawlings prescribes the antidote.

Another antidote to progress he suggested is environmental:

- o. In recent times, international attention has focused on man's degradation of his environment and the dangers posed to our life support systems. The metaphor here is an image of medicine. It alludes to machines that help keep alive persons who are in a vegetative state of health. These essential instruments becomes the only means of survival so when switched off, the patient dies. By using this metaphor, Rawlings is emphasizing on how crucial the environment is to the survival of humanity; it is the sole custodian of mankind's existence and needs to be respected and handled with care as an indispensable resource.

Leading from (o), he addresses how richer nations treat the poorer ones with disrespect with regards to the environment:

- p. Recent attempts to turn our territory into dumping grounds for industrial waste material also give expression to the disregard of the developed world for our environment. We must co-operate with each other to protect and improve our environment, drawing inspiration from our cultural values which embody fundamental commitments...
(Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement)

The metaphor in (p) is Rawlings' assessment of the developed nation's blatant disregard for the well-being of the peoples of the developing ones. They off-load hazardous industrial waste, often into the seas off the coasts of such countries. Ironically, most of these targeted countries are not industrialized and cannot take on the powerful errant ones alone, hence his call for concerted efforts on the part of developing countries. Considering the filth and stench of a dump site, the disrespect of the accused countries is easier to imagine and to appreciate. Rawlings further attacks the colonialists, this time, for leaving a wrong legacy:

- q. Sadly however, together with independence, we inherited the colonial structures which restricted participation in decision-making. There was no real basis for consensus about the path to be taken towards our common future.

(At the celebration of the 32nd Anniversary of Ghana's Independence, Accra)

The image in the metaphor in (q) is that of building construction. The colonialists are portrayed as bad builders who laid a weak foundation, thus endangering the entire structure. He sees them as people who were dictatorial in their governance over their colonies, and seeks to blame them for the preceding dictatorships. This is an obvious shifting of blame by a leader telling his audience to look elsewhere for whom to blame. This helps persuade the people to expect little from his government or to agree to certain constitutional changes he may initiate.

- r. But the new hope for peace will fade quickly if we see it only in tactical terms. All nations must take it upon themselves to build firmer foundations for world peace. We must discard old notions of bias and bigotry.

(At reception held in honour of Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, Accra.)

The metaphor Rawlings uses in (r) above is a cliché which has been enhanced by the intrusion of the adjective "firmer". World peace is presented as an edifice which is crucial for the existence of mankind. He admonishes that the base (foundation) of this building to be constructed needs to be stronger than any ever known, thus his use of the comparative form of the adjective. The construction image suggests that the builders (all nations) must gather the right materials through ensuring that previous ingredients which did not yield good results (bias and bigotry) are discarded. It is difficult for one build a strong house, so his message is

for all to roll up their sleeves the world were to attain peace. This choice of metaphor is also appropriate since his guest of honour, was pushing for the right of the people of Palestine to build their houses in the region occupied by Israel. Only peace in the world could guarantee that.

Rawlings refers to yet another construction image:

- s. Indeed, today, our continent stands at a great crossroad of history. In spite of the battering that the continent has undergone, we are convinced that it will yet be a better day. That better day will be created when we restore value and worth to the sense of community which remains the pillars of our societies. That task, frustrated by centuries of external intervention, from slavery to colonialism, is being faced by the new generation of Africans with energy and dedication.
(On the award of honorary doctorate degree by the Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, U.S.A)

...we often find that we are in an unequal contest, unable to break free from standard prescriptions and conditionality that are far removed from the texture of our agonizing reality. We find ourselves having to run faster in order to remain at the same spot.

(Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries)

The quote in (t) has multiple metaphors. The first is an image of sports, but one which is lopsided. Speaking to fellow heads of developing countries, Rawlings alludes to the global socio-economic race in which countries are rated and graded like sportsmen. He seeks to make a point that those countries, whose leaders are assembled there, are competing handicapped, thus, unlikely to catch up with the leaders. In sport rules are meant to apply equally, in this inter-states “contest”, he implies that they do not. To sum up, the richer states will remain so till the rules of global trade change.

The second is another image of bondage. Rawlings blames the developed countries for patronizing the developing ones by prescribing what they need to do and achieve before being allowed into their group. He also alludes to the humiliation of a bonded slave whose fetters restrain him and keeps him just where the master wants him. It is not surprising that he chooses this metaphor at a forum where the butt of criticism is the colonial master. He is referring to neo-colonialism.

The final metaphor in (t) borrows from the sense of touch. Rawlings alludes to the differences that exist among the cultures of countries and how the prescribed ways of doing things in order to qualify to be among these developed countries do not take the differences in cultures into consideration. The “conditionality” they set does not take into account the “textures” of the developing ones which are so different. Like different pieces of fabric, the texture of one may differ from the others. This rhetoric is often tailor-measured to persuade the people to look elsewhere for the causes of the failings of most politicians, especially, those who win power in developing countries.

Rawlings’ metaphors under study here have many violent and military images, like ‘weapon’, ‘trenches’, ‘swoop’, ‘ignite’, ‘citadels’, etc. This typifies his military background. He also falls on many building images like ‘pillars’, ‘structures’, ‘foundations’, etc and this may be as a result of his interest in how politics have evolved over the years.

4.1.3 THE USE OF METAPHOR: A COMPARISON BETWEEN NKRUMAH AND RAWLINGS

This section of the analysis seeks to compare the use of the metaphor by Nkrumah and Rawlings. The comparison will be based on three central issues: the role metaphors play in the rhetorical strategies of Nkrumah and Rawlings, the similarities and differences in

their use of metaphor and lastly, the relationship between their metaphors and the backgrounds of the two political giants.

An examination of Rawlings speeches reflects his vision: the struggle to overcome corruption and social injustice of the elite against the ordinary man in the society. In line with his ideals he uses language and particularly metaphors in ways that reflect the contents of his resolve.

According to Schwartz (1973), it is better to get a message out of an audience than to try to put one into them. In other words, it is better for persuasive speakers to rely on the set of experiences and memories that people have stored inside them. Also, as explained by Halliday (1978), people in every day linguistic exchanges act out social structures, affirming their own statuses and roles, establishing and transmitting the shared systems of value and knowledge. That is, language used by a community reflects the ideology of that speech community. Therefore, language is used in such a way as to evoke experiences and feelings of an audience by making reference to aspects of their culture. Persuasive speakers know this, so in a bid to persuade their audience, they frequently exploit the relationship between language (the verbal context) and culture (the situational context), as reflected in the data collected.

The data studied revealed that one of the strategies that persuasive speakers use to influence their audience is reference to language forms that help them to identify with their audience. These language forms are often tailored to a given target audience, or as McQuarrie and Mich (1996) put it, “call out to a particular target audience”. The advertiser uses the lingo of the group he is interested in; he uses expressions, address forms, and words which are similar to or the same as those used by the audience and in this way, achieves common grounds and identifies with the audiences as was explained by Burke (1950). For example, when Rawlings

describes Liberian refugees as “rootless”, he hits the right chords, in terms of pathos. The refugees identify with the description, as it relates to their plight as a people forced from their homes.

Also, the use of metaphors by Rawlings in the selected speeches enhances the memorability of his messages. Though Nkrumah’s situation in certain ways can be considered similar to that of Rawlings, his ideas and visions were Pan-Africanist, concerned with how the entire peoples of the African continent can be emancipated and aimed at reducing the influence and manipulations of the Western world. He therefore uses metaphor to bring out these concerns: the unity of Africans to wrest the continent from Western Imperialists.

Nkrumah, very much aware of his vision, uses language (particularly metaphors) which reflects the central issues or message in his vision. In his speech, numbered (15), he says:

I see before my mind’s eye a great monolithic party growing up
out of this process, united and strong, spreading its protective
wings over the whole of Africa

In the above metaphor, the imagery of a bird becomes the source of life, strength and protective covering for the entire African people. The image of the bird is symbolic in different ways. Firstly, it is the symbol of freedom. Secondly, it may be representative of the protection a hen, i.e., the mother or leader, gives to its chicks (African people against predators like hawks and all other attackers (colonialists). Thirdly since the symbol of the Convention People’s Party is a red cockerel, it may well be that the spreading of the protective wings of the bird in the imagery is probably the Convention People’s Party future leadership of the African continent.

This contrasts sharply with Rawlings’ reference to a bird of prey in (g). Nkrumah’s bird is a protective motherly figure while Rawlings’ is one that is dangerous and preys on others by

“swooping on the gains of other people”. Rawlings’ bird is rather the symbol of the colonialists who steal from the colonies minerals and other natural and artificial resources.

Also, Nkrumah, in speech (15), sees the establishment of the Ideological Institute, which bore his name, as a great source of “hope” for the African, through formal education:

I see a beam of hope shooting across our continent, for the things which will be taught in this institute....

Rawlings’ version, in speech (a), states, in part:

...it was a shining and inspiring beacon of hope, while its leaders were looked upon as Africa’s elder statesmen.

Both Nkrumah and Rawlings use these similar metaphors to refer to the optimistic future for Africa, as both beacon and beam refer, symbolically, to the enlightenment of the African people. The difference between them is that Nkrumah sees the hope through giving the people formal education, while Rawlings sees it through political leadership.

The metaphor rather presents the vehicle “hope”. However, the tenor which is the “African star” is absent. The use of the vehicle in this way by Nkrumah subtly indicates that it is the redemptive force or power, resident in the African, that carries hope and it is the source of strength for the young generation of the African people. The use of ‘hope’ without the tenor has a rhetorical value. This is what Aristotle refers to as an enthymeme. Bitzer (1959) notes that Aristotle had a greater reason to advise that the speaker too suppresses the statement of a premise that the listeners already believe. That is, in this case, it is evident that it is only a shooting star that can move across the sky. But because the audience is already aware of that, Nkrumah rather talks about ‘hope’ rather shooting across the continent, like a comet, incandescent and beautiful.

According to Aristotle:

...because they are jointly produced by the audience, enthymemes intuitively unite speaker and audience and provide the strongest possible proof.... The audience itself helps construct the proof by which it is persuaded (399)

Secondly, Rawlings and Nkrumah have some similarities in terms of their use of images. Both Nkrumah and Rawlings see their people as being in bondage and therefore their choices of metaphor clearly illustrates this image:

Nkrumah: "...her sons languished in the chains of slavery and humiliation." (4)

Rawlings: "...with hunger, poverty and misery still such a shackle on the possibilities of the majority of mankind."(e)

Both speakers see the plight of their people as a case of being in "chains" or "shackles", thus, a source of deprivation. The tenor, "chains", is employed by Nkrumah, seeing it as a representation of "slavery" and "humiliation". For Rawlings, hunger, poverty and misery are all sources of deprivation and he, therefore, sees these three related conditions as equal to being in "shackles". For the two speakers, the tenor "chains" and "shackles" is used in a similar way in their individual metaphors. Each (tenor) however has a different vehicle. There is a possibility, though this similarity in metaphor could be the result of borrowing from one speaker by another.

Both ex-presidents are wary of the manipulations of the colonialists and make allusions to them as puppet-masters:

Nkrumah: ...with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires...(10)

Rawlings: ...their independence and sovereignty rendered meaningless in the theatre of the superpowers.(m)

It is significant that both see the same group of persons as the source of the manipulation of the peoples of the third world, behind the scenes. The deviousness of the manipulators is implied by the fact that their activities are not done in the open. Their speeches are both were admonitions at forums of heads of developing nations.

More similarities are highlighted in the images below.

Nkrumah:

Now that the blazing fire of African nationalism sweeps everything before it in our continent.... Let us determine more than ever before to crush colonialism and imperialism from the face of our beautiful Africa.

“The Casablanca Conference”

...in order to save the Congo from chaos and confusion, from strife and political and economic instability, drive the cold war out of Africa.

“At the United Nations”

Rawlings:

- t. We also recognize that non-alignment, actually risks being caught in the cross-fire of the super-powers unless the Movement establishes its own capacity to stand on its feet, unless this Movement can establish a framework that assures us the dignity and pride of our independence.
- u. They yearn to go back home to get on with their lives once more. They are tired of being caught in the cross-fire of the power struggle and their demand for positive change.

These militant metaphors reveal the urgency in Nkrumah’s fight to free Africans from colonialism. Therefore, Nkrumah was vigorous in political activities all over Africa. Those of Rawlings, above, show his interest in ensuring the independence of third world nations, in general, and the safety of the governed in Africa, in particular. Generally, the choice of these militant metaphors of Nkrumah and Rawlings fit into Lakoff’s model of the general conceptual frames of metaphors.

With regards to the differences between Rawlings and Nkrumah, the analyses show that a number of Rawlings' metaphors are presented in parallel structures whilst Nkrumah's are generally presented in simple straight forward language.

Lastly, there is some evidence of a relationship between the backgrounds of Nkrumah and Rawlings and their choice of metaphors. Rawlings's background as a soldier is clearly revealed in his choice of metaphors. Nkrumah's background as a student of politics and a man of religion is also revealed in some metaphors. On the other hand, Nkrumah's choice of metaphors reveals his Pan-Africanist and religious inclinations.

Now that the blazing fire of African nationalism sweeps
everything before it in our continent... let us determine more than
ever before to crush colonialism and imperialism from
the face of our beautiful Africa
"The Casablanca Conference"

The use of the image of the sun brings to the fore two major issues: first, it is used to show strength and secondly, to show time. The strength in the sun, according to Nkrumah, has the potential of burning everything before it. It is interesting to note that most Westerners cannot stand literally the intense heat of the African sun. Also, the image reveals that Africans possess the natural strength (blazing sun) to fight colonialism and therefore there is the need for Africans to wake up and fight for themselves since no external force is available to fight for them. Secondly, the presence of the blazing African sun further reveals that it is time for Africans to rise up and act. It brings to the fore the popular saying "make hay while the sun shines". Nkrumah tells African leaders that this is the right and best time to pursue the fight against colonialism. Therefore Nkrumah's choice of the image of the sun does not only reveal his African background but it is appropriate in the context of his militant message.

Secondly, Nkrumah's religious background is revealed in the biblical allusion to the Jacob and Esau story in Genesis 25:27-34:

Your Majesty, Excellencies, let us unite, for in unity lies strength, and as I see it, African states must unite or sell themselves out to imperialist and colonialist exploiters for a mess of pottage, or disintegrate individually.

“The Casablanca Conference”

This metaphor highlights the exploitative tendencies of the imperialists and colonialists (Jacob). In a subtle way, Nkrumah reminds his colleagues of a situation in the painful Old Testament account of Esau and Jacob. In this story, Esau out of hunger promises and exchanges his birth rite with his younger brother for bread and soup and pays a heavy price for it. With this religious undertone Nkrumah warns his colleague African heads, not to behave like Esau in dealing with the colonialist. In fact, the choice of this religious image may not be surprising at all since Nkrumah was initially a Catholic and later preached in Presbyterian Churches in Philadelphia and New York City during his student days in the United States of America (Nkrumah, 1957).

Rawlings' militarism is present in many of the metaphors found in his speeches. The examples in (u) and (v) feature a repetition of the military image of innocent persons falling victim to the belligerence of others. “Crossfire” is repeated, significantly.

The analyses of the metaphors used by Nkrumah and Rawlings support Lakoff's view on what metaphor does in our lives as individuals and as a society as a whole. The concepts that govern our thoughts are not just matters of the intellect but metaphor. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concept structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities (Opoku Mensah, 2008)

For Lakoff, if we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day, is very much a matter of metaphor. According to Lakoff, our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff, 1980). The analyses of metaphor with Lakoff’s model show metaphor as an appropriate instrument of persuasion.

Lakoff’s view of the metaphor is also realized in Nkrumah’s prime message. What is captured is that the African should be as ready as a soldier to battle colonialism in order to gain his freedom. His message is not, literally, a call to arms. What he asks for is a confrontation. This is captured in the different speeches selected for analyses:

.....in order to save the Congo from chaos and confusion, from strife and political and economic instability, drive the cold war out of Africa.
 (“Speech at the United Nations”)

Your Majesty, Excellencies, let us unite, for in unity lies strength, and as I see it, African states must unite or sell themselves out to imperialist and colonialist exploiters for a mess of pottage, or disintegrate individually.
 (“Speech at the Casablanca Conference”)

The devastation which they have wrought in Africa is without parallel anywhere in the history of the world, but now Africans have arrived on the scene. We have arrested their progress and are determined to give battle with the forces at our command until we have achieved the total liberation of the African continent. And have built a strong Union of the African States.
 (“Speech at the Casablanca Conference”)

Let us determine more than ever before to crush colonialism and imperialism from the face of our beautiful Africa.
 (“Speech at the Casablanca Conference”)

Comrades... I cast my mind back across the field of struggle and see the historic landmarks telling the story of progress which has covered the trail of the Convention People’s Party.
 (“Speech at the Kwame Nkrumah Institute”)

I see before my mind's eye a great monolithic party growing up out of this process, united and strong, spreading its protective wings over the whole of Africa—from Algiers in the north to Cape Town in the south, from Cape Guardafui in the east to Dakar in the west.

(“Speech at the Kwame Nkrumah Institute”)

These individual metaphors come together to form a single metaphor to carry out a single message. That is: Africa should fight colonialism. The main metaphor talks about the need for Africans to develop strength through unity for the battle ahead which is the need to crush and drive colonialism and imperialism out of Africa. The hope of the Convention People's Party now, is taking over to protect Africa from defeated colonialism. This metaphor also supports Lakoff's view (1980) as explained above. According to Lakoff, metaphors like ones above have the potential of making the audience think and begin to act as the metaphor prescribes.

Also in line with Lakoff's arguments are Rawlings' metaphors exemplified below:

Are we returning to those times when the selected few determined the destiny of all of us? The people of this nation have no wish to return to the conditions which ignited their anger in 1979 and 1981.

A constitution is only alive if it is borne up by probity and accountability. Probity and accountability are only alive if they are borne up by truth and integrity. Truth and integrity can only become a weapon to defend the honour and well-being of a nation when that weapon is held by both the rulers and the ruled.

We recognize that the battle for democracy which involves a revolutionary transformation of the economic structures of the country, involves a dedicated and difficult work, discipline and sacrifice. The people of this country have begun to wage this battle.

Indeed, today, our continent stands a great crossroad in history, in spite of the battering that the continent has undergone, we are convinced that it will see a better day. That better day will be created when we restore value and worth to the sense of community which remains the pillar of our societies

From the examples above, the predominant message and focus of Rawlings is his fight for social justice. He seems to target aspects of the political order and process which he believes is not favourable to the ordinary people. He is more interested in giving a voice to the voiceless, often calling for an overhaul of the political machinery. He, like Nkrumah, sometimes attacked the colonial masters, but Rawlings prefers to turn the heat on how badly previous politicians and leaders have treated those at the grassroots. He more often had his “weapons” aimed at shooting its way to win “the battle for democracy”

4.1.4 SUMMARY

Chapter Four contains the analysis and discussion of the use of metaphors in some selected speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings. The analysis indicates that metaphors reveal the core messages of Nkrumah and Rawlings. They also enhance the memorability of their messages.

Also, it has been revealed in this chapter that Rawlings and Nkrumah share similarities in their use of metaphor. They both share similar images. This is seen in the image they use to refer to ‘captivity’ and ‘destruction’. In addition, the work reveals that there are some differences between Nkrumah and Rawlings in their use of metaphor. Rawlings uses metaphors that refer mostly to the local Ghanaian situation whilst Nkrumah’s target is very Pan-Africanist.

Besides, it is evident that whereas Nkrumah selects metaphors which are militant and confrontational, Rawlings opts for violent and militaristic ones.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY

In this research, strenuous efforts have been to identify the role of the metaphor, the similarities and differences and the relationship of the backgrounds of Nkrumah and Rawlings in their selection of metaphor. Subsequently, the following questions were asked:

1. What role does metaphor play in the rhetoric of Nkrumah and Rawlings?
2. Are there any similarities and differences between the two speakers in how they use metaphor as a rhetorical device?
3. Is there any relationship between the backgrounds of the two speakers and their use of the metaphor?

The data from the research were collected from documented speeches in published works of Nkrumah and Rawlings. In all, ten (10) speeches of both Nkrumah and Rawlings were used for the analyses. In terms of the use of metaphor, the data indicated some similarities and differences between the two former presidents. First, we shall look at some similarities.

Firstly, an examination of the data indicates that metaphor is employed frequently by Nkrumah and Rawlings and it is the vehicle through which their vision and the core of their messages are presented in the selected speeches.

It was also revealed that both Nkrumah and Rawlings use some similar images in their metaphors to refer to a similar situation. Rawlings uses the image of 'shackle' to refer to the

politicians' alienation and disregard of the ordinary Ghanaian and Nkrumah also uses 'chain' for the same image to refer to the situation of the African under colonial rule

In the area of differences, there were some instances which are worthy of note. In general, Rawlings employs metaphors in parallel structures and they bring to the fore the social injustices in Ghana, but however expresses the feeling of hope at the end. On the other hand, Nkrumah employs metaphors in simple, straight forward language which highlight the need for all Africans to come together to fight their common enemy: colonialism. These two different focuses in the use of metaphors are successful illustrations of Aristotle's emotional proof (pathos) (1991) as a rhetorical device. Also worthy of note is Nkrumah's unique style in presenting his metaphors. He uses many more examples of dynamic verbs and makes changes in well-known sayings and clichés, thus, manages to give them some kind of shine. On top of all, Nkrumah attempts more elaboration of his metaphors, making it easier for his audiences to appreciate his messages.

The analyses revealed that both Nkrumah and Rawlings use militant metaphors which support rhetorical philosophy as a means of achieving their ends. Nkrumah's metaphors are militant in nature and express the urgency for freedom of all African states from colonialism.

Moreover, the data further showed that Rawlings exploits a lot of violent images in his use of metaphor. The reasons for this may probably be in his effort to identify himself with his military background. This may be so because one means of persuasion is the ability of the persuasive speaker to identify himself with his audience (Burke, 1950) here, referring to the militant workers and members of the security services. On the other hand, Nkrumah's diction has traces of Pan-Africanism and a few religious images. First, his African identity is

revealed in his metaphors. Nkrumah's political constituency was continental. Many political scientists believe he had his eyes set on continental presidency. He therefore identifies himself with his African people; second, his personal religious background too is revealed in his selection of metaphors. Though it was not part of my objectives, it was evident that both Rawlings and Nkrumah use a lot of repetition in their speeches.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to find out about the role of the metaphor in the rhetoric of Rawlings and Nkrumah. In addition, it was to find out the similarities and differences in their use of metaphor. Lastly, the work was to find out whether there is any relationship between the speakers' background and their choice of metaphor. The researcher employed the qualitative approach to analyze the data because the research was to find out about the use of metaphor in some selected political speeches of Rawlings and Nkrumah. According to Neuman (2003, p. 141), the qualitative method is the most effective method for "...grasping subtle shades of meaning, for pulling together divergent information, and for switching perspectives" and therefore by extension, the qualitative method is the most effective method for the present study.

Three theories comprise the theoretical framework on which the research is based. They are Aristotle's Rhetoric (Kennedy, 1991), Burke's theory of Dramatism (1950) and, lastly, Lakoff's theory on Cognitive Models (1993). Aristotle sees the function as the discovery, each case, of the available means of persuasion. According to him, the available means of persuasion are based on three proofs: logical, ethical and emotional proofs. Though this work was concerned with examining the use of metaphors, it was found out that these proofs were not identified in the use of some metaphors.

Secondly, the theory of Dramatism by Burke rests on the central thesis that true persuasion is based on the ability of the speaker to identify himself with his audience as regards their set of values, beliefs and aspirations. This was found out in the analyses of the data.

Also, Lakoff's Cognitive Models suggest that metaphors not only make our thoughts more vivid and interesting, but that they actually structure our perceptions and understanding. In the research, efforts have been made to show how both Nkrumah and Rawlings make an effort in developing extended metaphors which consistently hammer certain ideas to influence their audience. In other words, both Nkrumah and Rawlings use groups of related metaphors to persuade their audience to think and act in a desired manner.

As indicated earlier in this research, the study did not concern itself with analyses of features of oral delivery such as cadence and pause of the data. This study is purely a linguistic analysis, therefore the analyses was limited to some linguistic features.

Again, this study was purely descriptive but not prescriptive. The attempt was made to analyze and describe the language as it was used in the selected speeches but not how it should be used. In other words, it did not provide any alternative form of language features for persuasion. Only the features that were identified from the data were described and discussed.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study being the first of its kind in the Ghanaian setting, it is important that researchers begin to consider researching into the ways and strategies for making persuasion in formal

political speeches. Thus, after a thorough analysis of the data and the subsequent findings, we make the following recommendations:

1. The research should be replicated in other setting or areas to test the reliability and validity of the findings made here. If possible, other researchers should analyze the same data used in this research to see if they would arrive at the same findings.
2. A comparative study of two African speakers of different nationalities could be done to find out whether there will be similarity in their use of metaphor.
3. A study of features of oral delivery of speeches will be interesting to find out how such features can contribute to persuasion.
4. A research could be conducted to find out how linguistic features of Aristotle's pathos are relevant in modern day rhetoric.
5. A comparative study could be conducted to find out the differences in features of persuasion in the African traditional speech delivery and Western speech delivery.
6. A study could also be carried out to find out the relevance of repetition in African traditional oratory.
7. A research could be carried out to find out 'pathos' as a rhetoric device in the African traditional speech.
8. Future studies could explore the possibility of quantifying the frequency in the occurrence of metaphor and known end-results to find out whether there is a correlation between number of metaphors and persuasion.
9. A study could also be conducted into the use of other rhetorical/oratorical devices, e.g. the politicians' use of analogy in their speeches.
10. Finally, a research could also be carried out into Ghanaian politics as a discourse community with a view to unearthing language basically associated with that vocation.

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APPENDIXES**SAMPLES OF RAWLINGS' SPEECHES****CONSTITUTION MUST BE BORNE BY TRUTH AND INTEGRITY**

ADDRESS BY THE HEAD OF STATE AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PNDC FLT-LT
JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS, ON THE OCCASION OF THE INAUGURATION OF THE
CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY, ACCRA, MONDAY, 26TH AUGUST, 1991

Mr Speaker, Chiana Pe Rowland Ayagitam,
Colleague members of the Council and Secretaries of State
Chief Justice,
Chairman of the board of Public Tribunals,
Member of the Consultative Assembly,
Member of the Committee of Constitutional experts,
Member of the Diplomatic Corps,
Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have gathered here today to initiate yet another step forward in the process which we began almost ten years ago of building new democratic institutions which are responsive to the aspiration of our people and the organic consequences of our social, historical, economic and political experience. I wish on behalf of the PNDC and my own behalf to congratulate you Mr. Speaker and the Honourable Members of the National Consultative Assembly and its officers.

Whether elected or appointed, your presence here is testimony of your commitment to our nation's future.

Mr. Speaker and Honourable Members of the Assembly, your duty and responsibility is not to the PNDC. It is not even primarily to the people of your District or Organization who have sent you here, in so far as their group interests may be concerned.

Your responsibility is first and foremost to all Ghanaian citizens of this country, to the present and future generations, and your overriding criterion for deciding upon any constitutional provision must be whether it will enhance the well being, peace and unity of our whole nation.

I also wish to commend the committee of Experts, whose intellectual labour within a very limited time frame, have given us a worthy basic document for the deliberations of this Assembly.

We should also all give thanks to all those whose efforts have in diverse ways contributed to the attainment of the stage we have now reached. This includes those whose criticisms, whether positive or not, have led to a synthesis of ideas relevant to our democratic future.

Mr. Speaker, the last decade of the twentieth century will certainly be remembered as one of the most spectacular and eventful of transitional times. We have seen the growth of détente between the seemingly rigid power blocks of East and West. We have seen the reunification of Germany. And we are witnesses to the changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

In many countries on our own continent, various political and administrative structures are facing their first challenges in decades. These challenges are characterized by manifestations of mass discontent and dissatisfaction with systems which had long failed to provide their people access to the decision making process.

We in Ghana experienced our share of such crises and went through the worst of them from the mid seventies through June 4 1979 and up to the trying years of 1982 and 83'. Indeed, we still have our challenges, but these are in a large measure in the product of not only our economic achievements but also of the development of a new political consciousness borne out by the revolt.

Today, after all the toil and sacrifices, we are in a position to point to certain positive achievements which have been recorded under the socio-economic transformation that has been taking place over the past nine and a half years we have witnessed Ghana's recovery of the place which our proud nation used to have in the community of nations, and we have witnessed our people's recovery of confidence and pride.

As a people, we must assimilate the lessons of the past, which should guide us so as to avoid making the same mistakes again. In this respect it is crucial that we consolidate the sustain our modest economic achievements and reflect in our future constitution a concern to maintain the momentum economic growth without of course, constraining the capacity of a government to respond effectively to the ever changing circumstances of our globally related national economy.

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, our political agenda, which has been pursued in conjunction with the Economic Recovery Programme, has derived from major lessons learned during the June 4th period and its aftermath. The events of that period clearly demonstrated that whilst injustices could eventually arouse the ferocious anger of ordinary Ghanaians, that anger could not be transformed into sustainable and constructive action without the creation of relevant structures of institutions, together with the provision of opportunities for ordinary men and women to experience the practical realities of making and monitoring decisions, in order to rediscover the sense of confidence, responsibility and competence which had been eroded by decades of political marginalization.

I believe that we now have a generation of men and women who know through practical experience that government involves much more than periodically casting a vote. By their involvement in Unit Committees, Town and Area Councils, in the District Assemblies, in the workplace C.D.Rs, on the panels of the panels of Tribunals t various levels, and in the Mobisquads, thousands of people who previously issues of planning, budgeting revenue collection, initiating and monitoring projects and programmes and the many practical details which go into the functioning of our society at the Community, local and District level.

In other words, “Government” is no longer a remote and shadowy entity located in the regional capitals but the everyday business of taking and monitoring decisions which affect us in our homes and communities. With the experience of nine and a half years behind us, I believe that the people of this country are more ready than ever this exercise of fashioning a constitution.

Honourable Members of the Assembly, the achievements we have so far recorded have been made within the framework of structures which, as I have often emphasized, are provisional. The exercise which you begin today therefore represent the final stages of the processes

which are phasing out the provisional structures, in order to ensure the continuity of the advances which have been made, and certainly not to return to the previous situation.

Any objective observer who has watched or participated in events in this country over the past nine and a half years will have witnessed a consistent pattern, a sequence moving towards the establishment of a just a lasting democratic system embodying the will of the people. This Consultative Assembly is the next logical step in this process which began on 31st December, 1981.

Mr. Speaker, we have faith in the people of Ghana, in the humblest citizen of our land and I have emphasized the need to root this Constitution in the people, in their hearts and minds. So often in the past, constitutions have seemed mysterious and far away from the majority of our people; they have appeared to be the mysterious preserve of learned men who are isolated from the ordinary folk.

Because of this, I have to admit that some ordinary people have expressed some anxiety about our programme to establish a new constitution. Are we just returning to the old times, they ask. Are we returning to those times when the selected few determined the destiny of all of us? The people of this nation have no wish to return to the conditions which ignited their anger in 1979 and 1981. I would like to assure the country that for us in the PNDC this is not a return to some previous order that was far removed from the ordinary man. This is still the people's time because it is a time of democracy, a time to give further institutional shape to the democratic stirring in our hearts which led to June 4th as well as December 31st. This is what constitutions have really meant in the history of humanity and the world.

I would like to assure the country that for us in the PNDC this is not a return to some previous order that was far removed from the ordinary man. This is still the people's time because it is a time of democracy, a time to give further institution shape to the democratic stirring in our hearts which led to June 4 as well as December 31. This is what constitutions have really meant in the history of humanity and the world.

The French Constitution, the Soviet Constitution, the American Constitution all came about from revolutions that overthrew previous orders in which ordinary people had been marginalized. The Constitution gave clear and institutionalized expression to the power of the

people, to the new democracy that was being established in preference to the preceding orders.

Our constitution –making process arises out of our own circumstances of struggle just as theirs did. History shows that whilst the anger of the masses can overturn old structures of injustices, the energy of the masses needs to be channelled within new and relevant institutions and social structures in order to guarantee progress in the future.

In affirming our faith in the people, however, humble their profession, however, simple their background, we believe that it is ordinary people, in farms, in the factories, in the schools and universities, in the barracks, in the markets, in the streets, who, once they identify themselves with a cause, are prepared to defend it even at the cost of their lives.

We saw this on June 19, 1983 when ordinary Ghanaians, including many unarmed civilians refused to accept the presumption of a few misguided elements who thought could take power away from the people and negate the progress that we had slowly begun to make. And so we have the experience of people defending what they cherish.

Ladies and gentlemen, as a Government, we are more interested in a constitution which provides for and guarantees freedom, justice peace and stability for our people as opposed to some constitutions that seek to provide for the peace and stability of a government.

Fellow Ghanaians, unless this constitution is somehow different in character from those which have gone before, and unless it manages to capture some of the imponderables which make such a document unique to the people, we run the danger of finding ourselves back to where we began.

A constitution is only alive if it is borne up by probity and accountability. Probity and accountability are only alive if they are borne up by truth and integrity. Truth and integrity can only become weapons to defend the honour and well being of a nation when that weapon is held by both the rulers and the ruled. In the hands of only one of them, it becomes a danger turned against those without establishing the most basic line of integrity.

Honourable Members of the Assembly, integrity cannot be translated into words on paper. It is necessary to have checks and balances as well as penalties for lack of integrity.

The most basic of the foundations for a good constitution in human society are a commitment to truth and to integrity in human relationships. Where truth itself is no longer valued, where

the sense of truth telling as a virtue is no longer a firm baseline for social conduct, then the very fabric of society is in jeopardy, constitution or no constitution! Especially from those into whose hands society entrusts certain responsibilities, we must expect adherence to this baseline otherwise the trust which simple men and women of integrity repose in their leaders, the faith of ordinary people in those who rule over them, can soon turn into a noose around our people's necks.

The missing ingredient, Honourable Members of the Assembly, therefore, has been how to exact probity and accountability in our utterances and actions. Without this ingredient, we may have a document which provides for every possible contingency, and yet for the lack of this vital ingredient it will be a dead piece of paper, and also lack the capacity to inspire and kindle our nation's spirit.

Countrymen and women, our purpose of a constitution is to lay down a legal framework for the governance of a nation. What we call the "Rule of Law" lays down procedures which must be followed in the case of any eventuality. This is meant to safeguard the interests of the disadvantaged and the voiceless, on the sad assumption that those hold authority will tend to abuse it unless constrained by the Rule of Law.

All too often, however, the Rule of Law becomes a double-edged sword which works to the disadvantage of the majority. Our people become lost in its procedural delays and complexities. How can we therefore evolve a Rule of Law which avoids the stifling of initiative and has the flexibility to react to obvious and immediate injustices? Otherwise the Rule of Law, as we all know from many experiences, becomes a straight jacket which condemns humble oppressed people to choose between long years of complex and expensive procedures, or a fatalistic acceptance of their lot. What is required now is a constitution that is revolutionary in nature. This is what our people have fought for. It is for you to create an atmosphere that gives meaning to the peoples' notion of fairness and justice as opposed to the atmosphere created by the constraint of the Rule of Law.

Countrymen and women, it is the view of the PNDC that a constitution need not be an excessively detailed and cumbersome document. Where this is so, the important principles tend to be obscured by the mass of detailed, so that the ordinary citizens loses sight of the

essence of the constitution and comes to regard it simply as a source of political quibbles and point scoring.

Some of the most durable constitutions in the world are brief and aspirations of their people, as well as setting out the relations and the checks and balances between the various organs of State. However, I would wish you to give very special attention to certain areas.

Mr. Speaker, the women of Ghana constitute a majority of our population. Their dynamism in our socio economic life, their key role in ensuring domestic stability and prosperity, indeed their role in the production of life itself, makes it inexcusable and undemocratic for anyone to try to marginalize them in our nation's affairs. The need for constitutional recognition of this issue has been highlighted in the Report of the Committee of Experts; previous to that, the work of the Law Reform Commission provided the basis for the Government of the PNDC to express its democratic commitments by enacting a number of laws that sought to protect women and ensure respect for them in all social circumstances. I sincerely hope that this Consultative Assembly will deliberate on further measures that will give women in Ghana equality of opportunity and equal participation in the social and political decision making.

Related to this and of special importance are the rights of children to responsible parenthood. I wish to stress this right of children for responsible parenthood because it is a self generating value which helps provide responsible citizens.

Ladies and gentlemen, you have before you, among other basic documents, the Report of the Committee of Constitutional Experts. Before it was made available to the public, there were attempts in some quarters to describe this document as a PNDC dictated draft Constitution.

It should be clear by now that that this is not the case. Whilst we provided certain guideposts, it is also the reaction of a panel of independent minded constitutional experts to the varied opinions expressed by members of the public in the Regional for a, and informed by our previous constitutional experience, as well as their own expertise and knowledge of what is workable.

It is a sound working document within the given framework, reflecting what are, in the opinion of the Committee of Experts, the predominant issues confronting our nation.

You will also have noted, in your study of the Report that no conclusive recommendation have been made in some areas, for example the representation of the people. It seeks out

various alternatives, with their advantages and disadvantages, to assist you in arriving at the most appropriate decisions. But even where the Committee of Experts makes a firm recommendation, you are free to amend, to add or subtract, as your reason and conscience may suggest after due consideration.

In this task, the Committee of Experts is at your disposal, to explain technicalities, to provide you with more examples from our past constitutions.

THE FUTURE HAS HOPE

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PNDC, FLT-LT. JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS, AT A DURBAR OF THE CHIEFS AND PEOPLE OF ASOGLI TRADITIONAL AREA ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR YAM FESTIVAL ON SATURDAY, 21ST SEPTEMBER, 1991.

Mr. Chairman, Professor Kwami,
Togbe Afede Assor II,
PNDC Secretaries,
Your Excellencies
Togbewo, Mamawo,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

THE enjoyment which comes from joining you to share in an occasion of rich tradition and culture such as this, is made even more enjoyable by learning that you have resolved your chieftaincy dispute and are now working together as a united people for the peaceful development of the Asogli Traditional Area. I wish on behalf of the government and people of Ghana to express my appreciation for the efforts of Togbe Afede Assor II, Togbe Howusu XII, and all others who have worked so hard to bring peace and unity to this area.

I hear that there are still a few embittered chieftaincy contractors who are disappointed that their efforts to sow confusion have come to nothing. They would do well to advise themselves and live in harmony and co operation with the majority of the citizens of this traditional area.

I would also hope that some of those traditional areas in this Region which are still plagued by land and chieftaincy disputes would follow the example of the people of the Asogli Traditional Area by making extra efforts to resolve their differences, so that by our collective efforts we can surmount the difficulties, and share in the burdens of developing our nation.

Countrymen and women, this occasion is a happy one. But it is also one that gives us the opportunity to share ideas. And I believe it is important that we do so with sincerity. Not long ago, a delegation of Chiefs from the Volta Region came to Accra to discuss national issues as well as problems which face the people of this region with some of my colleagues and myself.

There were several problems, but two of them which most concerned the people of the Asogli Traditional Area were the Ho Hospital and the Ho Water Project.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the government of the PNDC is determined to provide every part of the country, especially the rural areas, with the opportunities for further development. This is our duty. It is also social justices.

But as some of you are aware, sometimes our plans and collective endeavours to effect qualitative improvements in our economic and social lives have been subjected to painful frustrations. Some of our difficulties as we should all know by now are our own making. But others are generated by external factors over which we do not have control.

Within these constrains, we shall endeavour to do everything possible to meet the aspiration of our people for good roads and bridges, hospitals, safe drinking water and schools. I wish to assure you that you would see concrete efforts in the coming year to tackle the Hospital and Water projects which mean so much to the people of the Asogli Traditional Area and citizens from other parts of the country as well as foreigners who live and work among you.

Similarly, you will see in the coming year concrete steps to tackle the Sogakofe Bridge. In the meantime, work is underway to operate a pontoon between Sogakofe and Tefle so that when work starts on the Sogakofe bridge, transportation between Aflao and Accra will not be disrupted.

Some of you have also seen the construction work currently going on to rehabilitate the Denu-Ho-Asikuma-Adomi Bridge road, as well as Srogbe-Anloga-Keta road. We are determined to solve these problems, here and in other parts of the country.

I said earlier that some of our problems are due to the unfair trading relationship between us and our trading partners in the developed countries. But others are our own making. For example, whilst thinking about the problem of water which confronts the people of Ho and their inter relationship with to her problems in the area, I recall being told once that the people of Ho used to fetch water from the river at Kaba Kaba. We believed that the gods lived in the trees at Galenkuto and were not to be disturbed. Because we kept the trees, they provided cover for the river so that it never ran dry all year round.

My brothers and sisters, today those trees are gone, and with it have gone the gods of reason. Consequently that river can no longer support us and we have to go all the way to Kpeve to bring water to the people of Ho. And because we have not yet finished this water project, we fall sick drinking untreated water whilst the money necessary to do this could have provided us with some of our many needs. Today we can see the wisdom of the reason why our forebears told us that the gods live in the woods. Now it is too late.

Countrymen and women, I could cite examples after examples in our history as a nation where we have destroyed what is good only regret later. We have had to repair the damage with monies which otherwise could have been put to other equally urgent uses. Ladies and gentlemen, how long shall we keep on doing this?

Today, Ghanaians have a golden opportunity to fashion for themselves a constitution, if I may touch on this subject, which reflects their historical and cultural experiences. We have been through so much pain. We hit the bottom and we can only rise up.

I urge you all therefore to contribute to the discussion of the consultative Assembly through your representatives and through the mass media so that we end up with a document that serves our collective interest and in which all Ghanaians, the great and the not too great, can identify their collective aspirations.

Countrymen and women, I am aware that many of you are worried about the prospects that a return to constitutional rule may lead to the reversal of the achievements in the recent past

and bring about the return of all those negative things which the people of Ghana came to associate with politics in the past. And probably with good reason too, because I believe they have seen in the activities of some few individuals, in recent months, some of those characteristics that are associated with those bad old days.

Ladies and gentlemen, whilst I can understand your anxieties I would also like to remind you that it is not I, Rawlings, and the people of this country who will have to demonstrate that they have learnt the lessons of the past, and will not be carried away by the same old double talk and deviousness. Ten years is long. But it is not too far away to forget the painful past.

Countrymen and women, it should be a matter of regret that there are some people who by their pronouncements wish to visit on the people of this country, the tribulations some of our brothers and sisters are passing through on this continent. What these individuals forget is that our brothers and sisters in the sub region are striving to achieve precisely that which we have been dealing with since June 4, 1979.

The political reforms which they are asking for in their countries are to enable them tackle economic reforms which we began in 1982/83, so that basic things like honouring monthly pay cheques of working people can be met. Please cast your minds back to those days in our recent past when Treasury bills were rejected by the banks.

I would therefore urge you to keep your vigilance. Open your eyes. Open your ears and listen and think carefully about what you hear. My brothers and sisters, if someone comes to tell you that an elephant has climbed a tree, then you owe it a duty to the elephant and the tree and to yourself to verify this. You insult your own intelligence if you go about telling your neighbours that someone has told you that an elephant has climbed a tree.

But Countrymen and women, the old order changes giving way to the new. The old style politics with which we are too familiar will not do.

This is the age of the people- the under privileged, the dispossessed and the down trodden. Those who will lead the people must be those who identify with the people not as a devious ploy, but out of principle and who are able to trust the people, and involve them in the administration of justice, and in the political decisions of their communities.

They who wish to rule over peoples must learn that the power will longer be concentrated in one place such as the Castle so that knocking off the person brings automatic control. No. it will not, as in the past enable them to hold the people to ransom because that power will be diffused among the people, as for example in their District Assemblies. The people can no longer be taken for granted. And those who do so only seek to bring confusion which will be prevented.

Togbewo, Mamawo, Ladies and gentlemen, the problem facing the country is enormous and complex. But the last few years have shown that we as a people are capable of solving them if we go about our task with determination and dedication to the principles of social justice, freedom and accountability.

Thank God, we have gone past the worst. The future has hope if all of us will continue with dedication in our chosen fields of endeavour so that little by little, we will progress along the difficult path to our economic salvation.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish to thank the Chiefs and people of the Asogli Traditional area for the opportunity offered me to participate in this festival. I have no doubt that in the near future when you gather here on a similar occasion, some of the problems which confront you, namely the Water Project and the Hospital will be a matter of the past, and you will be laying plans for further progress.

I wish all of you well. Thank you!

**ENDING DOUBLE STANDARDS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
NEW YORK, USA – OCTOBER 23, 1995**

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, Excellencies, Heads of State and Government, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen.

Today, we acknowledge and applaud that power vision of the equal rights of nations, large and small; of man and woman; as of freedom and justice enshrined in the UN charter.

The charter has given the post-war international community of states morel and principles on which a new better world could be built, where tolerance and mutual respect would reign.

This fiftieth anniversary is cause for celebration. Celebration that UN membership has grown from 51 to 185; that the old colonial empires have been dismantled even if new forms are emerging; that the cold war may be at end though many of us are still living with its legacies that the issues of the environment, woman and children, of social development of population have been place at the center of the development agenda; that today we know that development means people and the quality of their lives, not just statistical indices.

On this important occasion, we salute the UN for the millions who are healthier, safer, happier through one form of UN action or other; for the millions of refugees world-wide who but for the UN would have lost hope, even life itself for the efforts of peace-keeping to stem human suffering for the independence of many new states and for the end of apartheid rule in south Africa.

In congratulating the UN we are applauding ourselves. The UN is us; it is the collective will of the international community of sovereign states, embodying our collective weaknesses as well.

Reflection and Marginalization of Africa

This 50th anniversary is therefore a time for sober reflection on our failures; failures that are expressed in the many conflict situation in different parts of the world failures that are manifested in the revival of genocide and in ethnic cleansing blatantly practiced, in different guises around the globe; failures that are shown on the distended stomachs of malnourished children.

For us in Africa, particularly the next 50 years will perhaps be even more crucial than the past 50 years. We want to see in the international community and in the UN framework a reversal of our continents marginalization.

We cannot help being struck b the fact that the international community is willing to send \$5 million a day on UN peace-keeping operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and we do not begrudge those noble people such of international solidarism but when we have asked for a sum that represents 10 to 15 days of that bill to help Liberia, there is a deafening silence! Should such double standards continue? How long will world statesmen omit even a glancing reference to Africa as they survey the world scene?

We must denounce the selfishness that has the means and sees the others need but refuses to meet it. We see the reckless overconsumption of some amid the wrenching, grinding poverty of many. We feel the hunger in the negative image.

We must equally deplore the international focus on only the negative image about Africa, and the indifference to the positive the image, of starving children but not on success stories, the focus on urban degradation but not on new industrial progress. Let us hope the next 50years of the UN will see the end of these double standards in international affairs. we must commit ourselves to reform and democratization within it.

Let us together recapture of that vision of the UNs founding father and keep the hope of million alive.

Let us who are the trustees of the vision turn our words in to positive action

Let us build a world in which that sense of internationalism that gave us the charter will carry us forward in to a 21st century where right not might will prevail; where justice will subdue injustice and where the small and weak can

Let us remember that there can be no bright future for the world on new international order that is sustainable without Africa occupying a dignified place her right place at the table of humanity and in the councils of global decision-making.

**THE MORAL STAND OF THE PALESTINE PEOPLE AN EMBRACE OF PECAE
AND MUTUAL RESPECT.**

**ADDRESS DELIVERED BY FLT LT JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS, CHAIRMAN OF
PNDC AT A RECEPTION HELD IN HONOUR OF MR.YASSER ARAFAT**

Esteemed Comrade Arafat, the Head of state of Palestine; Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Commander-in-chief of the forces of the Palestine revolution; Distinguished and Gentlemen.

We are extremely happy to have you and your delegation in Ghana. Your visit comes at a historic time in the struggle of your people and we are honoured that at this critical period in spite of the tremendous demand on your time (as the intifada intensifies) you have made time

to visit us. We note with sadness the recent passing away of your elder brother, Jamal Arafat, after a short illness. Please accept our condolences.

On an occasion like this, it is easy to make all the usually political statement about the Palestinian situation. But I would like instead our dear brother to convey a simple message.

The Palestinian people have taken a stand on high moral grounds. Please stay courageous step of stretching out your hand for an embrace of peace and mutual respect. Many of our people have read the biblical stories of the plight of the Jews; many have sympathized with the suffering endured by the Jewish people, particularly from Nazi persecution. And we ask ourselves: how can a people with such recent experience of being victims of the inhumanity of other, themselves perpetrate such acts on another people? As we watch on our TVs the documentaries on the atrocities committed against Palestinian children, the young, the middle-aged and the old, we see a bitter paradox of a people who only yesterday were without a homeland. And we had thought those were “God’s chosen people” who would be setting the standards of humanity, of respect for other people’s rights that others could emulate.

You, esteemed comrade and your proud people are reminding the Jewish people to remember what it was like to be without a state and we who look on wonder will they relent in their insensitively and intransigence? Will they also open up themselves to a peaceful co-existence?

We are all Gods children on this earth-- Jews, Arabs, Africa, Caucasians, Asians and giving all. And this planet is big enough to accommodate us all if we can all learn to live in peace with each other and respect the dignity and humanity of each other.

Today across the world several initiative of peace are giving us hope of a new era breaking upon the world. There is no doubt about the dynamic that “perestroika” has unleashed upon the world. With a new president and a new administration, hopes are also high that the U.S. will be taking its rightful place in supporting the cause of the exported in the world. President Bush’s promise of a kinder and gentle world strikes deep chords in those who experience little kindness or gentleness in the harsh struggle for survival.

But the new hope for peace will fade quickly if we see it only in tactical terms. All nations must take it upon themselves to build firmer foundations for world peace. We must discard

old nations of bias and bigotry. There cannot be a solid basis for peace if Jewish children are taught to hate Arabs and to see them as inferior beings. There cannot be lasting peace if white South African school children are taught to think of themselves as superior to blacks or if American children are taught to see Soviets as evil people.

There is no place for racism and racist ideology in a kinder, gentler world in which all people are respected and allowed to develop their full potentialities.

The fight for peace demands an attack on a world economic order which perpetuates the exploitation of the resources of one part of the world in order to create luxury and affluence for the other part. Those in the one part are left poor, hungry, deprived; their children are born saddled with huge debts; they live a dehumanized and impoverished life facing a bleak and tragic future.

In the new era, the resources of the world must be utilized jointly, for the improvement of the lives of all people while preserving our common heritage in our environment.

Esteemed Comrade, peace will come to your people. Your sacrifices shall not be in vain. Since no power can suppress any longer your legitimate rights.

Allow me, therefore, distinguished Excellencies, ladies and Gentlemen, to end by proposing a toast to the good health of Chairman Arafat, to the triumph of the heroic Palestinian people, and to the consolidation and prosperity of the State of Palestine.

Thank you.

OUR INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED BY THE MASS OF OUR PEOPLE

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PNDC, FLT-LT.JJ. RAWLINGS, ON THE OCCASION OF THE 32ND ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE, ACCRA SPORTS STADIUM, MARCH 6, 1989.

The Youth and

Fellow citizens of Ghana.

Almost a week ago, we celebrated the 41st Anniversary of the shooting incident at the Castle Crossroads in which Sgt. Adjetey, Cpl. Attipoe and Private Odartey Lamptey lost their lives. These men were among other ex-servicemen who had fought in far away places in the Second World War. They had been told that they were fighting to bring justice to the world, but they returned home to find that the rights they had fought for were being denied them in the land of their birth.

They set about to do something about it. Their death was not in vain for it galvanized the nation, ordinary men and women to see the injustices of colonial rule.

Eight years after this even, Ghana became independent of British Colonial rule.

Countrymen and women, we have met here today to celebrate the Thirty-Second Anniversary of our Independence from colonial rule. Our Independence was achieved by the mass of our people, the so-called Veranda Boys, farmers, fishermen, artisans and workers, as well as the lawyers, doctors, academics the other professional-the leaders of the anti-colonial struggle.

Sadly however, together with independence we inherited the colonial structures which restricted participation in decision making. There was no real basis for consensus about the path to be taken towards our common future. There was also no sustained programme, but rather a situation where each successive government dismantled or abandoned the programme of the previous government and initiated a new direction of its own.

Meanwhile, the majority of our people who had provided the necessary support in the struggle were relegated to the background as if they did not matter even though their sweat and toil provided the money which went to under write development bills.

So whilst the politicians took the decisions, and the Civil Servants settled comfortably into the bungalows vacated by the departed colonial administrators, the ordinary people went back to their farms, their offices and their factories to get on with the business of producing the nation's wealth under progressively deteriorating circumstance.

But their only opportunity to participate in the taking of decisions affecting their lives came at elections, when they had to choose a representative, often on antagonistic and divisive lines. The representatives, who did not know and was not known by the majority of his constituents, would then go away to Accra where all the important decisions were taken. He was physically distant from his constituents, and also unable to relate to them, because of the sheer size of his constituency.

It is significant that last Tuesday, when we celebrated the anniversary of the crossroads incident in which those humble but honourable soldiers laid down their lives in their effort to let the voices of the ordinary men and women of this country be heard, was the same day that the voters of Zone 3 went to the polls to elect their assemblymen and women.

It is also worth noting that it was in an earlier Independence Day address that I announced our democratic programme. The skeptics who doubted our sincerity, and the cynics who wondered whether the District level elections could work, have been confounded by the enthusiastic response of the people.

This exercise completes the major initial phase of the concretization of our basic democratic and governmental structure. One which will ensure that the greatest possible number of our people share the responsibilities, the burdens and also the satisfaction of creating improved conditions of living for ourselves and for future generations.

The District Assemblies will provide a forum for the great majority of our people to participate in the decision making process which hitherto has been the preserve of a few.

The task which confronts us is a difficult one. If it were easy, it would have been done long time ago. But we must each our part and strive to maintain and build on the foundations that were laid by our past patriots and nationalists, and we must use this opportunity to leave landmarks of achievement which will inspire our children to further efforts.

In this task, we must maintain a balance between the competing concerns of our people. Our limited resources cannot service all our needs at once, especially when the unjust world economic order, can arbitrarily deprive us of as much as 200million of revenue just because of speculations on the international cocoa market.

We must therefore, carefully balance the urgent immediate needs for the basic necessities of life with the need to husband resources for the future. We must balance the demands of social and political development with those of material and economic development.

We have to recognize that we cannot fully address all these concerns simultaneously; neither can we concentrate all our resources on any single area of concern to the exclusion of others.

Countrymen and Women, on occasions such as this when I see our young people together, I am filled with pride and confidence in our future. But I am also reminded of what needs to be done in all urgency to provide them with a secure future.

How many of us we watch these young people are asking ourselves?

So what jobs are these people coming to?

What housing programme do we have for them?

The hospitals, the Schools,

Have we made adequate preparation to ensure that they are given a chance a self-realization for the honour and glory of Ghana and Africa?

What sort of environmental are we going to hand on to them?

Ladies and gentlemen, Central Government has done a lot, and will continue to do more, to bring the nation's infrastructure up to acceptable standards, to rehabilitate roads and railways, extend electricity and water supplies, to get the wheels of industry turning to encourage our farmers, and generally create a climate of hope and opportunity.

But the answers to many of the questions must come for the District Assemblies.

On this 32nd Independence Day, let all our people, especially our Assemblymen and Women pledge to seize this opportunity, to use it to develop

SAMPLES OF NKRUMAH'S SPEECHES
AT THE UNITED NATIONS (Abridged)

United Nations Assembly

New York

September 23, 1960

MR. PRESIDENT, DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES,

The great tide of history flows as it flows it carries to the shores of reality the stubborn facts of life and man's relations, one with another. One cardinal fact of our time is the momentous impact of Africa's awakening upon the modern world. The flowing tide of African nationalism sweeps everything before it and constitutes a challenge to the colonial powers to make a just restitution for the years of injustice and crime committed against our continent.

But Africa does not seek vengeance. It is against her very nature to harbor malice; over two hundred million of our people cry out with the one voice of tremendous power and what do we say? We do not ask for death for our oppressors, we do not pronounce wishes of ill-fate for our slave – masters, we make an assertion of a just and positive demand, our voice booms across the oceans and mountains, over the hills and valleys in the desert places and though the vast expanse of mankind's habitation and it calls out for the freedom of Africa: Africa wants her freedom! Africa must be free! It is a simple call, but is also a signal lighting a red warning to those who would tend to ignore it.

For years and years, Africa has been the foot-stool of colonialism and imperialism, exploitation and degradation. From the north to the south, from the east and west, her sons languished in the chains of slavery and humiliation and Africa's exploiters and self appointed controllers of her destiny strode across her land with incredible inhumanity without mercy, without shame and without honour. Those days are gone forever, and now I, an African stand before this august Assembly of the United Nations and speak with a voice of peace and freedom, proclaiming to the world the dawn of a new era.

Mr. President, distinguished delegates, I wish to thank the General Assembly sincerely for this opportunity of addressing you. Let me say here and now that our tribulations and

suffering harden and steel us, making us a bastion of indomitable courage and fortifying our iron determination to smash our chains.

I look upon the United Nations as the only organization that holds out any hope for the future of mankind. Mr. President distinguished delegates cast your eyes across Africa, the colonialists and imperialists are still there. In this twentieth century of enlightenment, some nations still extol the vain glories of colonialism and imperialism. As long as a single foot of African soil remains under foreign domination, the world shall know no peace. The United Nations must therefore face up to its responsibilities and ask those who would bury their heads like the proverbial in their imperialist sands, to pull their heads out and look at the blazing African sun now travelling across the sky of Africa's redemption. The United Nations must call upon all nations that have colonies in Africa to grant complete independence to the territories still under their control. In my view possession of colonies is now quite incompatible with membership of the United Nations. This is a new day in Africa and as I speak now thirteen new African nations have taken their seats this year in this august assembly as independent sovereign states. The readiness of any people to assume responsibility for governing themselves can be determined only by themselves. I and the Government of Ghana, and I am sure the Governments and peoples of independent African States share the joy of welcoming our sister states into the family of the United Nations. There are now twenty-two of us in this Assembly and there are yet more to come.

I would suggest that when the Charter of the United Nations comes to be revised, a permanent seat should be created for Africa on the Security Council in view not only of the growing number of African members of the United Nations, but also of the increasing importance of the African continent in the world affairs. This suggestion applies equally to Asia and to the Middle East.

Many questions come to my mind at the moment, all seeking to be dealt with at once. Question concerning the Congo, disarmament, peace South Africa, South West Africa, China and Algeria. However, I would like to start with the question of the Congo and to take the others in their turn.

The Congo, as we all know, has been a Belgian colony for nearly a century. In all those years Belgian applied a system of calculated political castration in the hope that it would be completely impossible for African nationalists to fight for emancipation. But to the dismay of

Belgium, and to the surprise of everyone outside the African continent, this dreaded nationalism appeared and within a lightening space of time, secured the independence of the Congo.

The policy of political frustration pursued by the Belgian colonial regime created a situation in which the Belgian administration was unable to continue while at the same time no Congolese had been trained to take over and run the state, the struggle for independence in the Congo is the shortest so far recorded and the Belgians were so overtaken by events that they pulled out but fully expected to return in one way or another. The high positions in the army, the police and the public services have been the exclusive preserves of the Belgians. No African could whole of the Force Publique was subject to extremely harsh discipline and had very low rates of pay. This situation made it impossible to build up a cadre of indigenous personnel to man the services. As soon as an African became Minister of Defense, the incongruous position of the African in the Force Publique became evident.

Great discontent resulted. Even so, the situation might not have erupted had the erupted had the Belgian Commander of the Force Publique adopted a realistic attitude towards the men, and made any attempt to redress the legitimate grievances of the Congolese soldiers.

Even a promise of future reform might have been done some good. On the contrary, emphatic statements were indiscreetly made by Belgian officers, that nothing had changed and that life would go on much the same as it was before independence, in short, the soldiers were told that independence was a sham and that Belgium, still wielded the big stick. This produced the mutiny.

When the mutiny occurred, large numbers of Belgians began to leave the country. The president of the Republic, Mr. Kasavubu, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Lumumba, went to Matadi in order to appeal to the Belgians to remain. But instead, they were all taken on board a ship on the advice of the Belgian consul. The next day the two was machine-gunned from the air by Belgian Military Aircraft and shelled from the sea. Despite the fact that there were no Belgian civilians whatever to protect, Belgian troops entered the town and shot in cold blood a number of unarmed police and civilians. It was following upon this incident that acts of organized violence by members of the Force Publique began to occur. These incidents, in their turn, provided an occasion for Belgian military intervention.

Meanwhile, ostensibly on the grounds of safeguarding the lives of Belgians in the Province, Belgian troops entered Katanga in considerable numbers and enabled the Chairman of the Provincial Council, Moise Tshombe to set himself up as the head of a so called independent state. The whole of the administration of this so-called state was in Belgian hands and it was supported and maintained openly by Belgian troops. The situation was thus one of extreme danger. The Belgian army was virtually occupying the Congo, pleading as their excuse circumstances which were fundamentally all of Belgium's own making.

The Congo Government called for aid. Congo asked Ghana for help and also wisely called in the United Nations. From this point, distinguished delegates, you are more than conversant with the story and there is no need for me to dwell in detail on the facts. It is only necessary to say that something has happened in the Congo, which has justified my constant warning to the African countries to be on their guard against what I call clientele sovereignty, or fake independence, namely the practice of granting of a sort of independence by the metropolitan power, with the concealed intention of making the liberated country a client state and controlling it effectively by means other than political ones. What has happened in the Congo has more than justified my continuous outcry against the threat of balkanization in Africa and more than justified my daily condemnation of neo-colonialism, the process of handing independence over to the African people with one hand only to take it away with the other hand.

As I have said elsewhere, the wind blowing in Africa is not an ordinary wind, it is a raging hurricane and it is impossible for Portugal or, for that matter, any other colonial power, to prevent the raging hurricane of African nationalism from blowing through oppressed and down trodden colonies.

May I turn now, with your permission, Mr. President, to the most regrettable question of the war in Algeria. For the past six years or more this war has remained a big problem for us all. For more than six years the sands of Algeria have been stained red with blood, and French and Algerian youth in their thousands have marched to their death. The flower of French youth is being wasted in an attempt to maintain an impossible fiction that Algeria is part of France while at the same time the youth of Algeria are forced to give their lives in a conflict which could be settled tomorrow by the application of the principles of the United Nations.

This utter waste of the flower of youth of France and Algeria, as a result of a senseless war, must now stop and the responsibility for stopping it should rest squarely on the United Nations. No argument about it being an internal problem of France can solve the issue for, in fact the subject of a shooting war can never be the internal problem of any power, since a spark in the wrong direction by some mad man could spread the fire and cause a world conflagration.

France cannot win a military victory in Algeria. If she hopes to do so, then her hopes are false and unrelated to the realities of situation. Indeed, any person who thinks that France can win a military victory in Algeria lives in a world of utter illusion, and time will prove to be right.

The world must begin at last to look at African problems in the light of the needs of the Africans people and not only of the needs of minority needs of minority settlers.

Colonialism, imperialism and racialism are doomed in Africa and the sooner the colonial powers recognize this fact the better it will be for them and the world. I have spoken at length on African questions and I must now turn my attention to other matters, I will, accordingly make a few observations on disarmament.

In my view, we are passing through another scientific industrial revolution which should make unnecessary the division of the world into developed and less developed areas. We must therefore avoid economic thinking based upon the conditions of the past. Above all, we must avoid an attitude of mind which applies in an era of abundance the economic theories worked out to serve an age of scarcity.

Fundamentally, the argument in favour of disarmament must be looked at in two ways. First, it is ridiculous to pile up arms which must destroy the contestants in a future war impartially and equally. Secondly, it is tragic that preoccupation with armaments prevents the big powers from perceiving what the real forces in the world are today. If world population continues to grow, and if inequality between the so-called developed and under-developed countries is allowed to remain, in conditions where it is no longer technically or scientifically justified, then however great the armaments piled up, an international explosion cannot in my view be averted. While there exists the means for providing world prosperity, the great numerical majority of mankind will not agree for ever to remain in a position of inferiority. Armaments,

therefore not only threaten the future of mankind, but provide no answer to the major problems of our age.

Mr. President distinguished delegates I must now thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me and also for the honour of his opportunity of addressing you.

UNIVERSITY DINNER

Flagstaff House

Accra

February 24, 1963

I am sorry that I was unable to be with you at the Convocation ceremony yesterday, but I am glad to welcome you here tonight.

I am pleased to see among us the students who graduated yesterday, and I would like to take this opportunity to express to them my best wishes for success in the years ahead of them. I hope that the knowledge they have gained in the University will stand them in good stead.

I would also like to congratulate most sincerely, Sir Arku Korsah, Mr. K.G. Konuah and Dr. Du Bois, who are the first to receive honorary degrees from the University of Ghana. We accept them warmly as alumni of Legon.

You who are with tonight are connected in one way or another with the University of Ghana, and I know that you believe in the ideals for which a University institution like ours stands, namely the pursuit of knowledge and the formation of character.

It is important also that there should be no doubt whatsoever in our minds as to what is the role of a university in a developing country such as Ghana.

The role of a university in a country like ours is to become the academic focus of national life, reflecting the social, economic, cultural and political aspirations of the people. It must kindle national interest in the youth and uplift our citizens and free them from ignorance, superstition and, may I add, indolence. A university does not exist in a vacuum or in outer space. It exists in the context of a society and it is there that its proper place. A university is

supported by society, and without the sustenance which it receives from society, it will cease to exist.

We know that the objectives of a university cannot be achieved without scrupulous respect for academic freedom, for without academic freedom there can be no university. Teachers must be free to teach their subjects without any other concern than to convey to their students the truth as faithfully as they know it. Scholars must be free to pursue the truth and to publish the results of their researches without fear, for true scholarship fears nothing. It can even challenge the dead learning which has come to us from the cloistral and monastic schools of the middle ages. We know that without respect for academic freedom, in this sense, there can be no higher education worthy of the name, and therefore, no intellectual progress, no flowering of the nation's mind. The genius of the people is stultified. We therefore cherish and shall continue to cherish academic freedom at our universities.

Speaking for myself, if I may do so with your permission, there was not an academic year in all my twelve years abroad when I was not at one university or another. I even augmented this with summer courses. I know the inside the outside of a university and I know the value of academic freedom. And I think you know what I am talking about.

Apart from the State, the university is one of the greatest institutions of man. The work of a university requires objectivity and honesty at every level. With malice to none, it is inspired only by a passionate concern for truth. It is therefore the business of the university to seek and to maintain that honesty and objectivity which are the only keys to progress.

Not only as a Chancellor of the University but also a President of Ghana, I would like to assure you of my readiness to defend at all times this right of the university and to encourage all those who work within it – students, research scholars and professors – to work with honesty and objectivity.

There is however, sometimes a tendency to sue the words 'academic freedom' in another sense, and to assert the claim that a university is more or less an institution of learning having no respect or allegiance to the community or to the country in which it exists and purports to serve. This assertion is unsound in principle and objectionable in practice. The university has

a clear duty to the community which maintains and which has the right to express concern for its pressing needs.

We know that academic freedom can be perverted and ever abused. It can also become a dangerous cloak for activities outside the academic interests and preoccupations of the community or of the university. Where this has happened, a grave disservice is done to everything for which knowledge and truth really stand. True academic freedom – the intellectual freedom of the university – is everywhere fully compatible with service to the community; for the university is and must also be ready to expose those individuals in the university itself who abuse academic freedom.

When I accepted the office of Chancellor, I promised you that I would do everything in my power to assist in promoting the successful development and prosperity of the University. I would like to take this opportunity to repeat this promise, legitimate endeavours in the interests of the University and the people of Ghana.

Everything I have said this evening has been prompted solely by my anxiety to ensure the success of our University, which is the pride of Ghana and many lands far beyond this country. The people of Ghana rightly expect that the University, in the words of University Commission should be fully responsive to the sense of urgency which animates them; to use its resources imaginatively and effectively to contribute to the economy of Ghana and of Africa, and to apply your studies for their benefit and to learn from their problems.

It should be the honour and responsibility of those of us who have had the privilege of the best education our country can afford to strive in every way possible to make our generation better than we found it. We must not only feel the pulse and intensity of the great African revolution taking place in our time, but we must also make a contribution of its realization, progress and development.

Revolutionary Africa is a land of vigorous millions of people endowed with youthful energy and blessed with a sensitive humanism incompatible with the growth and maintenance of a privileged class. You who pass through the portals of our universities should be constantly aware of your oneness with the people and your responsibility towards them. This is our

challenge and opportunity and all of us – professors, teachers, alumni and students alike – must strive to maintain this great heritage which has been handed to us.

And let us nourish this heritage and pass it on to the net generation unalloyed and untarnished. And now I ask you all to rise and drink with me a toast – a toast to the progress and development of University education in Ghana.

CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

Addis Ababa, May 24, 1963

I am happy to be here in Addis Ababa on this most historic occasion. I bring with me the hopes and fraternal greetings of the Government and people of Ghana to His Imperial Majesty Haille Selassie and to all Heads of African States gathered here in this ancient capital in this momentous period in our history. Our objective is African Union now. There is no time to waste. We must unite now or perish. I am confident that by our concerted effort and determination we shall here the foundations for a continental Union of African States.

At the first gathering of African Heads of State, to which I had the honour of playing host, there were representative of eight independent States only. Today, five years later, Addis Ababa, we meet as the representatives of no less than thirty two states, the guests of His imperial Majesty, Haille Selassie the First,. And the Government and people of Ethiopia to His Imperial Majesty, I wish to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana my deep appreciation of a most cordial welcome and generous hospitality.

The increase in our number in this short space of time is open testimony to the indomitable and irresistible surge of our peoples for independence. It is also a token for the revolutionary speed of world events in the latter half of this century. In the task which is before us of unifying our continent we must fall in with that pace or be left behind. The task cannot be attacked in the tempo of any other age than our own. To tall behind the unprecedented momentum of actions and events in our time will be to court failure and our own undoing.

A whole continent has imposed a mandate upon us to lay the foundation of our Union at this Conference. It is our responsibility to execute this mandate by creating here and now the formula upon which the requisite superstructure may be erected.

On this continent it has not taken us long to discover that the struggle against colonialism does not end with the attainment of national independence. Independence is only the prelude to a new and more involved struggle for the right to conduct our own economic and social affairs, to construct our society according to our aspirations, unhampered by crushing and humiliating neo-colonialist controls and interference.

From the start we have been threatened with frustration where rapid change is imperative and with instability where sustained effort and ordered rule are indispensable.

Neither sporadic act nor pious resolution can resolve our present problems. Nothing will be of avail, except the united act or a united Africa. We have already reached the stage where we must unite or sink into condition which has made Latin-America the unwilling and distressed prey of imperialism after one-and-a-half centuries of political independence.

As a continent we have emerged into independence in a different age, with imperialism grown stronger, more ruthless and experienced, and more dangerous in international associations. Our economic advancements demand the end of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination in Africa.

But just as we understood that the shaping of our national destinies required of each of us our political independence and bent all our strength to this attainment, so we must recognize that our economic independence resides in our African union and requires the same concentration upon the political achievement.

The unity of our continent, no less than our separate independence, will be delayed if, indeed we do not lose it, by hobnobbing with can only be gained by political means. The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round. The United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, were the political decisions of revolutionary peoples before they became mighty realities of social power and material wealth.

How, except by our united efforts, will be richest and still enslaved parts of our continent be freed from colonial occupation and become available to us for the total development of our

continent? Every step in the decolonization of our continent has brought greater resistance in those areas where colonial garrisons are available to colonialism and you all here know that.

This is the great design of the imperialist interests that buttress colonialism and neo-colonialism, and we would be deceiving ourselves in the most cruel way were we to regard their individual actions as separate and unrelated. When Portugal violates Senegal's border, when Verwoerd allocates one-seventh of South Africa's budget to military and police, when France builds as part of her defense policy an interventionist force that can intervene, more especially in French – speaking Africa, when Welensky talks of, Southern Rhodesia joining South Africa, when Britain sends arms to South Africa, it is all part of a carefully calculated pattern working towards a single end; the continued enslavement of our still dependent brothers and an onslaught upon the independence of our sovereign African states.

Do we have any other weapon against this design but our unity? Is not our unity essential to guard our own freedom as well as to win freedom as well as to win freedom as well as to win freedom for our oppressed brothers, the Freedom Fighters? Is it not unity alone that can weld us into an effective force, capable of creating our own progress and making our valuable contribution to world, peace? Which independent African state, which of you here will claim that is financial structure and bankable for its own national aspirations? Which will disclaim substantial measure of disappointment and disillusionment in its agricultural and urban development?

In independent Africa we are already re-experiencing the instability and frustration which existed under colonial rule. We are fast learning that political independence is not enough to rid us of the consequences of colonial rule.

The movement of the masses of the people of Africa for freedom, from that kind of rule was not only a revolt against the conditions which it imposed.

Our people supported us in our fight for independence because they believed that African Governments could cure the ills of the past in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule. If, therefore, now that we are independent we allow the same conditions to exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be mobilized against us.

The resources are there. It is for us to marshal them in the active service of our people. Unless we do this by our concerted efforts, within the framework of our combined planning, we shall not progress at the tempo demanded by today's events and the mood of our people. The symptoms of our troubles will grow, and the troubles themselves become chronic. It will then be too late even for Pan African Unity to secure for us stability and tranquility in our labours for a continent of social justice and material well-being. Unless we establish African Unity now, we who are sitting here today shall tomorrow be the victims and martyrs of neo-colonialism.

There is evidence on every side that the imperialists have not withdrawn from our affairs. There are times, as in the Congo, when their interference is manifest. But generally it is covered up under the clothing of many agencies, which meddle in our domestic affairs, to torment dissension within our borders and to create an atmosphere of tension and political instability. As long as we do not do away with the root causes of discontent, we lend aid to these neo-colonist forces, and shall become our own executioners. We can not ignore the teachings of history.

Your Excellencies, nothing could be more fitting than that the unification of Africa should born on the soil of the State which stood for centuries as the symbol of African independence.

Let us return to our people of Africa not with empty hands and with high sounding resolutions, but with the firm hope and assurance that at long last African Unity has become a reality. We shall thus begin the triumphant march to the kingdom of the African Personality, and to a continent of prosperity, and progress, of equality and justice and of work and happiness. This shall be our victory-- victory within a continental government of a Union of African States. This victory will give our voice greater force in world affairs and enable us to throw our weight more forcibly on the side of peace. The world needs peace in which the greatest advantage can be taken of the benefits of Science and technology. Many of the world's present ills are to be found in the insecurity and fear engendered by the threat of nuclear war. Especially do the new nations need peace in order to live in an atmosphere of security and stability that will promote moral, cultural and spiritual fulfillment.

If we in Africa can achieve the example of a continent knit together in common policy and common purpose, we all have made the finest possible contribution to that peace for which

all men and women thirst today, and which will lift once and forever the deepening shadow of global destruction from mankind. Ethiopia shall STRETCH forth her hands unto God.

FOURTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY

Accra.

MY DEAR PARTY COMRADES AND COUNTRYMEN,

Today marks the fourteenth year of the birth of our Party and I take this opportunity to salute all Party Comrades for their sustained effort and solidarity, their heroic struggle and vigilance throughout the years of our existence as a Party.

As we celebrate this Anniversary today, it is useful once again to re-examine our position and analyse the present stage of the struggle. Before we do so, however, let us, as usual bow our heads in a minute's silence and remember all those comrades of our dear Party who gave up their lives in the cause of our country's freedom.

On previous Anniversary occasions, we have recounted the glorious history of our Party, the strategy and tactics which it adopted to circumvent and rout colonialism in Ghana. Although the struggle continues unabated, I must point out that the emphasis of the struggle has now shifted to the African scene and I crave your indulgence to turn to this sphere before coming home to our internal affairs, as this anniversary follows closely on the historic Addis Ababa Conference. You all remember what I said on the declaration of our independence in 1957, namely: "That the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent."

These words form the cornerstone of our Foreign Policy.

In April, 1958, a Conference of independent African states was held here at which date there were only 8 independent African states.

Today as I have said, following subsequent conferences organized in our initiative in pursuance of our policy there are 3 independent African States. This phenomenal rise in the number of independent States of Africa is a vindication of the correctness of our African Policy. It also shows the soundness of our philosophy on the African liberation Movement and African Unity.

A new period has opened in contemporary African history with the convening of the Addis Ababa Conference, a period in which the peoples of Africa have demonstrated their revolutionary determination to forge a common indissoluble link in shaping their collective effort to the collective advantage of their own peoples. The realization of this noble aim is a hopeful step in the consolidation of world peace, because the existence of colonialism in all its forms in Africa and for that matter anywhere in the world constitutes a threat to world peace.

We live in an age when the peoples of Africa are resolutely throwing off the abominable yoke of colonialism, in order to organize their national economies in the paramount interest of their peoples after centuries of foreign unjust domination.

The theme of Addis Ababa was the unity of the African Peoples in order to attain the overwhelming economic, financial and cultural advantage which lies readily available to all of us upon our unity. What I have striven to emphasize is that although political independence has been proclaimed, the struggle for independence still continues because political independence has been proclaimed, the struggle for independence will continue because political independence is not the end; it is a means to an end; it is a means to an end.

Our political independence must be used to raise the standard of living of our peoples. But our concrete African conditions demand that all African states should work together for the consolidation of their gains in the liberation of our people. We can survive only within the context of African Unity and independence.

Now I turn to Party Organization. The new tasks of the Party at the present stage of the struggle coupled with the role which our country plays in international affairs make it necessary for the organization of our Party to be streamlined and strengthened to enable it to cope with the new responsibilities Ghana is committed to discharge. Accordingly, our Party must ever be concerned with multiplying and strengthening its contacts with the masses of the people and winning their confidence as their defenders against the evils of poverty, disease, hunger, ignorance and squalor to whose elimination we are dedicated.

The Party gains strength with the masses if it practices inner Party democracy and self-criticism. All members of our Party should be encouraged in every possible way to take

active part in discussing all major questions of Party life. If this is done, it will follow conclusively that all decisions of the Party are decisions of the entire membership who will correctly understand and appreciate the entire membership who will correctly understand and appreciate them. Democracy will then be at its plenitude throughout all the levels of our Party. I must once again emphasize that the masses of the people form the backbone of our Party and their living conditions and their welfare must be paramount in everything we do. It is for them in particular and Africa in general that our Party exists. So much for our tact with the masses of the people.

To achieve the foregoing objectives, there is a clear need to so reorganize the Party that it touches every single individual wherever he or she may live in order not only to bring the entire people into participation in the administration of the country but also to make it impossible to external and internal reactionaries and their agents to interfere with the security of our State and the progress being made in all sphere of our national life. Our Party has shown by its victory over Colonialism and all its new forms in our dear land that it can cope with any situation for which it prepares itself and we must fortify our ranks with mass vigilance to deal a death – blow at subversion and other un-Ghanaian activities wherever they may rear their ugly head. For this reason, the Party must now base its organization on reaching the people directly by house to house and street by street method all over the country, so that we may chase out the enemy, routing him without giving him a moment's rest to re-group his forces.

Our Party's new down – to – earth organization will also enable our development work to be tackled more forcefully and on mass basis, as we shall be able to bring everyone into useful and local activity.

As I have written elsewhere, I will not hide the fact that I am impatient when it comes to building Ghana, and this task rests on the shoulders of my colleagues in Government. We have to get on with the job resolutely in order to fulfill our promises to the people. Each Minister must regard himself as a managing director and get his particular job done in the allotted time, and properly done. Success follows organization and inauguration. Real difficulties leading to legitimate delay always receive understanding consideration. But the driving urge to succeed must permeate every branch of government steaming from the ministerial fountain-head, who must combine a high sense of responsibility with a high sense

of urgency. Ministers and Party officials must show themselves as examples to the people by their devotion to their work, by simple living, by leading in service.

Ghana faces immense difficulties in her task of reconstruction. It is by no means a simple business to raise educational levels, to train skilled workers and to impart a sense of responsibility speedily especially in circumstances of restricted availability of local qualified personnel and material resources. Nevertheless, there is much that can be done quickly if everyone puts every ounce of ability and strength into the building of the nation. It is a prime task of leadership in Ghana to make the people aware of the compelling need to put forth their most intense effort on behalf of the progress of the country and of themselves.

A new stage is set for Party ideological education. Every party member must now be educated to understand precisely what the party stands for. The philosophy of our party, which had to victory over colonialism in our country and which governs our international relations of more particularly our relations with other African countries, has been proved sound and correct though its application in practice the concrete situation in Africa. This philosophy has been profusely propounded in various forms and underlines our Party Programme for Work and Happiness, the systematic study of which is a full realization of Party education. In our Programme for Work and Happiness is embodied the concrete results of our political awakening and ideological understanding. To understand the ideology of our Party is to appreciate the need to improve the well-being of the greatest number of the people.

May God give us peace in our time to work for the welfare of the people of Ghana, Africa and the world.

RATIFICATION OF THE O.A.U CHARTER

The National Assembly

14ne 21, 1963

I am here to invite you to ratify the Charter of African Unity adopted by the Addis Ababa Conference. This meeting of Heads of State and Government of the existing Independent African States has rightly been acclaimed as the most momentous event in Africa's modern history. Addis Ababa will certainly be recorded as a crucial turning point in our struggle against the final bastions of colonialism in Africa and as the founding place of Continental African Union.

The Charter adopted at Addis Ababa enjoins us all to go forward in unity. This Charter, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, which I signed along with all the other heads of State and Government of the Independent African States, and which has been placed before the House of ratification, contains the will and determination of our countries to achieve the unity of our Continent.

The coming together on a basis of unity of all the independent African States has created a new factor in the fight against imperialism and its twin instruments of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Our combined strengths are to be placed at the service of our brothers waging an all-out struggle against oppressive colonialism in all those parts of our continent still under alien domination. We have covenanted together to coordinate and harmonize our general policies in the sphere of our political, diplomatic, economic, educational, cultural, health, scientific and technical activities, as well as in the sphere of defense and security.

There are wide enough areas of mutual cooperation that should lead us to a Centralized Continental Union and give effective protection to our sovereign independence.

The Charter of African Unity must be regarded as the last but one step on the road to a Continental Union. Its provision certainly challenges foreign political and economic domination of our Continent. The exploiters of Africa have grasped its implications. They realize that we are out to make ourselves masters in our own house and to drive out, relentlessly from the length and breadth of our Continent, those forces which batter upon us and keep us in political and economic subjection.

A provisional secretariat has been set up with a Provisional Headquarters at Addis Ababa. The Secretariat is composed of the representatives of Ghana, Nigeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Niger and Uganda.

One of the major decisions of the Addis Ababa Conference is the setting up of a Coordinating committee with Headquarters at Dares-Salaam in Tanganyika. This committee will be responsible for regulating the assistance from African States and for managing the special fund which is being created by contributions from all the independent African Governments.

This means that we must accept as our primary task the extension of independence to all territories of Africa. Apart from the sense of oneness and unity which impels us to go to the aid of our suffering compatriots in Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, and other parts of Africa still under colonial rule, we know that none of the Independent African States is safe so long as a single colonial ruler remains on African soil.

Freedom Fighters will take renewed hope and determination from the knowledge that their struggle is identified with the continued independence of the existing African States and is to be directed within a total strategy. No longer will these Freedom Fighters who have been on the vanguard of the African revolution and the colonial liberation movement feel isolated from the mainstream of African independence and unity. I am indeed happy that the goal which we strive for it now, not alone, but with our brothers from all the Independent African States.

Speaking of the liberation and unity of our Continent, I may mention that there are two main categories of Freedom Fighters:

- a. Those fighting in colonial territories for the overthrow of exploitation and oppression by foreign governments and
- b. Those who consider that they have a duty to fight in order to strengthen the independence of their countries where colonial rule has been overthrown, but where it is still necessary to create conditions for the welfare of the people and for the elimination of neo-colonialist interferences and influence.

As long as conditions in these countries are such as to assist the maintenance of neo-colonialism, discontent cannot be stifled or suppressed. The governments of such countries are a menace, not only to their own states but also to the safety and security of our entire continent.

The Government of Ghana fully appreciates the right of any State to grant political asylum to such Fighters under the accepted conventions in their states change radically in the interest and welfare of the masses of the people, such freedom fighters cannot be resort to the use of constitutional, or even revolutionary, method and activities aimed at securing a change of regime in their countries.

Most of these nationalists have sought refuge in African countries, other than their own, as a result of their struggle against neo-colonialism. We have quite a few of them in Ghana. There are others in other parts of Africa. We did not invite them here, but they naturally felt that they could enjoy sanctuary and be given the necessary protection in Ghana which has for the past six years since her attainment of independence and sovereignty played host to freedom fighters from all over the continent. The African Affairs Centre in Accra is a symbol of this determination.

These nationalists, some of whom are stalwart warriors in the struggle against colonialism, were received and accorded the traditional African and Ghanaian hospitality not as criminals fleeing from justice, but as victims of persecution by the neo-colonialists and their agents. But, Mr. Speaker, at the Addis Ababa Conference, all the signatories to the Charter of African Unity solemnly pledged themselves to fight colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in all its forms.

Imperialism and the so called white supremacy are the basic factors of instability in Africa and one of the contributory causes of world tension. Secondly, unless the situation in South Africa improves radically so to afford opportunities of the majority of the citizens of that state to express their will in a Government of their own this could be a theatre for a world conflict. Racial oppression and injustice in any form cannot be condoned or ignored racialism is a blot on the conscience of mankind and the sooner it is remodel the greater the prospects of world peace will be. It is in the same context that one has to consider the problem racial discrimination in the United States. Although the efforts now being made by the Government of the United States to bring about a solution to this long-standing problem in America are appreciated, it must be stated that nothing except a bold and revolutionary assault on this moral obloquy and this grave crisis of racial confidence in the United States, can bring about a speedy solution.

The Afro-American has been taught to appreciate the dignity of the individual, living as he does in one of the most technically advanced countries of our time; and yet at the same time is being denied what is his essential and inalienable right. The Afro-American did not choose to go to the New World. He was dragged into America to help establish the economy of that country. This he has done with great credit, distinguishing himself in all fields of human endeavour. In Music, Law, Diplomacy, Art, Science, Education, he has achieved great

distinction for America. The United States has therefore a moral duty to accept the essential humanity of the Afro-American.

Mr. Speaker, one of our great hopes in pursuing the goal of total African liberation and unity is the vista of world peace that it opens up. For the culmination of that goal we envisage the end of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the twin offspring of imperialism, the cause of much of the world's rivalry and divisions. Imperialism, which reached its zenith in the Western World in the period of capitalist democracy run wild in other people's countries. Its first stage was during the period of direct political governance, known as colonialism. As colonialism is being forced to retreat under pressure of nationalist awakening the imperialists are making an all-out effort to consolidate and extend their domination by different means. These means are various and take on many forms; they can be direct or subtle. Mostly they are devious, often insinuating, frequently disguised. They may promise friendship or use political and economic blackmail. They add up to neo-colonialism, which is the last stage of imperialism in the epoch of rising independence among colonial peoples. With the widening of freedom's boundaries and the unification that now portends in Africa, the root of imperialism will undoubtedly weaken and it is difficult to forecast another stage to which it can go except to decline. But imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will end only when conditions are such as to make their existence impossible. That is when there are no nations and peoples exploiting the earth, its fruits and resources for the benefit of a few against the well being of the many. And I am convinced that our march in Africa towards total independence and unity must hasten this end and thereby add to the peace of the world.

This at once raises the matter of speed and urgency. Time is everything in our march. We must in Africa crowd into a generation the experience and achievements attained through centuries of trial and error by the older nations of the world. We do not wish to see Africa set on a course in which her nations grow in difficult, separate and competing directions until they develop into a confused and disorderly economic tangle of "sixes and sevens". Because Europe has become the victim of such economic circumstances, that is surely no reason why Africa should follow a similar course. Those who set the example of Europe as an illustration for the need to develop step by step in Africa do not seem to appreciate that Africa need not begin by imitating the mistakes of Europe. After all, what use is the experience of human progress if we who study its course fail to learn from its errors and muddles? As I said at Addis Ababa, this world is no longer moving on camels and donkeys. Speed has become a

new potent factor in the progress of the world. The progress of the modern man, like the agile kangaroo, leaps and jumps.

More that, we have to remove the gap between those nations and ourselves if we are to emerge from the grip of the economic imperialism that will retard us the longer it remains master, or even a part of our economy. We have to keep in mind, however that the gap is not a static one, but that it grows as modern technology improves and its productive capacities and output potentials increase. Thus the gap can widen seriously and new dangers threaten us, unless we hasten forward at a much accelerated speed. Consciousness of the time element among the leaders of independent Africa was clearly revealed in the course of our deliberations at Addis Ababa. This awareness enabled us to examine our problems with a striking sense of urgency. It was responsible for the speed with which we were able to adopt a Charter of Unity for Africa. Why, then cannot we observe the same consciousness of time and the same sense of urgency in pushing forward our unity into a form that will give it direction and authority, so that we can speed up our common development and advancement? In the horizon of Africa's future I see clearly the bright dawn of a Union Government, the birth of a great nation which is no longer the dream of a new Utopia. Africa, the sleeping giant, is now awake and is coming into her very own.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly, may Providence guide you and give you wise counsel in your deliberations.

MESSAGE TO U THANT
U.N SECRETRY GENERAL

Office of the President
December 16, 1963.

MY DEAR SECRETARY-GENERAL,

Is there any need to stress to you what the independence of the Congo must mean to every African leader who regards the freedom and prosperity of the whole African continent as individual? But even for those who think in national, sectional or regional terms, any form of foreign control over the Congo Republic constitutes an immediate and substantial threat to their own independence.

Geographically, strategically and politically, the Congo is the most vital region of Africa, Military control of the Congo by any foreign power would give it easy access to most of the continent, south of the Sahara.

Geographically, it owes its importance not only to its central position, but to its vast area and tremendous resources. Although these resources have hardly been tapped, they have already enriched foreign interests to a degree which has made them adamant to continue with the exploitation of the Congo's wealth, and has aroused the cupidity of others to share in this exploitation.

The strategic importance of the Congo derives from its geographical features. Foreign Powers which have concerned themselves with what they like to call "the defense of Africa" by which they mean the defense, on the African continent, of interest which are mainly contrary to those of the African people clearly regard the Congo as the key to the military contrary of Africa. This is the significance of the aid which Belgium received from her allies to build great military based at Kitona in the West and Kamina in the East of the Congo. This is the reason why there are eight international airports, thirty principal and over a hundred secondary and local airports in the Congo.

The Congo represents "strategic space" to Western military and civilian experts when considering the likelihood of a war with their enemies from based in Africa. The size and pivotal position of the Congo furnish the greatest military advantages, either for the purpose of attack or defense when fighting in Africa. In the geographical theories of men like Mackinder and Haushofer, the Congo is the area from which the domination of Africa can be ensured, and this assumption is shared by leading political scientists who do not necessarily agree with all the geo-political theories. There is a consensus of opinion among western strategists that the Congo must be in hand friendly to the West. This can mean nothing else in the final analysis, but that the West must have control over the Government of the Congo. If the Soviet Union had made such a claim over the Congo, we would be justified in accusing it of seeking to drag the Congo into the defense system of the Eastern Bloc. We do not want to bring the cold War into Africa. The Congo should be independent and neutral – it should be absolutely free and sovereign, and should not be controlled either the East or the West.

In fact this precisely what the West has now achieved in the Congo. The Central Government is constrained to believe that its interests coincide with Western interests. The future is not even left in such uncertain hands. The future is ensured by seeing to it that the Congolese Army, although theoretically under the Central Government, is in fact managed principally by two Western Powers through the so-called "Binza Group".

For military planners and economic exploiters alike, the fact that a Government subservient to foreign Powers can only perpetuate the present misery, stagnation and disorder of the people of the Congo, while reserving far greater horror for them in the event of war; is unfortunately a matter of indifference.

The political importance of the Congo is, of course, closely related to its strategic and economic importance. This combined importance must attract military intervention, as well as all the subtler forms practiced in all impend on African State where foreign interest seek to retain their former colonial privileges.

The Congo is not only politically important because of its vast resources and strategic space in the event of a global or continental war, but because it is the buffer state between independent Africa in North, and the territories of colonialism and white supremacy in the South. Northward stands free Africa determined on a free continent. Southwards, Angola begins and stretches to the stronghold of colonial and racial oppression, the Republic of South Africa.

It will require not only the most pervasive system of foreign intrigue, but direct intervention to prevent the Congolese people from coming to the aid of their brothers in Angola fighting for freedom. They have made and continue to make heavy sacrifices towards this end.

It will require not only a Congo vitiated and corrupted by neocolonialism, but a hostile Congolese Government openly: siding with colonialism and supremacy, to prevent independent Africa from using the Congo as a corridor and a base for all possible aid to the peoples of Angola and Southern Africa fighting for their liberation.

Thus, the defeat of the Congo's independence will substantially determine the ultimate fate of the whole continent of Africa. Free Africa will never abandon to struggle to end colonialism and to expel white supremacy from the whole continent. An independent Congo will be

unreservedly on Africa's side in that struggle whilst Congo, with a Government controlled by imperialism and neo-colonialism, because of its geographical position, will be assisting Portuguese colonialism and South Africa apartheid even by playing a neutral or semi-passive role.

The South Africa Republic, Portugal and the settler regime of Southern Rhodesia are well aware of the Congo's strategic and political importance. This accounted for their open and constant support for the Tshombe secessionist regime in the Katanga, even at the risk of colliding with the forces of the United Nations. The colonialist alliance, for the same reasons, cannot cease from intervening in the Congo affairs now, from undermining the Congo's stability and from urging their friends in the West to maintain control over the Congo's Government. Secession, disruption and neo-colonial control in the Congo are considered essential political aims by the colonial territories in Southern Africa.

These reasons amply suffice to show why, and in what sense, Congo. Sections of the press in some of these countries have even had the effrontery to rebuke us, leaders of Independent African states, for our efforts to sustain the independence of the Congo.

Thus, when I wrote letters of advice to the Late Patrice Lumumba, this press raised the cry that this constituted interference in the international affairs of the Congo; but Union Miniere murdered the same Patrice Lumumba, no one in these quarters referred to that as interference in the internal affairs of the Congo. One newspaper, with a very large circulation in the city of New York, could find no other comment than the word: "Another Red Gone to Hell". For, of course, all this conspiracy against the Congo is carried on under the banner of anti-Communism. Lumumba was not killed because he was thought to be a Communist: but because he was a nationalist leader threatening the monopolies of the Union Miniere. It was for that reason that all who wished to keep the Congo weak, subservient and divided became his enemies, and for that reason that, even today, those in the Congo who sincerely hold to his principles and convictions are persecuted and imprisoned.

We are now approaching another turning point in the history of the Congo. The United Nations forces, sooner or later, will have to withdraw. The question is: what will follow that withdrawal? Will there be, at the behest of outside influence, a military coup, with General Mobutu, or someone in a similar position, taking over power, and perhaps with the return of Moise Tshombe, the puppet of the Union Miniere to opposition of influence? There are

indication that preparations are being made for such an outcome, which would turn the Congo back into a colony in all but name. What is the significance, for example, of the retraining programme which has been announced for the Congolese Army? This programme is placed in the hands of a group of NATO countries and their allies. At present, Congolese paratroopers are being trained by Israeli Air Force personnel and the ground forces by some hundred Belgian Army Officers. This is a very strange programme indeed for a non-aligned country, like the Congo, from the formation of the Adoula Government in July, 1961, has declared itself to be a non-aligned country. M. Adoula and M. Gizenga, indeed, attended together the conference of the non-aligned countries at Belgrade. M. Gizenga is now in captivity and M. Adoula allowed NATO to take over the training of this Army. I cannot believe M. Adoula would be committed himself to such a course, in clear contradiction with his declared policy of non-alignment, were he a free agent. The sad fact is that in Leopoldville now, as at all times since the betrayal and downfall of Patrice Lumumba, the dominant interests are those of a group of Western Powers. We have sympathy for M. Adoula in this very difficult situation, but can we consider him to be speaking for the Congolese people while he remains politically and militarily dependent on outside powers?

Even when M. Adoula makes a token assertion of the independence by allowing the AGPI Oil Company to operate in the Congo in competition with the existing American and Belgian Companies, his position as Prime Minister is openly threatened.

The fact is that nothing and nobody can help the Congolese people to free themselves unless the African nations come to their help in unity and in accordance with the spirit of Addis Ababa. The African nation must insist that the United Nations force in the Congo shall be an All-African one, under United African command; that it should be this force, and not NATO, which should be in charge of the retraining programme for the Congolese Army, and that this programme should include the stamping out of bribery and corruption and the removal of officers who are working as agents for foreign powers.

In order that the Congolese people and their representative shall be able to express their wishes freely, the first step necessary is the reorganization of the Army, placing it on such a footing that it cannot stronger be used as a tool of foreign interests or employed for the terrorism, imprisoning and murder of patriots. The NATO retraining programme will not secure these ends; indeed, it will secure precisely the opposition of those ends because

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officers who are pro NATO” that is to say, who are prepared to serve foreign countries rather than their own will be placed in key positions. This will perpetuate all the evils which have afflicted the Congo. The only thing, therefore which can save the Congo is the kind of programmed I have scribed. Technically, such a programme is perfectly possible. The obstacles in the way certain Western Powers have of their interests in the Congo a conception which I believe must in the long run end in disaster.

I must urge you, Mr. Secretary General to use your great office, for the sake of the African people and in the interest of World peace, to set in motion consultative machinery for replacing the military forces of the United Nation by an All-Africa force under the provisions of the Addis Ababa Charter, as soon as the period of the present mandate of the United Nations Expires.

ADDRESS BY OSAGYEFO DR. KWAME NKRUMAH

President of the Republic of Ghana

At the closing session of the

CASABLANCA CONFERENCE

On Saturday, 7th January, 1961

Your majesty, your Excellencies,

It is with deep satisfaction that I make a few remarks on the general business of the conference. In fact, my heart is filled with boundless joy for the great success which, in my view, has attended our efforts at this meeting. This beautiful Casablanca has known another meeting of Heads of States with a difference. This is a meeting of African Head of African states for the discussion of African affairs in the interest of African peoples, and it is therefore unique, for it constitutes a prodigious and revolutionary challenge to the colonial powers and indeed the hole world in relation to its attitude towards Africa.

For six days we have sat here and though an d argued and argued only to agree in the end. This has given irrefutable evidence at African affairs and problems. I am proud to say that I have lived to see this day when the history of African is being made and the foundation laid d for African unity and solidarity by Africans.

When I received the invitation from His Majesty to attend this meeting, I was conceiving a conference of this nature myself. However, many thoughts flashed back to my first visit to Morocco in 1958 when after the Accra conference of Independent African States I was touring the then only eight African independent states on our continent I was overwhelmed with a recollection of many pleasant memories of His Majesty's effusive hospitality. I know, of course, that this time, even though I could meet the same typical Moroccan hospitality, I would also have to sit around the Conference table and thereby mix this remarkable hospitality with the anxiety of work. These past few days have proved me right, for I have had the pleasure, indeed all of us have the great pleasure of a wonderful reception, but also we have had to endure a great deal of hard work in order to achieve the results we have achieved.

Within a short period of time, we have discussed the Congo, which is the main subject of this Conference, but we have also covered subjects of great importance to Africa, and in all these matters our meeting has shown a great sense of responsibility and a determination to succeed in our purpose. I have no doubt that the leaders who have met at this conference are all great nationalists of no mean order, who have demonstrated opposition to colonialism and imperialism and their granite resolve to liquidate these evils from the face of our beloved continent.

For my part, I must say that as long as I live, and as long as any little vestige of colonialism and imperialism remains in Africa, I shall prosecute a ruthless war on these monsters, a war in which there shall be no truce. Colonialism and imperialism have no honour, no shame, no morals and no conscience. The devastation which they have wrought in Africa is without parallel anywhere in history of the world. But now Africans have arrived on the scene. We have achieved the total liberation of the African continent and have built a strong Union of African States. As I have always stated, and as I will continue to proclaim, I can see no security for African States unless African leaders like ourselves have realized beyond all doubts that salvation for Africa lies in Unity.

Your Majesty, Excellencies, let us unite, for in unity lies strength, and as I see it, African states must unite or sell themselves out to imperialist and colonialist exploiters for a mess of pottage, or disintegrate individually.

The future of Africa lies in a political union—a political union in which the economic, military and cultural activities will be coordinated for the security of our continent. The land of Africa is so compact in its geographical entity that there should be very little obstacle in the way of the creation of the union of African states.

I know of course that the colonialists and imperialists are greatly disturbed and most unhappy about our talk of African unity. They are not going to sit down with folded arms. So through their press, radio and other means of propaganda they peddle every lie and slander to incite jealousy and hate among African leaders. But we must not allow them to succeed. The objectives before us are so precious and all-important that the thought of them alone must fortify and continue to unite us in the pursuit of these glorious objectives.

What I fear worst of all is the fact that if we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form political union, we would soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires, to make us cut each other's throat for artificial boundaries dividing brother from brother, sister from sister, have been erected by the colonizers. It is within the greater context of African Union that these artificial boundaries imposed by colonialism and imperialism will disappear.

I must state here that the presence of the Representative of Ceylon has given me great pleasure indeed, for it has given concrete proof of Afro-Asian solidarity which is one of the things the imperialists and colonialists fear most for all. I would like, therefore, to congratulate Her Excellency the Prime Minister of Ceylon and to wish great success in her endeavour to undo the evils of colonialism in their country. It is only right that I should congratulate personally the Ceylon Representative here at this meeting who has contributed so much to the success of our deliberations.

Your Majesty, I hope you will allow me to say how much I appreciate your kindness and your great hospitality to us whilst we have been here. This beautiful city of Casablanca has a unique air of restfulness about it which enables hard work, such as we have been through, to be endured with pleasantness.

On behalf of my own self and my Delegation, and on behalf of my brother leaders who have been here with me at your invitation, I wish to convey to you an expression of our warmest

thanks for your distinguished hospitality. We shall take away the most pleasant memories of your country, and shall look forward to returning again to this historic city. I hope that it will be possible for Your Majesty also to visit Ghana in the near future so that we may be able to repay in a very small degree the debt of gratitude which we owe to your majesty.

I wish to assure my brother Head of States here that the decisions which have been taken at this conference will no doubt receive ratification of the 'Ghana parliament which, I know, will readily give legislative backing to the moral obligations contained in these decisions.

Now that the blazing fire of African nationalism sweeps everything before it in our continent; now that the imperialists quake and shiver in spite of their intrigues and machinations to retain their nefarious position in Africa, let us re-double our efforts. Let us determine more than ever before to crush colonialism and imperialism from the face of our beautiful Africa.

Again, Your Majesty, I thank you very much and trust that providence will spare you long enough to see this struggle to a victorious end.

A MESSAGE FROM OSAGYEFO DR. KWAME NKRUMAH

President of the republic of Ghana

On the third anniversary of Africa freedom day

April 15th 1961

On the occasion of the third anniversary of Africa freedom day I am happy to send you this message.

The continued struggle of Africans and peoples of African descent against centuries of imperialist domination and colonialist exploitation, and for their right to freedom and independence, has been a peculiarly difficult one; it has nevertheless been carried out relentlessly and with ever-increasing determination and strength. To-day, on our great continent of Africa, we find the evil forces of colonialism and imperialism on the retreat.

It is true that in this bitter struggle we have achieved successes unprecedented in the annals of colonial history. We should, however, never allow ourselves to be deceived into a state of passive complacency. There are still millions of Africans languishing in colonial bondage and living in the most wretched conditions in many parts of this continent. The revival of

colonialism in the Congo is sufficient evidence and warning of the treacherous character of imperialism and its menace even to independent states and of the danger of the new colonialism which is more subtle but equally vicious.

We in Ghana regard our independence as meaningless unless it is closely linked up with the total liberation of Africa. Together with our brothers, we are carrying on the struggle for the liberation and unity of Africa and shall continue in this struggle until every inch of African soil had been liberated and every vestige of colonial oppression and suppression has been eliminated.

The destiny of Africans everywhere is inseparably lined by our common heritage, common ideals and aspirations. It devolves upon all African leaders and the leaders of people of African descent, to unite in pursuit of our common objective the total liberation of Africa and the union of independent African states. Only in this way can we constitute ourselves into a force sufficiently formidable to crush colonialism and imperialism utterly and completely from the face of this continent.

I send warm greetings and fraternal good wishes to all African freedom fighters everywhere. Let them rededicate themselves to their worthy cause and let them remember all the time that as long as part of Africa remains unfree, the struggle continues.



