

Towards a contextual understanding of public intellectuals: Assessing Thabo Mbeki against Edward Said's characterisation of intellectuals within a South African context.

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DEDICATION

This Master's is dedicated to my late mother Theodorah Mbonde and best friend Canzibe Roqoza. Everything I do, including this Master's, is to make you proud. I hope to continue to lead a life that honours you both.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyses Edward Said's characterisation of the intellectual, which is also referred to as the three positions of the intellectual, to determine its usefulness in defining, identifying, and understanding the role of public intellectuals in South Africa.

It does this by exploring, through a rhetorical analysis, three of Thabo Mbeki's speeches delivered between 1995 and 1998 when he was the Deputy President of South Africa. Together they trace the development of Mbeki's African Renaissance philosophy; a philosophy he hoped would drive development in the country and across the continent.

The dissertation concludes that, under the public performative criteria of Said's characterisation and on the basis of these rhetorical analyses, Mbeki falls short of being characterised as a public intellectual. This is because the characterisation is a rigid typology and its general appeal effectively limits alternative forms of knowledge. Moreover, Said's typology is largely informed by how he views himself as an intellectual and that it is this self-definition that limits the usefulness of his typology. This study shows that Said's characterisation is of great value to the overall pool of knowledge on the intellectual, but that it fails to completely apply in a specific South African context.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
AR	African Renaissance
ASO	African Students' Organisation
CMIP	Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme
EC	Eastern Cape
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDI's	Spatial Development Initiatives
USA	United States of America
WP	White Paper

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and background

Scholars around the world grapple with the concept of the public intellectual raising key questions such as: “What is a public intellectual? Who is a public intellectual and what role do they play in a society?” (Bowdon, 2004:325; Etzioni & Bowditch, 2006:1).

Public intellectuals, for international scholars such as Concoran and Lalor (2014:5), are perceived as individuals who help the public connect their individual biographical narratives to the historical, social, and economic forces that help shape them. Drezner (2017:9) corroborates Bowdon’s definition, by defining public intellectuals as experts who are trained to share commentary on a range of issues. In doing so, they develop and possibly shape public understanding of complex issues. They present wisdom and prescience that they use to awaken society and provoke critical thought. They are thought to build bridges between the academic and the public to communicate ideas and analyses that can help the public deepen their understanding of the world (Concoran & Lalor, 2014:4). Given the above, it is clear that the definitions and roles of public intellectuals by scholars studying such individuals are varied and informed by their (the scholar’s) own conceptions of what constitutes a public intellectual and their role in the public sphere.

In South Africa, an author, Mcebisi Ndletyana in *African Intellectuals in the 19th and 20th century South Africa*, addresses the value of early African intellectuals as a tool to better understand contemporary intellectualism (Ndletyana, 2008:5). He refers to early intellects as “coarchitects” of South African modernity in their own right. Themba Sono in *Dilemmas of African Intellectuals in South Africa: Political and Cultural Constraints*, examines factors that constrain African intellectualism in South Africa by assessing the nature of intellectuals in the, then, new dispensation. He posits that the mind “does not comport with the tunnel vision of political activism. This then, partially explains the failure of African intellectuals to thrive in South Africa. Politics cherished conformity, intellectualism shuns it” (Sono, 1994:52). William Gumede and Leslie Dikeni in their book *The Poverty of Ideas: South African*

Democracy and the Retreat of Intellectuals have explored the retreat of intellectuals within the South African democracy and the debate on what constitutes the role and responsibility of the intellectual in South Africa (Gumede & Dikeni, 2009:1).

1.2 Statement of the problem

The current South African condition is characterised by a “deepening of poverty, unemployment and inequality” (Satgar, 2012:54), and requires public intellectuals to lead a change towards a better developed country. To achieve this, public intellectuals ought to encourage public discourse on issues limiting development and develop plans of action to address issues of development. However, much of what South Africans understand about the intellectual has evolved from western interpretations such as Edward Said. Different contexts challenge our understanding of a public intellectual, their role and identifying such individuals especially within a South African context. Aydinli and Matthews (2000:291) state: “conceptual failures are inevitable when concepts are generated only in one particular setting but are applied to very different ones”.

The problem this dissertation seeks to address is the limited number of South African-specific studies that explore the concept of the public intellectual. South Africa, like many global South states, is a consumer rather than a pioneer of these conceptions. In other words, our grasp of the concept is principally informed by experiences that are significantly different from our own. While the value of the literature that exists is undeniable, alternate approaches to understanding the intellectual may be beneficial because “there is no best location to produce knowledge, and that rather there exists multiple, equally viable locations; that there is no one identity on which to base scholarship, but shifting and complex sets of identities” (Anyidoho, 2008:3). The literature suggests that this lack of engagement by South African academics is perpetuated by the country’s position in the global South, which affects the legalising of knowledge produced on the intellectual. Anyidoho (2008:2) contends: “position is an important concept because it has implications for the nature of the knowledge produced, and how that knowledge is received”.

Given these challenges, developing a South African specific study of the public intellectual may establish whether the concept is merely of theoretical interest or these individuals have a practical purpose to fulfil, especially in the face of a growing desire for intellectuals to translate “thought into politically effective action” (Collini, 2002:4).

1.3 Research questions

This study explores the broader importance of public intellectuals within South Africa. It uses Edward Said’s seminal characterisation, known as “the three positions of the intellectual” (Reddy, Bohler-Muller et al., 2020:3) to determine whether it can adequately identify South African public intellectuals and explain their role.

Using former South African President Thabo Mbeki as a case study, this dissertation investigated the following research question: Can Edward Said’s characterisation help describe a public intellectual in South Africa? This study also addressed the following sub-questions: Why are public intellectuals important in South Africa? Do public intellectuals have a practical purpose in South Africa? How does Mbeki compare, using Said characterisation of a public intellectual?

This study focused solely on the analysis of three of Mbeki’s political and economic speeches that develop his African Renaissance philosophy. Defined as the rebirth and the renewal of the African continent, Mbeki’s philosophy focused on delivering genuine emancipation (Mbeki, 2001:137) and presented itself as the embodiment of the modern, postcolonial Africa.

1.4 Research aims and objectives

This study aimed to assess the usefulness of Said’s characterisation – specifically his criteria for performative acts – in the South African context and, in doing so, contribute to a better understanding of public intellectuals and their role in different contexts.

In an effort to adequately address this aim, this study was guided by the following objectives, namely, the need to:

- Explore Edward Said's characterisation of public intellectuals;
- Profile former South African President Thabo Mbeki against Said's characterisation;
- Determine whether debating the public intellectual in South Africa is theoretical or practical in nature; and,
- Investigate the need for further South African specific studies on the public intellectual.

1.5 Research approach and theoretical perspective

This dissertation used a rhetorical analysis to determine the extent three of Mbeki's speeches, and his delivery of them, reflected Said's characterisation. The sample included these economic and political speeches as primary sources: *A National Strategic Vision for South Africa*; *'I am an African'*, and *Infrastructure and Development in South Africa*. These speeches or 'performative acts' provided a unique insight into Mbeki's intellectual evolution and his ability to express his African Renaissance vision.

To appreciate the nature of these 'performative acts', the analysis examined the context, language techniques, audience, and arguments made in the speeches. Additional secondary sources included books and journal articles were used to support a comprehensive understanding of the intellectual, particularly the South African public intellectual.

This research was guided by the theoretical principles of post-structuralism. The theory counters the dominant philosophic view of power and the tendency to define politics within a pre-established, socially constructed structure (May, 1994:12). In this study, Said's characterisation is analysed through a post-structural lens to determine its usefulness in an alternative context.

1.6 Value of the Study

Understanding the importance of public intellectuals in a specific context will help determine how these individuals shape public opinion and public discourse. Traditionally, intellectuals have critiqued, analysed and thereby influenced events and issues (Kauffman, 2002:131). Given this responsibility, this study suggests that

public intellectuals need to align themselves and their functions to the needs of the societies they represent. Studies that engage these functions, therefore, are of the utmost importance. Investigating the usefulness of a universalised characterisation of a public intellectual in different contexts is important and can inspire alternative notions and narratives of the concept.

1.7 Structure of thesis

This six-chapter dissertation is organised in the following sequence. Chapter one introduces the study and describes the guiding problem statement, the aim and objectives of the study, the specific research questions, as well the value of the study. Chapter two reviews the scholars that influenced Said's characterisation of the intellectual, focusing on Antonio Gramsci and Julien Benda. It further considers Said's influence on modern scholars. Chapter three outlines post-structuralism as the guiding theory for this study and explains the qualitative research approach including the case study and specifics about the rhetorical analysis. Chapter four conducts the rhetorical analysis on the three sample speeches. Chapter five analyses and interprets the data from the rhetorical analysis and profiles Mbeki against Said's characterisation. Chapter six concludes the study by summarising the research findings.

CHAPTER TWO - REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the contested nature of the 'intellectual' and seeks to explore the development of Edward Said's much revered 'three positions of the intellectual' characterisation (Reddy, Boehler-Muller et al., and 2020:3). The purpose of this chapter is to develop a better understanding of Said's conception of the intellectual in order to appreciate its usefulness within a South African specific context. In doing so, it traces Antonio Gramsci and Julien Benda's writings before considering their influence on Said. This is followed by an exploration of Said's three positions of the intellectual and the role he describes for an intellectual. It then considers how recent studies have been influenced by Said.

There is a large body of literature that describes the intellectual; however, since the focus of this study is on Said's perspective, much of the general literature on the concept will only be referred to with limited detail and specifically highlight how it relates to Said's perspective.

2.2 Edward Said the 'intellectual'

Edward Wadie Said (1935-2003) was one of the most widely known and controversial intellectuals in the twentieth and twenty-first century (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 2001). He is considered controversial largely because he championed the Palestinian cause and became "a symbol for a broader theme, the legacy of colonialism and the relations between west and non-west" (Herman, 2004:79). Through his post-colonial scholarship, he sought to "resist imperialist ideologies" by addressing the misrepresentations of the non-west by the west (Mtairi, 2019:1). Said made significant literary contributions on the concept of the intellectual that have "re-processed various intellectual currents and traditions over that period" (McCarthy, 2010:13). Said's most recognised contribution on intellectualism is the

Representations of the Intellectual, a compilation of six Reith Lectures¹ in which he explores what it means to be an intellectual.

2.3 Scholars who influenced Said's characterisation of the public intellectual

Palestinian-American activist, Edward Said had a wide-ranging career, which consisted of “work as a musician, an ardent political polemicist, a music critic, and a Columbia University professor of comparative literature, a humanist, and President of the Modern Language Association of America” (Dahab, 2003:1). His perspective on the intellectual was influenced principally by two writers with opposing perceptions of the intellectual, namely Antonio Gramsci and Julien Benda.

Influenced by Marxist theory, in *Selections from Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci examined the role of intellectuals and asserted that the notion of the intellectual is not a distinct social category that is independent of class (Gramsci, 1971:131). His conception, set within 19th and 20th century Italy, differs from common conceptions in that it rejects “the social utopia by which the intellectuals think of themselves as 'independent,' autonomous, endowed with a character of their own” (Gramsci, 1971:138). He asserted that intellectuals do not exist above and outside the realm of the relations of production and should, therefore, be understood in relation to their function as “an organiser of society in general, including all its complex organism of services, right up to the state organism, because of the need to create the conditions most favourable to the expansion of their own class” (Gramsci, 1971:135).

According to Gramsci: “by 'intellectuals' it must be understood not those strata commonly described by this term, but in general the entire social stratum which exercises an organisational function in the wide sense - whether in the field of production or in that of culture, or in that of political administration” (Gramsci, 1971:274).

¹ The Reith Lectures are a series of annual radio lectures given by leading figures and key figures such as Russell Bertrand, Robert Oppenheimer, and Ali Mazrui have presented here. The Reith Lectures continue to be presented with the last set of lectures in 2020 by Mark Carney. They are named in honour of the first Director-General of the BBC, Sir John Reith, and to mark his contribution to the idea of public service broadcasting (BBC, 2011:1).

He emphasised the organisational role intellectuals play in society's economic, social, and cultural spheres. His conception attempted to develop a broad organisation of labour that recognised the practical function of intellectuals beyond the ordinary role of participating at the level of ideas alone. "The most widespread error of method seems to me that of having looked for this criterion of distinction in the intrinsic nature of activities, rather than in the ensemble of the system of relations in which these activities have their place within the general complex of social relations" (Gramsci, 1971:139).

According to Gramsci, intellectuals were firmly rooted in production-related activities and can, therefore, not be understood outside of this frame. Thus, we cannot begin to understand the concept of the intellectual outside of their relations to the system under which they operate.

In his description of the categories of intellectuals, Gramsci asserted that "all men are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals" (Gramsci, 1971:140). For Gramsci intellectuals were not an elite group of philosopher kings; instead, they walk among us, they are us. While Gramsci did not explicitly state whether women could be intellectuals or not, the assertion "this means that, although one can speak of intellectuals, one cannot speak of non-intellectuals, because non-intellectuals do not exist" implicitly includes women in his understanding (Gramsci, 1971:140). His belief that all men were intellectuals differs from the one commonly held and articulated by Hopkins (1998:1) who stated, "...from the beginnings of western culture there was a general belief that the life of the mind was separate and distinct from everyday experience". Gramsci emphasised that everyone could be considered an intellectual because all people possess intellect and have the ability to formulate their own perception of the world. Gramsci's conceptualisation, therefore, did not afford special status to the intellectual. He did, however, recognise that other intellectuals have a social role to fulfil – to organise one's class by directing ideas to achieve hegemony (Gramsci, 1971:135). This relates to fulfilling a public role by engaging with ideas.

Karpova, Meshcheryakova and Chudinova (2016:7), like Gramsci, recognised that intellectuals have two key social roles to fulfil – stabilising the social system (because

of the cultural capital they possess) and offering critical analyses. Dallmayr (2005:81) opposed this view and argued that “regarding the public role of writers and intellectuals, there cannot be fixed rules dictating either social obligation or else mandating radical exile”. Gramsci, therefore, distinguished between two types of intellectuals, traditional and organic intellectuals. The first included what he termed “traditional” professional intellectuals; those “whose position in the interstices of society has a certain inter-class aura but derives ultimately from the past and present class relations and conceals an attachment to historical class formations” (Gramsci,131:1971). Traditional intellectuals were members of society including teachers, priests, and administrators and had expert roles that reflected a certain socio-economic status.

The second type of intellectual Gramsci identified was organic intellectuals. These were “distinguished by their function in directing the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they organically belong” (Gramsci, 1971:131). These individuals organised interests to attain and maintain power and control. They were active participants in the formulation and articulation of ideas and interests that advanced their social class.

2.4 Tracing Julien Benda’s Influence

In *The Treason of the Intellectuals*, French philosopher Julien Benda, who wrote in the 19th and 20th centuries, explored how the role of the intellectual had changed. Benda criticised intellectuals of the time, claiming that they had abandoned their unique vocation as observers and moralists for an inclination of worldly affairs (Benda, 1928:97). He claimed that the pursuit of truth had been replaced with the pursuit of “political passions” which resulted in material and political gain (Benda, 1928:9). He offered a twentieth century western perspective on the intellectual which he referred to as “clerks”, in the medieval sense, to emphasise their sacerdotal and separate role in society. Benda described clerks as: “All those whose activity essentially is not the pursuit of practical aims, those who seek their joy in the practice of an art or a science or metaphysical speculation, in short the possession of non-material advantages” (Benda, 1928:43).

Mkandawire (2005:1) emphasised Benda's sentiment when he stated that, "intellectual work is quintessentially the labour of the mind and soul". He too believed that the central role of intellectuals was to develop and disseminate thought. He did, however, consider that part of the intellectual's role was to translate thought into implementable actions, which is the exact opposite to Benda's perspective.

In fact, Benda bemoaned the abandonment of traditional philosophical and scholarly ideas for moral relativism by early twentieth century intellectuals. He identified this move towards pragmatism as a cause for concern, stating that real intellectuals "never diverted from single-hearted adoration of the beautiful and the divine by the necessity of earning their daily bread" (Benda, 1928:95). Jahanbegloo (2012:1) corroborated Benda's assertion stating: "it takes a considerable intellectual conviction and critical responsibility to stand outside the constraints of ideological and financial dependency". While Crick (2006:138), like Benda, rejected the intellectual's shift towards a functionary role suggesting that producing and disseminating ideas was the core function an intellectual.

2.5 Edward Said's Characterisation

Antonio Gramsci and Julien Benda were central to Said's understanding of the intellectual. Said's approach, however, implicitly rejected Gramsci's notion that all members of society could be considered intellectuals, emphasising instead intellectuals that had a social function. This social function, according to Said, was to grapple with the day's social questions (Said, 1994:11), "Gramsci's social analysis of the intellectual as a person who fulfils a particular set of functions in the society is much closer to the reality" (Said, 1994:8). Yet he also denounced Gramsci's role for organic intellectuals, which focused on maintaining the status quo by organising interests in the pursuit of power and control (for their social class) instead of fulfilling functions which are aligned to representation.

Said's characterisation was also influenced by Julien Benda's description stating that real intellectuals had a representative role and could "denounce corruption, defend the weak, and defy imperfect or oppressive authority" (Said, 1994:6). The intellectual,

according to Said, should fulfil their representative roles by sharing their thoughts candidly, even at the risk of being ostracised or imprisoned (Said, 1994:7).

While Said assumed that intellectuals had an active role to play in society, he also believed Benda's normatively inclined understanding and favoured the pursuit of truth as the only role of the intellectual. He combined these two general interpretations to develop his own conception of the intellectual.

It is interesting to note that despite his post-colonial lens, his characterisation of the intellectual did not consider the perspectives of Asian and or African scholars such as Ali Mazrui who were also contemplating the nature of the intellectual. He took what he considered the best qualities of Gramsci and Benda's western perspectives and attempted to offer a more holistic description of what an intellectual ought to be and achieve in society.

2.6 Edward Said on the intellectual

Said's interpretation of the public intellectual is one of the most revered and widely accepted understandings of what constitutes an intellectual. Writers like Lemert (1994), Posner (2001), and Jacoby (2000) (a very small sample of scholars) all refer to Said's conceptualisation in their writings on the intellectual. Said effectively developed a blueprint that outlined the descriptions and functions intellectuals ought to fulfil in society. Unlike much of the literature on the public intellectual, where the debates focus extensively on the definition, roles, redefinition and decline of the intellectual, there is very little that delves into "the image, the signature, the actual intervention and performance" (Said, 1994:13) these individuals use to convey their thoughts. Said offers a ground-breaking account that defines and describes the intellectual and their function in society in an accessible and informative manner. This is important because his account shifted the concept of the intellectual from an abstract idea to a practical subject that could be understood and observed in phenomena.

In *Representations of the Intellectual*, Said reconceptualised the standard understanding of the intellectual, which often represented expertise, professionalism, and elitism in the form of ivory tower thinkers. Said defined the intellectual as:

“An individual with a specific public role in society that cannot be reduced simply to being a faceless professional, a competent member of a class just going about her/his business. The central fact for me is, I think, that the intellectual is an individual endowed with a faculty for representing, embodying, articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to, as well as for, a public” (Said, 1994:11).

Said believed that all intellectuals could be considered public intellectuals and asserted that: “There is no such thing as a private intellectual, since the moment you set down words and then publish them you have entered the public world” (Said, 1994:12).

Central to Said’s interpretation was the search for relative independence from the pressures placed on the intelligentsia by institutions (the academy, church, professional guild). The pressures Said warned against included specialisation, which refers to losing sight of the genuine effort of creating art or knowledge (Said, 1994:76). This affected the originality and creativity of knowledge and art by limiting it to the parameters of detached theories, concepts, and methodologies. An additional pressure was that of being a certified expert which he stated was most prominent in the post-war world (Said, 1994:77). This requirement limited the intellectual vocation by reducing their credibility to subjects they were certified in. He used himself as an example to justify the importance of venturing further than one’s discipline stating, “I am only certified to teach modern European and American literature. I speak and write about broader matters because as a rank amateur I am spurred on by commitments that go well beyond my narrow professional career” (Said, 1994:88). He further argued that expertise was insignificant in relation to knowledge “expertise in the end has rather little, strictly speaking, to do with knowledge” (Said, 1994:79); it therefore made no substantial contribution to the intellectual vocation. Said (1994:80) identified a drift towards power and authority and the tendency to be employed by it

as a pressure that intellectuals must avoid. This included assuming positions of power such as political and institutional leadership roles, which limit one's autonomy.

Said asserted that these pressures inhibit the public intellectual's ingenuity which upholds an intellectual's capacity to fulfil their role. He rejected the tendency of intellectuals to align their contributions to nationalistic agendas especially those that drifted towards power and authority in order to secure funding. He suggested that in the United States, for example, 'the American Departments of State and Defence provided more money than any other single donor for university research in science and technology: this was pre-eminently true of MIT and Stanford' (Said, 1994:80). Said echoed Benda explaining that he believed real intellectuals needed to be separate from national interests, as these interests disturb the pursuit of non-practical values (Benda, 1928:96). While Gramsci (1971:145) viewed involvement in the state as the way organic intellectuals of any class could attain hegemony and, therefore, viewed it as a necessary condition in the organisation of culture and society.

To attain relative independence, intellectuals ought to be "exiles and marginal, amateurs, and authors of a language that tries to speak the truth to power" (Said, 1994:76). The intellectual was to assume these three specific positions, which he said were the cornerstones of the intellectual.

2.7 Intellectual as outsider

Gramsci, by virtue of recognising the role of intellectuals as cultural organisers who work towards hegemony, was not opposed to an intellectual functioning as an insider as it contributed to their "organisational and connective function" (Gramsci,1971:145). Indeed, to understand and satisfy the social and cultural needs of a particular class, an individual must be one with the people and, therefore, adopting the position of an outsider was less than ideal. Conversely, Benda rejected those intellectuals functioning as insiders stating: "When the "clerk" descends to the market place, I only consider that he is failing to perform his functions" (Benda, 1928:47). For Said a public intellectual had to be an outsider (Said, 1994: xvi) in order to be independent of social authorities such as the media, the government and

corporations (Said, 1994: xvii). Like Said, Roy believed in the independence of an intellectual (Roy 2001:5) and posited: “A good or great writer may refuse to accept any responsibility or morality that society wishes to impose on her”. Karabel (1994:207) concurred with Said, warning against public intellectuals being insiders in social institutions as they risk advancing their own social positions at the expense of the society’s interests. This effectively prevents an intellectual from being sufficiently critical, analytical, and revealing to the public about matters that affect their everyday life (Kauffman, 2002:131).

To be an outsider, an intellectual needs to assume the state of exile – “a median state, neither completely at one with the new setting nor fully disencumbered of the old” (Said, 1994:49). In other words, the individual maintains a sense of being on the fringes (Said, 1994:53). Exile is no man’s land, a constant position of not belonging, that protects the intellectual vocation from being tainted by national, religious and traditional allegiances and the fear of being deprived of “privileges, power, and honors” (Said, 1994:53).

For the purpose of this study, only the indicators that relate to the performative element will be analysed. This element focuses on distinguishable acts that inspire human freedom and knowledge and so viewing the intellectual as an outsider will be omitted in the analysis. Speech, as a public performance with a particular focus on persuasion and thought dissemination, warrants an integration with one’s audience that this aspect of Said’s characterisation does not accommodate.

To be an outsider, one needs to accept a position of marginality. Said asserts that intellectuals ought to embrace “a condition of marginality, which seems irresponsible or flippant, but frees you from having to always proceed with caution”. This allows the individual to think freely and to fulfil his/her functions in a society without reservation.

2.8 Intellectual as an Amateur

Gramsci did not overtly engage amateurism; he did, however, understand traditional intellectuals to be identifiable as such because of their professions, a so-called ‘professional intellectual’ (Gramsci, 1971:131). Benda also did not explicitly refer to

amateurism, but he did view the intellectual vocation as a position of expertise, and therefore believed that ‘the pursuit of material interests’ betrayed the intellectual profession (Benda, 1928:43).

Said stated that “the intellectual today ought to be an amateur, someone who considers that to be a thinking and concerned member of a society one is entitled to raise moral issues at the heart of even the most technical and professionalised activity” (Said, 1994:82).

Amateurism, he maintained, referred to an “unquenchable interest in the larger picture, in making connections across lines and barriers and refusing the restrictions of a profession” (Said, 1994:76). It was a commitment to lifelong learning that rejected expertise and instead pushed activity driven by care and affection as opposed to the desire for profit, power and narrow specialisation (Said, 1994:82). The main objective of an amateur should be to produce intellectual contributions that are driven by: an authentic desire to represent those who are marginalised; to engage with and critique power; and, to raise contentious issues that are either ignored or not considered important enough.

2.9 Intellectual as a Disruptor

Gramsci (1971:142) viewed intellectuals as organisers of culture and maintainers of social class who uphold the interest of their class. Therefore, speaking truth to power would only be viable for organic intellectuals if it were in the interest of their respective class. Thus, for Gramsci, the idea of an intellectual being charged with holding any entity accountable was relative. Benda, on the other hand, supported the understanding of the intellectual as a disruptor; he believed they should perform their “duty, which is precisely to set up a corporation whose sole cult is that of justice and of truth” (Benda, 1928:50).

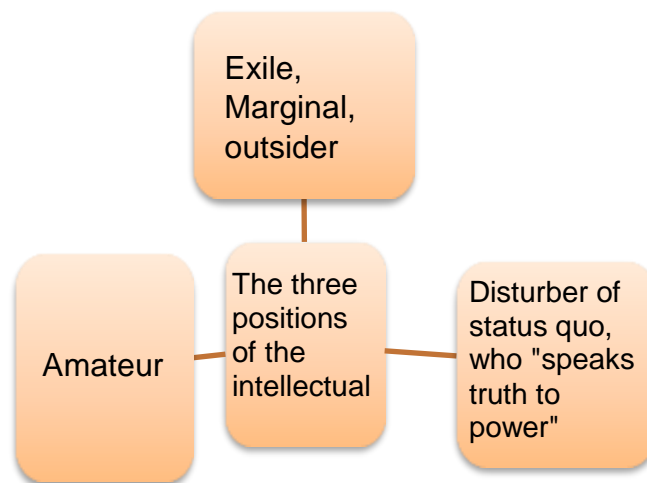
This third position outlined the public intellectual as a disturber of the status quo and an individual who holds society to account. For Said, this meant that public intellectuals should put themselves in a position of “uncompromising freedom of opinion and expression as their main bastion” (Said, 1994:89). Mir (2015:40) suggested that holding those in positions of power accountable and calling out the

abuse of power while maintaining the status quo, was the core function of the intellectual. Lazarus (2005:120), on the other hand, asserted that Said's statement of speaking truth to power did not mean that public intellectuals should direct their discourse to power; rather it suggested that they speak truth in the face of power despite the risk it may carry.

Said stated that pursuing public accountability is not an idealistic notion, "it is carefully weighing the alternatives, picking the right one, and then intelligently representing it where it can do the most good and cause the right change" (Said, 1994:102). This begs the question, how do we know what is right, when everything around us is an interpretation of a constructed reality?

The three positions of the intellectual

Figure 1



Furthermore, Said asserted that the public performance of intellectuals should not be predictable or be compelled into "a slogan orthodox party line, or fixed dogma" (Said, 1994: xii). This is ironic since Said, himself a distinguished public intellectual, was a known advocate for Palestinian rights. An image of Said "throwing a stone at an Israeli guardhouse" (Veesser, 2010:1) speaks to the extent to which his convictions informed his intellectual thought and actions, including a very public performance. This example also shows how relative this argument is. On one hand, Said's actions may be interpreted as acting as a representative and speaking truth to power. On the other hand, Said's actions could be seen as him contradicting himself. Said did not

define the public performance he refers to; he just asserted the importance of them not being limited by personal or political convictions. Gramsci also did not define public performances, but he did believe that they were an essential aspect in the organisation of culture, which he saw as the core function of an intellectual:

“Philosophy cannot be divorced from politics. And one can show furthermore that the choice and the criticism of a conception of the world is also a political matter” (Gramsci, 1971:631-632).

Gramsci defined politics as conscious action (praxis) in pursuit of a common social goal. Therefore, action that pursues the role of cultural organisation is indicative of a public intellectual. While not explicitly stated, Benda was not opposed to public performance. He did, however, lament public performances that are inspired by political passions as opposed to the pursuit of truth (Benda, 1928:10).

2.10 Said on the role of public intellectuals

The role of public intellectuals, according to Said, was to break down the stereotypes and reductive categories that limit “human thought and communication” (Said, 1994: xi). Public intellectuals should, therefore, bridge the gap between the abstract and the practical for public engagement and development. Bowdon (2004:325) agrees with Said and asserted that public intellectuals should be considered experts who draw on a wide-range of experiences to interpret significant issues of varied concern to non-expert audiences. Bowdon and Said have a similar understanding, however, Bowdon described them as experts while Said’s emphasised amateurism, a deliberate move away from expertise (Said, 1994: xvi). Said suggested that expertise tampers with the purity of the intellectual vocation, stating that the public look to the intellectual as a guide for the unclear present (Said, 2002:20). Said’s description of the intellectual’s role is valuable.

For Said, public intellectuals should embody “a sense of being someone whose place it is to publicly raise embarrassing questions, to confront orthodoxy and dogma (rather than to produce them)”, (Said, 1994:11) and “they [should] encourage or even force people to think” (Concoran & Lalor, 2014:7), and inspire public debate. To perform this role, public intellectuals “cannot easily be co-opted by governments or corporations,” (Said,1994:11) and in representing the injustices of those who are

disregarded, intellectuals must risk being burned at the stake, ostracised, or crucified (Said, 1994:7). However, identifying those who are disregarded is relative – after all one person’s freedom fighter is another person’s terrorist.

2.11 Public Intellectuals in South Africa

The role of the intellectual is largely connected to predicting and articulating a vision of the future; this is particularly true in the South African context. Gumede and Dikeni (2009:4) confirmed this asserting that South African intellectuals need to contribute to a new progressive agenda for the renewal and reconfiguration of society, towards “public dialogue, critique and dissent” (Gumede & Dikeni, 2009:5). They debate the decline of intellectuals and provide pertinent background information. But they do not outline the criteria for what constitutes a public intellectual in South Africa and miss an opportunity to contribute effectively to public intellectual discourse.

Despite this, they do explain the value of intellectuals in a democratic context, and this is a thread that at least two more recent publications also explore – *The Fabric of Dissent: Public intellectuals in South Africa* (Reddy, Bohler-Muller et al., 2020) and *Public Intellectuals in South Africa: Critical voices from the past* (Chris Broodryk, 2021).

In her article, Anthea Garman (2010:1) also traced the political and social significance of public intellectuals in South Africa. She found that intellectuals operate as proxy individuals exercising their democratic right to speak, which is not accessible to the majority of people (Garman, 2010:1). Ultimately, Garman reinforced Said’s assertion that intellectuals ought to assume a representative role by emphasising their normative role.

2.12 How Modern authors are influenced by Said

The contentious nature of the public intellectual raises questions about an accurate definition, necessary characteristics and functions of public intellectuals in society and Said’s influence on contemporary perceptions.

Hopkins, for instance, distinguished between private and public intellectuals. He defined private intellectuals as those who pursue their individual interests without a focused concern or pursuit for public good while “public intellectuals are writers and thinkers who have a more inclusive understanding of the lives, engaging in discourse not only with members of their own discipline but with a general and educated audience” (Hopkins, 1998:1). Said did not distinguish between private and public intellectuals – he believed all intellectuals were public – however, his influence on Hopkins is clear given the latter’s emphasis that these ideas should engage the public on a range of (not a specific) matters.

In their book *Reflections on Crises: The Role of the Public Intellectual*, Concoran and Lalor (2014:5) defined intellectuals as individuals who draw connections between their individual perspectives and the historical, social and economic forces that helped to shape them. The text used Ireland as an empirical example and while it helped to understand the role of Irish public intellectuals, its findings do not extend to intellectuals from a different context. Nevertheless, Said’s influence is clear given Concoran and Lalor’s assertion that a public intellectual is responsible for relaying and simplifying philosophy so that the public can engage the subject matter at hand.

Bowdon (2004:325) perceived public intellectuals as experts who draw on diverse knowledge bases to analyse significant issues of varied concern to non-expert audiences. While Drezner (2017:9), in turn, shares Bowdon’s definition by claiming that public intellectuals are well versed and trained to share commentary on a range of issues. Both definitions depend on Said’s perception that an intellectual’s role is to inform, engage, and represent members of the public. Bowdon’s article also challenged the traditional role of technical communicators suggesting that they become public intellectuals and thereby shape multiple communities, especially within the context of HIV prevention in which her study is grounded. Set in a western (North American) context, Bowdon substantiated her argument with empirical evidence from a community HIV prevention campaign.

Clearly, the role of a public intellectual depends on the needs the writer identifies in their specific moment in history. *The Public Intellectual in India*, a collection of essays by Romila Thapar and her contributors explored the changing role of public

intellectuals on the subcontinent. They described the how intellectuals in India have changed the way they think and write about contemporary problems and that these individuals are unable to meet the needs of their societies, because they are met with violent reactions (Thapar, 2015). Set in the Asian context, this book offers a valuable insight into an alternative context. Thapar and her contributors further lament the limits of human thought and communication, which Said asserts, is the primary role of intellectuals (Said, 1994: xi).

Speaking Power to Truth Digital Discourse and the Public Intellect edited by Michael Keren and Richard Hawkins explored the changing nature of public intellectuals in the digital age (Keren & Hawkins, 2015). They raise concerns that digital commentary, which is comparatively easier to access, has subsumed public intellectual discourse. This means that the public is more interested in digital commentary where ideas, thoughts, and opinions are commodities rather than a pursuit of truth. The volume provides a series of normative perspectives and empirical case studies that expand the role of intellectuals to a technically facilitated public sphere. In *The Ideas Industry: How Pessimist, Partisans and Plutocrats are transforming the marketplace of ideas*, Daniel Drezner explored the notion of thought leaders replacing public intellectuals. For him, 'both public intellectuals and thought leaders engage in intellectual creation but their style and purpose are different' (Drezner, 2017:9) noting that Americans seem more interested in thought leaders. According to Drezner (2017:9) a thought leader is an "intellectual evangelist" who develops a singular lens from which to see and explain the world and proceed to guide change through this lens. Keren and Hawkins, and Drezner, like Said, see public intellectuals as advocates of the truth despite the personal cost and evolve their definition to include a new concept of thought leaders.

Thandika Mkandawire in *African Intellectuals: Rethinking politics, language, gender and development* and Stefan Collini in *Every Fruit-juice Drinker, Nudist, Sandal wearer ... Intellectuals as Other People* redefine the role of the public intellectual (Mkandawire, 2005; Collini, 2002). The studies emphasise these individuals' ability to translate thought into effective policy actions that push social transformation (Small, 2002:4). They propose expanding Said's role of an intellectual to "break down the stereotypes and reductive categories that are limiting to human thought and

communication” (Said, 1994: xi). For Mkandawire and Collini, the role of intellectual is primarily to accommodate the needs of their societies.

The New Public Intellectual: A collection of essays edited by Jeffrey R. Di Leo and Peter Hitchcock, also redefined the concept to accommodate the contemporary world. The volume advocates for more inclusive “theoretical parameters” (Di Leo & Hitchcock, 2016: ix), a challenge similar to Ellen Cushman’s who added that these parameters forge a role that contributes more effectively to the social order. For her, this could be achieved by extending the narrow meaning of the ‘public’ from the “middle and upper class policy makers, administrators, and professionals” to one that combines knowledge generation with political action to address social issues (Cushman, 1999:328). Small (2002:4) proposed rethinking the intellectual as an active, rather than a remotely adjudicatory, presence in political and cultural life. The intellectual, she suggests, would better serve society by assuming a more pragmatic role. This tailoring of the intellectual’s representative role developed from Said’s assertion that public intellectuals are guides for an “unclear present” (Said, 2002:20) whose role must change to accommodate contemporary needs. Jerome Karabel (1996:207), on the other hand, warns against assigning functions that are informed by moralistic traditions to these individuals. He argued that these debates often overlook who the person is and focus instead on who they should be. Therefore, there is no need to redefine the role of the intellectual; instead the focus should shift to understanding who the intellectual is through an empirical analysis.

In *The Public Intellectual: Between Philosophy and Politics* (Melzer et al, 2003) different contributors grapple with the characteristics, nature and role of public thinkers. Josef Joffe (2003), for instance, addresses the decline of intellectuals in the chapter, *The Decline of the Public Intellectual and the Rise of the Pundit*. For Joffe, public intellectuals in America have retreated to universities and been replaced by pundits and research institutes, like the American Enterprise Institute, that stifle the quality of public discourse (Joffe, 2003:107). Posner (2002), for his part, also uses the modern American context in *Public Intellectuals: A study of decline* to bemoan this decline citing the growing number of public intellectuals assuming positions at universities and therefore publishing commentary in closed academic circles that is not disseminated to a broader public. He also cites incorrect predictions by

intellectuals including one by Ehrlich who predicted in the 1970s that Americans would be starving by 1980 (Posner, 2002:131). Posner developed a supposedly exhaustive taxonomy of 546 public intellectuals, where he tallied references in media outlets and scholarly publications to select a hundred individuals, including himself, who he deemed were worthy of the title of public intellectual. While his method was intriguing, his narrow context makes his work minimally useful outside of the USA. Posner does, however, base his study on Said's argumentation.

2.13 Summary

It is evident from the above that there are a number of studies that engage the concept of the intellectual. The debates on the intellectual discussed above speak to the interest of scholars in gaining a better understanding of the intellectual. Writers make use of different empirical and normative methods as well as theoretical perspectives to offer insights on the concept of the intellectual. In this particular review, the efforts were directed towards developing a timeline to what is now known as the three positions of the intellectual.

Much of the literature on the intellectual, and those reviewed in this chapter, are set in the western tradition. Therefore, how we think, write, and understand the intellectual is largely influenced by western perspectives. It is ironic that Said, a Palestinian-American, whose scholarship focused much on the remnants of colonialism and the effect thereof, as well as west and non-west relations, developed his interpretation of the intellectual using western scholars as a base.

The publications that discuss the intellectual are of significant value; however, they are not without flaws. One major gap, which this study seeks to address, is the absence of an overtly stated context. This can be problematic because conceptual failures may occur when these findings are applied in multiple contexts. Another flaw is that these studies rely on normative evidence; application in the form of case studies is limited, and where there are case studies, they are often set in the global North.

CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the study's specific theoretical perspective and research methods. This methodology was chosen to develop a comprehensive analysis of the usefulness of Edward Said's characterisation of the public intellectual as a universally applicable description. This chapter consists of an outline of the theoretical perspective, the research design, data collection process and analysis techniques.

3.1 Theoretical Perspective

3.1.1 Post-structuralism

Post-structuralism is an umbrella term of theoretical perspectives that moves away from the tenets of structuralism (Fawcett, 2008:2). Sayin and Ates (2012:13) state, "Post structuralism is not a freestanding discipline and that it occurs inside large contexts of social thinking". Post-structuralism differs from mainstream theories, as it is not a unitary school of thought. McMorrow (2017:59) defines it as "a way of looking at the world that challenges what comes to be accepted as 'truth' and 'knowledge'". That is to say, scholars of post-structuralism hold anti-positivist positions rejecting the notion of being able to statistically validate a hypothesis as proven or disproven based purely on quantitative analysis (Tharakan, 2006:22). Anti-positivism suggests that the social world cannot be understood without considering the points of view of those directly involved in the activities/phenomena. Post-structuralists believe that everything comes to be because of meaning that is constituted through interpretation. Post-structuralism presents as a response, critique, and extension of structuralism.

Post-structuralism like other 'post' movements is not an absolute rejection of structuralism but rather extends what it identifies as the shortcomings of structuralism's efforts to describe the world (Mease, 2017:1). Structuralism is a "theoretical approach that identifies patterns in social arrangements, most notably language" (Baker 2010:1). In its pure sense, structuralism is a linguistic framework that suggests that all phenomena must be understood by means of their relationship to a broader system. The theory therefore proposes that meaning communicated

through language comes to be through unobservable structures that have observable effects on the society and culture. Post-structuralism builds on some core tenets of structuralism, these are summarised by Claude Lévi-Strauss' essay, *Structural Analysis*:

“First, structural linguistics shifts from the study of conscious linguistic phenomena to the study of their unconscious infrastructure; second, it does not treat terms as independent entities, taking instead as its basis of analysis the relations between terms; third, it introduces the concept of system, “Modern phonemics does not merely proclaim that phonemes are always part of a system; it shows concrete phonemic systems and elucidates their structure” finally, structural linguistics aims at discovering general laws, either by induction “or by logical deduction, which would give them an absolute character” (Lévi-Strauss,1963:33).

Structuralism advances the assumption that “universal and totalitarian realities/structures can be objectively discovered” (Mease, 2017:5). This is to say that absolute truths can be discovered in phenomena. This assumption has been the central point of contention that inspires many post-structuralist writings. In an effort to make sense of the world, the structuralist sought to discern fundamental structures of human consciousness that they suggest all human beings possess. Structuralism seeks to reveal, “The way in which the parts were dependent upon the whole and where the parts could only be understood in relation to the structure” (Olssen, 2003:190).

Both structuralism and post-structuralism can more broadly be understood as addressing the structures of historical and cultural development. Post-structuralism differs because it interrogates the notion of structures, and it believes that instead of being revealed, structures are constituted through language and social interaction. At the core of the post-structuralist project is the shift from discerning the structures behind language and social interaction, to focus on the mechanisms by which structures are produced and maintained through language and social interaction. In the case of this study, Said's conception of the intellectual, which is much revered as a seminal reading on the concept of the intellectual, is a structure. This study seeks

to explore how this interpretation has become the dominant description of the intellectual.

One of the best ways to engage with post structuralism is to consider its key thinkers. The scope of this chapter does not allow for in-depth critical study of all key proponents of the theory. The dissertation will briefly discuss the main thesis of some of poststructuralism's key thinkers.

Gilles Deleuze contributed to post structuralism through works such as the *Logic of Sense* in 1962 and a short essay on structuralism 'How do we Recognize Structuralism?' for the twentieth-century volume of a multi-volume history of philosophy (William, 2005:53). Deleuze criticises the method of structuralist thought that defines phenomena as representative of reality.

Jacques Derrida contributed to post structural thought through works such as *Of Grammatology*, *Speech and Phenomena*, *Writing and Difference*, *Margins of Philosophy*, *Positions and Dissemination*. Derrida questioned traditional categories such as structuralism's binary oppositions-signified/signifier, subject/object, nature/culture and so forth to reveal alternative perspectives in a text that are often concealed through 'deconstruction'.

Jean-François Lyotard is a French philosopher better known for his contributions to postmodernism through influential works such as *The Postmodern Condition*. Lyotard (1984: xxiv) defines postmodernism as "incredulity toward metanarratives". Lyotard engages the naturalisation of knowledge as something that exists outside of human praxis.

This study assumes Michel Foucault's post-structural perspective. This perspective is committed to countering the dominant traditions of power in political philosophy and the tendency to define politics along a single parameter that suggests that one way of thinking about the world can represent the interests of the whole (May, 1994:12). His works highlight the interconnectedness of power and knowledge.

3.1.2 Michel Foucault

Michel Foucault, one of the central twentieth century scholars of French postmodernity and post-structuralism during the 1960's was influenced by philosophers including Marx, Kant, Nietzsche and Althusser (Garland, 2014:365). He asserts his preference against elaborately referencing and/or discussing scholars whose ideas have influenced his writing "for myself, I prefer to utilise the writers I like. The only valid tribute to thought such as Nietzsche's is precisely to use it, to deform it, to make it groan and protest" (Foucault, 1980:53–54).

As a philosopher-historian, Foucault has made significant contributions to poststructuralism through seminal works such as *Madness and Civilization*, *The Order of things*, *The Birth of the Clinic* and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* among others. He "undertook to problematise the production of modernist forms of knowledge" (Dixon & Jones, 2004:85). From Foucault's post-structuralist perspective, knowledge and truth are not natural or given as structuralism suggests. They are constituted through language and social interactions. Moreover, as constructions they are built in ways that benefit or privilege particular groups, ways of thinking, and ways of being. He looks at how power and privilege are embedded in structures, often in seemingly mundane ways.

Foucault was influenced by Frederick Nietzsche, Milchman and Rosenberg (2018:147) acknowledges Nietzsche's influence on Foucault's writing and state, "Michel Foucault's, own thinking ripened under the warm Nietzschean sun". Nietzsche rejects an enlightenment view of knowledge (Nietzsche, 1968: 449-450). For Nietzsche, the world is neither true nor real, but living. He posits that the quest for knowledge is not satisfied by representations. Representations of being, truth, and knowledge are only but interpretation of phenomena. To address the flawed nature of enlightenment thinking, he suggests a method he termed 'genealogy' to expose the abstract ideas that conceal the constituted nature of reality by referring to it as knowledge. Nietzsche's genealogical exploration is concerned with the way in which the "facts" of the contemporary world have been created. Nietzsche's method seeks to replace the creation of truth/facts with genealogy as a method for critiquing all existing knowledge. He questions the origins and status of values and suggests

the link between language, knowledge, and power, which are essential components of poststructuralist claims. A post-structuralist, such as Foucault, extends Nietzsche's inquiry to a more comprehensive critique of knowledge.

Foucault proposes genealogical methods which trace "the history of the present" to reveal how present circumstances are contingent and precariously predicated on discursive conditions and discontinuities of the past (Mease, 2017:7). Foucault's work suggests that historical moments are full of possibility, and that circumstances of any historical moment push in a particular direction at the cost of other possible futures. He further proposes the concept of power/knowledge stating:

"Knowledge and power are integrated with one another, and there is no point in dreaming of a time when knowledge will cease to depend on power; ...it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power"(Foucault 1980: 52).

This is not the idea that knowing more gives one more power. Rather, it is the idea that power and knowledge are one and the same, because those in power create knowledge and truths that reinforce their power and those who have the ability to create truths (control the discourse) will inevitably have power. Foucault advocates for an understanding of power that is not held by one person but moves through people. For example, power/knowledge functions not because of the power of the single person who creates a truth, but because many people accept truth as knowledge. In this sense, power is dispersed and moves through many people, but may serve the interests of a specific few.

Foucault did not attempt to develop a social theory that would describe and interpret the history of power relations in the west. He sought to describe the events concealed by power, which he believed produced social reality. Acknowledging his shift from structuralism, Foucault asserts, "I don't see who could be more of an anti-structuralist than myself" (Foucault, 1980:114). He introduces archaeology and genealogy as a means of addressing the limitations of structuralism. He states, "archaeology tries to define not the thoughts, representations, images, themes, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourses; but those discourses

themselves, those discourses as practices obeying certain rules” (Foucault, 1972:138).

Foucault develops the concept of genealogy from what he terms the “Nietzschean genealogy” (Foucault, 1972:13). In this method, he questions the description of history as linear. Foucault states that genealogy “opposes itself to the search for “origins” (Foucault, 1991:77) and instead seeks to “cultivate the details and accidents that accompany every beginning; it will be scrupulously attentive to their petty malice; it will await their emergence, once unmasked, as the face of the other” (Foucault, 1991:80). “The genealogical method takes into account the limits at play within real formations” (Foucault, 1972:233).

Foucault, like many post-structuralists, did not denounce structuralism completely. He did however disagree with it on two main points. Firstly, he rejected the notion that there was a system of “universal rules or laws or elementary structures” that could explain the human condition (Olssen, 2003:192). He favours an understanding that recognises that truth is constituted through lived experience and the specificity of time and place. Secondly, he rejects the flawed nature of knowledge production that is underwritten by the idea of ‘Man’ as a “unique being capable of describing, explaining, and mastering the operation of the body and mind, as well as society and nature” (Dixon & Jones, 2004:85). He believed that it was impossible to step outside and survey the phenomena objectively. For Foucault power produces knowledge and histories. He rejected the idea of coming to absolute truths, favouring an interpretivist understanding that is informed by the historical context.

3.2 Core tenets

3.2.1 Power/Knowledge nexus

Foucault’s perspective of post-structuralism introduces what McMorrow (2017:9) refers to as a “knowledge-power nexus”. This nexus looks at how people in positions of power can and do shape a common understanding of an event and establish a false sense of truth/‘reality’ through knowledge manipulation. Foucault’s anti-metaphysical approach also unveils the ingrained nature of the power/knowledge

relation. Foucault (1980:34) suggests, “Two important kinds of power were put into effect here, the power of knowledge of the truth, and the power to disseminate this knowledge”. Foucault here asserts that power, as an entity is not acquired, but rather an instrument that is constantly exercised. It is applied as a means to an end. The Foucauldian knowledge/power nexus is assumed because it encourages the researcher not to seek truth in their undertaking, as ‘truth’ is a social construct that is informed by context and interpretation. What is true in one society may not be so in another. There is a range of factors such as “the types of discourse deployed, the techniques, and procedures used to distinguish between true and false statements and the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true” (Dixon & Jones 2004:88), which determines the true value of phenomena in society. This perspective, therefore, does not reject the idea that truth exists, it instead suggests that the truth is contingent on different social, economic, and historical contexts (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2010:65). It asserts that in order to make sense of these objects of truth/knowledge there must be a context, and this context contributes to the constitution of meaning attached to the objects of knowledge.

This tenet requires one to consider the historical origins of knowledge production. This is important in determining whether Said’s conception of the public intellectual’s labour, rooted in western epistemological traditions, is viable in identifying and understanding an intellectual in a South African specific context.

3.3 Applicability of Universal Truths

One of the core tenets of Foucault’s post-structural perspective is scepticism of the possibility of universal laws or truths, as there is no world that exists independently of our own interpretations (McMorrow, 2018:1). Foucault states that “Each society has its regime of truth, its general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true” (Foucault, 1980:131).

This tenet critiques the foundations of knowledge that claim objectivity and universal applicability, and it encourages an inquiry into the usefulness of Said’s

characterisation in an alternative context. Considering the acceptance of Said's understanding of the intellectual, this tenet encourages the researcher to assume a sceptical position in relation to what is recognised as the truth and knowledge. In the case of this study,

Said's characterisation of the intellectual constitutes a 'truth/knowledge'. Therefore this tenet urges the researcher to be concerned about the universalisation of 'truth' and to be open to an alternative truth, without necessarily denouncing Said's perspective of the truth in the case of the intellectual. Post-structural theory suggests that knowledge itself is merely an interpretation of meaning.

3.4 Variety of perspectives

An additional core tenet of Foucault's interpretation is the advancement of "multiple realities" in lieu of the traditionalist "ready-made synthesis" (Foucault, 1972:24). This tenet focuses on exploring concepts such as "relativity, plurality, fragmentation, and anti-foundationalism" (Fawcett, 2012:2). Here, Foucault considers knowledge is constituted; therefore, there can be a variety of knowledge informed by the lived experience. The consideration of multiple realities is particularly important in the appraisal of Said's characterisation of the intellectual, because it is frequently cited on the concept of the intellectual. For this reason, there is a tendency for it to be perceived as knowledge and not as a perspective in the large and ever-growing pool of knowledge where the concept of the intellectual is concerned. The implication of this principle in the study is that the researcher needs to be aware of the different interpretations in the approach to exploring the usefulness of Said's characterisation as it relates to Mbeki as a case study. Moreover, it encourages the researcher to be open-minded and consider the possibility of the research producing an unexpected result.

3.5 Local Contexts

An additional theoretical principle of post-structuralism according to Foucault emphasises local contexts and specific histories in interpretation of phenomena. According to Foucault, power is grassroots, it is found in daily life. Power is founded in local conditions and specific needs of locals. He asserts:

“They (Power structures) took shape in piecemeal fashion, prior to any class strategy designed to weld them into vast, coherent ensembles. It should also be noted that these ensembles don't consist in a homogenisation, but rather of a complex play of supports in mutual engagement, different mechanisms of power which retain all their specific character” (Foucault, 1980:159).

Prichard (2017:147) states that knowledge is merely “visions of the world and history that represent modes of power accurate descriptive statements about the world and its history”. This principle brings to the fore the idea of context specificity as well as the importance of the production of local knowledge for understanding local contexts. The implication of this principle on this study is that it provides context for the need to engage with Edward Said’s characterisation of the public intellectual. The theory can be extrapolated to support the production of local knowledge, which is integral to a comprehensive understanding of the concept of the public intellectual in South Africa. The theory can potentially uncover the constructed nature of Said’s characterisation and support the case for the production of publications on the intellectual that consider context in their construction.

3.6 Critiques

Foucault’s post-structural perspective contributes immensely to the body of knowledge in post-structural theory. It is however not without flaws. Mark Olssen (2003:193) critiques Foucault’s post-structuralist’s focus on history and away from structuralism in what he termed the focus on “historical constitution of knowledge” and asserts that this perspective lacks an integrative principle with structuralism and therefore has no essence. Foucault’s perspective is disengaged from traditional problem solving methods and is critiqued for its lack of theory in response to what it identified as structuralism’s limitations. All his perspectives are seen to do is take apart positivist understandings of epistemology by revealing the flaws of a specific way of thinking and then the flaws of the alternative way of thinking but provides no synthesis and or practical alternatives. This echoes the sentiments of Merquior (1986:238) who posits, “Foucault and Derrida have not just transmuted the disillusionment of the structuralist world-view into nihilism, – they have also directed nihilism against truth”. Considering its flaws Foucault’s poststructuralism is useful in

this study because it creates a platform from which the core tenets discerned from his interpretation of post-structuralism guide the inquiry. These tenets are useful in that they reiterate the importance of refraining from accepting knowledge and truth as a natural given. Instead encourages critical thinking to uncover the constructed nature of knowledge that could possibly reveal phenomena such as Said's characterisation of the intellectual as a perspective rather than a universally applicable truth.

3.7 Research Methodology

This dissertation sought to explore the concept of the public intellectual by engaging with Edward Said's characterisation of the concept. This is because exploratory research is "necessary when very little is known about a topic being investigated or about the context in which the research is to be conducted" (Blaikie, 2010:71). This study sought to expand our understanding about whether we can identify a public intellectual in South Africa using Said's characterisation, a topic that has not been widely engaged. And given the fact that Edward Said's characterisation is often referred to as a seminal theory on the intellectual, this study seeks to verify its usefulness in an alternative South African specific context. To substantiate the claims, this study has chosen former President Thabo Mbeki as a profile case study. The study was guided by the following key research questions that sought to establish a better understanding of public intellectuals and their role in South Africa. Can Edward Said's characterisation help describe a public intellectual in South Africa? The research addresses the following sub-questions, why are public intellectuals important in South Africa? Do public intellectuals have a practical purpose in South Africa? How does Mbeki compare, using Said's characterisation of a public intellectual?

3.8 Research approach

A qualitative research approach was chosen for this study because it allows for in-depth understanding and interpretation of contexts and experiences underpinning human interactions. Leavy (2014:2) states that qualitative research is a way of learning about social reality. Creswell (2007:36) defines qualitative research as a situated activity that locates the observer in the world, and involves the study and interpretation of phenomena in terms of the meanings people associate with them.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005:4) suggest that at its core, qualitative research deploys a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices, hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005:10), qualitative research emphasises the socially constructed nature of reality.

This characteristic of qualitative research is particularly useful in this study because it explores a representation of the public intellectual, which has gained, over time, the status of truth/reality to validate its legitimacy. In this way, a qualitative approach, which encourages inquiry into social phenomena, is a valuable research tool.

Qualitative research is grounded in an interpretivist position, much like other antipositivist theories such as post-structuralism, it is largely concerned with the way in which phenomena is constituted, produced, understood, experienced and interpreted (Astalin, 2013:118). This study, conducted under the qualitative research, study approach includes an in-depth analysis of speeches. These include *A National Strategic vision for South Africa*; *'I am an African'*, and *Infrastructure and development in South Africa*, which follow the intellectual development of Mbeki's interpretation of the African Renaissance philosophy. This study attempts to explore the usefulness of Said's characterisation of the public intellectual, through Mbeki's speeches as a public performance, to determine the need for South African specific study of the intellectual. One of the main objectives of a qualitative approach is that it advances exploration and a description of phenomena, rather than explanation. The exploratory quality of the research approach is used to gain a thorough understanding of Said's characterisation and its usefulness in an alternative context. Exploring the fundamental elements of Said's characterisation by means of a case study (Thabo Mbeki), will contribute to increase the understanding of the concept of a public intellectual in South Africa. It will also clarify whether a universal conception is viable.

3.9 Rationale for a qualitative approach

This research approach emerged from behavioural and social sciences as a method of understanding the unique, dynamic, and holistic nature of human beings (Kalu & Bwalya, 2017:44). Qualitative research does not attempt to make predictions; it rather seeks to better understanding phenomena in a specific social setting. The

multifaceted nature of the qualitative research approach ensures that a researcher develops a holistic representation of the phenomenon in question. In this case, the study of Edward Said's characterisation of the public intellectual may reveal nuances that will contribute to a wide-ranging understanding of the concept of the public intellectual. According to Leedy and Ormrod (2013:140), one of the central objectives of embarking on a qualitative study is for verification purposes, because "it allows a researcher to test the validity of certain assumptions, claims, theories, or generalisations within real-world contexts".

A qualitative approach is the most appropriate method to approach this specific study because the approach is more concerned with the research process rather than the outcome. This is because the process is where the exploration and understanding of the undertaking lies. A focus on the process ensures that the outcome of the research undertaking is not manipulated by a desire to reach a certain conclusion. The researcher will therefore be able to conduct a study that is untainted by predetermined conclusions. A qualitative approach is useful in this study in that, the researcher becomes the research instrument (Xu, 2012:15). The researcher is therefore able to contribute to a specific subject by offering a perspective that is influenced by their personal worldview. This contributes to the overall body of work on the concept of the public intellectual. In this study, the contribution involves producing a range of perspectives on the same or similar topics thereby contributing to plurality of knowledge and truth.

While the advantages of a qualitative approach to research have been stated above, it is equally important to raise a limitation of the approach relevant to this study. Lincoln and Guba (1985:290) assert that although the qualitative approach acknowledges the researcher's subjectivity, it is important that the "biases, motivations, interests, or perspectives of the inquirer" are identified and overt throughout the study. This ensures replicability and credibility of the study, which are central to quality research.

3.10 Case study design

A case study is one of the five main research designs for qualitative research according to Creswell (2007:4). This study will use former President Thabo Mbeki as

a case study subject to test Said's framework. The objective is to understand whether Mbeki can be considered a public intellectual following the assessment of his speeches as a public performance against Said's characterisation. According to Nieswaiadomy (1987:177), case studies refer to comprehensive examinations of people and groups and allow researchers to explore the complexities of real life situations and phenomena.

Yin (1984) asserts that there are three categories of case studies, exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory case studies. Exploratory case studies explore any phenomenon that is of interest to the researcher. Descriptive case studies seek to describe phenomena as it occurs. Explanatory case studies examine data closely in order to explain the phenomena in data (Zainal, 2007:3). In this study, Thabo Mbeki will be studied as an exploratory case study.

The case study design is the most appropriate approach for this study because it "allows the exploration and understanding" (Zainal, 2007:1). It provides a systematic way to collect data, assess it and to report findings therefore ensuring a comprehensive understanding of a particular point of enquiry. The purpose of a case study is to understand human behaviour and trends in social phenomena in a social context through interpretation. The case study approach is especially useful in this instance because it focuses the study, ensuring that the research problem and questions are sufficiently addressed. A case design additionally ensures that data is examined "within the context of its use" (Zainal, 2007:4). Case studies therefore consider the context of phenomena; this quality supports the endeavour to create multiple realities and truths. This is because when the context is taken into account, different perspectives and different outcomes result.

Furthermore, this design is flexible enough to accommodate the study's proposed data collection and analysis methods (Merriam, 1998:28). This affords the researcher the opportunity to collect data to support a rhetorical analysis of key speeches that Mbeki delivered. Moreover, the researcher is able to complete a document analysis of selected secondary sources to supplement the speeches to ensure greater depth of interpretation. Post-structuralism in this study serves as the perspective that underlies the data collection and analysis process of this study.

Case studies do not claim to be representative, but the emphasis is on what can be learnt from a single case (Tellis, 1997). The findings of an analysis of Thabo Mbeki as a case study are specific to him as a subject and cannot be applied to a different subject because his case provides an in-depth understanding specific to him. An important feature underpinning a case study design is that its purpose is “not to prove but to improve” (Stufflebeam, Madaus, & Kellaghan, 2000:283). Exploring the usefulness of Said’s characterisation is to gain a better understanding of the public intellectual in a South African context. It could determine the extent to which the framework can be applied to the South African context.

Case studies are a great tool for conducting social research. They are met with some criticism, and for instance, they lack attention to detail (Zainal, 2007:5). This may be a result of a range of factors including the researcher’s bias, which may produce misleading and incorrect findings of a study. In a qualitative research study such as this one, the researcher is the main research instrument, and it is therefore impossible for it to be completely free from bias. To ensure credibility, the original speeches are the primary text used for the rhetorical analysis. Secondary sources are only used to support arguments made in the analysis. The researcher has tried to be unbiased in the analysis; however, it is inescapable that the interpretation of the data is informed by the researcher. To maintain credibility and replicability, the original speeches have been appended to this dissertation as Appendices A-C. Despite the shortcomings of a case study research design, it remains the most appropriate research strategy for this study, because of its ability to explore and describe social phenomena in a focused context and subject specific manner. The context of phenomena is an important aspect, particularly in this study.

3.11 Thabo Mbeki

Thabo Mvuyelwa Mbeki was born on the 18 June 1942 and raised in Mbewuleni, a small village near Idutywa in the Eastern Cape. He is the first son of four of Epainette and Govan Mbeki’s children. Vale and Barret (2009:445) assert, “Mbeki was born into one of the dynastic families of South African liberation politics”. Epainette affectionately known as MaMofokeng was a teacher and political activist (Gumede, 2007:37). While Govan Mbeki was a teacher, political activist, one of the key

founders of MK Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military arm) and a journalist whose career included positions as the editor of *Territorial Magazine*, director of the *Guardian*, and a weekly journal and publishing a book called *Transkei in the Making* (Abrams, 2008:41). As members of the Communist Party, Mbeki's parents sought to pursue freedom against "tyranny and oppression" which significantly influenced Mbeki's political life (Abrams, 2008:40). His primary political influence can be traced to his parents. Mbeki learnt the important political lessons from his father, which committed him to the cause of freedom, and ultimately brought him to the highest office as President of South Africa. His childhood was influenced a lot by his parent's shop, the Goodwill Store that was run by his mother (Abrams, 2008:41). It was a convenience store, which he, like his other siblings, helped to manage. His contribution to the store instilled the importance of service, which can be seen as a way of describing his entire political career, as he dedicated his life to protecting and promoting the interests of the disadvantaged (Bongmba, 2004:292).

Mbeki's schooling began at Ewing Primary which went up to standard four (grade six); it is in this school that his intellectual aptitude was discovered (Hadland & Rantao, 1999:10). Mbeki's life was typical of any black South African individual living in rural Eastern Cape, but differed in one aspect; he was an avid reader (Abrams, 2008:44). This has had great implications on his unique ability to brilliantly articulate his thoughts, which his writing and speeches makes clear. He then progressed to a school in Queenstown and then Butterworth where he received his junior certificate (Gevisser, 2009:49) before heading to Lovedale College in Alice. His political consciousness was already sparked because of his parent's political interest but in this school, he was exposed to greater political activity. "In 1955, he joined the Society of Young Africans and then the school branch of the ANC Youth League in 1956" (Abrams, 2008:57).

Following his post-matric studies, Mbeki pursued a Bachelor of Arts in economics via correspondence at the University of London (Gevisser, 2009:67). He then received a scholarship to the University of Sussex on the recommendation of Anne Welsh, one of his teachers at Britzius College (Abrams, 2008:61). This opportunity came just as he started a new political group called the African Students' Organisation (ASO) on request of the ANC, a move that also made him a target for the apartheid

government. Events took a violent turn and Mbeki, by virtue of his political association, was implicated. He was therefore exiled in 1962 where he stayed briefly in Botswana and then flew to London where he pursued a Master's degree in economics (Gumede, 2007:67), this experience was integral in informing his economic development strategy that characterise his political leadership.

He continued to engage in political activities at his Sussex campus. His political loyalty in England was with the Soviet Union mainly because of the aid it provided for the ANC (Gumede, 2007:42). Thabo Mbeki's stay in London resulted in him organising an anti-apartheid protest from Brighton to London, which also "protested against a possible death sentence for this father and other Rivonia trialist" (Jacobs & Calland, 2002:8).

While in exile, Mbeki began to organise student factions of the ANC "traveling around the world telling people about apartheid" (Abrams, 2008:67). His effort caught the attention of Oliver Reginald Tambo who is recognised as one of Mbeki's most significant influences and mentors. Tambo was president of the ANC and dedicated his life to the cause of freedom from apartheid. He travelled around the world speaking against the regime and recruiting students for the ANC (Abrams, 2008: 68). It is evident that Tambo inspired Mbeki's political campaigning, which also uniquely positioned him as a future political leader.

Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance philosophy was framed by historical events such as colonialism and the apartheid regime. Moore (2014:166) states, "Mbeki's thought was deeply coloured by the history of South Africa and the history of the developing world in relation to the developed world". The objective of an Africa Renaissance was to encourage self-reliance of the African and to prove that countries of the African continent have the ability to govern democratically. Mbeki saw the rebirth of Africa as vitally important, and his renaissance concept required

"...a continent of democracy, justice and respect for human rights...Africa must regain her place as an equal among the continents" (Mbeki, 2001:20). It further seeks to emphasise African values internationally and to reinstate the agency of the African continent in decisions made on its destiny. The construction of a developed democratic and economically viable Africa was at the forefront of the goals he set for

the duration of his leadership. African renaissance sought to “eliminate African poverty and instil African pride to proclaim virtues of good governance, human rights and democracy in Africa” (Olivier, 2003:817).

Mbeki is frequently referred to as an ‘intellectual’. Madia (2017:1) describes Mbeki as “One of the greatest intellectuals Africa and the liberation movement have produced”. The African Renaissance philosophy asserted his aspiration to “allow the transformation of the idea from a practical programme of action” (Mbeki, 2001:137). Scholars view him as an intellectual because of the significant contributions he makes to public discourse engagement with subject matters addressing politics, economics, and social issues. His thought which is articulated in a number of publications including but not limited to, the titled *Mahube: The dawning of the dawn speeches, lectures and tributes*, *The African Renaissance*, *Africa the Time has come: Selected speeches and letter from the president*, *Africa define yourself*, *Letters from the President*, *A nation at work for a better life*, *Democracy and renaissance in Africa* represents a desire to promote the interest of South Africans and Africans at large.

3.12 Speeches selected for this study

The speeches selected for this study were delivered by Thabo Mbeki between 1995 and 1998 when he was Deputy President of South Africa. This period was an important building block of a distinguished political career that culminated in his appointment as head of state. In the period chosen for this study, he was Nelson Mandela’s Deputy President and was, as if many other South African’s, still trying to find his place in a new democracy. While he was working towards defining key problems and developing ways to address them, he started formulating his vision of an African Renaissance, which he tried to implement when he assumed the office of President of South Africa. These speeches were selected because they were given when the political and economic vision that he hoped to realise in his presidency were introduced to South Africa and the world at large. Analysing the persuasiveness of these texts will help us understand the influence of Mbeki’s public performances, and to identify him as a public intellectual according to Said’s characterisation.

What is comparable about the selected speeches is that they are all building a case for African renaissance. The focus is on African solidarity and development. The overarching theme of each speech is either political and/or economic. His developmental vision for South Africa and the continent was upheld by the idea of political and economic prosperity; the political and economic themes of these speeches advanced this cause. It is important to note that of the three speeches to be analysed, only one will be a political speech while the remaining two will be economic. Because of his academic training as an economist, he viewed development within an economic lens and it is therefore a central theme to consider in his rhetoric. His economic background is also the reason why the core focus of his economic speeches was to persuade investors to support this vision through investment and donations.

3.13 Political

“I am an African” - This speech was delivered by Thabo Mbeki in Parliament on 8 May 1996 in Cape Town on behalf of the African National Congress on the adoption of the Constitution Bill of the Republic of South Africa. Mbeki’s immediate audience consisted of dignitaries including Former President Nelson Mandela, Members of the Constitutional Assembly, domestic and foreign guests, and members of the public. This speech intended to constitutionally entrench new laws that would govern the then new (2 years) South African democracy. Moreover, Mbeki sought to establish unity and the advancement of democracy, which was a key aspect of the African Renaissance philosophy. The adoption of the Constitution Bill was a significant moment in South Africa’s history. The moment needed to be coupled with an address just as memorable. Mbeki, instead of former President Mandela, arguably presented this address because of his experience with handling the ANC’s public relations and impeccable writing and eloquence. Additionally, with the looming potential of him being Mandela’s successor, this speech was an opportunity for Mbeki to set the tone for his future presidential rhetoric. It is recognised as one of Mbeki’s most influential speeches with coverage that goes beyond the country and the continent. In South Africa in particular, this speech was covered by *The Cape Times*, *The Citizen*, *The Leader*, and *The Natal Witness*.

3.14 Economic

A National Strategic Vision for South Africa speech - This address was delivered at the Development Planning Summit in Pretoria on 27 November 1995. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki elaborated on a common economic vision and how it would address the challenges that stunted South Africa's economic growth, prevented it from being recognised as a key player in the global economy, and delayed the country's overall development. The address was presented at an event hosted by the Intergovernmental Forum. While not overly stated, the intended audience of this address seemed to consist of esteemed members of the attentive public who were in positions of power, for example heads of state, domestic, and foreign investors. This speech set the tone for the African renaissance's focus on sustainable economic growth as a prerequisite for the progression of South Africa and the continent at large.

Infrastructure and Development in South Africa speech – This speech was presented on 31 July 1998 at the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) in Midrand. The speech was delivered to the Chief executive of the DBSA, Board of Directors, and members of the Audit team, which is a much-specialised audience. Mbeki outlined the importance of investment in infrastructure as a catalyst of development. He specifically describes the correlation between infrastructure and development in South Africa and the SADC region. It further linked appropriate infrastructure to development, which is central to Africa's renewal according to Mbeki's philosophy. This address received substantial media coverage with reports from *The Citizen*, *The Sunday Independent*.

3.15 Data collection using Said's characterisation of the intellectual

Edward Said identified a framework (the three positions of the intellectual) which he suggests encapsulates the essence of a public intellectual. The framework proposes that in order to be classified as a public intellectual, individuals ought to be "exiles and marginal, amateurs, and authors of a language that tries to speak the truth to power" (Said, 1994:76). The three speeches chosen for this study will be analysed to determine whether these indicators are identifiable in the rhetorical choices Mbeki makes in his speeches.

A brief discussion of Said’s framework is outlined to assist in following the arguments made in the analysis. Central to Said’s framework of the public intellectual is that they should be “an outsider” which means that a public intellectual should be independent of social authorities including the media, the government, and corporations (Said, 1994: xvii). To be an outsider, an intellectual needs to assume marginality, Said states that, “a condition of marginality, which seems irresponsible or flippant, frees you from having to always proceed with caution” (Said, 1994:63). To be an amateur refers to an “unquenchable interest in the larger picture, in making connections across lines and barriers and refusing the restrictions of a profession” (Said,1994:76).Speaking the truth to power means that public intellectuals ought to put themselves in a position of “uncompromising freedom of opinion and expression as their main bastion” (Said, 1994:89).

3.16 Said’s Characterisation Codebook

Table 1

Said’s Indicators	Descriptors	Keywords/Phrases
Intellectual as an Outsider		
Marginal	Free to think because the person occupies an "unimportant" position in society	Uninhibited
Intellectual Amateur		
Amateur	Committed to lifelong learning, the person does not aspire to be a professional in a particular field	Open minded, Amateur, Generalist, Specialist
Intellectual as a disruptor		
Disrupting the Status Quo	Hold others to account by pointing out flaws in their logic and/or actions	“Speaking the truth to power”, accountability
Intellectual as influencer		

3.17 Rhetorical analysis

This research will use rhetorical analysis to collect data from the three selected speeches. Rhetorical analysis refers to the process of close reading text to uncover

“overt meaning, stated and unstated assumptions and the strategies and techniques used by a writer to gain in depth understanding” (Strang, 2015:1). A rhetorical analysis allows for description, interpretation, and judgement of a text to uncover its meanings and can “expose textual manipulation and ideological bias” (Edmondson, 2011:2). The focus of this data collection method is on the techniques writers and or speakers use to convey a specific message usually for persuasion purposes. It encourages looking at the larger picture of a text, deconstructing a text to understand how arguments and the use of rhetorical devices contribute to meaning making, knowledge, and how we understand the larger social political and economic context of the meaning constructed.

To explore whether Mbeki exhibits the markers of Said’s characterisation of a public intellectual, the context, language techniques, audience and arguments in the speeches will be analysed. In this study, the selected political and economic speeches of former President Thabo Mbeki will be analysed as the primary sources for this study. In addition to primary sources, secondary sources in the form of books and journal articles will be consulted in the research undertaking to support a comprehensive understanding of South African public intellectuals through research findings. These speeches will be analysed to appreciate the relationship between the speeches as a public performance and the vocation of public intellectuals.

Leach (2011: 6) asserts that the objective of a rhetorical analysis is not to be ‘scientific’ or to be a blueprint that recognises persuasion at all times and places. It is instead a context-specific method of collecting data and the ability to communicate “the particular and the possible, not the universal and the probable”. A rhetorical analysis does not seek uniformity in meaning and persuasive appeal of a text; it interprets a text and depending on the vantage point of the researcher, produces a specific meaning that is particular to the context and time thereof.

A rhetorical analysis accommodates the evaluation of the persuasiveness of a speaker and text. In the case of this study, the evaluation of Mbeki’s persuasive power is important for identifying whether he shaped public opinion and encouraged public engagement and can, therefore, be identified as a public intellectual according to Said’s characterisation.

The researcher analyses the style of a given text by observing the choice of words, structure of the text in order to understand the broader context within which the text occurs. There is no single prescribed method for conducting a rhetorical analysis. Instead, a researcher can approach the data collection method in various ways as long as the techniques of persuasion used are revealed. This data collection method assumes rhetorical strategies, which include critical reading and an analysis of rhetorical appeals. Critical reading, which refers to a process of interpreting, analysing, and evaluating what is said in text (Cequena, 2016:611), is the central tool that this study used to analyse Mbeki's economic and political speeches. In critical reading, rhetorical devices including language features as a metaphor, anaphora, and anecdotes, among others, will be analysed to better understanding how persuasion is effected in the speeches.

The key focus of this study is the analysis of Mbeki's rhetorical choices to determine whether he was able to successfully build a case for African Renaissance, and therefore be identified as a public intellectual, according to Edward Said's characterisation. This section outlines the key genres that are likely to be utilised in Mbeki's political and economic speeches.

3.18 Branches of rhetoric

All speech falls into three general branches; these are epideictic, deliberative or forensic. A speech can be a combination of all three branches. Epideictic speeches are a "genre that combines the goal of reaching persuasion with the offer of verbal means that are used to establish consensus regarding norms and values in society" (Schäffner, 1997:4). Epideictic speeches are focused on the present in efforts to establish shared values. Deliberative speeches, on the other hand, are concerned with making political decisions "the deliberative consists in the discussion of policy and embraces persuasion and dissuasion" (Schäffner, 1997:65). These policymaking speeches persuade the audience of a particular position by stating frameworks for future policy. Forensic/Judicial speeches make arguments based on past events and judgements based on preceding legal discourses. Forensic speeches focus on the past as a tool for understanding present and future events. Considering the distinct

branches of rhetoric, it is important to note that the differences in the types of speeches are not always as clear-cut as it may seem.

3.19 Rhetorical appeals

Speeches achieve persuasion with three main artistic or intrinsic appeals; these are logos, pathos, and ethos. These are distinct from inartistic appeals in that they rely on witnesses or contracts and not on rhetorical discourse. They include logos, which refer to “appeals to reason” (Lutzke & Henggeler, 2009:1). Logos focusses on the argument of the text; it considers how well a speaker argues a point. In the rhetorical triangle, ethos is another rhetorical appeal; it refers to “appeals to the writer’s character” (Lutzke & Henggeler, 2009:1). Here the credibility of an argument is assessed according to the reputation of the writer or speaker. Pathos, which refers to “an appeal to emotion” (Lutzke & Henggeler, 2009:1), considers the influence of emotion of a text in persuading an audience to accept opinions stated in a rhetorical argument. In this study’s rhetorical analysis, the speeches will be analysed to explore the ways in which the rhetorical appeals can help us to identify the extent to which Thabo Mbeki’s public performance persuades his audience to support African Renaissance as well as if he is identifiable as an intellectual according to Said’s characterisation.

3.20 Rhetorical analysis codebook

Table 2

Rhetorical Appeals	Descriptors	Speech 1
Ethos	Ethics, reputation	
Logos	Logic, reason	
Pathos	Emotions	

3.21 Audience

The audience is a key aspect of the assessment of any speech. It is important to note whom the speaker is addressing, how they address the audience, and whether the speech reaches the intended target audience. Morris (2008:44) states, "Rhetoric demands that we understand our audience. Those who hear our arguments are as important to the rhetorical situation as are the facts and details about the case". While an analysis of the audience is integral to the analysis, according to Medhurst (1996: XVIII), from a rhetorical perspective, the audience is always invented in the speaker or writer's mind and is therefore very difficult to scientifically quantify. However, to truly appreciate the role of the audience in rhetoric, one must note the difference between the perceived and actual audience. The actual audience refers to whom the speaker is actually speaking to, while the perceived consists of whom the speaker thinks they are speaking to. A close understanding of the actual audience ensures that the speaker addresses the audience appropriately. The composition, style, and rhetorical devices used to relay a specific message, need to be tailored to fit said audience. This is done by considering the worldview, background, level of education, among other things, of the audience to ensure that the speech fulfils its intended purpose (Morris, 2008:44).

Having considered the audience it is important to look at the individual speeches to ascertain whom Mbeki appears to be addressing, in addition to the obvious audience. Knowledge of the audience is essential for effective rhetoric, it is critical to a speech achieving its intended purpose. In order to truly understand the audience, South Africa's media interpretation of the different speeches will be analysed to measure the influence of Mbeki's rhetoric and to determine from there whether according to Said that qualifies him as an intellectual. The media is analysed because it is central to shaping public opinion, therefore its response to Mbeki's speeches has a direct effect on the audience's perception. For this specific study, the focus is going to be on the newspaper archive SA Media, this platform was chosen specifically because in the period when these speeches were presented, print media

in the form of newspapers was more prevalent, and so will provide the best medium for interpretation.

3.22 Summary

The goal of this chapter was to outline the theoretical perspective and the research method used to address the research questions of this study. A discussion of poststructuralism, qualitative research as the approach, the case study research design, and rhetorical analysis are outlined above to provide insight into the research process of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR - RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter collects data from the three selected speeches, delivered between 1995 and 1998, by then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. They were selected because they document the development of Mbeki's African Renaissance philosophy; a philosophy he hoped would drive development in the country and across the continent.

The first speech, *National Strategic Vision for South Africa* was presented on 27 November 1995 at the Development Planning Summit hosted by the Intergovernmental Forum in Pretoria and sought to outline and persuade the audience to work towards a common economic vision to develop South Africa. This speech set the tone for the African Renaissance which focused on sustainable economic growth as a prerequisite for the progression of South Africa and the continent at large.

The second speech considered here, Mbeki's address on 8 May 1996 in Cape Town, on behalf of the ANC when the Constitution Bill of the Republic of South Africa was adopted, is commonly known as the *I am an African* speech. It disrupts what had become the "status quo" which was characterised by a divided society and sought to appeal to ethnic, racial, and religious affiliations of the audience. He aimed to establish unity and advance democracy, both key aspects of the African Renaissance philosophy.

The third speech titled, *Infrastructure and Development in South Africa*, was presented on 31 July 1998 in Midrand at the South African Development Bank. It sought to highlight the importance of infrastructure in positioning the country as a key player in world economics. It further related appropriate infrastructure to development, which is central to African renewal according to Mbeki's philosophy.

The data collection is presented visually in the form of a table and specifically assesses the performative aspect of Mbeki's speeches. The speeches are viewed as

public acts or performances and are analysed through a rhetorical analysis to assess their persuasiveness in gathering support for the African Renaissance philosophy.

4.2 Speech 1: National Strategic Vision

In this speech, Mbeki discusses a common economic vision and how it would address the challenges that stunted South Africa's economic growth and prevented it from being recognised as a key player in the global economy.

The speech is deliberative with slight aspects of epideictic speech, particularly at the beginning. It is deliberative, as it was a policy-making speech, and attempted to persuade the audience to take a specific course of action. Its epideictic qualities sought to inform the audience about his strategic vision and persuade them to be active participants in achieving the vision's objectives. Through the speech, Mbeki also attempts to convince investors to trust the government and its plans to develop the economy. He attempted to use the principles of his African Renaissance philosophy to position the country as investor-friendly to attract funding. The vision could not be implemented without the support of government departments (national, provincial, and local), local and international private sector investment and the broader South African public.

Mbeki, therefore, adopted an edifying tone to reinforce his intended strategy. The persistent appeal to logos, and ethos to a lesser extent, supports the speech's purpose to inform and persuade. And while not overtly stated, the intended audience seemed to consist of people in positions of power including heads of states, domestic, and foreign investors. The audience members were, therefore, able to help deliver Mbeki's strategic vision.

Table 3

Rhetorical Appeals	Descriptors	Speech 1
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Rhetorical Appeals	Descriptors	Speech 1
Ethos	Ethics, reputation	"We have at last achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination", I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can rest only for a moment, for with freedom comes responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended"
		"no national state can plan rigidly and precisely for the future"
		"This distillation process is not straightforward"
		"The scale of our own problem is only just becoming known and requires serious attention and action"
		"High growth will permit us to achieve much greater equity in incomes and raise living standards for all"
		"We can already define the six pillars of our Growth and Development Strategy. They are not new"
		"they permit the public to monitor our progress"
		"It is essential to put in numbers and time frames which challenge us and the whole society" macro-economic", "supply side", "capital inflows" and "deficit reduction"
		"Never tell people how to do things. Establish what you want to achieve and they will surprise you with their ingenuity"
Logos	Logic, reason	"And though we have come from diverse starting points, our future destiny is together"
		"We cannot predict exchange rates or oil prices in twenty-five years"
		"Do we have a common vision to guide our actions?"
		"In our discussions today we must ensure that our actions over the coming months, however well intentioned, will not be reckless, and through adopting a common vision we must do our utmost to assure our peoples' future"
		"But first let us pause to survey our journey thus far"
		"Interim Constitution"
		"Our reintegration into the global community has normalised our relations with our neighbours in Southern Africa and presented new opportunities and challenges in international trade"

Rhetorical Appeals	Descriptors	Speech 1
		<p>“The Reconstruction and Development Programme established a unique national consensus on the need for prosperity, democracy, human development and the removal of poverty”</p>
		<p>“Almost biblical character”</p>
		<p>“many many”</p>
		<p>“The need to phase out inefficient transport subsidies and to ensure effective public transport. Or to elaborate on a job creation strategy. Or to develop a detailed tourism strategy”</p>
		<p>“Government will co-ordinate the development of a national strategic framework. This will set out a long-term vision, which includes goals and critical success factors, macroeconomic and expenditure guidelines, and priority focus areas. The framework will set parameters on what must be done, define intergovernmental relationships, and set guidelines for the utilisation of government resources”</p>
		<p>“Most recently we consolidated our transition to democratic government through the local elections which took place in most areas of the country”</p>
		<p>“We need to ensure that every strategy and action we decide on has as its starting point the need to tackle this momentous task”</p>
		<p>“Our export capacity will be a critical component of our growth path”</p>
		<p>“Some economists believe that maximum penetration of the European market was the deciding factor in the economic success of the East Asian tigers”</p>
		<p>“First, we must agree on the central pillars of our Growth & Development Strategy. Second, we should begin to establish realistic targets, based on current information”</p>
		<p>“These are the basis of our vision. Third, we must commit that all future policies, plans, and activities will contribute to the vision. Fourth, we must ask our Directors-General to produce a more detailed Growth and Development Strategy by February 1996. This strategy will guide the allocation of public sector resources in the budget, spatially and sectorally. It will also guide personnel planning and will provide a framework for private sector investment. In order to guide the 1997/98 budget process, departments must finish this work in time for us to finalise the Growth and Development Strategy by February 1996”</p>
		<p>“Economic growth cannot be separated from the measures to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life”</p>

Rhetorical Appeals	Descriptors	Speech 1
		“To succeed this strategy requires that every government department... align with the National Strategic Vision and the National Growth and Development Strategy”
		“Our six pack of critical measures announced in November '94, and the cabinet bosberaad in January of this year identified the most urgent short-term priorities for the Government”
		“We need to ensure that every strategy and action we decide on has as its starting point the need to tackle this momentous task”
		“Recent studies in a number of African countries suggest that at current rates of infection, AIDS will be one of the major impediments to sustained growth and prosperity”.
		“The confidence which exists in our political system and economy has not been matched by high levels of fixed domestic and inward investment”
		“Effective information collection and dissemination has become a defining feature of the economy”
		“Today’s meeting provides us with an opportunity to review our progress and to agree our future direction”
		“include investing in people as the core of the economy”, “Job creation”, “investment and household and economic infrastructure”, “A national crime prevention strategy”, “an efficient and effective government” and “provision of Welfare”
		“the targets in our vision do not replace the targets set in the RDP base document”, “For instance, the provision of basic services to all would be in terms of the standards set in the RDP base document”
		“The key now is to develop coherent strategies in all departments and provinces which support the vision and contribute tangibly to its targets”
Pathos	Emotions	“Where there is no vision, the people perish”
		“Prophets”
		“We must”

The speech begins by asserting the importance of having a common vision to guide future prosperity, a feat he achieves by citing two of Nelson Mandela’s quotes – one from his inaugural speech and the other from his autobiography *A Long Walk to Freedom*. These references to Mandela, a revered public figure, were meant to

appeal to the audience's sentiments, drawing them in to listen to the speech and lend credence to Mbeki's proposals.

Quoting Mandela was also an appeal to the audience's logic; they established a context that reinforced Mandela's earlier vision of a unified nation striving to overcome its past injustices. Mbeki then linked this political emancipation to include economic renewal with: "We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination". He then compared the journey to achieving a common economic vision to Mandela's "Long Walk to Freedom" to emphasise the effort this strategy would require. Mbeki makes a logical and emotional appeal to the audience by using these quotes to foreground the most important aspects of this address, particularly in the introductory part of the speech.

The speech's twin appeal acts as a bridge that would repair the injustices of the past: "And though we have come from diverse starting points, our future destiny is together". While this speech was predominantly deliberative, this part of the speech was epideictic because it sought to rally support for a better economic future for everyone. It also develops a pace that builds suspense within the audience and foregrounds the next difficult point, which he presents in the deliberative part of the speech.

Mbeki shared an informed opinion with the audience stating: "We cannot predict exchange rates or oil prices in twenty-five years". This assertion justified the need for South Africans to be flexible and patient effectively tempering the audience's expectations and reinforcing his economic expertise. To give the audience additional context, Mbeki alliterated "no national state can plan rigidly and precisely for the future". This underscores the unpredictability of the economic context before he explains his plans to mitigate as much of this volatility as possible. This was intended to reinforce his credibility and established Mbeki as a dependable individual, whose views could be trusted.

Petty, Cacioppo and Heesacker (1981: 432) performed a cognitive response analysis in the use of rhetorical questions, and found that they "either increased or decreased

the cognitive elaboration of a message depending on the personal relevance of the message". This is perhaps why Mbeki uses this rhetorical technique to underscore the need for flexibility and unity, two tenets of the African Renaissance. He asked: "Do we have a common vision to guide our actions?" to emphasise the importance of a common vision. This rhetorical question was an appeal to the audiences' logic and attempted to use a persuasive tool to subtly influence the audience to help realise this vision.

Mbeki's use of a biblical reference is another attempt to push for a common vision. He quoted the book of Proverbs in the Old Testament stating: "Where there is no vision, the people perish" and referenced an expression in the book of Habakkuk which he affectionately referred to as the "prophets". This quote intended to appeal to the audience's pathos or emotional predisposition. Audience members who did not subscribe to Jewish or Christian beliefs were still able to follow his logic based on its relevance to the subject matter. Mbeki concluded the epideictic part of the speech by asserting the importance of acting to ensure a better future for all: "In our discussions today we must ensure that our actions over the coming months, however well intentioned, will not be reckless, and through adopting a common vision we must do our utmost to assure our peoples' future".

He tried to appeal to the audience's logic and emotional centres throughout this speech. From a logic standpoint he outlined steps to improve the country's economy and reinforced this with emotional language that emphasised plural pronouns "we" (which is repeated twice) and "our" (repeated three times) to include the audience as active participants in the endeavour.

Mbeki also made use of the conjunction, 'but' to link the beginning of the speech with the section that elaborated on the nation's journey. The conjunction indicated a change in thought and tone and building from a painful past to a bright future. As part of this journey, Mbeki mentions the "interim" Constitution to make the audience aware that it would likely change, which it subsequently did, before a permanent Constitution was adopted the following year. This journey metaphor continues with his reference to a "reintegration" into the global community highlighting one of the changes brought about by the end of apartheid – the country was politically and

economically isolated during apartheid. His use of the word “neighbours” also describes the surrounding countries and a candid tone further underscoring the idea that integration on a regional scale was key to realising this policy and attracting foreign investors. This was to be a precursor to his argument for an African Renaissance.

Mbeki then discussed the Reconstruction and Development Programme as an addition to the “journey thus far” stating that the programme “established a unique national consensus on the need for prosperity, democracy, human development and the removal of poverty”. The brief definition of the programme had a logical appeal and gave the audience additional information, further strengthening his argument. He personified the RDP stating it had an “almost biblical character” and in doing so gave it a human, and somewhat flawed, characteristic that he hoped the audience would appreciate. This was supposed to prove an intellectual vulnerability which was intended to appeal to the audience’s ethos and thereby earn their support. By repeating “many many” to describe the RDP’s priorities and programmes Mbeki acknowledged that the document lacked logical and practical action steps that his common economic vision addressed.

Mbeki made it clear to the audience that the “distillation” process was not linear and acknowledged the wider implications of the strategy in an effort to placate their concerns. To contextualise the challenge that was the “distillation” process, he used a colon to introduce additional information related to the challenges and reinforce the rhythm and pace of the speech (Neale and Ely, 2007:17). He listed challenges including “the need to phase out inefficient transport subsidies and to ensure effective public transport, or to elaborate on a job creation strategy, or to develop a detailed tourism strategy” to emphasise his point. He further discussed these challenges sharing the key aspects of the strategic plan carefully explaining his proposed actions.

By introducing the RDP White Paper he set “a clear framework to guide our decision-making” and outlines a logical sequence for the audience: “Government will coordinate the development of a national strategic framework. This will set out a long-term vision, which includes goals and critical success factors, macro-economic and

expenditure guidelines, and priority focus areas. The framework will set parameters on what must be done, define intergovernmental relationships, and set guidelines for the utilisation of government resources”. This quote also implied the need to embed the accepted logic of good governance as a foundation for economic prosperity and consequently developed another core tenet for his African renaissance vision. Mbeki further reinforced his logical argument by mentioning a “six pack of critical measures” and the cabinet *bosberaad*² held on 15 January 1995, which identified urgent short-term priorities for the government to tackle. He also describes the Presidential Ad-Hoc Committee to emphasise the government’s commitment to developing a feasible vision for the future and restore investor confidence.

To further support the betterment of society, Mbeki commented on the local elections held (on 1 November 1995) in most parts of South Africa (Hartman, 2004:236). He suggested that the elections “consolidated” democracy emphasising the importance of a transparent system to realising the common economic vision that would be the thrust of the African Renaissance.

Mbeki then, in a logical sequence, introduced eight imperatives that would guide the strategic vision. The first was unemployment and poverty where Mbeki tried to make a case for investors to assist in addressing this challenge. He also looked to rally South Africans to support his vision, so appealing to their pathos or emotional sentiment. Next, was the trade opportunity with the European Union, which he explains will increase “our export capacity ... a critical component of our growth path”. This is mentioned to rally investors to fund the country’s export “capacity”. S’fiso Ngesi, states that a “common way of inspiring an audience with confidence ... to cite examples of people who have accomplished a similar or identical thing” (Ngesi, 2013:46). Mbeki uses this advice and describes the example of East Asia’s economic success to justify exploring the EU trade opportunity.

Mbeki also links health and the HIV/AIDS epidemic to the country’s economic prosperity: “Recent studies in a number of African countries suggest that at current

² A *bosberaad* is a “bush summit’, a meeting of leaders at a retreat which is remote from urban centres, intended to provide participants with the chance to focus on difficult issues undisturbed” (DSAE, 2020:1)

rates of infection, AIDS will be one of the major impediments to sustained growth and prosperity". At the time of this address, the HIV/AIDS epidemic was devastating South African society. Abdool Q Karim and Abdool S Karim (2001:39) state that the "national HIV prevalence rates, based on annual anonymous antenatal surveys, rose from 0.76% in 1990 to 10.44% in 1995". A country riddled with the devastating effects of the HIV/AIDS would struggle to materialise the plans and programmes put in place to achieve the economic vision. Acknowledging the likely impact of the epidemic was done to improve the quality and persuasiveness of his argument.

The role of information in global economic growth was another imperative: "Effective information collection and dissemination has become a defining feature of the economy". This imperative was also foundational for African Renaissance philosophy, which sought to propel South Africa into a key player in the global economy.

The concern about the ability to deliver on the promises of the RDP is the sixth imperative that "could not materialise overnight"; effectively silencing criticism that may have suggested that the RDP was failing. The choice of "overnight" implied that with some patience, positive change would develop. This also assured the audience that progress however slow was being made, to ensure that they are not excluded from funding based on the progress of RDP.

To enhance the persuasive appeal, halfway through the speech, he reiterates the occasion's primary purpose "today's meeting provides us with an opportunity to review our progress and to agree on our future direction" (Mbeki, 1995). To preface the vision, Mbeki outlines four aspects that would contribute to the vision; these included agreeing on the central pillars of the Growth and Development Strategy and establishing realistic targets that are based on current information. He also committed the Directors-General to produce a more detailed Growth and Development Strategy by February 1996. These prerequisites ensure a consistent message that purported to strengthen his persuasive appeal.

Mbeki then logically described the vision itself declaring the RDP was a central feature before repeating for emphasis that "economic growth cannot be separated

from the measures to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life". He further proposed that "this strategy requires that every government department align with the National Strategic Vision and the National Growth and Development Strategy". His phraseology suggested that if government departments did not align to the strategies as outlined, they would be jeopardising the overall success of the vision. Here he attempts to hold these departments accountable and assert his integrity as a leader.

Mbeki's logical appeal continues by justifying the use of the Growth and Development Strategy's six pillars noting that "their power is their simplicity" effectively anticipating some concerns that the audience may have harboured. The pillars included investing in people as the core of the economy, job creation, investment and household and economic infrastructure, a national crime prevention strategy, an efficient and effective government and provision of welfare. Mbeki listed and very briefly explained each pillar offering explanations to give the audience greater context. He illustrates, for example, the need, as outlined in the RDP Base Document, to provide basic services to all within ten years while pursuing an annual growth rate of 6% as proposed by the Department of Trade and Industry, reducing unemployment, inequality eliminating absolute poverty and reducing illiteracy rates.

Mbeki then stated that to achieve the vision, there was a need to "develop coherent strategies". He assumed a directive tone to convey the importance of this approach and acknowledged that "certain existing programmes be phased out to free up resources for the new priorities". He switches to an instructive tone repeating "we must" three times to emphasise unity and the importance of his action plans and appeal to the audience's emotions.

He continued to present himself as a proponent of accountability, a key value for this speech's audience, suggesting that the proposed targets "permit the public to monitor our progress" and by announcing "numbers and time frames which challenge us and the whole society". This further entrenches his integrity.

Mbeki also strategically used economic jargon "macro-economic", "supply side", "capital inflows" and "deficit reduction" to assert his familiarity with both the economic

subject matter and the needs of this much-specialised audience. This is particularly important considering the economic focus of the summit and address.

Very late in the speech, Mbeki quotes US General George Patton, “Never tell people how to do things. Establish what you want to achieve and they will surprise you with their ingenuity” which was a stark contrast to the directive tone of this section and is seemingly inappropriate. Granted the quote tries to evoke an emotional appeal and challenge the audience (and the people of South Africa) to rise and overcome the challenges of the day, but its position makes it seem contrived.

In conclusion, the speech had aspects of both deliberative and epideictic speech which drove a logical developed argument. The vision casting at the beginning of the speech is epideictic and sought to establish shared values. The body and conclusion of speech is mostly deliberative and outlines policy aspects that help to deliver a common vision that addresses South Africa’s sustained economic growth. Mbeki’s rhetorical choices also largely support logos appeals which were meant to persuade the audience to support the South African economy and establish the country as a key player globally. Importantly, it also introduces several of the key tenets – the advancement of unity, democracy, and good governance – of Mbeki’s African Renaissance vision which is, for this study, the core of his contribution as a public intellectual. Mbeki’s strategies sought to present South Africa and the continent as investor friendly to garner financial support through investment and funding to achieve the economic development needed for an African Renaissance.

4.3 Speech 2: I am an African

This speech was epideictic, it “combines the goal of reaching persuasion with the offer of verbal means that are used to establish consensus regarding norms and values in society” (Schaffner, 1997:4). Mbeki set out to persuade the audience to accept and adopt an identity which celebrated South Africa’s past, present and future by envisioning a new South Africa that embraced reconciliation. In this way, he attempted to manifest a commitment to social action by discussing the main points of the new Constitution which was supposed to facilitate the rebirth of the country.

He adopted a didactic tone to inform his audience and appeal to their emotions and desire for unity and to encourage them to assume the identity he outlines in the speech. Mbeki's rhetorical choices focus on appealing to pathos, through strategies that promoted unity, were central to achieving the speech's influence. He sought to promote reconciliation by drawing the audience's attention to their common identity as African.

Table 4

Rhetorical Appeals	Descriptors	Speech 2
Ethos	Ethics, reputation	"Chairperson, Esteemed President of the democratic Republic, Honourable Members of the Constitutional Assembly, Our distinguished domestic and foreign guests, Friends On an occasion such as this, we should, perhaps, start from the beginning. So, let me begin"
		Pronoun "I" in the declarative sentence "I am an African"
		"Being part of all these people, and in the knowledge that none dare contest assertion, I shall claim that – I am an African"
		"I have experience of the situation in which race and colour is used to enrich some and impoverish the rest... I have seen... I have seen"
		They (the people of South Africa) are determined to define for themselves who they are who they should be"
Logos	Logic, reason	"The crack and the rumble", "dramatic shapes of the Drakensberg, "the soil-colour "the sands of the Kgalagadi", "audible silence"
		"seeking to obliterate from our memories a cruel occurrence which, in its remember I should teach us not and never to be inhuman again"

Rhetorical Appeals	Descriptors	Speech 2
		<p>"Hintsa and Sekhukhune, Cetshwayo and Mphephu, Moshoeshoe and Ngungunyane African foreign nationals, noting "the victories we earned from Isandhlwana Khartoum, as Ethiopians and as the Ashanti of Ghana, as the Berbers of the desert come of those who were transported from India and China"</p> <p>"I am born of a people who are heroes and heroines...who would not tolerate oppression" "It is a firm assertion made by ourselves that South Africa belongs to who live in it, black and white. It gives concrete expression to the sentiment we as Africans, and will defend to the death, that the people shall govern. It recognises fact that the dignity of the individual is both an objective which society must pursue and is a goal which cannot be separated from the material well-being of the individual"</p> <p>"I am born of the peoples of the continent of Africa"</p>
Pathos	Emotions	<p>"they who fell victim to the most merciless genocide our native land has ever seen, those who were the first to lose their lives in the struggle to defend our freedom and dependence"</p> <p>"The stripes they bore on their bodies from the lash of the slave master are a reminder embossed on my consciousness of what should not be done"</p> <p>"God created all men and women in His image"</p> <p>"the destruction of all sense of self-esteem", "the situation in which race and colour used to enrich some and impoverish the rest" and "expression of the denial of dignity of a human"</p>
		<p>being emanating from the conscious, systemic and system oppressive and repressive activities of other human beings"</p> <p>"the beggars, the prostitutes, the street children, those who seek solace in substance abuse, those who have to steal to assuage hunger, those who have to lose their sanity because to be sane is to invite pain"</p> <p>"Because of that I am born of a people who are heroes and heroines...who would not tolerate oppression"</p> <p>"fear" , "death", "torture" , " imprisonment" , "exile", "persecution", "despair"</p> <p>"The constitution whose adoption we celebrate constitutes an unequivocal statement we refuse to accept that our Africanness shall be defined by our race, colour, gender historical origins"</p> <p>"plural pronouns ourselves", "we", and "all"</p> <p>"the arrival of the migrants who left Europe to find a new home on our native land"</p>

Rhetorical Appeals	Descriptors	Speech 2
		“dismal shame of poverty, suffering and human degradation”
		“Shadow of despair”
		“That Africa reaffirms that she is continuing her rise from the ashes”
		“Whatever the setbacks of the moment, nothing can stop us now! Whatever difficulties, Africa shall be at peace! However improbable it may sound to the sceptic Africa will prosper!”

Mbeki began his address by formally acknowledging his immediate and perceived audience: “Chairperson, Esteemed President of the democratic Republic, Honourable Members of the Constitutional Assembly, Our distinguished domestic and foreign guests, Friends, On an occasion such as this, we should, perhaps, start from the beginning. So, let me begin”.

He used appropriate language and a formal tone and format to establish his ethos or credibility with the audience and honour the momentous occasion. His bold declarative assertion “I am an African”, introduces a discussion about inclusivity and directed the audience to think about how Mbeki, and themselves, fit into the narrative of African-ness. This personalised declaration, the pronoun “I”, established Mbeki’s credibility and encouraged the audience to consider an African identity as a viable choice. It also pricked their curiosity and encouraged them to listen closely and connect with the occasion.

Mbeki then related the African identity to nature referencing the seasons from “frozen”, “frost”, to “warmth”, “sunshine”, “heat” “sun” emphasised the ‘spring’ of a nascent democracy. He used extended metaphors, such as “My body has frozen in our frosts and in our latter day snows”, “it has thawed in the warmth of our sunshine and melted in the heat of the midday sun” and “lashed by startling lightening”. He applied these metaphors to his African identity to paint a picture of oneness for the audience through imagery. Metaphorical language adds an interesting flair to the speech but tends to obscure the argument and or idea he wanted to present. This could have affected the speech’s ability to fulfil its purpose to inform and persuade.

The section that articulates nature as part of Mbeki's identity was additionally laden with tropes. These included onomatopoeia "The crack and the rumble", which improved the effect of the description by creating an idea of the actual sound. Vivid diction in "dramatic" to describe the Drakensberg, "the soil coloured" to describe Lekoa, iGqili and Thukela waters, and "sands" to describe Kgalagadi is used to clearly convey the message of nature as the beginning of a shared history and an integral part of the African identity Mbeki sought to outline. He made use of these intense references to nature to appeal to the logic of the audience and used real life examples to support his point of an African identity rooted in commonality. The audience is encouraged to relate the African identity, to real life, tangible parts of nature such as the Drakensburg Mountains and make sense of Mbeki's argument. Through references to nature, Mbeki was also trying to appeal to the emotions of the audience. He was painting a picture of South Africa and positioning each and every person within it. He was guiding the audience to use their imagination and see themselves as Africans. He concluded the section with the declaratory statement "I am an African!" to further entrench this identity and appeal to the audience's nationalistic sentiments.

Saloomi and Nayel (2020:12) recognise the importance of inclusion as a persuasion tactic stating that "inclusive language represented by words like we, our and us create the impression that the speaker or writer is speaking directly to the audience or reader which encourages them to share the speakers view point". To advance a common national identity, Mbeki cleverly raised the shared historical background of all racial groups in South Africa as an integral part of the African identity. When people feel included, they are likely to support the argument that is put forward.

The all-encompassing African identity that he articulated supported the idea of the "rainbow nation" which was a major theme of post-apartheid political rhetoric. He therefore appealed to the ethos of the Mandela legacy in an effort to add to the persuasiveness of the speech. He also subliminally reinforces that the African National Congress was responsible for this new dispensation. As one of the leading parties in the struggle for freedom from apartheid, Mbeki implicitly describes the adoption of the Constitution as a victory of the ANC. He states, "We are assembled

here today to mark their victory in acquiring and exercising their right to formulate their own definition of what it means to be African”.

Providing strong supportive evidence in the form of an abridged history of the Khoi and the San appealed to the audience’s logic further encouraging them to accept what he was saying. His shift to the historical also asserted a shared, and somewhat painful, national identity: “They who fell victim to the most merciless genocide our native land has ever seen, they who were the first to lose their lives in the struggle to defend our freedom and dependence”.

He referred to the historical suffering of the Khoi and the San to establish shared history considering they are the first people of Southern Africa and build consensus by evoking an emotional response. He alliterated by stating that the Khoi and the San were victims of a “most merciless” genocide. He additionally unified the audience by using the pronoun “our” to include the audience in his assertion and the language conveyed a sad tone, which intended to evoke the audience’s empathy.

Mbeki then moved to encourage the audience to engage consciously with the past. He appealed to the logic of the audience when he applied the oxymoron “audible silence” to express that the audience should refrain from “seeking to obliterate from our memories a cruel occurrence which, in its remembering, should teach us not and never to be inhuman again”. He urged the audience to remember the past to avoid repeating its mistakes in the present and future. This was also a way for him to contextualise the Constitution and its provisions.

He began with white South Africans suggesting that his African-ness encompassed the history of “the arrival of the migrants who left Europe to find a new home on our native land”. He sustained his ethos by diplomatically understating colonialism by suggesting that it was a mere move rather conquest. According to Zondi (2015:1) conquest refers to the “exploitation of one set of human beings by others on the basis of embedded ideas of superiority and inferiority which underpinned imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism”. Mbeki arguably chose to approach it in that manner to avoid alienating those audience members who were of European descent because they were going to fund his economic strategies and help make the

African Renaissance philosophy successful. This entrenched him as an ethically likeable individual whose views were worth listening to.

He then referred to the Cape Malay slaves in an attempt to appeal to the sombre emotions of the audience using imagery when he stated, “the stripes they bore on their bodies from the lash of the slave master are a reminder embossed on my consciousness of what should not be done”. This appealed to the pathos of the audience, as it induced an emotional response to influence them towards his assertions.

He continued to refer to all other racial groupings including black South Africans referring to “Hintsisa and Sekhukhune, Cetshwayo and Mphephu, Moshoeshoe and Ngungunyane. African foreign nationals, noting “the victories we earned from Isandhlwana to Khartoum, as Ethiopians and as the Ashanti of Ghana, as the Berbers of the desert” and the Indian and Chinese population “come of those who were transported from India and China”. The reference to the history of people, places, and events appealed to the logic of the audience. The references substantiated his assertions, which contributed to the overall argument of the speech.

Mbeki made a religious reference as a further persuasive appeal. He stated, “God created all men and women in His image” The reference to God (a Christian deity) is an important feature in the political history of South Africa. Religious leaders played a significant role in promoting and overturning the apartheid government, its reference appealed to the pathos of the audience. The message he tried to convey is that since God created all men and women equally, so shall they be treated in the new South Africa according to the Constitution.

In the part of the speech where Mbeki discussed the challenges that shaped his African identity, the words “I have” were repeated to emphasise that he was about to share an experience that was personal to him. This narrative style of addressing his audience was an effective rhetorical device used for general audiences. In trying to be appeal to the people, he also subtly asserted his expertise and position as the Deputy President, a democratically elected representative of the people of South

Africa. He is a leader, when he asserts himself an African; his followers were likely to follow in his footsteps. In relaying the challenges the country was experiencing during the post-apartheid era, Mbeki used vivid descriptions, for instance: “The beggars, the prostitutes, the street children, those who seek solace in substance abuse, those who have to steal to assuage hunger, and those who have to lose their sanity because to be sane is to invite pain”.

He used descriptive language in long sentences, which support the emotional intent of the speech by creating a picture in the minds of the audience to reinforce his point. He acknowledged the challenges because they too were a real and relatable part of the situation, to omit them, was to not honestly reflect what it meant to be ‘African’. This stirred the audience’s emotions by using a gloomy tone to describe the state of affairs, which, according to Mbeki, was a result of the past.

Mbeki shifted to the expression of pride in the history of South Africa. This pride was attached to the political history of the country. He began the section with a sentence fragment “Because of that” which connected the challenges and the pride he asserted in that part of the speech. He opened his assertion of pride by relating it to those who fought against the injustices and oppression of apartheid. He repeated the words “I am” to honour the struggle of the heroes and heroines who fought against apartheid. To further appeal to the pathos of the audience, he shared a personal anecdote that the audience could relate to which could make them more receptive to what he had to say (Saloomi & Nayel, 2020:14).

He declared, “I am born of a people who are heroes and heroines...who would not tolerate oppression”. He related his pride to the perseverance of struggle heroes and heroines who braved the oppression of the apartheid government to unify the audience through a reminder of real-life experiences. The correlation with apartheid, however, was not explicitly stated; Mbeki seemed to assume that his audience was able to connect these points. He was appealing to the logic of the audience, however when the purpose is to persuade and inform, the speaker has a greater chance of success when the argument or point is clearly stated rather than when it is vaguely presented (Saloomi & Nayel, 2020:15).

Moreover, Mbeki appealed to the poignant emotion of the audience by using emotive words such as “fear”, “death”, “torture”, “imprisonment”, “exile”, “persecution”, and “despair” among others. He did that, to evoke intense emotion in the audience, to enhance the persuasiveness of his argument.

Mbeki also made implicit use of ethos to convince the audience of the argument he made about pride as a key component of the national identity he sought to instil. He stated that “they are determined to define for themselves who they are and who they should be” referring to the people of South Africa. This was interesting considering that while the people elected political representatives (him being one of them) they were not directly included in the formulation of the national identity he narrated in the speech. He appealed to credibility of the Deputy President by subtly asserting his political position to gain the support of the audience. This conveyed to the audience that by virtue of electing him, their views were represented and they should accept what he had to say.

The Constitution, which was the main reason for the delivery of the speech, was first mentioned in the latter part of the speech. Mbeki began the discussion of the Constitution by defining what it is and what the objectives are. He appealed to logos by citing some of the core objectives of the Constitution. He said, “It is a firm assertion made by ourselves that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white. It gives concrete expression to the sentiment we share as Africans, and will defend to the death, that the people shall govern. It recognises the fact that the dignity of the individual is both an objective which society must pursue, and is a goal which cannot be separated from the material well-being of that individual” (Mbeki, 1996).

Mbeki offered a brief explanation of the main purpose of the Constitution to induce a rational response in the audience. He provided additional information about the document so that the audience could make the connection between the identity he outlined and the Constitution, which is presented as something that will work synergistically together with this new-shared identity.

He personified the Constitution by applying the pronoun “whose” to its definition. Personification makes the description of non-human entities more realistic, as he attempted to connect the audience with the Constitution. This appealed to the pathos because the human quality attached to the Constitution evoked an emotional response, which contributed to achieving Mbeki’s objective to inform and persuade. To build consensus, Mbeki employed overgeneralisations including “ourselves”, “we”, and “all”. The overgeneralisations were used to unify the audience by making them feel included. He appealed to their pathos as this inclusion conveys an earnest tone, which pulls at the heartstrings of the audience.

Mbeki mentioned the challenges that plagued South Africa directly relating them to the legacy of apartheid. He also appealed to pathos by referencing the apartheid-era and stating that he witnessed “the destruction of all sense of self-esteem”, “the situation in which race and colour is used to enrich some and impoverish the rest” and “expression of the denial of the dignity of a human being emanating from the conscious, systemic and systematic oppressive and repressive activities of other human beings.” These are occurrences that the audience had either experienced first-hand, had witnessed, or had heard about. They are urged to ponder these experiences and or sympathise with those who had been directly affected. This appealed to the pathos of the audience because of the use of emotionally loaded language, which supported Mbeki’s efforts to forge a national identity rooted in shared history.

Mbeki acknowledged, and sought to persuade the audience, that the continent was a central component of the identity he, and by implication the Constitution, envisaged. He appealed to his audience’s reason when he stated, “I am born of the peoples of the continent of Africa”. This assertion extended what was initially assumed a South African identity to a continental one. Mbeki’s declaration was that he is an African, not just a South African, as much of the earlier part of the speech had alluded. He mentioned some of the challenges that plagued the continent and spoke of the “dismal shame of poverty, suffering and human degradation”. He made emotionally loaded descriptions of the social condition of the continent to evoke an emotional response for the purpose of persuasion. To stress the disadvantaged position of

Africa, Mbeki used the metaphor “shadow of despair”. To help the audience visualise hopelessness, to make a case for the need of a new Constitution supported by an African identity that sought to address the social and economic conditions that limit its progression towards a better position.

Mbeki proceeded to assert Africa as the cradle of humankind through its personification. He said, “...that Africa reaffirms that she is continuing her rise from the ashes” and gave the continent human qualities to assert its ability to change its fate and improve. It appealed to emotion as it gave vivid descriptions of the continent’s move towards progression. Feelings of hope were evoked which supported the persuasiveness of the speech. Mbeki concluded the speech with affirmations, he stated, “Whatever the setbacks of the moment, nothing can stop us now! Whatever the difficulties, Africa shall be at peace! However improbable it may sound to the sceptics, Africa will prosper!”

The exclamations were used to emphasise the affirmations Mbeki hurled to the audience. He conveyed a directive tone encouraging the audience to support his assertions. Mbeki closed the speech with a repeated exclamation of the statement “nothing can stop us now!” The statement unified the audience because of the plural pronoun “us”, as it included the audience. He repeated the statement so that it could linger in the minds of the audience for the purpose of persuasion.

In conclusion, the speech set to establish shared values and build consensus, as is the norm with epideictic speech. Mbeki forged a national identity rooted in shared history and reconciliation. He achieved this using various rhetorical devices and linguistic techniques that supported a pathos appeal. The Constitution which was introduced and celebrated on the day of the address was presented as a vehicle that served to inspire a ‘new’ South Africa. Although Mbeki did not refer specifically to the African Renaissance in this speech, some key tenets of the philosophy can be discerned. The first is the push for African unity and solidarity by introducing a common African identity. Additionally, the entrenching democracy thorough a Constitution supported by an all-encompassing identity is indicative of African Renaissance’s political tenet, which seeks to establish “democratic political systems

to ensure the accomplishment of the goal that “the people shall govern”(Mbeki, 1999).

4.4 Speech 3: Infrastructure and development in South Africa

The speech is deliberative; it sets out a framework for future policy to rebuild infrastructure and ensure sustainable development. The purpose of the speech was to persuade and inform the audience about the role of appropriate infrastructure in supporting overall development. Furthermore, it outlined some key strategies that would assist in rebuilding the infrastructure. He created a directive tone to convey the audience to the importance of acknowledging the relationship between infrastructure and development and rebuilding infrastructure to support South African and regional development. Mbeki tried to create an aura of expertise throughout the speech by using uncited data and statistics and making huge claims without strong, credible evidence to support them. At this stage, he is generally known to have expertise in economics. Mbeki holds a Master’s degree in economics from Sussex University (Gumede, 2007:39) and he trades on this assumption to ensure that the audience accepts, without question, what he had to say.

Table 5

Rhetorical Appeal	Descriptor	Speech 3
Ethos	Ethics, reputation	“Chairperson, Members of the Board, Ladies and Gentlemen”
		“Let me take his opportunity to thank the DBSA for inviting us to attend the launch of their annual report”
		“Government also acknowledges that the fiscus will not be able to address all these needs on its own”
		“I am told that an estimated US \$15-25 billion to 2005 is needed to address regional backlogs in transportation, telecommunications and energy”
		“DBSA must act as a catalyst to mobilise international and private sector funding” “The Bank”

		<p>“South Africa’s role here is multi-faceted”</p> <p>“As the region is poised to enter a period of social and economic transformation we believe the DBSA is ready to support the infrastructure imperatives of the RDP at national and regional level, underpinning a better life for all”</p>
Logos	Logic, reason	<p>“investment in infrastructure”</p> <p>“It enables established businesses to expand their production levels, while encouraging small businesses to enter the market”</p> <p>“In South Africa, our government is investing in infrastructure to eliminate service backlogs in underserved areas, especially”</p> <p>“The black townships and rural areas, in order to meet our people’s basic needs.”</p> <p>“basic infrastructure services can also reduce poverty and contribute to job creation</p> <p>“reasonable”, “fairly well developed”</p> <p>“These networks were not appropriate for the needs of the population and the economy. Most their economic bases, with few railway lines being financially sustainable. City transport systems were increasingly strained as the majority of the population had been forced to live far from their places of work and basic services”</p> <p>“In 1994 only 20 per cent of rural dwellers had access to electricity, 35 per cent to clean water and 5 per cent to adequate sanitation. Even in urban areas, at least a fifth of households could not access these services”</p> <p>“the government needed to provide infrastructure that would meet the country’s economic demands, while simultaneously redressing apartheid imbalances”</p> <p>“We have been actively addressing this problem”</p>

Rhetorical Appeal	Descriptor	Speech 3
		<p>“the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP) fund building, upgrading or rehabilitation of internal bulk and connector infrastructure”</p> <p>“Focusing on areas with untapped economic potential, they (SDIs) facilitate regional integration by promoting investment, employment and wealth creation, as well as infrastructure development”</p> <p>“SDIs demonstrate the paradigm shift from the protected and isolated approach to economic development of the past towards regional co-operation and integration”</p> <p>“Eight SDIs were identified in South Africa, based mainly on mineral processing, tourism and agriculture, and seven more within the southern African region”</p>

Rhetorical Appeal	Descriptor	Speech 3
		<p>“The Maputo Corridor is an example of a SDI which links South Africa to its neighbours”</p> <p>“Infrastructure investment in the region has long been inadequate”</p>
		<p>“There is enormous potential for SDIs elsewhere in the region”</p> <p>“apartheid’s deliberate isolation and support for acts of aggression, frequent armed conflicts and the subsequent need to divert expenditure from the infrastructure to defence compounded the problem”</p> <p>“most rural people cannot access clean water and proper sanitation”</p> <p>“The physical upgrading of infrastructure alone will not suffice”, it needs to be combined with credible policies, capacity building, skills transfer, regulatory reform and institutional change. Infrastructure is not the only constraint to efficient trade, but it is a prerequisite for successful economic development in the continent”</p> <p>“the reconstruction and development of the country in order to provide a better life for all”</p> <p>“This Renaissance – An African Renaissance, is about democracy, peace and stability, economic regeneration and improving the quality of life of our people in the region; through jobs, education and health”</p> <p>“It is coordinating SADC’s finance and investment sector, focusing on a new framework for financing regional infrastructure projects”</p> <p>“funds for financing”</p> <p>“pivotal”</p>
		<p>“The DBSA funded infrastructure services in 72 urban areas, benefiting nearly one million households across all provinces. In the region it funded smaller infrastructure projects and cofunded large-scale projects and programmes such as the Lesotho Highlands Water Programme, the Maguga Dam, the Botswana North-South Water Carrier project and the Mozal aluminium smelter in Maputo”</p>
Pathos	Emotions	<p>“We need to continue to ensure that labour intensive methods are used in infrastructure provision”</p> <p>“Our key policy doc the key role of infrastructure in promoting growth while meeting basic needs”</p> <p>“Most early infrastructure development was related to the colonial history of the region, focusing on exporting raw materials to the rest of the world instead of promoting interregional links”</p>

Rhetorical Appeal	Descriptor	Speech 3
		“we can overcome the legacy of the past” “enhance the quality of life of all people in the region”

Mbeki’s perceived audience in this address included his immediate guests who, according to the speech, included the chairperson of the Development Bank, board members and other attendees. In doing so, he presented himself as someone worthy of the audience’s attention, which he reinforced by saying: “Let me take this opportunity to thank the DBSA for inviting us to attend the launch of their annual report”. Mbeki asserted his leadership role when he referred to “us” implicitly stating that he was speaking on behalf of the country and the region.

He stated that the importance of infrastructure in development could not be emphasised enough. The use of assonance in “investment in infrastructure” supported the emphasis Mbeki conveyed by reinforcing the argument made because the repetition of vowel sounds could draw the audience’s attention. To emphasise the centrality of infrastructure Mbeki used the word “enhantion” to describe the ways in which infrastructure could enhance development. This word choice was intended to give a better understanding of his argument; the word “enhantion” is not commonly used, however considering that the audience present at the DBSA annual report likely consisted of people who were familiar with the jargon, this tailored vocabulary shows his expertise and indicates that he was able to read the audience therefore improving the intention to inform and persuade. Another example of this is his use of typical economic jargon such as “fiscus”, which refers to the treasury of the state, to explain that state funds need to be supplemented with public-private partnerships.

Mbeki used alliteration in “enables established” to draw further attention to the importance of infrastructure, this appealed to the logic of the audience because he offered explanations to justify his initial argument about the importance of infrastructure. He conveyed a didactic tone, which assured the audience that he was knowledgeable, contributing effectively to the purpose of informing and persuading.

Mbeki then proceeded to discuss the South African government's commitment to the promotion of development. Through an anecdote, he stated, "In South Africa, our government is investing in infrastructure to eliminate service backlogs in underserved areas, especially the black townships and rural areas, in order to meet our people's basic needs." The anecdote gave the audience specific details that supported his claim. Mbeki stated, "basic infrastructure services can also reduce poverty and contribute to job creation". However, he did not support the claim he was making with any kind of evidence, which could have affected the speech's purpose to inform and persuade. Mbeki suggested that infrastructure must be provided through "labour intensive methods". The personal pronoun "we" is used to involve the audience in the endeavour. He continued to bring the audience into his assertions when he said, "the challenge that the DBSA and all of us face". He appealed to pathos, by including the audience in his assertion through unifying language, when people feel like their contribution has the capacity to effect change, they are likely to listen to and accept what is being said which supports the purpose of the speech.

Mbeki shifted to describing and explaining the inherited South African infrastructure. He began with the economic infrastructure, which in this speech focused on transport and electricity. He described the transport and electricity as "reasonable" and "fairly well developed". The use of descriptive words positioned his argument, for example, he described a "reasonable" economic capacity by listing some of the shortfalls of the economic infrastructure. He cited inappropriate cross-border transportation and communication networks, insufficient financially sustainable railways and strained city transport. The list presented supporting evidence for the argument that infrastructure was a necessary condition for development. It further highlighted specific areas that needed to be addressed. To further illustrate the limitations of the inherited infrastructure, Mbeki stated that social and domestic infrastructure were limited to urban areas which disadvantaged those living in the rural areas: "In 1994 only 20% of rural dwellers had access to electricity, 35% to clean water and 5% to adequate sanitation. Even in urban areas, at least a fifth of the households could not access these services".

Citing statistics was meant to evoke a rational response from the audience as it presented evidence that supported his argument, but he did not state from where

these statistics were drawn which could have potentially hampered the persuasiveness of the speech.

Mbeki followed this with a claim that provided context, he stated that, “the government needed to provide infrastructure that would meet the country’s economic demands, while simultaneously redressing apartheid imbalances”. This claim related the development of infrastructure with the remnants of apartheid, which were limiting to South Africa’s development as a key player in the global arena. In consideration of the infrastructural limitations of apartheid, the audience was encouraged to consider how infrastructure development might mitigate the effects of apartheid.

He seemed to alliterate “actively addressing” to emphasise the commitment to focussing on issues that were a result of the legacy of apartheid. This drew the audience’s attention to the claim being made, which improved the speech’s purpose to inform.

Mbeki introduced the key policy document by stating, “the key role of infrastructure is promoting growth while meeting basic needs”. He used the plural pronoun “our” to engage the audience with unifying language. Including the audience in that manner was supposed to evoke feelings of camaraderie, which could have been an effective persuasive tool.

Mbeki expanded on the merged RDP-funded programmes, which were referred to as the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP). The purpose of the CMIP was to “fund building, upgrading, or rehabilitation of internal bulk and connector infrastructure”. Mbeki gave an explanation about the action steps taken to improve infrastructure. Moreover, he cited statistics to support the improvement in service delivery made by the CMIP stating: “The CMIP created some 250 000 employment opportunities through construction and maintenance of municipal infrastructure projects in its first year (1997)”. The evidence supported the importance of the programme as a vehicle to achieve improved infrastructure for development.

Mbeki moved to discussing how the government had been addressing the issue of inadequate infrastructure. He presented the government’s Spatial Development

Initiatives, which he suggested were a great instrument for public-private partnerships. He stated, “Focusing on areas with untapped economic potential, they (SDIs) facilitate regional integration by promoting investment, employment and wealth creation, as well as infrastructure development”.

He reiterated the need for public-private partnerships to rebuild essential infrastructure. Moreover, the description of the function of SDIs was meant to increase the audience’s understanding of the argument, which contributed to the speech’s informative objective. Mbeki integrated the aspect of regional cooperation as an imperative for infrastructure development. He posited that, “SDIs demonstrate the paradigm shift from the protected and isolated approach to economic development of the past towards regional cooperation and integration”. By highlighting, the contrast from a protected and isolated approach to regional cooperation and integration clarified the argument he made about the paradigm shift. This stressed the benefits of the shift, as it would ensure that infrastructure was rebuilt for development.

Mbeki asserted that eight Spatial Development Initiatives or SDIs were identified in South Africa which focused mainly on mineral processing, tourism and agriculture with seven more identified in the southern African region. He provided the audience with context to evoke a rational response and then the Maputo corridor as a major trade corridor connecting the Gauteng, Limpopo, and Mpumalanga provinces of South Africa with Maputo, a port and capital of Mozambique. He mentioned a couple of other South African and regional corridors using a hyperbole, the word “enormous”, to describe the potential of other SDIs in the region. The hyperbole intended to draw the attention of the audience by emphasising the vast potential. His word choice supported the argument.

Mbeki appealed to the emotion of the audience to further substantiate a point when he stated, “Most early infrastructure development was related to the colonial history of the region, focusing on exporting raw materials to the rest of the world instead of promoting inter-regional links”. He referred to the colonial past of the region, which remained an exposed nerve, mentioning it evoked feelings of sadness and even anger, which he used to support his argument but additionally contributed to the

intention to convince his audience of the importance of supporting infrastructure development through funding.

Mbeki used assonance to emphasise the inadequacies that characterise regional infrastructure investment. He said, “infrastructure investment in”, the repetition of vowel sounds stressed the importance of the argument made which both influenced the audience to accept what is being said and gain a better understanding.

To explain the need for infrastructure development, Mbeki rooted his argument in historical references and blamed apartheid for the lack of appropriate infrastructure citing political isolation, acts of aggression and armed conflicts. This narrative was supposed to encourage the audience to recall the past to make sense of the strategic direction he was proposing. Mbeki further outlined some immediate challenges such as a lack of access to clean water and proper sanitation to direct the audience to recognise the importance of investment in the infrastructure.

He then elaborated on his plan to address infrastructure development asserting that a “physical upgrading of infrastructure alone will not suffice”. The declarative sentence meant to draw the audience’s attention before he explained what was needed to supplement physical upgrading: “credible policies, capacity building, skills transfer, regulatory reform, and institutional change”. He provided additional information to support his claim without citing the source of the information and then incorporated the post-apartheid RDP economic policy as an additional vehicle to ensuring development. He stated the government’s commitment to the “reconstruction and development of the country in order to provide a better life for all”. This echoes the ANC’s electioneering slogan and connected the party (and the country) to the concept of an African Renaissance. This contributed to both informing and persuading the audience of Mbeki’s views.

Mbeki shifted to emphasise the role of South Africa in infrastructure development. He described it as “multi-faceted”, which suggests complexity to the audience and implied that South Africa is a credible leader of the region’s development. He asserted South Africa’s role in driving infrastructure development by describing what the role entailed, this included coordinating SADC’s finance, and investment sector and considering a new framework for financing regional infrastructure projects. He

supported the claim of the complex role of South Africa with an explanation of the action steps the country planned to take. To inform the audience about some banks that had committed to financing infrastructure, Mbeki used alliteration “funds for financing” to draw attention to the point that several commercial banks had established funds for infrastructure development on the continent.

He estimated that US \$15-25 billion was needed to address infrastructure backlogs. In informing the audience, he said, “I am told”, using a personal pronoun to make his point diplomatically and cover the lack of verifiable statistics and his use of uncited data and preserved his reputation. Mbeki shifted to the role of DBSA in funding infrastructure development in the SADC region. He used the descriptive word “pivotal” to emphasise its importance.

Mbeki provided additional information when he stated, “The DBSA funded infrastructure services in 72 urban areas, benefiting nearly one million households across all provinces. In the region it funded smaller infrastructure projects and cofunded large-scale projects and programmes such as the Lesotho Highlands Water Programme, the Maguga Dam, the Botswana North-South Water Carrier project and the Mozal aluminium smelter in Maputo” (Mbeki, 1998).

Mbeki cited data that outlined the outcomes of the funding provided by DBSA. He presented this to clearly illustrate to the audience the importance of the DBSA. Mbeki used the descriptive word “poised” to convey the preparedness of the region to work towards its social and economic transformation. The description gave the audience additional information from which to make sense of the assertion made. Moreover, he used the plural pronoun “we” to get the audience to agree that the idea of an African Renaissance is necessary, desirable and achievable. He presented himself as speaking on behalf of the audience (South African and the region). This asserted his position as both a political leader and an individual with a credible knowledge of matters of economic development.

His implicit reference to colonialism and apartheid when he stated that, “we can overcome the legacy of the past” also provided an emotional pull. This was smart, considering the body of speech appealed largely to logic and his credibility. The

reference to an emotional past, especially one that most audience members can relate to, unified the audience and added to the persuasiveness of the speech. Mbeki concluded the speech by making a regional rather than national statement. He stated that we would overcome to “enhance the quality of life of all people in the region”. By emphasising a broader focus on infrastructure development, he appealed to a larger regional rather than merely a national audience, which could possibly attract regional and even international investors for infrastructural development.

In conclusion, the introduction and body of this speech is deliberative with a significant appeal to logic which supports his ethos. The speech sets out a framework for future policy as it pertains to rebuilding infrastructure to ensure development in South Africa. Much of the speech is an appeal to logic or a reasoned approach and employs his expertise and credibility as an economist. His rhetorical choices support his focus on ethos as a means of informing and persuading the audience but he does not provide sufficient supporting evidence or citations to support his assertions. The speech concludes with an appeal to pathos using personal pronouns to emphasise inclusivity and references to South Africa’s past. By way of the above-mentioned rhetorical strategies, Mbeki implicitly introduced some tenets of African Renaissance philosophy in the speech. The first tenet is economic and conveys a desire to achieve sustainable economic development through the commitment to rebuild infrastructure. Economic development upholds Mbeki’s African Renaissance because it supports the objective of the continent establishing itself as a key player on the world stage. Furthermore, the pledge to ensure regional cooperation and integration in this address extends African Renaissance’s political tenet, which encourages African solidarity through interdependence.

CHAPTER FIVE - ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses and interprets the data collected in the rhetorical analysis of selected political and economic speeches by Thabo Mbeki. The interpretation seeks to answer the research questions that guided the study and uses Said's characterisation of the intellectual to assess whether these three speeches delivered and the context within which they were delivered, can help to classify him as a public intellectual.

The data to be analysed is obtained from the rhetorical analysis conducted in the previous chapter. The data collection process consisted of the analysis of three speeches, which address two broad themes (political and economic). These speeches are important because they mark significant components of his African Renaissance philosophy. Mbeki's African renaissance philosophy which he defined as the rebirth and the renewal of the African continent focused on yielding genuine emancipation (Mbeki, 2001:137), presented itself as the embodiment of the modern, postcolonial Africa. The philosophy sought to integrate "African tradition and symbolism with the rhetoric of free markets and good governance" (Becker, 2010:133).

The rebirth that Mbeki defined rested of four key aspects the economic, cultural, political, and social, which all endeavour to enhance Africa and establish the continent as a key player in the global system. The first tenet encapsulates the economic revival of the continent through "achieving sustainable economic development that results in the continuous improvement of standards of living and the quality of life of the masses of people "(Mbeki, 1999). Secondly, African Renaissance encompasses a reclaiming of African culture which involves "the rediscovery of Africa's creative past to recapture the peoples' cultures, encourage artistic creativity and restore popular involvement in both accessing and advancing science and technology"(Mbeki, 1999). Thirdly, Mbeki describes the "establishment of democratic political systems to ensure the accomplishment of the goal that "the people shall govern" (Mbeki, 1999). This political tenet comprises the democratisation of the continent following the exemplary peaceful transition of South Africa from Apartheid to democracy. Finally, the social aspect which encompasses

building African communities and modernising Africa's societies by involving "governments, political parties, but also the people themselves as well as ensuring the emancipation of the women of Africa" (Mbeki, 1999).

The analysis of the speeches was guided by indicators that constitute Edward Said's characterisation of the intellectual. For the purpose of this study, only the indicators that relate to the performative element will be analysed. This element focuses on distinguishable acts that inspire human freedom and knowledge. The aspect of the intellectual as an outsider, as it relates to exile, will be omitted in the analysis. Exile encompasses "a median state, neither completely at one with the new setting nor fully disencumbered of the old" (Said, 1994:49). Speech as a public performance, with a particular focus on persuasion and thought dissemination, warrants integration with one's audience that this aspect of Said's characterisation does not accommodate. The premise of the analysis is profiling Mbeki's speeches against the three positions of the intellectual, which are intellectual as marginal, as an amateur and intellectual as disruptor.

5.2 Overview

To facilitate a better understanding of the analysis, this chapter begins with a brief overview of the dissertation. This includes the statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research question, research design, and data collection methods.

The problem identified by this research is the lack of South African-specific study of the concept of the public intellectual. South Africans are consumers rather than pioneers of conceptions of the public intellectual. This means that our grasp of the concept of the public intellectual is largely informed by knowledge bases that are significantly different from our own. South African scholars have relied heavily on western conceptions of the public intellectual to understand the concept, instead of researching the concept to establish what the concept truly means in a South African context.

The purpose of this dissertation is to highlight the importance of investing intellectual inquiry into the development of a South African specific understanding of the concept of public intellectual. This is because the public "look at the intellectual as someone who ought to be listened to as a guide to the confusing present" (Said 2002:20). In

order for public intellectuals to be effective in society, they need to align their functions with the needs of their respective societies. To do so, they need to have a clear understanding of the roles they need to play in the society. It is important to study public intellectuals and their role within their specific contexts. The ideas of these intellectuals and their philosophies guide their societies towards restoring the past, interpreting the present, and mapping out visions of the future. Mbeki's idea, encapsulated in his African Renaissance philosophy, is especially important because it outlines a vision of development that he believes is central to the way Africans imagine an ideal continent.

To determine the need for South African specific conceptions of the intellectual, this dissertation used Said's widely accepted characterisation of the public intellectual to profile a South African subject, former President Thabo Mbeki. This study investigates whether there is a real need for the development of a South African specific meaning of a public intellectual, or if the concept by Said's is universally applicable, and therefore suitable for identifying public intellectuals in a South African specific context.

This research builds a better understanding about the concept of public intellectuals within a South African context. This study was guided by the following research question: Can Said's characterisation help describe a public intellectual in South Africa? The research addresses the following sub-questions, why are public intellectuals important in South Africa? Do public intellectuals have a practical purpose in South Africa? How does Mbeki compare, using Said's characterisation of a public intellectual?

A case study research design was chosen for this study to explore the complexity of a real life situation (Neiswaidomy, 1987:177). This dissertation selected former President Thabo Mbeki as a case study subject and his speeches were analysed to assess whether the performative aspects of Edward Said's characterisation of the public intellectual was applicable within a South African context. An important aspect is that a case study design does not claim to be representative, but emphasises what can be learnt from a single case (Tellis, 1997). The findings of the analysis of Thabo

Mbeki as a case study are specific to him as a subject therefore generalisations about other South African intellectuals cannot be made based on this study.

This research used rhetorical analysis as a method for data collection. The rhetorical analysis involved a close reading of the three speeches delivered by Thabo Mbeki that follow the intellectual development of African Renaissance to uncover “overt meaning, stated and unstated assumptions and the strategies and techniques used by a writer to gain in depth understanding” (Strang, 2015:1). The focus of this data collection method was on the techniques the speakers used to convey a specific message usually for persuasion. It looked at the larger picture of a text, deconstructing each speech to understand how arguments and the use of rhetorical devices contributed to meaning making and persuasion. In the case of this study, the selected political and economic speeches of former President Thabo Mbeki were analysed to appreciate their persuasive appeal to garner support for an African Renaissance. Moreover, the speeches were analysed against Said’s characterisation of the performative aspects of an intellectual to identify the relationship between the speeches and the vocation of public intellectual. The purpose was to assess whether Mbeki can be considered a public intellectual according to Edward Said’s characterisation.

5.3 Poststructuralism

This research was guided by the theoretical principles of post-structuralism. Poststructuralism refers to the way of looking at the world that challenges what comes to be accepted as ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’ (McMorrow, 2017:59). Post-structuralists believe that everything comes to be because of meaning that is constituted through interpretation. For this study, Michel Foucault’s perspective of post-structuralism is assumed. For Foucault, structures are not natural or given as structuralism³ suggests, they are instead constituted through language and social interactions. From his perspective, four tenets of post-structuralism were discerned to guide this study. The first is the Power/Knowledge nexus, which looks at how people in positions of power can and do shape a common understanding of an event

³ Structuralism is a “theoretical approach that identifies patterns in social arrangements, most notably language” (Baker 2010:1). In its pure sense, structuralism is a linguistic framework that suggests that all phenomena must be understood by means of their relationship to a broader system.

and establish a false sense of truth or reality through knowledge manipulation. The second is the applicability of universal truths. This tenet engages scepticism over the possibility of universal laws or truth as there is no world that exists independently of our own interpretations (McMorrow 2018:1). The third tenet suggests the importance of a variety of perspectives. The focus of this tenet is on the advancement of “multiple realities” in lieu of the traditionalist “ready-made synthesis” (Foucault, 1972:24). The last tenet advances local contexts and specific histories in interpretation of phenomena. According to Foucault (1980:159) power is grassroots, it is found in daily life. Power is founded in local conditions and specific needs of locals. This principle brings to the fore the idea of context specificity as well as the importance of the production of local knowledge for understanding local contexts.

5.4 Said’s framework of the public intellectual

Edward Said identified a framework (the three positions of the intellectual) which he suggests encapsulates the essence of a vocation. To accommodate a focus on the performative aspects of Mbeki’s speeches, which were presented in his capacity as Deputy President, the analysis omitted the exile aspect of Said’s characterisation. The framework proposes that in order to be classified as a public intellectual, individuals ought to be “marginal, amateurs, and authors of a language that tries to speak the truth to power” (Said, 1994:76). The three speeches, which build towards the African Renaissance philosophy, were analysed to determine whether the indicators were identifiable in the rhetorical choices Mbeki made in the speeches.

A brief discussion of Said’s framework is outlined to assist in following arguments made in the analysis. Central to Said’s framework of the public intellectual is that they should be outsiders, which means that a public intellectual should be independent of social authorities including the media, the government, and corporations (Said, 1994: xvii). To be an outsider, an intellectual needs to assume the state of marginality, “which seems irresponsible or flippant, frees you from having to always proceed with caution” (Said, 1994:63). It is to actively choose to be erratic to enunciate knowledge from an impartial position. In this specific study to be marginal means to be free to think and share thoughts candidly.

To be an amateur refers to an “unquenchable interest in the larger picture, in making connections across lines and barriers and refusing the restrictions of a profession” (Said, 1994:76). Amateurism is the commitment to lifelong learning through embracing open-mindedness and the rejection of expertise, the person does not aspire to be a professional in a particular field. The aspect of intellectual as disruptor holds others to account by pointing out flaws in their logic and/or actions. Speaking truth to power means that intellectuals ought to put themselves in a position of “uncompromising freedom of opinion and expression as their main bastion” (Said, 1994:89). To reiterate for this study the aspect of exile is omitted from the analysis because it does not contribute to understanding Mbeki’s speeches as a public performance.

The data was collected through a rhetorical analysis of Thabo Mbeki’s speeches, which is then compared against the performative aspects of Said’s characterisation of the intellectual delineated above. The results of the analysis of Mbeki’s speeches against Said’s indicators will be presented below.

5.5 A National Strategic Vision (27 November 1995)

5.5.1 Data Explanation

5.5.1.1 Intellectual as an amateur

To give the audience context about the uncertainty caused by globalisation, Mbeki alliterated “no national state can plan rigidly and precisely for the future” (Mbeki, 1995). He did so to draw the audience’s attention to the important fact that the plan he outlined was not set in stone and in providing this flexibility he managed to placate different sectors of society such as labour unions who were championing poverty alleviation strategies, business who were keen to gauge the impact of addressing key social issues, financiers whose interest was on good governance and sound strategic interventions, voters that were getting ready for the local government elections to be held on 1 November 1995 and 29 May 1996⁴, and his ANC party colleagues whose support he was trying to win over ahead of the 50th party elective

⁴ The Local Government Elections took place on 1 November 1995 in all but two provinces i.e. Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. These polls were delayed because of boundary demarcation disputes and were subsequently held on 29 May 1996.

conference in 1997. In acknowledging the government's inability to make rigid plans for the future, Mbeki made it seem like he drew from the experiences of other states. Revealing that the plan could change in response to information and other policy feedback mechanisms, Mbeki showed his willingness to learn and be open-minded.

Considering the specialised audience he sought to persuade, one could argue that what may have initially seemed like a subscription to an aspect of Said's characterisation of amateurism was rather an opportunity to convince a certain sector of people (mostly business and economists) to agree to support his plans. His specific intention was to cater to the interests of this specialised audience to gain their support to push African Renaissance forward by securing funding. This reveals the different ways in which amateurism can be interpreted to serve specific interest and highlights the importance of plurality of perspectives advanced by a poststructural lens where knowledge is concerned. The interpretation of an intellectual as an amateur is constituted and therefore a variety of perspectives can be discerned to cater to the specific needs of different contexts.

Mbeki's intellectual prowess as an individual with economic expertise gave credence to his 'amateurism', which refers to a commitment to lifelong learning. Said's characterisation is valid for a general understanding of the essence of an intellectual. It is, however, limited. It does not consider the specific needs of a context, which may direct an intellectual away from the components of Said's framework. Mbeki in this instance seems to assume amateurism as a means to an end. He sought to drive the emancipation and progression of the continent, to do so; he needed to garner the support of those capable of financing his idea. He straddled the line between amateurism and asserting his professionalism to achieve persuasion. In view of the local context through a post-structural lense, Said's characterisation fails to holistically identify this speech as a public performance of an intellectual. This is because the constitution of the characterisation does not cater to the local experiences and the specificity of time and place that influenced Mbeki's rhetorical choices in this public performance.

By accepting that the vision may change based on feedback through policy evaluations, Mbeki assumed the position of an amateur. Mbeki stated, "We cannot

predict exchange rates or oil prices in twenty-five years” (Mbeki, 1995). One could argue that professionals/ experts could make predictions and or assertions such as the one stated above. Considering the specific intention to garner support for funding, this dissertation contends that Mbeki is being falsely modest to make himself sound more amenable and less aloof and dictatorial, as he was trying to nurture a new democracy and its economy. He was aware of the international reach of the speech considering the audience and occasion - it was an Intergovernmental Forum - and in doing so attempted to appeal to international investors. He wanted to assure them that he was trustworthy and that they should entrust him with their investment to propel South Africa’s economic development. As an amateur according to Said’s characterisation, he would put their investment to good use being forward thinking and open to adaptation. He was transparent about not knowing it all and that new developments over the years may warrant a review of the vision he asserted in this speech. This highlights the importance poststructuralism’s tenet of considering local context in the interpretation of phenomena. While it may seem like Mbeki was just being transparent because he was an upright member of society (this is not to suggest that he is not) he was in fact trying to build investor confidence. He arguably used the guise of amateurism as a means to an end.

Mbeki made it clear to the audience that the “distillation” process was not linear. He acknowledged and was transparent about the challenges that delayed the progress of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Considering that Mbeki was involved in the formulation of RDP as South Africa’s growth and development plan, stating that the process is not linear he acknowledged the RDP’s shortcomings. Said’s characterisation presents amateurism simply as rejecting professionalism for a commitment to lifelong learning (Said, 1994:76). The case of Mbeki emphasises the importance of context in interpreting and understanding the intellectual. To fulfil the purpose of his public performance he had to assert his expertise (professionalism according to Said) to appeal to his audience. Therefore, in some part of this speech, Mbeki demonstrates amateurism, and in others, he demonstrates expertise, which goes against Said’s framework of an intellectual.

To fulfil the intentions of the speech, he also asserts his economic expertise. He does not fully comply with Said’s image of the intellectual, however in order to cater

to the needs of his society by securing financial support for an idea that promotes development, Mbeki uses amateurism and professionalism synergistically.

For instance, he outlines the challenge of AIDS as an imperative stating, “The scale of our own problem is only just becoming known and requires serious attention and action” (Mbeki, 1995). Although Mbeki admitted that he did not know everything about the issue, he was transparent. In this address, Mbeki mentions the AIDS issue because at the time the HIV/AIDS epidemic was affecting South Africa’s political, social and economic abilities (Abdool Karim & Abdool Karim, 2001:39), which could also have dented investor confidence. Mbeki touches on the issue briefly to assure the audience that while the full scope of the AIDS epidemic was still unknown, the government is taking necessary action to mitigate the effects. He briefly addressed this matter in the speech with a citation to substantiate his concern. However, one could argue that where HIV/AIDS is concerned, Mbeki came up short in understanding and providing credible context on its true effect on the country. The issue of AIDS denialism where Mbeki expressed “dissident views of HIV/AIDS science culminating in the questioning of causal links between HIV and AIDS as well as suggesting that lifesaving antiretroviral drugs (ARVS) were poisonous” (Camp, 2016:84) speaks to his limited knowledge on HIV/AIDS. Regardless of his shortfalls on the AIDS issue, when this speech was delivered, Mbeki was focused on building investor confidence and he used the speech’s platform and all its performative aspects to achieve this goal. To fulfil a representative role, it is possible that Mbeki assumed a position that can be likened to Said’s amateurism in his public performance to persuade his audience to support the ideals of his African renaissance philosophy, before he formally launched it.

5.5.1.2 Intellectual as a disruptor

According to Said, an intellectual as a disruptor means that an intellectual ought to put themselves in a position of “uncompromising freedom of opinion and expression as their main bastion” (Said, 1994:89). In this speech, Mbeki met this expectation when he asserted “And though we have come from diverse starting points, our future destiny is together” (Mbeki, 1995) and acknowledged the contribution of South Africa’s past to some of the disorders and inequities that his strategic vision sought

to address. He also asserted the importance of having a common vision to guide future prosperity. “Our challenge is to find the common path ahead. And we must start by agreeing on our destination” (Mbeki, 1995).

He exercised freedom of opinion by implicitly holding the apartheid government accountable, which complies with Said’s characterisation of the intellectual. It is important to note that the way in which he chose to address this fact is very diplomatic. In confronting an issue that was emotionally loaded, Mbeki was tactful and presented the matter in an inoffensive and orthodox way of “speaking truth to power”. He acknowledged truth and placed blame where it was deserved but ultimately used phrases that focused on forging a common path ahead to build hope and attract investment. This supports poststructuralism’s emphasis on the validity of multiple interpretations of truth and knowledge, highlighting that there are multiple ways to interpret and understand phenomena therefore it is invalid to put forward a single way of being an intellectual. Mbeki could have spoken on the “truth to power”, but he lost out on garnering support for his philosophy through investment, had he not been judicious.

Mbeki claimed that “To succeed, this strategy requires that every government department – national, provincial, and local – review its policies to ensure that they align with the National Strategic Vision and the National Growth and Development Strategy” (Mbeki, 1995). He was indicating that he would hold the different departments to account even before the inception of the vision. One could also argue that he was committing the departments to this strategy publicly so that they would not back out of the plan.

In addition, as an influencer, this speech uses a number of biblical references to tap into his audience’s ethical foundations and sway them to support his vision. Considering Said’s characterisation, religious affiliations could compromise the purpose of Mbeki’s performance. However, because of his familiarity with his immediate audience he was conceivably able to make religious references without excluding and or alienating audience members. While Said suggests that intellectuals should avoid any kind of affiliation. Mbeki’s choice to use religious affiliations emphasises the importance of understanding the needs of one’s context.

Each context has nuances that need to be considered which determine the modus operandi of that environment. Therefore, considering the context of South Africa, Mbeki's religious references were probably included to enhance, rather than negatively affect, persuasion.

5.5.1.3 Analysis

In this address, Thabo Mbeki elaborated on a common economic vision to build an argument for investors to trust the government to develop the economy. He outlined a clear plan of how South Africa intended to improve its economic position by redressing challenges of the past and maximising untapped opportunities. In this speech, Mbeki began to build a case for an African Renaissance through presenting South Africa as investor-friendly to advance economic growth. Steady economic growth was a key element of African Renaissance philosophy therefore garnering the support of investors would be a step towards realising the grand plan, which included positioning the African continent as a key player in global economics as encapsulated in the philosophy. The philosophy sought to integrate "African tradition and symbolism with the rhetoric of free markets and good governance" (Becker, 2010:133).

Mbeki's speech uses a narrative style expressed through the "journey", but concentrates on developing a solid logical framework that is anchored in his own ethos. He successfully determined his audience and structured the speech in a way that caters to this audience. His use of pathos appeal is marginal, largely because he perceived his audience's support rested on building a thorough technical case for support. Together these rhetorical strategies sought to influence the audience to buy into the common economic vision and ultimately African Renaissance. The effort to develop an economic foundation for the advancement of the African Renaissance philosophy is arguably indicative of being an intellectual. According to Said's characterisation, Mbeki does not qualify because his public performance does not fit neatly into what he understands to be an intellectual. This is because Said's characterisation is a dominant perspective on the concept of intellectual, he benefits from the poststructuralism's power/knowledge nexus in which people in positions of

power such as Edward Said can and do shape a common understanding and establish a false sense of truth/'reality' through knowledge manipulation.

The epideictic aspects of the speech sought to make a strong case for the need for a common vision. This is exemplified by calling on Mandela's reputation through some of his direct quotes. Beginning the speech with his quotes was a well thought-out and executed persuasive tactic. It laid the foundation for the importance of having a plan to improve the countries and ultimately the continent's position beyond political emancipation. Moreover, it prompted the audience to expect a lengthy journey as the country endeavoured to execute the objectives of the vision, as was the case with Mandela's "A Long Walk to Freedom" (Mbeki, 1995).

Mbeki attempted to persuade investors to trust the government by appealing to an emotional sentiment or pathos with biblical references. He quoted the book of Proverbs and Habakkuk, to justify the importance of having a common vision for the future. This may have appealed to the sentiments of those familiar with the biblical references, while the rest of the audience were able to appreciate the logic of the message and its relevance. While the biblical references could have limited the persuasiveness of this appeal, where the audience may not be familiar and or interested in religious rhetoric, the clarity of the message, particularly as it related to the importance of having a clear plan of action, most likely diffused the limitation of a religious undertone. He further appealed to pathos by grammatically uniting the audience through unifying language, illustrated by the repeated use of plural pronouns "we" and "our" to include the audience as active participants in the implementation of this common vision.

In the deliberative part of the speech, Mbeki began by heeding Mandela's call in one of the quotes to assume an exterior view by surveying the "journey thus far". The idea of a journey, relatable to that of Mandela's continued as he conveyed the common vision in a narrative style that took the audience through a journey that diplomatically cited apartheid as the cause, its remnants as the effect and the common vision as the resolution to challenges stunting the country's economic progression. In that part of the speech, he briefly addressed the "interim" constitution, the reintegration of South Africa into the continental and global community and the

Reconstruction and Development Programme. The aspects that he addressed gave the audience context about the state of affairs before introducing his vision. This dissertation contends that he did so to persuade the audience to see the social and economic conditions he sought to remedy which could only come to fruition if the audience invested in the country. In a way, Mbeki is fulfilling a 'representative role', which Said outlines as an important function of an intellectual, as he sought to improve the country's social, political and economic conditions. The fact that Mbeki's public performance fits into some aspects of Said's characterisation confirms the value of the characterisation. Conversely, it also highlights its shortcoming in an alternative context where a local context influences the creation of knowledge and its ability to interpret phenomena.

As shown in the rhetorical analysis, Mbeki took great pains to build a logical argument giving the audience as much context as possible as he built his case. The explanation of the six pillars of critical measures, the elaborate discussion on imperatives and the introduction of the six pillars of Growth and Development Strategy and other logical appeals in the analysis were included to attempt to further persuade the audience to support the common economic vision. Mbeki compelled the audience to consider how they could contribute to addressing some of the challenges and promote opportunities. With an implicit focus on acquiring funding, he laid the groundwork for investors to buy into his philosophy even though it is not overly stated.

Mbeki then proceeded to use logos to elaborate on the vision itself. This vision was driven by the RDP, which he explained earlier to foreground its significance in the fulfilment of the vision. He further expanded on the importance of economic growth for this vision when he stated, "economic growth cannot be separated from the measures to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life" (Mbeki, 1995). This is also a core tenet of his African Renaissance philosophy, which was "first mooted within the ANC in 1997 at the party's 50th National Congress as a key component of its ideological outlook, particularly pertaining to international matters" (Ngesi, 2013:43). This dissertation contends that Mbeki's common vision is the African Renaissance philosophy in another guise. Much like the common vision, African renaissance sought to "achieve sustainable economic development that results in the

continuous improvement of the standards of living and the quality of life of the masses of the people” (Mbeki, 1999). It is important to note that African Renaissance philosophy never took root, as indicated in the rhetorical analysis in the previous chapter. Mbeki’s persuasion was upheld mostly by appeals to logos. One could argue that Mbeki’s philosophy ultimately failed, because this speech (as with the other two assessed) did not develop a proper emotive foundation for the African Renaissance philosophy.

All the way through, especially in the vision casting aspect of the speech, Mbeki makes use of rhetorical choices that support the appeal to mostly logos with ethos and pathos to a lesser extent. Mbeki seemed to effectively persuade the audience to work with South Africa to grow the economy and establish the country as a key player in the global economy. He supported his assertion with explanations that appealed to ethically recognisable figures such as Nelson Mandela and US General George Patton before trying to appeal to the audience’s sentiments.

There is limited coverage of this address particularly in key media (television, radio, and especially newspaper which has been a specific focus in this study) outlets, which suggests that the media did not find the speech persuasive or noteworthy. Unfortunately, the vision that this speech outlined was never completely realised. High unemployment rates, high levels of crime, infrastructural deficiencies, and the lack of effective and efficient government, which were supposed to be remedied under this vision, continue to plague the South African society. The speech also laid the groundwork for the African Renaissance philosophy, which seemed to suffer a similar fate. This speech as a stand-alone public performance seems to have lacked persuasiveness and, as one of the launching speeches, its failure may be indicative of why the African Renaissance philosophy was ultimately not achieved.

5.6 I am an African

5.6.1 Data Explanation

5.6.1.1 *Intellectual as disruptor*

In this speech, Mbeki tried to forge national solidarity. He introduced an all-encompassing identity to not be controversial or offensive and to resonate with his audience and inspire them to support a rebuild of the country and eventually the continent – another key tenet of the African Renaissance agenda he sought to advance.

Mbeki mentions the challenges that plagued South Africa. He related them directly to the legacy of apartheid stating that he witnessed “the destruction of all sense of self-esteem”, “the situation in which race and colour is used to enrich some and impoverish the rest” and “expression of the denial of the dignity of a human being emanating from the conscious, systemic and systematic oppressive and repressive activities of other human beings” (Mbeki, 1996). He holds apartheid accountable for the challenges experienced. He spent a considerable part of this speech redeveloping the country’s self-esteem in an effort to overcome the injustices of the past. However, he does not look to forget the sins of the past. In acknowledging the past and its continued effect, he also holds the apartheid government accountable for the challenges facing the country at the time. In terms of this study, his holding apartheid accountable is compliant with Said’s characterisation of the intellectual.

Mbeki’s efforts go further to use a cause-and-effect argument to present his case for a unified vision, which is another character trait of Said’s intellectual. In many ways this speech is one of duelling philosophies – the destructive apartheid philosophy and the constructive Africa Renaissance philosophy.

His frank assessment shows his ability to freely express his opinions but he does so to urge the audience to learn from these experiences rather than repeat them. He encourages the audience to refrain from “seeking to obliterate from our memories a cruel occurrence which, in its remembering, should teach us not and never to be inhuman again” (Mbeki, 1996). To Mbeki, both he and the audience were responsible

for their future which the shared identity and Constitution are meant to drive. He also anchors the African Renaissance in the Constitution to try and cement the approach in the psyche of the audience and the media. This exemplifies the aspect of an intellectual as a disruptor, but only as it pertains to achieving the purpose of the speech to forge national consensus to advance the African Renaissance. Therefore, while this aspect of Said's characterisation of the intellectual is identifiable, it seems Mbeki assumed this position only as it pertained the fulfilling the purpose of persuasion. Bearing in mind the context of the South African society at the time of this public performance, a new democracy desperately trying to establish itself in the world by making "the emotional, ideological, and political connections necessary for his call for a Renaissance"(Bongmba, 2004:291). And its specific purpose to persuade, Mbeki assumes a position that can be likened to speaking truth to power to cater to local conditions which emphasises the importance of local context in knowledge development and when interpreting Said's characterisation of the intellectual.

5.6.1.2 Intellectual as influencer

Mbeki use a religious reference to reinforce his argument and be persuasive. Reiterating the uniting spirit of Mbeki's speech, in *The Leader, Struggle for democracy culminates in constitution* commented on the influence of Mbeki's speech, Amichand Rajbansi, speaking from parliament said, he was "very touched with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's speech in which he acknowledged that he owed his African origins not only to the indigenous population but to the Afrikaners, the Dutch settlers and the Indian population" (Kindra, 1996:1). This statement contributed to the speech's persuasiveness, Jaspreet Kindra (1996:1) asserts that it was "reassuring to a lot of whiteys like me who have felt a bit out of it lately".

Mbeki further stated that "God created all men and women in His image" appealed to the sacredness of religion to persuade the audience to support inclusiveness. He asserted that inclusion is not just codified in the Constitution in the secular world but is related to the sacred in religion. Taking into consideration that it is possible that not all his audience members were able to make sense of the religious rhetoric, he seems to have conveyed the message he intended to the audience. The familiarity

with his audience and his context assured him that the use of religious references would not harm his purpose to persuade which is further indicative of the need for multiple perspectives on the concept of the intellectual as poststructuralism suggests. There is no single perspective on the intellectual that is universally applicable, under all circumstances. Said states that, being an intellectual involves “carefully weighing the alternatives, picking the right one, and then intelligently representing it where it can do the most good and cause the right change” (Said, 1994:102). Therefore Mbeki made careful use of religious reference to reinforce the importance of solidarity, which considering the success of this speech, was the correct appeal. An article by *The Natal Witness* describes Mbeki’s speech as the then new governments “most eloquent expression of the “new patriotism” (Cullinan, 1996:6). It sought to connect the separations of the past.

5.6.1 3 Analysis

5.6.1.4 *I am an African* (8 May 1996)

Thabo Mbeki’s *I am an African* speech, established a national African identity that he suggested was rooted in shared history. This is similar to the previous speech, which sought to establish shared history through the ‘journey’ towards a common economic vision. He sought to promote reconciliation through drawing the audience’s attention to their common identity as African. Moreover, the speech briefly discussed the main points of the Constitution, which was presented as a bridge that would facilitate a move from the dreary past to South Africa and the continent’s rebirth. In this speech, he established a leadership role for South Africa that is encapsulated in the African Renaissance philosophy. This role encompasses South Africa leading the continent’s economic and political renewal and positioning the continent as a key player in the global community (Bongmba, 2004:295).

Mbeki’s rhetorical choices, which predominantly focused on appealing to pathos through strategies that promote unity, were central to achieving the speech’s influence; this differs from the previous speech, which focused mostly on logos. This is because the South African population, because of their emotionally loaded history, seemed to respond to rhetoric that evoked an emotional response. He promoted reconciliation by establishing a common African identity through conveying an all-

encompassing narrative history that resonated with the audience. Mbeki was able to skillfully unite the then divided South African population and build a case for African unity and solidarity through rhetorical choices that established consensus. In *The Citizen* in an article titled "Mbeki is 'proud of the achievement'"(Sapa, 1996:4) documenting the influence of the "I am an African" speech, reiterates the solidarity that Mbeki's address forged. "The adoption of the new constitution was a firm assertion that South Africa belonged to all who lived in it, Black and White". In the end, African Renaissance was never realised partly because Mbeki spent more time pitching the philosophy to economic or banking elite instead of the everyday people it was meant to unite. The first xenophobic attacks in Alexandra Township 12 May 2008 when Mbeki was still President of South Africa speaks to the philosophy's failure to forge true African unity. These Afro-phobic attacks affected the country's political stability and negatively affected foreign investment because "socio-political instability generates an uncertain politico-economic environment, raising risks and reducing investment" (Aisen & Veiga, 2012:3).

Mbeki began convincing the audience to support the idea of assuming a common African identity by relating the identity to nature. This speech's audience is much broader and general than the audience of the previous and subsequent speech, which cater to a more specialised audience. His intended audience further entrenches the speech's intention to build an all-encompassing identity. His audience includes:

"Esteemed President of the democratic Republic,

Honourable Members of the Constitutional Assembly,

Our distinguished domestic and foreign guests,

Friends" (Mbeki, 1996)

As presented in the rhetorical analysis, Mbeki makes reference to seasons contrasting the past as the winter of South Africa exemplified by descriptive words such as "frozen", "frost" to the spring exemplified by words such "warmth", "sunshine", "heat" and "sun" to emphasise the nascent democracy. He additionally used metaphors to engage the audience through imagery of the natural world that

resonated with all humankind. The imagery of this speech was different to the two speeches because of the occasion and the need to be aspirational for a more general audience. This imagery was successful in achieving its purpose to establishing a shared identity; it received great media traction compared to the other speeches particularly the “National strategic vision for South Africa” which had very limited media coverage. This speech was also used as the foundation for a South African Tourism campaign .The reach of the speech is further reiterated by Theodore Sheckels who states that “it (speech) has evoked much commentary by South African and African political figures and commentators in the decade since it was delivered; it inspired an operatic adaption by South Africa’s Black Tie Ensemble, as well as a rap and jazz one by artist Linda Kekoma; and it is now available on sites such as YouTube⁵ and AOL Video in a patriotic 2:02 video produced in January 2007” (Sheckels, 2009:320). The influence of this speech as a public performance of an intellectual highlights that different contexts have specific needs that the intellectual needs to accommodate in ways that may not necessarily fit neatly into a characterisation such as that of Said’s. It is important to observe the local context and cater to local conditions as post structural theory suggests. Mbeki in this speech catered to local context in the build-up to an African Renaissance.

Metaphorical language adds an interesting flair to the speech but has a tendency to obscure the argument presented. Its use in the case of this speech was less about the argument and more about relaying the identity he sought to create. The majority of his immediate audience, the South African population were not native English speakers. The use of metaphors in English to a predominantly non-native English speaking audience could have limited the persuasiveness of the speech but considering its his influence, it seems his other rhetorical choices made up for the potential uncertainty of this language technique. Considering that the vision of an African Renaissance was an appeal beyond South Africa and the continent, it is possible that Mbeki chose to use the English language to cater to a more international audience to garner international support and funding for his vision.

⁵ <https://youtu.be/Hrgmcc6W5bs>

To advance his purpose, Mbeki promoted an African identity that encompassed shared racial and ethnic history. Mbeki asserted that the African identity he relayed encompassed the history of the Khoi and the San, European “migrants”, Cape Malay Slaves, “Hintsas and Sekhukhune, Cetshwayo and Mphephu, Moshoeshoe and Ngungunyane, Ethiopians and as the Ashanti of Ghana, as the Berbers of the desert” the Indian and Chinese population. Saloomi and Nayel (2020:12) state that “inclusive language represented by words like we, our and us create the impression that the speaker or writer is speaking directly to the audience or reader which encourages them to share the speaker’s view point”. The all-encompassing African identity that he articulated supported the idea of the “rainbow nation” which was the political rhetoric of post-apartheid South Africa. One could argue that the African Renaissance is a broader adaptation of the concept of a rainbow nation, which is why Mbeki draws on the ethos of Mandela to bolster his philosophical claim.

Mbeki mentions “the arrival of the migrants who left Europe to find a new home on our native land”; he sustained his ethos by diplomatically understating colonialism by suggesting that it was a mere move. Mbeki arguably chose to approach it in that manner to avoid alienating those audience members who were of European descent because of the potential that they were going to fund his economic strategies and help make the African Renaissance successful. The persuasiveness of the “I am an African” speech owes much of its success to Mbeki’s ability to relay South Africa’s wretched history without offending and or alienating any audience member. *The Cape Times* titled a house full of! new born Africans (Scott, 1996:6) published just 2 days after Mbeki’s address on 10 May 1996 stated “whatever reservations about the new Constitution still remain, total consensus was reached on one point yesterday: We are All Africans”, confirming the persuasiveness of the speech, John Scott asserts that it was “reassuring to a lot of whiteys like me who have felt a bit out of it lately”. He was able to bring people together through the speech by emphasising a shared history and experience without disregarding the treachery of the past. He was painting a picture of South Africa and positioning each and every person in it. He was helping the audience use their imagination to see themselves as Africans. He presented the remnants of apartheid as problems that together, the nation could address with the guidance of the Constitution. This is also because “the Mbeki

presidency had to deal with tensions both within the nation and within the ruling African National Congress (ANC) party, put simply, the Mbeki presidency had to balance the aspirations of the nation's Black African majority against the need for the economic resources and expertise of the White minority" (Sheckels, 2009:319).

Mbeki intended to further entrench persuasion through a religious reference. He stated, "God created all men and women in His image" (Mbeki 1996). Religious leaders played a significant role in promoting and overturning the apartheid government, its reference appealed to the sentiments of the audience. The message he tried to convey is that since God created all men and women equally, so shall they be treated in the new South Africa according to the Constitution. This is a key aspect of the Constitution that Mbeki seeks to highlight.

Mbeki uses unifying language in the form of a shift from personal to plural pronouns "I" to "we", "all" and "ourselves" to potentially achieve persuasion. He used the pronouns interchangeably to create a dialogue between himself and the audience to build consensus. The unifying language conveys an earnest tone, which was meant to pull at the heartstrings of the audience. Mbeki spoke in third person; the plural pronoun "we" repeated approximately twenty-two times in the speech is synonymous with the ANC and their concept of collective leadership (Ngesi, 2013:41). This way of speaking is strategic, in that it makes it difficult to discern whether the views expressed are those of the speaker or if the speaker speaks on behalf of the people or the party. Considering that the pronouns can be interpreted in two different ways, what is clear is that he sought to establish unity through this rhetorical strategy.

The Constitution was related to Mbeki's African identity to create a connection between the identity he outlined and the Constitution, which is presented as something that will work synergistically with this new-shared identity. The Constitution is principally a blueprint on how to drive an African Renaissance. He mentioned some of the challenges that plagued the continent. He spoke of the "dismal shame of poverty, suffering and human degradation" (Mbeki, 1996) and crafted emotionally loaded descriptions of the social condition of the continent to evoke an emotional response for the purpose of persuasion. To stress the

disadvantaged position of Africa, Mbeki used the metaphor “shadow of despair” (Mbeki, 1996). In order to help the audience to visualise hopelessness, to make a case for the need of a new constitution supported by an African identity that sought to address the social and economic conditions that limit the continent’s progress towards a better position.

The speech purported to establish shared values and build consensus as is the norm with epideictic speech. Mbeki forged a national identity rooted in shared history and reconciliation. He achieved this with various rhetorical devices and linguistic techniques that support the appeal to pathos. The Constitution which was introduced and celebrated on the day of the address and was presented as a vehicle to inspire a ‘new’ South Africa. The document further promoted the idea of African ideas to address the developmental challenges, which would also appear at the centre of an African Renaissance. “Although Mbeki did not refer specifically to the African Renaissance in this speech, he did, however, make the emotional, ideological, and political connections necessary for his call for a Renaissance” (Bongmba, 2004:291). The persuasive appeal of this speech did not amount to the accomplishment of an African Renaissance. However, it indicates that no universally applicable perspective is able to accommodate all contexts under all circumstances. Furthermore, it makes the case for the need of a variety of perspectives on the intellectual to understand intellectuals in varying contexts.

5.7 Infrastructure and Development in South Africa (31 July 1998)

5.7 1 Data Explanation

5.7.1.1 Intellectual as marginal

Mbeki related the commitment to the development of South Africa and the region (Southern African Development Community, SADC) to a grander cause, an African Renaissance. He was not prevented from communicating a philosophy he believed would advance the economic, political, and social development of South Africa and the region. This according to Said is indicative of marginality, which encompasses the freedom to think and freely share thoughts. Although Mbeki is considered aloof (Ngesi, 2013:40), his ideas and argument resonated with his audience to rally

support for a rebuild of the country through infrastructure development. While his assertion can be likened to assuming a marginal position because he candidly shared his thoughts, Mbeki's reason for mentioning the philosophy was to relate infrastructure development to a greater continental cause to persuade investors to support him. This is not to reject the usefulness of Said's characterisation but to assert the importance of considering "multiple realities" as Foucauldian poststructuralism suggests in the interpretation of the image of the intellectual. What may seem like a subscription to marginality to one person may be seen as a strategy to fulfil a purpose to another.

Mbeki stated, "basic infrastructure services can also reduce poverty and contribute to job creation" (Mbeki, 1998). The claim is evidence of frankly expressing one's opinion. He correlated the development of basic infrastructure with addressing some of the challenges that plagued South Africa candidly sharing an opinion about the benefits that proper infrastructure could make to society. As such, and in terms of his public performance, Mbeki could be seen as marginal because this assertion provided context for his audience, and marginality in this case is only temporary to achieve the intended purpose of the speech.

5.7.1.2 Intellectual as disruptor

Mbeki stated that "Most early infrastructure development was related to the colonial history of the region, focusing on exporting raw materials to the rest of the world instead of promoting inter-regional links" (Mbeki, 1998). To provide context for why there was a need for infrastructure development, Mbeki again used historical references and attributed the lack of appropriate infrastructure in South Africa to apartheid. He cited deliberate "isolation", "acts of" "aggression", and "armed conflicts" (Mbeki, 1998) among other things to describe the way apartheid affected investment in infrastructure. He made mention of the colonial past and apartheid knowing the possible negative effects it may have had on the persuasive appeal of his speech. He did choose to continue to hold the colonial past accountable for the infrastructural challenges that the region endured by making mention in this speech. This according to Said's characterisation is speaking truth to power, a character trait of an intellectual. Considering the nature of his specialised audience, he held the past

accountable for the inadequate infrastructure to remove responsibility from the Mandela administration and to garner support for an African Renaissance through investment. In this way, the idea of accountability is applied to achieve a set goal.

Mbeki claimed that the region needed to assume its rightful place as a key player on the world stage. He used the exclamation “eh” to elicit an agreement that sustainable development could not be achieved without mobilising “domestic and international resources”. Mbeki held the region accountable for improving its position on the world stage to assure the audience that South Africa and SADC were aware of their role in national and regional development. This reinforces the importance of understanding local context; through this public performance, Mbeki’s sole purpose was to persuade his audience to financially support his philosophy through investment. It further emphasises the responsibility for intellectuals such as Mbeki to exhaust all possible means to fulfil the functions of imparting knowledge, representing and encouraging engagement in public discourse, as is the role of intellectuals (Said, 1994:11).

5.7.1.3 Analysis

In his keynote address delivered at the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) in Midrand, Mbeki states that the physical upgrading of infrastructure alone would not be enough to address the developmental challenges of South Africa and the continent. It needed to be combined with credible policies, capacity building, skills transfer, regulatory reform, and institutional change (Mbeki, 1998). The speech was delivered in the final year of his Deputy Presidency to the Chief Executive Officer of the DBSA, Board of Directors, and members of the Audit team, which is a more specialised audience. Mbeki was anticipating the position of President and so was laying the groundwork for what he correctly assumed would be his first presidential term. He had been preparing and building a case for his African Renaissance vision to be the base of his presidency and extended the concept of a ‘rainbow nation’ beyond South Africa’s border to appeal to a larger audience. In this address, a year ahead of his presidency, he sought to persuade investors to empower South Africa and by virtue of association the Southern African Development Community (SADC) by investing in the development of infrastructure.

Mbeki's speech is not completely aligned with Said's characterisation of the intellectual. The persuasive appeal of Mbeki's case for an African Renaissance promotes the importance of perspectives on the intellectual that embrace multiple realities that are informed by specific contexts as post structural theory suggests.

Mbeki's speech successfully convinced the audience of the need for them to support an African Renaissance by investing in infrastructure development through logical appeals. The article by *The Citizen* reiterated the importance of economic development as a catalyst for Africa's Renaissance. This article shows that Mbeki's message was conveyed clearly to its intended audience. To support the effectiveness of Mbeki's speech on the DBSA in an article published by *The Citizen* on 4 November 1998 stated, "SOME R170 bn needs to be spent over the next five years if South Africa is to meet its infrastructure backlog" (Davidson, 1998:31). This is disclosed in a major report by the Development Bank of South Africa. One could argue that Mbeki's speech approximately 3 months prior persuaded the Bank to consider funding infrastructure for development. His reasoned appeal enforced his credibility as an expert economist, which positively supported persuasion. The rhetorical choices made support his focus on ethos as a means of informing and persuading the audience of the importance of infrastructure for development. He does not provide sufficient supporting evidence or citations to support his assertions. This did not seem to impact negatively on the persuasiveness of the address because the audience is aware of his expertise where economics is concerned. To further convince the audience to support his policy provisions, Mbeki structured his speech in a way that acknowledged the past and envisioned the future through infrastructure development. Despite the fact that an African Renaissance was never realised through this public performance Mbeki fulfilled an intellectual role to inform and inspire public engagement. He fails to be recognised as an intellectual according to Said because knowledge is produced "through the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true" (Dixon & Jones 2004:88), which is a privilege Said characterisation possesses and which links to post-structuralism's power/knowledge nexus.

Mbeki's attempt to persuade and motivate his audience, like the first speech, is supported by appeals to logos and to lesser extent ethos and pathos. To emphasise

the centrality of infrastructure, Mbeki used the word “enhantion” to describe the ways in which infrastructure could enhance development. This word choice was intended to give a better understanding of his argument; the word “enhantion” is not commonly used, however considering that his audience, present at the DBSA meeting consisted of board members who were familiar with the jargon, this tailored vocabulary shows his expertise and indicates that he was able to read the audience therefore improving the intention to inform and persuade. This was mentioned in the previous chapter.

He also uses typical economic jargon such as “fiscus”, which refers to the treasury of the state, to explain that state funds need to be supplemented with public-private partnerships. His awareness of his target audience is central to the persuasive appeal of his speech. It is easy to conclude that Mbeki is merely making announcements, as opposed to actively using tools of persuasion, but because he understood his audience and what they responded to, his speech reached his intended audience. This is evidenced by the fact that three months following the address in a report the DBSA stated that “South Africa's growth performance and social economic development efforts would benefit greatly from effective infrastructure development and service delivery”(Davidson, 1998:31).

He described the inherited South African infrastructure. He began with the economic infrastructure, which in this speech focused on transport and electricity. The use of descriptive words contextualised his argument, for example, he described a “reasonable” economic capacity by listing some of the shortfalls of the economic infrastructure. He cited inappropriate cross-border transportation and communication networks, insufficient financially sustainable railways and strained city transport. He asserted that, “the government need to provide infrastructure that would meet the country’s economic demands, while simultaneously redressing apartheid imbalances” (Mbeki, 1998). This claim gave the audience a look into the inherited infrastructural limitations and presented the peripheral position it places South Africa and the SADC region in global economics. Through the above-mentioned logical appeals, he created the notion of cause and effect, apartheid being the cause and the infrastructural limitation being the effect. The audience was encouraged to

consider how infrastructure development might mitigate the effects of apartheid. This arguably persuaded them to consider investing in infrastructure.

According to Saloomi and Nayel (2020; 15), developing an argument “step by step ... using reasonable and logical justifications” enhances a speech’s persuasion. Mbeki used this tactic when he presented the specific policy he envisioned. Mbeki expanded on the merged RDP-funded programmes, which were referred to as the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP). He then presented the government’s Spatial Development Initiatives, which he suggested were important instruments for public private partnerships. He finally incorporated the post-apartheid economic policy Reconstruction and Development programme (RDP) as an additional vehicle that would drive infrastructure development. The RDP was also key component of the common economic vision articulated in the *A National Strategic Vision speech*. Mbeki articulated these specific action steps to build his case for investment in infrastructure.

He proceeded to relate the commitment to the development of South Africa and the region to a grander cause, African Renaissance. He elaborated on the relationship between infrastructure development and African Renaissance to further appeal to the audience’s logical understanding of the issue. He stated that:

“This Renaissance – An African Renaissance, is about democracy, peace and stability, economic regeneration and improving the quality of life of our people in the region; through jobs, education and health” (Mbeki, 1998).

He explicitly introduced the philosophy to this specialised audience, providing a context for why it was important that they invested in South Africa and by association the region. This speech launches and names the philosophy that he had been building a case for in the previous speeches. Relating investment in infrastructure to a grander developmental idea further convinced the audience to support this continental aspiration. An article by *The Sunday Independent* titled “SDI’s tap into regions with economic potential” stated that, “Concentrating scarce public resources and skills in regions with real potential for economic growth is more likely to result in increased economic activity and the creation of jobs. South Africa’s ten SDIs have

already generated about 518 investment projects valued at R115.4 billion. These projects are expected to create more than 118 000 jobs once they are up and running” (Platzky, 1998:7), the influence of Mbeki’s speech on this media perspective is unquestionable. The persuasive appeal and media coverage of this public performance supports the success of Mbeki’s advocacy for his vision of an African Renaissance and speaks to him successfully fulfilling the role of an intellectual. In spite of this, Said’s rigid characterisation rejects Mbeki’s form of philosophy dissemination as being an intellectual because it does not comply with all aspects of his characterisation. The importance of developing South African specific conceptions of the intellectuals that are open to accommodate the ever-changing context, is of outmost importance because a variety of perspectives as poststructuralism asserts can only benefit the body of work on the intellectual.

When people feel like their contribution has the capacity to effect change, they are likely to listen to and accept what is being said which supports the purpose of the speech (Saloomi & Nayel, 2020:12). Mbeki used this structural approach and unifying language to ‘include’ the audience in his assertions. The personal pronoun “we” was repeated eight times throughout the speech to engage the audience in his assertions and to gain their support so he can secure funding to propel African Renaissance through the support of infrastructure development. He continued to bring the audience into his assertions when he said “the challenge that the DBSA and all of us face”. He appealed to pathos, by using inclusive language; the audience is positioned alongside Mbeki.

The speech sets out a framework for future policy as it pertains to rebuilding infrastructure to ensure development in South Africa and SADC. The rhetorical choices made support his focus on ethos as a means of informing and persuading the audience of the importance of infrastructure for development.

5.8 Summary

Given the above, one cannot overlook the merits of Said’s characterisation, especially in enabling deliberation and debate on the concept of the public intellectual. He offers a brilliant and well thought-out description of the public intellectual of the time and context, by outlining the features and the social roles the

intellectual is expected to fulfil. The *Representations of the Intellectual* an adaptation of the Reith lecture presented in 1993 profoundly responds to the questions regarding who and what a public intellectual is, what roles they play in society as well as how to identify an intellectual. It is, however, important to understand that overtime due to a range of reasons, the changes in different contexts warrant public intellectuals to evolve to accommodate the changes. While his characterisation may have been accurate in identifying the public intellectual at a particular time, it is unlikely to accurately identify a public intellectual at present. This dissertation contends that Said's characterisation is outdated and context-specific. The intellectual vocation across the world has not remained the same since 1993; it has changed to accommodate contemporary conditions. Said's description fails to sufficiently describe the role and character of a public intellectual in a South African sense. That said, Mbeki, by virtue of his public performances and endeavour to build a case for a vision of development, is considered an intellectual in a South African sense (Gumede & Dikeni, 2009:4). Therefore, it is important to advance multiple perspectives on the concept of the intellectual not to discredit Said but to develop a family of knowledge bases that caters to multiple contexts.

CHAPTER 6 -CONCLUSION

The aim of this study, as indicated in the introductory chapter, was to highlight the value of understanding the broader importance of public intellectuals within South Africa. In particular, the focus was on testing the usefulness of Said's characterisation of the public intellectual to determine whether it, as it stands, can suitably describe South African intellectuals.

This research demonstrated that while Said's characterisation is of great value to the overall pool of knowledge on the intellectual, it falls short in identifying a key figure such as former President Thabo Mbeki as someone worthy of such a title. Mbeki is widely recognised as an intellectual. Madia (2017:1), for instance, describes Mbeki as one of the greatest intellectuals Africa and the liberation movement has produced. Indeed, his African Renaissance philosophy represents the rebirth and the renewal of the African continent focused on forging genuine emancipation (Mbeki, 2001:137). McNeil (1999:1) states that Mbeki is a "lifelong intellectual guerrilla". Further supporting the general view of Mbeki, Simao (2007:1) asserts that, "Mbeki is an intellectual and conservative economist".

According to the study's findings, Said's characterisation is unable to completely identify Mbeki as an intellectual, and so supports the case for adapting the description to cater for a context-specific study of the public intellectual. To cater better to the South African, Said's characterisation needs to incorporate qualities of thought leadership. Thought leadership, according to Gumede (2015:91), connotes "a leadership orientation underpinned by unconventional ideology, historically nuanced, culturally sensitive and contextually grounded". Thought leadership, I argue, is goal oriented and result-driven, and these qualities are what the current South African context requires to address some of the developmental challenges the country faces. The influence of thought leadership to the public emanates from its pragmatic quality and the appeal of its impact (Gumede, 2015:91). The kind of public intellectualism that the South African context necessitates is one that is aligned with the Mazrui (2005: 56) definition of an intellectual as an individual who has the capacity to be fascinated by ideas and has acquired the skill to address them effectively.

The reason for the above inquiry is not to undermine Said's characterisation and western rationality overall, it seeks to highlight the importance of a plurality of perspectives in the creation of knowledge systems particularly as it relates to the concept of the public intellectual.

Said's characterisation of the intellectual is one of the most accepted and cited understandings. The study revealed that Mbeki's public performance does not fit neatly into Said's characterisation and therefore does not qualify him to be recognised as an intellectual. The dissertation argues that it is because Said's characterisation of the intellectual is in fact a typology. A typology refers to "an organised system of types that make a fundamental contribution to concept formation and to the construction of categorical variables" (Collier et al., 2008:152). Du Toit and Mouton (2013: 4) suggest that typologies should be "exhaustive and mutually exclusive in their classification of different items". This dissertation contends that Said's typology is a structure that gate keeps alternative forms of knowledge because of the monopoly of knowledge that the conception enjoys. Said's typology is backed by his western educational background and the credibility afforded to his assertions by the general understanding that he is a postcolonial scholar that understands non-western contexts (Herman, 2004:79). He benefits from what Dixon and Jones (2004:88) suggest is "the status of those who are charged: with saying what counts as true". Ironically, these non-western contexts seem to be excluded in the development of his typology, with a preference for European scholars such as Gramsci and Benda. Asian and or African perspectives are omitted from his typology.

As presented in this dissertation, his typology is largely informed by how he views himself as an intellectual. Bauman asserts, "Definitions of the intellectual are many and diverse. They have, however, one trait in common, which makes them also different from all other definitions: they are all self-definitions. Indeed, their authors are the members of the same rare species they attempt to define" (Bauman, 1987:8).

Said uses himself as a benchmark for what an intellectual ought to be. "Born in Talbīyah, Jerusalem, Said moved between Jerusalem and Cairo and finally relocated to the United States of America where he spent the majority of his life" (McCarthy,

2010:4). He was an outsider, exile and marginal who demonstrated amateurism as he “practiced interdisciplinary on a grand scale” (McCarthy, 2010:13) and rejected professionalism. Said states “I speak and write about broader matters because as a rank amateur I am spurred on by commitments that go well beyond my narrow professional career” (Said, 1994:88). He made keen attempts at speaking out against the oppression of Palestinians (an act of speaking truth to power) and was actively involved in political efforts to help the Palestinian cause, he became a member of the Palestinian National Council” (Postolea, 2017:106).

Said embodies all aspects of his typology which is one of the key reasons why his typology, as it pertains to the performative characteristic, is not completely applicable in a South African specific case. As revealed in the study, the focus of Said’s typology is on who the intellectual ought to be rather than who they are. The fixation of creating parameters, led to the typology being unable to recognise Mbeki’s efforts to develop and promote his African Renaissance philosophy through his speeches, as intellectual works, that sought to promote freedom and justice. As revealed in the study, the importance of intellectuals in South Africa is largely connected to the articulation of a vision of development.

The study presented the importance of context; according to the findings, Said’s typology is context-specific, and this is one of the major reasons why it was not completely applicable in Mbeki’s case. The typology was developed with the consideration of his immediate context. It is limited in its capacity to accommodate a variety of contexts. This is to not say that it does not provide valuable insight on the concept of the intellectual, but rather that it does not cater to all contexts. This brings to the fore the value of a variety of perspectives. Said’s characterisation is foundational as a perspective on the intellectual; however, it does not cater to the nuances of the South African context. At the time, South Africa was a new democracy with a history of apartheid, which was unique to the South African context. Therefore, the needs of the South African population from its intellectuals seemingly warranted different character traits than those Said identified as the essence of the intellectual. The study revealed that the concept of the public intellectual exists but its meaning is constituted by subjective understandings of what a public intellectual ought to be. Assuming this understanding, a variety of

perspectives such as the development of South African specific studies will more thoroughly accommodate the nuances of each context resulting in global diversity and plurality (Kayaoglu, 2010:197) on the concept of the intellectual.

The study presented that Said's typology overlooks the importance of catering to the specific needs of one's society. In this case, Mbeki needed to garner support through his speeches. His oratory was geared towards garnering support for his African Renaissance philosophy. In the case of South Africa in the immediate post-apartheid era, this research demonstrated that public intellectuals did indeed have a practical purpose rather than a completely theoretical one. Public intellectuals have a responsibility to align their purpose with the needs of their societies. Some societies need public intellectuals who are networkers, institution builders, and powerbrokers in addition to other functions of intellectuals. This does not make them traitors to the intellectual vocation as Said's typology suggests, it is rather an evolution of the public intellectual's role in order to adequately serve one's society. Considering the specific needs of a society, this limitation supports the creation of local knowledge to cater to the specific needs of each society.

This study's findings note that Said's typology of the intellectual perpetuates an elitist understanding of the public intellectual. "Said can be accused of smuggling in a defence of elitism under the cover of his championing of 'loneliness'" says Lazarus (2005:119). The typology's rejection of professionalism and specialisation emanates from a position of privilege. In order to serve their respective societies some public intellectuals like Mbeki find themselves having to assert their professionalism and expertise to fulfil a representative role. It is important to consider that some public intellectuals serve their societies best by participating in the development of institutions that are meant for the betterment of their societies.

Said's typology is of great value in public intellectual discourse. In spite of this as revealed by the findings of the study, Said does not cater for the unintended consequences of his typology. His typology is only but a drop in the large pool of knowledge that exists, and should be developed on the public intellectual. Said thoughts on the matter should not be seen as a definitive guide for assessing the

intellectual import of a specific person, but rather a starting point from which further study can grow.

Mbeki is considered a South African public intellectual because of his ability to imagine an African Renaissance. He established policy interventions that pursued the prioritisation of South Africa's development by pushing imaginative and innovative solutions through global economic engagement and the use of political instruments (Mathebula, 2018:1). The rhetorical analysis demonstrates that Mbeki's speeches were mostly persuasive; nonetheless, he was ultimately unable to translate his persuasive appeals to realise an African Renaissance. The African Renaissance never took off because it was plagued by the same pitfalls that hindered its forerunner, Pan-Africanism. Principally, an extensive focus on economics as a means of addressing Africa's issues of underdevelopment, unity, and liberation, instead of addressing issues deeply rooted in the African identity, but also what it means to be African. Be that as it may, considering the results of the analysis, Mbeki's performative prowess is not that of a public intellectual according to Said. Therefore, some might argue that the typology overlooks some public intellectuals because they are not compatible with Said's viewpoint.

A broader conception of the intellectual can only be beneficial for the discourse and intellectual vocation of public intellectuals in the contemporary world. As revealed in the study, Said's characterisation does not holistically represent the reality of what constitutes all public intellectuals, particularly as it relates to Thabo Mbeki. The typology constitutes a making of truth, which constitutes meaning attached to the objects of knowledge. This prompts the development of alternative narratives concerning the concept of the public intellectual and supports the need for the development of South African specific studies on the concept of the intellectual that consider the specific nuances of the context. Said states that his typology universalised the challenges to increase the human scope, this ensures that humans across the world are able to associate their experiences with that of others (Said, 1994:44). The inapplicability of his typology reveals the limitation of this assertion. The dissertation further contends that it is important to recognise the fact that concepts, ideas, themes, theories, and methodologies cannot be exported from

elsewhere and be expected to be completely applicable and or yield similar results in a different context.

The study brings to the fore some future areas of study that can be explored. These include the westernisation of the public intellectual; one of the revelations of this dissertation has been the extent to which how we think about the intellectual is influenced by western traditions. Exploring this topic would be both interesting and contribute towards a holistic understanding of the concept of the intellectual. Considering the concept of speaking truth to power championed by Edward Said. A future area of study could grapple with questions that assess or measure what constitutes truth in relation to the intellectual. These questions may include but are not limited to, what is the truth? How do we determine what is true and what is not? Whose truth are we interpreting? What media does one use to speak the truth? What is the likelihood that power is unaware of the truth? How then can we conclude that this is a characteristic of an intellectual when the very concept of speaking truth is power is contested. This set of questions could be a great starting point for research inquiries in the future.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: A National Strategic Vision for South Africa

“A National Strategic Vision for South Africa” Address at the Development Planning Summit – 1995/11/27

At his inauguration in May 1994, President Mandela declared, “We have at last achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination”. In *Long Walk to Freedom*, he wrote, “I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can rest only for a moment, for with freedom comes responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended”.

As South Africans we have all taken part in the Long Walk . We all need a space to survey our journey so far, and to absorb the view. And though we have come from diverse starting points, our future destiny is together. As we pause for breath, and consult the map, our challenge is to find the common path ahead. And we must start by agreeing our destination.

As government and economy globalises, no national state can plan rigidly and precisely for the future. We cannot predict exchange rates or oil prices in twenty-five years. We can, however ask one simple question: Do we have a common vision to guide our actions?

Proverbs in the Old Testament warns us, “Where there is no vision, the people perish”. And we are further advised by the prophets, “Write the vision and make it plain, that they who read it may run ... the reckless will lack and assured future ”.³ In our discussions today we must ensure that our actions over the coming months, however well intentioned, will not be reckless, and through adopting a common vision we must do our utmost to assure our peoples’ future .

But first let us pause to survey our journey thus far.

In the Interim Constitution we entrenched basic rights and liberties, national unity and equality, the rule of law, accountability and transparency of government, and freedom of expression and association. Our reintegration into the global community has normalised our relations with our neighbours in Southern Africa and presented new opportunities and challenges in international trade.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme established a unique national consensus on the need for prosperity, democracy, human development and the removal of poverty. However, despite its almost biblical character, the RDP Base Document did not provide us with all the answers. We have always known that its many many priorities and programmes need to be distilled into a series of realistic steps, guided by a long term vision and our resource constraints.

This distillation process is not straightforward. It started with the policy reviews which have been undertaken by most national departments, and the development planning which is underway in the provinces. This has exposed the particular challenges facing each sector and area of our country: The need to phase out inefficient transport subsidies and to ensure effective public transport. Or to elaborate on a job creation strategy. Or to develop a detailed tourism strategy. Or to find a mechanism to remove the red lines drawn by the mortgage lenders around our poor communities. The challenge of reconciling the rightsizing or downsizing of the public service with a poverty strategy in the former Transkei, Lebowa, Ciskei, Gazankulu and Venda. Or the opportunity to invest in a corridor of development from the industrial heartland of Gauteng through Mpumalanga to the port of Maputo. To name but a few examples.

As the particular constraints and opportunities became clearer, we recognised the urgency of setting a clear framework to guide our decision making. And so in the RDP White Paper we said, "Government will co-ordinate the development of a national strategic framework. This will set out a long-term vision, which includes goals and critical success factors, macro-economic and expenditure guidelines, and priority focus areas. The framework will set parameters on what must be done, define intergovernmental relationships, and set guidelines for the utilisation of government resources".

We also said, "Provinces will have to work out a rolling three-year programme and an annual business and spatial plan". Through participation in the Forum for Effective Planning and Development, most provinces have now produced initial perspectives, which identify the key issues and constraints. These will feed into our national vision, and will form a sound basis for provincial strategies.

Our six pack of critical measures announced in November '94, and the cabinet bosberaad in January of this year identified the most urgent short-term priorities for the Government. The new Presidential Ad-Hoc Committee has refocused our minds on removing obstacles to growth. Finally, the draft urban and rural strategies, which we published earlier this month, and the work on municipal and national infrastructure investment frameworks have characterised and quantified the backlogs and reinforced the need for major cross-cutting programmes which affect every line department and province.

Most recently we consolidated our transition to democratic government through the local elections which took place in most areas of the country.

Before we look ahead it is important to recognise a number of imperatives in the current environment.

First is the challenge of unemployment and poverty. We need to ensure that every strategy and action we decide on has as its starting point the need to tackle this momentous task.

Second is our trade opportunity with the European Union. Our export capacity will be a critical component of our growth path, and we have a particular window of opportunity to take advantage of the European market. Some economists believe that maximum penetration of the European market was the deciding factor in the economic success of the East Asian tigers. And trade is not just in goods, but also people. Increased and innovative tourism presents a major opportunity for growth and development.

Third is the challenge posed by AIDS. Recent studies in a number of African countries suggest that at current rates of infection, AIDS will be one of the major

impediments to sustained growth and prosperity. The scale of our own problem is only just becoming known and requires serious attention and action.

Fourth is our need to ensure that we are investor-friendly. The confidence which exists in our political system and economy has not been matched by high levels of fixed domestic and inward investment. Our many comparative advantages need to be better marketed and understood both at home and around the world. In addition we need to implement simple mechanisms to facilitate investment, such as the proposed national one-stop investment centre which has been agreed by cabinet, linked to economic development units in provinces and local authorities.

Fifth is the role of information in the global economy. Knowledge is increasingly recognised as a valuable resource, and effective information collection and dissemination has become a defining feature of the economy. The information super-highway can enable us to further our developmental needs in a new way and to empower our citizenry through a two-way exchange of information.

Sixth is the concern about the speed of delivery. During the winter the media began to suggest that the RDP was failing to deliver. In fact we knew that the lead times in our projects and the fundamental transitions in many of our institutions would mean that the RDP projects could not materialise overnight. Over the past three months we have seen major progress with the Presidential Lead Projects and we have turned the tide of media criticism. We must now ensure that this pace of delivery is sustained and communicated.

Seventh is the work underway within the National Economic Development and Labour Council to formulate an accord for Growth and Development between government and our social partners. It is crucial that our long-term vision informs this accord.

Finally we must recognise the danger of fragmentation. In our race to meet all the challenges and ensure visible progress, we have not always made time to examine our priorities. We must guard against unrealistic wish lists, by picking out the critical success factors. We must take the time to ensure that each department, province

and local authority develops compatible policies and plans. We cannot afford to waste resources through contradictory actions.

Now that we have paused to survey our journey so far, and looked at the current environment, we are able to turn our attention to the future.

We have said that we need to agree a vision to guide our future action. And that is our business today. In other words, today's meeting provides us with an opportunity to review our progress and to agree our future direction.

Let us dwell for a moment on what we have to achieve during the day:

First, we must agree on the central pillars of our Growth & Development Strategy .

Second, we should begin to establish realistic targets, based on current information. These are the basis of our vision.

Third, we must commit that all future policies, plans and activities will contribute to the vision.

Fourth, we must ask our Directors-General to produce a more detailed Growth and Development Strategy by February 96. This strategy will guide the allocation of public sector resources in the budget, spatially and sectorally. It will also guide personnel planning and will provide a framework for private sector investment. In order to guide the 1997/98 budget process, departments must finish this work in time for us to finalise the Growth and Development Strategy by February 1996.

Let us start with the vision itself.

The RDP identifies growth with development as the South African growth path. That is, economic growth cannot be separated from the measures to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life . Development resources should be allocated in ways that optimise economic growth aspects. For instance, programmes to provide new infrastructure should also foster local production, employment, innovation and regional trade and should aim to reduce spatial inefficiencies. Economic expansion is a result of and a means to share wealth more evenly amongst our people. High

growth will permit us to achieve much greater equity in incomes and raise living standards for all.

To succeed, this strategy requires that every government department – national, provincial and local – review its policies to ensure that they align with the National Strategic Vision and the National Growth and Development Strategy.

We can already define the six pillars of our Growth and Development Strategy. They are not new. In fact they have emerged by clustering the key areas identified in departmental and provincial policies and plans. Their power is their simplicity. Although not every issue of importance to every department is covered explicitly, these pillars aim to encompass and crystallise all our work. They are as follows:

Investing in people as the productive and creative core of the economy, especially the poor majority;

Creating employment on a massive scale, while building a powerfully competitive South African and Southern African economy;

Investment in household and economic infrastructure, both to facilitate growth and to improve the quality of life for the poor;

A national crime prevention strategy to protect the livelihood of our people, secure the wealth of the country and promote investment;

Building efficient and effective government as a responsive instrument of delivery and empowerment, able to serve all South Africans while directing government resources primarily to meet the needs of the poor majority;

Welfare safety nets which aim to draw the poorest and most vulnerable groups progressively into the mainstream of the economy and society.

On the basis of these pillars, we are able to set medium-term cross-sectoral targets. These targets are not set in stone, and we may need to review them as we gather information and develop more detailed strategies. However they provide an important collective yardstick against which to measure the outputs of all government programmes. Moreover, they permit the public to monitor our progress.

The targets in our vision do not replace the targets set in the RDP base document. For instance, the provision of basic services to all would be in terms of the standards set in the RDP base document. The core targets are as follows:

The Department of Trade and Industry has proposed an annual growth rate of 6 per cent. We must now see how to align our policies to achieve this, and set a timeframe.

The Municipal Infrastructure Investment Framework suggests that we can provide basic services to all within ten years. This will require major private sector financing.

Another important target which we must quantify is the reduction in unemployment.

We believe that our target for the reduction in inequality and elimination of absolute poverty should focus on an increase in the share of national income to persons in the bottom 40% of households.

Finally we require a target for reduction of illiteracy.

We must now quantify these targets. It is essential to put in numbers and time frames which challenge us and the whole society. Once we have completed the October 96 census and analysed the results, we may need to further review the targets. However we can already begin to use the draft targets to evaluate all our programmes.

Finally the vision recognises the need for a stable macro-economic framework for employment creation and growth. Monetary policy will combine with supply side measures, including reforms to improve agricultural productivity, to hold down inflation. We will finalise a policy on the value of the rand to maintain our international competitiveness. Exchange controls will be steadily removed to achieve the aim of attracting increased long-term capital inflows to supplement domestic savings. The government will specify clear targets for deficit reduction by the year 2000.

We believe that this vision provides the basis to critically refocus all our efforts. The key now is to develop coherent strategies in all departments and provinces which support the vision and contribute tangibly to its targets. This will mean proposing that

certain existing programmes be phased out to free up resources for the new priorities. The Directors-General must prioritise this work to complete it by February.

In the meantime the Directors-General will report on their progress to the Ad-Hoc Presidential Committee on Growth and the Intergovernmental Forum.

In closing let me say that none of this will be possible unless we have efficient, effective and accountable government. Our fundamental challenge, then, is to construct a truly developmental state. International experience demonstrates that government driven by a vision and measured by results is far more effective than a rule-governed state. In addition government which is empowered at all levels and which is able to ensure the active participation of citizens in decision making is critical. Finally government must be enterprising. If our efforts are constrained by the extensive system of rules we have inherited we will achieve nothing. We must replace any unnecessary regulations with clear objectives and performance measures.

Thus the fundamental role of our vision – which I might call South Africa 2020 – is to unleash the creativity of our people, in government and throughout South African society .

In the words of US General George Patton, “Never tell people how to do things. Establish what you want to achieve and they will surprise you with their ingenuity”.

THANK YOU.

Appendix B: ‘I am an African’

Statement on Behalf of the ANC on the Occasion of the Adoption by the Constitutional Assembly of “The Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill 1996”, Cape Town, 1996/05/08

Chairperson,

Esteemed President of the democratic Republic,

Honourable Members of the Constitutional Assembly,

Our distinguished domestic and foreign guests,

Friends,

On an occasion such as this, we should, perhaps, start from the beginning.

So, let me begin.

I am an African.

I owe my being to the hills and the valleys, the mountains and the glades, the rivers, the deserts, the trees, the flowers, the seas and the ever-changing seasons that define the face of our native land.

My body has frozen in our frosts and in our latter day snows. It has thawed in the warmth of our sunshine and melted in the heat of the midday sun. The crack and the rumble of the summer thunders, lashed by startling lightening, have been a cause both of trembling and of hope.

The fragrances of nature have been as pleasant to us as the sight of the wild blooms of the citizens of the veld.

The dramatic shapes of the Drakensberg, the soil-coloured waters of the Lekoa, iGqili noThukela, and the sands of the Kgalagadi, have all been panels of the set on the natural stage on which we act out the foolish deeds of the theatre of our day.

At times, and in fear, I have wondered whether I should concede equal citizenship of our country to the leopard and the lion, the elephant and the springbok, the hyena, the black mamba and the pestilential mosquito.

A human presence among all these, a feature on the face of our native land thus defined, I know that none dare challenge me when I say – I am an African!

I owe my being to the Khoi and the San whose desolate souls haunt the great expanses of the beautiful Cape – they who fell victim to the most merciless genocide our native land has ever seen, they who were the first to lose their lives in the struggle to defend our freedom and dependence and they who, as a people, perished in the result.

Today, as a country, we keep an audible silence about these ancestors of the generations that live, fearful to admit the horror of a former deed, seeking to obliterate from our memories a cruel occurrence which, in its remembering, should teach us not and never to be inhuman again.

I am formed of the migrants who left Europe to find a new home on our native land. Whatever their own actions, they remain still, part of me.

In my veins courses the blood of the Malay slaves who came from the East. Their proud dignity informs my bearing, their culture a part of my essence. The stripes they bore on their bodies from the lash of the slave master are a reminder embossed on my consciousness of what should not be done.

I am the grandchild of the warrior men and women that Hintsa and Sekhukhune led, the patriots that Cetshwayo and Mphephu took to battle, the soldiers Moshoeshe and Ngungunyane taught never to dishonour the cause of freedom.

My mind and my knowledge of myself is formed by the victories that are the jewels in our African crown, the victories we earned from Isandhlwana to Khartoum, as Ethiopians and as the Ashanti of Ghana, as the Berbers of the desert.

I am the grandchild who lays fresh flowers on the Boer graves at St Helena and the Bahamas, who sees in the mind's eye and suffers the suffering of a simple peasant folk, death, concentration camps, destroyed homesteads, a dream in ruins.

I am the child of Nongqause. I am he who made it possible to trade in the world markets in diamonds, in gold, in the same food for which my stomach yearns.

I come of those who were transported from India and China, whose being resided in the fact, solely, that they were able to provide physical labour, who taught me that we could both be at home and be foreign, who taught me that human existence itself demanded that freedom was a necessary condition for that human existence.

Being part of all these people, and in the knowledge that none dare contest that assertion, I shall claim that – I am an African.

I have seen our country torn asunder as these, all of whom are my people , engaged one another in a titanic battle, the one redress a wrong that had been caused by one to another and the other, to defend the indefensible.

I have seen what happens when one person has superiority of force over another, when the stronger appropriate to themselves the prerogative even to annul the injunction that God created all men and women in His image.

I know what it signifies when race and colour are used to determine who is human and who, sub-human.

I have seen the destruction of all sense of self-esteem, the consequent striving to be what one is not, simply to acquire some of the benefits which those who had improved themselves as masters had ensured that they enjoy.

I have experience of the situation in which race and colour is used to enrich some and impoverish the rest.

I have seen the corruption of minds and souls as (word not readable) of the pursuit of an ignoble effort to perpetrate a veritable crime against humanity.

I have seen concrete expression of the denial of the dignity of a human being emanating from the conscious, systemic and systematic oppressive and repressive activities of other human beings.

There the victims parade with no mask to hide the brutish reality – the beggars, the prostitutes, the street children, those who seek solace in substance abuse, those who have to steal to assuage hunger, those who have to lose their sanity because to be sane is to invite pain.

Perhaps the worst among these, who are my people, are those who have learnt to kill for a wage. To these the extent of death is directly proportional to their personal welfare.

And so, like pawns in the service of demented souls, they kill in furtherance of the political violence in KwaZulu-Natal. They murder the innocent in the taxi wars.

They kill slowly or quickly in order to make profits from the illegal trade in narcotics. They are available for hire when husband wants to murder wife and wife, husband.

Among us prowl the products of our immoral and amoral past – killers who have no sense of the worth of human life, rapists who have absolute disdain for the women of our country, animals who would seek to benefit from the vulnerability of the children, the disabled and the old, the rapacious who brook no obstacle in their quest for self-enrichment.

All this I know and know to be true because I am an African!

Because of that, I am also able to state this fundamental truth that I am born of a people who are heroes and heroines.

I am born of a people who would not tolerate oppression.

I am of a nation that would not allow that fear of death, torture, imprisonment, exile or persecution should result in the perpetuation of injustice.

The great masses who are our mother and father will not permit that the behaviour of the few results in the description of our country and people as barbaric.

Patient because history is on their side , these masses do not despair because today the weather is bad. Nor do they turn triumphalist when, tomorrow, the sun shines. Whatever the circumstances they have lived through and because of that experience, they are determined to define for themselves who they are and who they should be.

We are assembled here today to mark their victory in acquiring and exercising their right to formulate their own definition of what it means to be African .

The constitution whose adoption we celebrate constitutes an unequivocal statement that we refuse to accept that our Africanness shall be defined by our race, colour, gender of historical origins.

It is a firm assertion made by ourselves that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

It gives concrete expression to the sentiment we share as Africans, and will defend to the death, that the people shall govern.

It recognises the fact that the dignity of the individual is both an objective which society must pursue, and is a goal which cannot be separated from the material well-being of that individual.

It seeks to create the situation in which all our people shall be free from fear, including the fear of the oppression of one national group by another, the fear of the disempowerment of one social echelon by another, the fear of the use of state power to deny anybody their fundamental human rights and the fear of tyranny.

It aims to open the doors so that those who were disadvantaged can assume their place in society as equals with their fellow human beings without regard to colour, race, gender, age or geographic dispersal.

It provides the opportunity to enable each one and all to state their views, promote them, strive for their implementation in the process of governance without fear that a contrary view will be met with repression.

It creates a law-governed society which shall be inimical to arbitrary rule.

It enables the resolution of conflicts by peaceful means rather than resort to force.

It rejoices in the diversity of our people and creates the space for all of us voluntarily to define ourselves as one people.

As an African, this is an achievement of which I am proud, proud without reservation and proud without any feeling of conceit .

Our sense of elevation at this moment also derives from the fact that this magnificent product is the unique creation of African hands and African minds .

But it is also constitutes a tribute to our loss of vanity that we could, despite the temptation to treat ourselves as an exceptional fragment of humanity, draw on the accumulated experience and wisdom of all humankind, to define for ourselves what we want to be.

Together with the best in the world, we too are prone to pettiness, petulance , selfishness and short-sightedness.

But it seems to have happened that we looked at ourselves and said the time had come that we make a super-human effort to be other than human , to respond to the call to create for ourselves a glorious future, to remind ourselves of the Latin saying: Gloria est consequenda – Glory must be sought after!

Today it feels good to be an African .

It feels good that I can stand here as a South African and as a foot soldier of a titanic African army, the African National Congress, to say to all the parties represented here, to the millions who made an input into the processes we are concluding, to our outstanding compatriots who have presided over the birth of our founding document , to the negotiators who pitted their wits one against the other, to the unseen stars who shone unseen as the management and administration of the Constitutional Assembly, the advisers, experts and publicists, to the mass communication media, to our friends across the globe – congratulations and well done!

I am an African .

I am born of the peoples of the continent of Africa .

The pain of the violent conflict that the peoples of Liberia, Somalia, the Sudan, Burundi and Algeria is a pain I also bear .

The dismal shame of poverty , suffering and human degradation of my continent is a plight that we share.

The plight on our happiness that derives from this and from our drift to the periphery of the ordering of human affairs leaves us in a persistent shadow of despair.

This is a savage road to which nobody should be condemned.

This thing that we have done today, in this small corner of a great continent that has contributed so decisively to the evolution of humanity says that Africa reaffirms that she is continuing her rise from the ashes.

Whatever the setbacks of the moment, nothing can stop us now! Whatever the difficulties, Africa shall be at peace! However improbable it may sound to the sceptics, Africa will prosper!

Whoever we may be, whatever our immediate interest, however much we carry baggage from our past, however much we have been caught by the fashion of cynicism and loss of faith in the capacity of the people, let us err today and say – nothing can stop us now !

Thank you.

Appendix C: Infrastructure and Development in South Africa

Speech on Infrastructure and Development in South Africa, Development Bank – 1998/07/31

Chairperson

Members of the Board

Ladies and Gentlemen

Let me take this opportunity to thank the DBSA for inviting us to attend the launch of their annual report and to say a few words.

We have been asked to say a few words about the role of infrastructure in the development process of our country and region of Southern Africa . The centrality of infrastructure, both physical and social, in development cannot be emphasised. Therefore any development process must entail a commitment to investment in infrastructure . Infrastructure forms the backbone , the base upon which most of our programmes can flourish .

Infrastructure, in all its forms, is a catalyst for development. Well-planned and managed infrastructure can enhance costs. It enables established businesses to expand their production levels, while encouraging small businesses to enter the market . It also promotes trade and supports economic concentration.

Our government is committed to promoting the development of the country and the region as a whole. We take the view that development is about people . In South Africa, our government is investing in infrastructure to eliminate service backlogs in under-serviced areas, especially the black townships and rural areas, in order to meet our people's basic needs.

Basic infrastructure services can also reduce poverty and contribute to job creation . Through the various public works programmes government has , over the last few years ensured that, the provision of infrastructure takes place in a manner that enhances job opportunities for the unemployed, especially women. We need to continue to ensure that labour intensive methods are used in infrastructure provision . Despite our efforts, most of our people still live in under-served rural and peri-urban areas. The challenge that the DBSA and all of us face is to find innovative ways to provide them with the necessary basic infrastructure, improved infrastructure services will make them less vulnerable, allowing them to undertake productive activities both within the household and in the wider economy.

In 1994 the new government inherited a mixed but rapidly deteriorating infrastructure stock . Economic infrastructure was reasonable , with transport and electricity fairly well developed. However, these networks were not appropriate for the needs of the population and the economy. Most their economic bases, with few railway lines being financially sustainable . City transport systems were increasingly strained as the majority of the population had been forced to live far from their places of work and basic services.

Access to social and domestic infrastructure was restricted mainly to urban areas and people in rural areas had few services. In 1994 only 20 per cent of rural dwellers had access to electricity, 35 per cent to clean water and 5 per cent to adequate sanitation . Even in urban areas, at least a fifth of households could not access these services. The government needed to provide infrastructure that would meet the country's economic demands, while simultaneously redressing apartheid imbalances.

We have been actively addressing this problem . Our key policy doc the key role of infrastructure in promoting growth while meeting basic needs . Government also

acknowledges that the fiscus will not be able to address all these needs on its own and has therefore called for public-private partnerships to enhance service delivery.

The government launched several RDP-funded programmes, culminating in the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP) to fund building, upgrading or rehabilitation of internal bulk and connector infrastructure. Recently government with the assistance of the DBSA has established a Municipal Infrastructure Investment Unit to act as a facilitator and promoter of public-private partnerships in the municipal sector.

The government also made significant progress on delivery . Since 1994, about 1 000 more people have gained access to clean water every day and over 1,4 million have benefited thus far. Over 780 000 housing subsidies were approved by February 1998 and about 500 000 houses are nearing completion. In 1997 alone 424 000 houses were electrified, and Telkom connected 360 000 telephone lines in underserved areas. The CMIP created some 250 000 employment opportunities through construction and maintenance of municipal infrastructure projects in its first year (1997).

Given both its limited fiscal resources, and international trends on good governance and efficient delivery, let me emphasise once again that the government is committed to utilising public-private partnerships in the creation of social and physical infrastructure . Although parastatals and local boards still dominate, private sector involvement is gradually increasing through joint financing, delivery concessions and other institutional innovations . To ensure that partnerships promote economic empowerment, the government has focused on developing new regulatory frameworks to guide these initiatives. All public-private partnerships are to target small business development, job creation and training.

Government's Spatial Development Initiatives are a particularly significant vehicle for public-private partnerships . Focusing on areas with untapped economic potential, they facilitate regional integration by promoting investment, employment and wealth creation, as well as infrastructure development. SDIs demonstrate the paradigm shift from the protected and isolated approach to economic development of the past towards regional co-operation and integration.

Eight SDIs were identified in South Africa, based mainly on mineral processing, tourism and agriculture, and seven more within the southern African region. The Maputo Corridor is an example of a SDI which links South Africa to its neighbours. Others are the Lubombo Initiative (agro-tourism) and the extension of the Rustenburg SDI to include the Trans-Kalahari transport corridor between Namibia and Botswana. There is enormous potential for SDIs elsewhere in the region, such as:

The Beira Development Corridor.

The Nacala Corridor connecting Mozambique to Malawi and Zambia.

The Tazara Corridor connecting Tanzania to Zambia and.

The Benguela Corridor connecting Angola to the southern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zambia and the Tazara Corridor.

As we can see from all these corridors, the demand for regional infrastructure is huge. Infrastructure investment in the region has long been inadequate and, sometimes, ill directed. Most early infrastructure development was related to the colonial history of the region, focusing on exporting raw materials to the rest of the world instead of promoting inter-regional links.

More recently, apartheid's deliberate isolation and support for acts of aggression, frequent armed conflicts and the subsequent need to divert expenditure from the infrastructure to defence compounded the problem.

As a result, across SADC, most rural people cannot access clean water and proper sanitation. Beyond urban limits, infrastructure services are often in a state of disrepair. Water and energy resource management is fragmented and cross-border transportation and communication networks are frequently insufficient and incompatible.

The physical upgrading of infrastructure alone will not suffice. It needs to be combined with credible policies, capacity building, skills transfer, regulatory reform and institutional change. Infrastructure is not the only constraint to efficient trade, but it is a prerequisite for successful economic development in the continent.

The government is committed to the reconstruction and development of the country in order to provide a better life for all. This vision extends to making concrete contributions towards the transformation and rebirth of the African continent. This Renaissance – An African Renaissance, is about democracy, peace and stability, economic regeneration and improving the quality of life of our people in the region; through jobs, education and health .

it is also about ensuring that the continent takes its rightful place on the world stage . But the region cannot achieve sustainable development unless it mobilises domestic and international resources. This requires practical policies to enable the region to build partnerships with other regions and the private sector to address issues of human resources development and the globalisation of the region's economies.

South Africa's role here is multi-faceted . It is co-ordinating SADC's finance and investment sector, focusing on a new framework for financing regional infrastructure projects . The DBSA's mandate has been expanded to include the provision of finance to SADC countries on a bilateral basis. Several commercial banks have established funds for financing infrastructure in Africa. The government promotes trade in the region to stimulate development and correct regional economic imbalances. For example, South Africa can make greater use of regional infrastructure facilities – importing water and energy from the region.

that an estimated US\$15-25 billion to 2005 is needed to address regional backlogs in transportation, telecommunications and energy. Clearly governments in the region will not have all the resources to address the problem. This will require public-private partnerships and the optimal use of resources from multi- and bi-lateral financial institutions and development finance institutions in the region.

As one of the primary funding agent of infrastructure in the SADC region , the DBSA's role is therefore pivotal . It must act as a catalyst to mobilise international and private sector funding for investment in infrastructure in the area.

The Bank also contributes substantially to the development debate . Its policy work and technical assistance is aimed at sustainable and affordable options for

infrastructure delivery . The DBSA facilitates public-private partnerships and SDIs and contributes finance and development expertise to the process.

I'm informed that this year the DBSA funded infrastructure services in 72 urban areas, benefiting nearly one million households across all provinces . In the region it funded smaller infrastructure projects and cofunded large-scale projects and programmes such as the Lesotho Highlands Water Programme, the Maguga Dam, the Botswana North-South Water Carrier project and the Mozal aluminium smelter in Maputo. The Bank contributed to employment creation and promoted community participation, skills transfer, and small business development and addresses environmental concerns, sound financial planning, and institutional capacity building.

As the region is poised to enter a period of social and economic transformation, we believe the DBSA is ready to support the infrastructure imperatives of the RDP at national and regional level, underpinning a better life for all . By working together in partnership – government, parastatals and the private sector – we can overcome the legacy of the past , enhance the quality of life of all people in the region.

Thank you.