

**People's Democratic Republic of Algeria**  
**Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research**  
**Abderrahmane Mira University of Bejaia**  
**Faculty of Letters and Languages**  
**Department of English**



**Mandela's No Easy Walk to  
Freedom Speech (1953): A Critical  
Discourse Analysis.**

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment for the Requirements of a Master  
Degree in Linguistics**

**Submitted by:**

Miss.Saloua Aliouat

**Supervised by:**

Mr. Belkacem Outemzabet

**The Panel of Examiners:**

**Supervisor:**Mr.Belkacem Outemzabet, University of Bejaia.

**President:**Mr.Sofiane Mammeri,University of Bejaia.

**Examiner:**Miss. Soraya Arib, University of Bejaia.

September,2020

## **Dedication**

*Every challenging work  
Needs self- efforts  
As well as  
Guidance of other people  
Especially those who are close to our heart*

*This study is wholeheartedly dedicated to my beloved parents, who have been my source of inspiration and gave me strength when I thought of giving up, who continually provide their moral, spiritual, emotional, and financial support.*

*To my loved ones who shared their words of advice and encouragement to complete this work.*

*Lastly, to almighty God, thank you for the guidance, strength, power of mind, protection, skill, and for giving me a healthy life.*

## Acknowledgment

Every person has to have the guidance to lead him in the direction until he can do it himself.

Foremost, I am grateful to almighty God for giving me strength, patience, and forbearance to complete my thesis.

I would like to express my deepest thanks and sincere appreciation to my supervisor Mr. Outemzabet for the continuous support of my thesis, for his patience, motivation, enthusiasm, and immense knowledge.

Also, I would like to express my sincere gratitude, respect, and deepest thanks to my teachers in the department of English, great thanks to my teacher Mr. Mammeri who gave me the inspiration to work on this field of study, and special thanks to the examining committee.

Special thanks to my friends, for the memorable moments, encouragement, motivation and support to go further in our thesis.

Besides, I would like to express profound gratitude to my parents for their support, prayers, love, and encouraging spiritually throughout writing this thesis and throughout all my life.

At last, I would like to express a sense of gratitude to one or all, directly or indirectly, have lent their helping hand throughout my research thesis.

## Abstract

The present paper explores the ideological dimension that is embedded in the greatest speech ever given by the hero who dedicated his life to fight the racial segregation by white minority under the apartheid system in South Africa. It is Nelson Mandela's, "No Easy Walk to Freedom" speech, delivered on September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1953 to the ANC Congress. We relied on Van Dijk model (2006) of discursive strategies of positive self-presentation and negative others-presentation that were accommodated to achieve the objective of the study. The results reveal that those ideological strategies are used in Mandela's discourse. Moreover, Mandela uses polarizations in his use of "We" vs. "Them". Furthermore, the use of "we" aims to deepen the relations between him and his masses and maintain the flesh and blood ties between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Masses. Besides, he uses "Them" to refer to the out-group or the racially white state authorities. In addition, the findings show that Van Dijk's model (2006) is suitable and applicable for the analysis of this corpus since our assumptions are accepted and confirmed. Besides, Van Dijk's model is realized by the use of the strategy of Positive Self-Presentation that reflected Mandela's underlying ideology to glorify and praise the blacks for their long-standing challenge of the unjust policies of the racist state. In addition, the strategy of Negative Other-Presentation was used to talk about the tragedies and miseries inflicted on the black people by the racist state. To conclude, Mandela uses more negative terms to express his conservative ideology towards the racist state. Also, his speech is featured mainly by social inclusion and exclusion, racism, misbehavior, battle, and humanism.

**Key Words:** Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Nelson R. Mandela, Van Dijk Model (2006)

## Table of Contents:

Dedication .....	I
Acknowledgments.....	II
Abstract.....	III
Table of contents .....	IV
List of Abbreviations.....	VIII
List of Figures.....	VIII
List of Tables.....	VIII

### General Introduction

1. Statement of the Problem.....	2
2. Questions of the Study.....	2
3. Assumptions of the Study.....	2
4. Purpose of the Study.....	3
5. Significance of the Study.....	3
6. The Organization of the Study.....	4

### Chapter One

#### Theoretical Background.

<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>6</b>
--------------------------	----------

#### Section One: Introducing Discourse Studies.

1. What is Discourse? .....	6
2. What is Discourse Analysis? .....	8
3. Approaches to DA.....	11
4. Political Discourse.....	19

5. DA and Pragmatics.....	21
---------------------------	----

**Section two: Critical Discourse Analysis.**

1. What is Critical Discourse Analysis .....	23
2. Principles of CDA.....	25
3. Focal Approaches of CDA.....	27

**Section three: the Van Dijk’s model of CDA**

1. Who is Teun Van Dijk.....	29
2. Van Dijk Sociocognitive Approach .....	30
3. Summary of Van Dijk’s Model (2006).....	31

<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>35</b>
------------------------	-----------

**Chapter Two**

**Research Methods, Analysis, & Discussion of the Findings.**

<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>36</b>
--------------------------	-----------

**Section One: Research Methods**

1. Research Methods.....	36
2. The Corpus of the Study.....	36
3. Data Analysis and Procedures.....	37
4. Data Analysis Framework .....	37

## **Section Two: Analysis and Discussions of the Findings**

1. Positive Self-Presentation in Mandela’s Discourse.....	42
1.1 Meaning Level.....	42
1.2 Form Level.....	58
1.3 Action Level.....	51
2. Negative Other- Presentation in Mandela’s Discourse.....	54
2.1 Meaning Level.....	54
2.2 Form Level.....	58
2.3 Action Level.....	60

## **Section Three: Conclusions, Limitations, and Suggestions for Further Research**

1. Conclusions of the Study.....	64
2. Limitations of the Study .....	66
3. Suggestions for Further Research.....	67
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>General Conclusion.....</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>References.....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>Abstract in French (Resume).....</b>	<b>72</b>

## **Appendices**

<b>Appendix 1: A Short Biography of Nelson Mandela.....</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>Appendix 2: The Script of the President Nelson Mandela’s “NO EASY WALK TO FREEDOM” .....</b>	<b>74</b>

## List of Abbreviations

<b>ANC:</b> African National Congress
<b>CA:</b> Critical Analysis
<b>CD:</b> Conversation Analysis
<b>CDA:</b> Critical Discourse Analysis
<b>CDS:</b> Critical Discourse Studies
<b>CL:</b> Corpus Linguistics
<b>CL:</b> Critical Linguistics
<b>DA:</b> Discourse Studies
<b>IS:</b> Interactional Sociolinguistics
<b>MDA:</b> Multimodal Discourse Analysis
<b>PD:</b> Political Discourse
<b>PDA:</b> Political Discourse Analysis
<b>SFG:</b> Systematic Functional Grammar

## List of Figures

<b>Figure 01:</b> Organization of the Study.....	4
<b>Figure 02:</b> An Adopted Version of Van Dijk’s Model for Analysis.....	33

## List of Tables

<b>Table 01:</b> Van Dijk’s Ideological Square (1998).....	32
<b>Table 02:</b> The Positive Terms Frequency Used in Mandela’s Discourse.....	47
<b>Table 03:</b> The Negative Terms Frequency Used in Mandela’s Discourse.....	57



## General Introduction

Language is the ultimate device of politicians to provoke the mind and feelings of their audience (Newmart, 1991). Language and discourses are the perfect tool that can be used to gain the audience consciousness and support in times of distress. Accordingly, Johnston (2008) asserts that discourse is consciously designed for strategic aims, namely when addressers have the attention to persuade people to certain beliefs or course of attention. The present paper is an attempt to use Critical Discourse Analysis as a tool to study the speech of South African leader Nelson Mandela “No Easy Walk to Freedom” delivered on September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1953 during the “Dark Moments” and which was addressed to ANC Congress and the supporters of the anti-apartheid movement.

Abercrombie (1980) and Van Dijk (2004) believe that not only the dominant group has ideologies but even the dominated whose ideologies are often of resistance and opposition. Accordingly, the term ideology in the current paper is used to tackle the dominant group. Moreover, this discourse analytical study seeks to analyze critically Mandela’s speech focusing on the subject of racism and pinpointing the ideological strategies used in the speech to raise the audience’s consciousness and eagerness to face the enemy.

The present paper intends to analyze Mandela’s speech from a Critical Discourse Analytical perspective, precisely, using Van Dijk’s Model (2006) as a framework for analysis with intent to identifying not only the linguistic aspects but also the psychological, sociological and ideological aspects used in our corpus. Accordingly, this adopted approach perfectly allows us to determine the meaning of ideology in the speech.

## 1. Statement of the Problem

Many linguists believe that political discourse is basically ideological. According to Van Dijk (2006) ideology and politics are interconnected, that is, both of them are discursive. In short, ideology plays an influential role in politics because it is through political discourses that ideologies are expressed. Thus, he views that political discourse is not only restricted to political ideologies but also involves ideologies that pertain to ecology, feminism, and racism or which are considered to be political ideologies although they are not purely political. Accordingly, our interest falls on analyzing one of presidential speeches of Nelson Mandela “No Easy Walk to Freedom” in the aim of understanding how he uses language to defend and argument his ideologies through his linguistic, political, and ideological knowledge as expressed in his speech. Also, to persuade his audience and move his audience toward action. Hence, few works have done with analyzing political discourses of the dominated groups, this analytical research aims at analyzing Mandela’s political speech critically with an attempt to investigate the discourse and ideological strategies used in the speech under study.

## 2. Questions of the Study

The present study attempts to answer the following questions:

- What are the ideological strategies used in Nelson Mandela’s speech?
- Can elements of Van Dijk model (2006) be used for a critical analysis of this speech?
- How does Nelson Mandela imply and discuss racism all along this speech?

## 3. Assumptions of the Study

An assumption is “*any important fact presumed to be true but not actually verified*” (Gay, 1976). That is to say, our assumptions may or may not be validated and that can be verified in the results of study.

This study is based on the following assumptions:

- We presume that Mandela use various ideological strategies.
- We believe that Van Dijk’s model (2006) can be used as a tool for the analyzing Mandela’s speech critically.

- We assume that, throughout this speech, Mandela referred to racism as his main objective was to persuade his audience to fight racism and discrimination in South Africa and around the world.

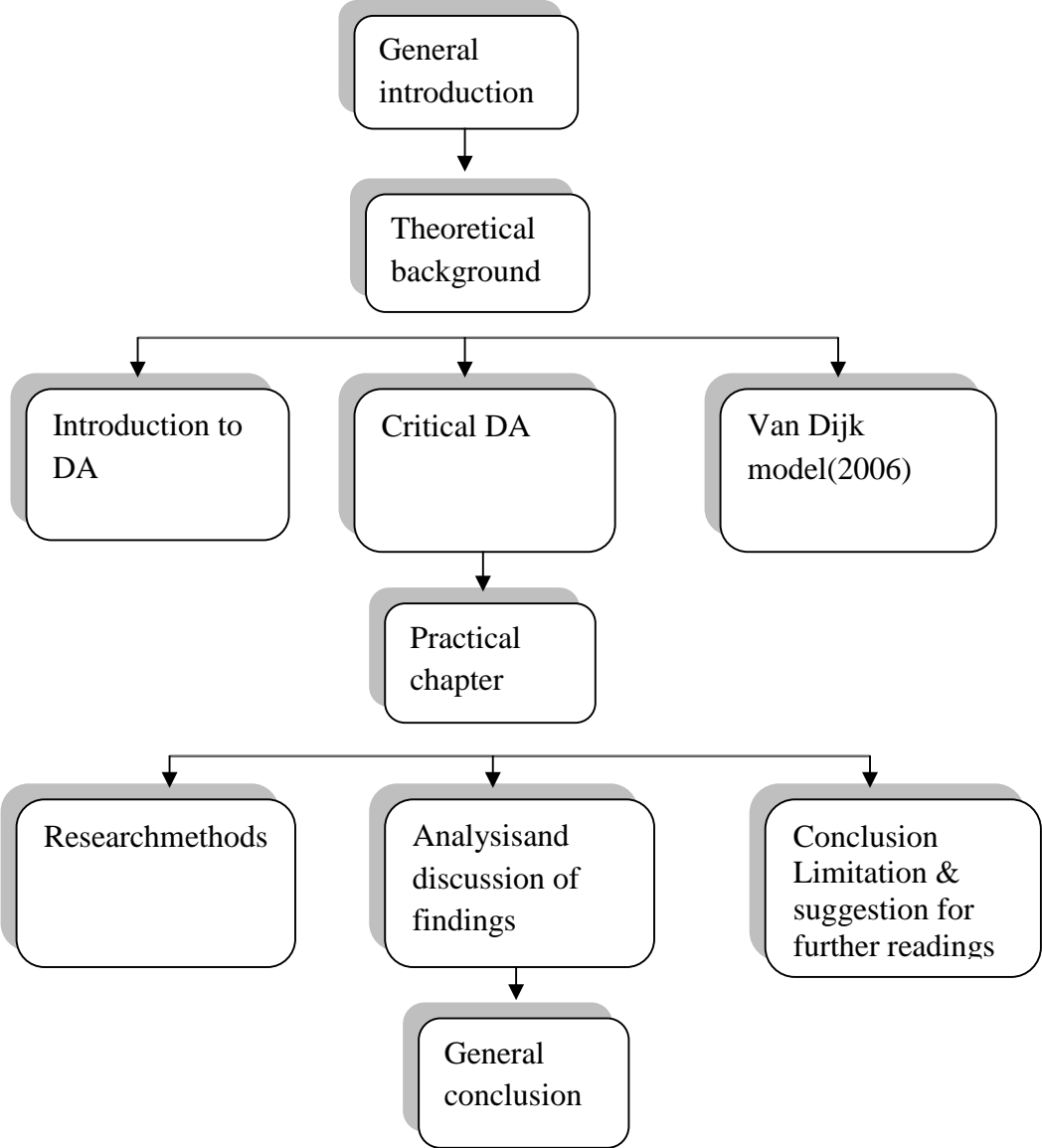
#### **4. Purpose of the Study**

In political discourse, problems are often presented and solutions attached to people. Based on this view, Mandela's discourse "No Easy Walk to Freedom" aims basically to create consensus among citizens as to which course of action can be adopted to solve problems as poverty, crime, social inequality, and racism. Accordingly, the current work is an attempt to highlight the ideological strategies embedded in the discourse of the non-western political figure Nelson Mandela. Besides, this critical study is concerned with identifying the ideological strategies employed by this African leader to impress and persuade his audience to move toward action.

#### **5. Significance of the Study**

To our best knowledge, this analytical study draws its importance from the fact that there is no previous attempt to analyze Nelson Mandela's discourses "No Easy Walk to Freedom". Besides, the current study is consistent with the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis which is considered to be a modest contribution in Discourse Analysis. Also, the findings of this research reveal the discourse and ideological strategies that feature Mandela's speech.

**Figure 1: Organization of the Study**



As shown in figure 1, the present study consists of two chapters which are theoretical and practical. These chapters are initiated by a general introduction and concluded by a general conclusion. Our work begins with a general introduction to the research under investigation. Then, followed by the theoretical chapter which is divided into three sections: Discourse studies in general, critical discourse analysis in particular since it is the adopted framework for analysis, then a summary of the adopted modal of Van Dijk (2006). Moreover, the practical chapter is also divided into three sections: starting with the description of research methods that are used to analyze the selected corpus. Then, the followed section deals with the analysis and discussion of the finding relying on the Van Dijk model. In addition to our contribution of making reference to racism. Finally, the last section summarizes all the results of this study in conclusions, limitations, and suggestions for further research. To conclude our research a general conclusion is provided to sum up our thesis.

# Chapter One

## Theoretical Background

The present chapter attempts to introduce the theoretical basis of this analytical research. It is divided into three main sections that explore the main points related to Discourse Analysis in general and CDA in particular. The first section introduces the field of DA, the second one deals with CDA, the main topic of the research, and the last section is a description of the adopted model of Van Dijk (2006).

### Section One: An Introduction to Discourse Analysis.

In this present section, the focus is mainly on introducing Discourse Analysis. Yet, developing various important points related to this broad field of research, to help the readers to comprehend the roots of this field of research, and providing them with its basic theoretical knowledge.

#### 1. Defining Discourse:

The term discourse has a variety of meanings both within and outside linguistics. Many scholars have defined this concept differently, Hyland & Partridge (2011) claim that” *Because language is connected to almost everything that goes in the world, Discourse is something of an overloaded term, covering a range of meanings*” (p1). Moreover, Discourse is a broad term with various definitions which”*integrates a whole palette of meanings*” (Titscher et al., 2000, p.42). Additionally, Schiffrin, Tannin & Hamilton (2001) stated:” *since Semantics, Pragmatics and Discourse all concern language, communication, meaning, and context, it is perhaps not surprising that these fields of linguistics are those definitions seems to be most variable*” (p02).

Accordingly, the term “Discourse” is very hard to define because it changes meaning from one context to another and from one domain to another. In fact, discourse assumes different meanings in different contexts. “Discourse” has been interpreted from various linguistic perspectives among which: the structural linguistic perspective, the sociolinguistic perspective, and the critical discourse analysis perspective (CDA)

Starting with the structural standpoint, discourse is viewed as a unit of a language above or larger than a sentence or clause (Stubbs, 1983, p.01). Furthermore, according to the structural linguists', discourse is limited to grammar and syntax level; that is to say, structuralists' do not go beyond grammatical and syntactic structures of the discourse.

Differently, sociolinguistics which is the study of language in its social context, regards discourse as an instance of language use in social and cultural contexts. On that account, Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) assert that "*discourse is functional in the social context*" (pp.6-7). Consequently, Sociolinguists make a connection between discourse and communication as Fasold explains in his quotation "*The approach to the sociolinguistics of language in which the use of language in general is related to social and cultural values is called the ethnography of speaking or, more generally, the ethnography of communication*" (Fasold, 1990, p. 39).

Additionally, another perspective of sociolinguists' field is that they make a connection between discourse and meaning. In other words, according to sociolinguists', discourse carries meaning; correspondingly, Halliday and Hassan (1976) assert that discourse is "*a semantic unit, a unit not of form but of meaning*" (p.2).

Without going so far from sociolinguistics point of view, critical discourse analysts' also views discourse as an instance of social practice (Fairclough, 1992, p.63). According to Fairclough, discourse and society are interrelated in the sense that discourse is a social practice. More precisely, Fairclough means that discourse is one of the component elements which construct the society by making actions through which people around the world in general and within society in particular can act and represent reality (Fairclough.1992.p63). Moreover, CD analysts' regard discourse as a tool that members of society use in order to express their different thoughts, beliefs and ideologies. Accordingly Fairclough (1995) stated:

*"Discourse is in an active relation to reality, that language signifies reality in the sense of constructing meanings for it, rather than that discourse is in a passive relation to reality, with language merely referring to objects which are taken to be given in reality"*  
(Fairclough,1995,p,)

To sum up, it is worth mentioning that there is no consensus on the notion of discourse from a linguistic perspective. Usually, discourse is defined by some scholars as a language

unit beyond sentence (Stubbs 1983), and “*more than words in clauses*” (Martin & Rose 2007.p. 1). Whereas, other scholars have defined discourse as “language-in-action”, and “*The totality of linguistic practices that pertain to a particular domain or that create a particular object*” (Gee,2009).

## **2. Defining Discourse Analysis:**

In recent decades, the social sciences have experienced a “*discursive turn*” when the interest is mainly on discussing the role of language in creating the realities that surround us. In fact this interest leads to the emergence of a new theory and method for the study of language use and its role in society. The early conceptualization of this field of study was seen as “*a linguistic discipline*” focusing more on the “*language as text*” following the work of text analysts Propp (1958) and Jakobson (1937). Then, it shifted to the focus in “*language use*” building on the ideas of psychology, sociology, semiotics, and rhetoric, just to mention a few (Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones .2008.p.1).

Discourse analysis started with the analysis of single sentences, and then its interest shifted to the analysis of texts, focusing on its meaning and context. It was first developed by Zellig Harris in 1955 in his publication of the paper “*Discourse analysis*” as a way of analyzing connected speech and writing (Patridge, 2008.p.02). This view fits the idea developed by Bhatia, Flowerdew, and Jones (2008):

*“Dating back to the 1960s, it has been defined as the analysis of linguistic behaviour, written and spoken, beyond the limits of individual sentences, focusing primarily on the meaning constructed and interpreted as language is used in particular social contexts”*

(Bhatia, Flowerdew, and Jones,2008,p.01).

The quotation above highlights two important points: the one that language can be analyzed not only at the level of morpheme, word, clause, or sentence, but also at the level of texts. The other point is that the interest of analysis is not only on the linguistic level but also on the context in which it is used, i.e. not only the linguistic rules but as a social action (Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones.2008.).



It is important to mention that most approaches to DA focus primarily on “*language use*”. Thus, this view arises from the great number of developments in the twentieth century particularly in the field of philosophy, anthropology, sociology, and linguistics itself. In fact, this view traces back to the work of Wittgenstein (1951/1972), “*who saw language as a series of ‘games’ through which people construct what he calls ‘forms of life’, particular ways of being in relation to others and their surroundings*” (Bhatia, Flowerdew, and Jones 2008.p.2). Less than two decades after, with the publication of Austin’s 1962 classic “*how to do things with words*”, it is more prominent, at least in philosophical circles, to the judgment that language study should involve more than just its structure but also how it is used and how social standards and practices shape and give rise to it (Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones, 2008). However, later on, it was significantly different from that of Austin, thinkers as Foucault and Derrida, played a major role in understanding language particularly “discourse” as a social practice.

Furthermore, many language philosophers and social scientists were interested in the view that “*language as social practice*” as a result almost all their studies were based on this idea. The anthropologists Reusch and Batson (1951) argued that it is not possible to separate social and psychological phenomena from the “matrix of communication” in which they occur (Bhatia, Flowerdew, and Jones 2008.p.2). Just after, in 1970’s linguists were increasingly concerned with languages’ association with social actions and the socio-cultural worlds of those who use it (Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones 2008.p.2).

The main concern of DA “*language in use*” has expanded all over the world, this issue introduced mainly in America by Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf as well as others in the Boasian tradition of anthropological linguistics. Additionally, Michael Halliday (in Europe) stressed on the point that “*language is as it is because of its function in the social structure*”(1973,p.65) and called for the development of “*sociological linguistics*” a discipline which enables us to see the language on two levels: a macro-sociological in which language “*serves to transmit the social structure, the values, the systems of knowledge, all the deepest and most pervasive patterns of the culture*” (1973,p. 45), and a micro-sociological level “*in which meanings are seen as specific to particular contexts and situations*”(Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones 2008,p.2). Also Halliday’s systematic functional grammar (SFG) has had a profound effect on many schools of discourse analysis among them; critical, mediated and multimodal discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis was defined simply by Paltridge (2008) as the study of language materials, as a talk or written texts, looks at patterns of the language across the text as well as the social and cultural context in which the text occurs. DA deals also with the analyses of the use of language in specific situation. Paltridge (2008) asserts that;

*“Discourse analysis focuses on knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase, and sentence that is needed for successful communication. It looks at patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants as well as the effects the use of language has upon social identities and relations. It also considers how views of the world and identities, are constructed through the use of discourse”*

(Paltridge, 2008, p.2).

Importantly, Michel Foucault has played a central role in the development of DA. In almost all discourse analytical approaches, Foucault has become a figure to quote, relate to, comment on, modify, and criticize. Besides, he defined discourse as a group of statements, as cited in (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p.13)

*“We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation [...Discourse] is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless form [...] it is, from beginning to end, historical – a fragment of history [...] posing its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality”*

(Foucault 1972, p.117)

Likewise, *“the statements that are produced within a specific domain are rather and repetitive”* (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.13). Accordingly, in spite of the existence of an infinite number of ways to formulate statements, but in more cases, the statements that are

produced are equal and repetitive because of the domain they belong to. Moreover, Jorgensen Phillips (2002, p.13) added: *"the historical rules of the particular discourse delimited what is possible to say"*. That is to say, the historical role of specific discourse made limits of what is possible to utter, as a result, there are innumerable statements that are not uttered and would never be accepted as meaningful.

### **3. Approaches to Discourse Analysis:**

The analysis of discourses is a preoccupation and the field of interest of many researchers and linguists. Indeed, the emergence of numerous approaches of analyzing discourses. In this regard, Bhatia, Flowerdew, and Jones (2008) claimed that approaches to DA are *"many in number as claimed that no book on discourse could hope to cover all of them"* (p.3). They added:

*"the development of discourse analysis has been that it has attracted the attention not only of linguists and applied linguists, but also socio-political theorists, sociologists, anthropologists, computer experts, business and legal specialists, communication experts and organizational theorists. In this context, it is hardly surprising that discourse analysis has, in the last four decades developed into a variety of schools using different approaches, frameworks, procedures and methodologies and focusing on different kinds of semiotic data, with the aim of deriving insights for a variety of purposes "*

(Bhatia, Flowerdew, and Jones, 2008, p.1)

#### **3.1 Conversation Analysis:**

Conversation analysis is an approach to the study of human interaction in society, otherwise, Taylor defines this concept as an approach to the study of or naturally occurring talk in interaction (Taylor, 2013, pp.11-12). CA was developed by Harvey Sacks in collaboration with Emanuel Schegloff & Gail Jefferson. It emerged within sociology in 1960s as a result it follows the principles of Ethnomethodology *"which looks at people's ways of making sense of the everyday social world"* (Wilkinson &Kitzinger, 2011, p.23). In fact, its name may be taken to imply a concern with informal or everyday interaction, as Fairclough

(1992) asserts that CA deals with the analysis of informal conversations and everyday talk. However, Clayman and Gill (2012) claimed that the approach encompasses interactions of all sorts, ranging from informal to formal, from sociable to task-focused, and from face-to-face to synchronous technologically mediated interactions such as telephone talk and videoconferences (p.120). In short, Conversation analysts are interested in any type of conversation; either direct interaction “face to face” or indirect one “recorded interactions”, or formal/ informal conversations. Moreover, CA deals also with the analysis of conversations in a specific contexts such as medical, sociological, educational contexts (Wilkinson &Kitzinger, 2011, p.22).

The central sociological insight of CA is that it is through conversation that we conduct the ordinary and perhaps extraordinary affairs of our life. That means, the main concern of CA is not on what people say while communicating thought, information, or knowledge, but it is on what people do when they are conversing (Wilkinson &Kitzinger, 2011). In fact, people perform some social actions using conversation such as blaming, criticizing, disagreeing/arguing, advising, apologizing, and so on. As a result, CA study conversation with the investigation of the actions and activities through which social life is conducted. It is therefore primarily an approach to social action (Schegloff 1996). Furthermore, Fairclough added, CA gave rise to rules for the sequencing of actions in interaction, conversation openings, and closings (Fairclough, 1992).

In fact, many of the ideas developed in Sack’s (1992) work which constitutes much of basis of CA were heavily influenced by the work of Harold Garfinkel and Erving Goffman (see Heritage 1984, Drew and Wootton 1988). Starting from Garfinkel’s ethnomethodological approach, Sacks developed a concern with the “*common sense resources, practice, and procedures through which members of society produce and recognize mutually intelligible objects, events and courses of action*”( Liddicoat,2007,p.2). That means, Garfinkel (1967) was examining the procedures of common sense reasoning that people use to make sense of one another and the circumstance in which they were embedded(Clayman and Gill.p.120). Moreover, Garfinkel view that organized conduct emerges through the use of commonsense reasoning practices. At the same time, Sacks shared a strong interest in Goffman’s concept of “*interaction order*”(1983) which is the domain of direct interaction between people, in other words, it emphasized on the study of actual instances of social interaction by asserting that ordinary activities of daily life were an important subject for the study. On the other hand,

other influential figures in this approach are Schegloff and Jefferson(1974), who were interested in how people get to take turn in conversation, as a result, they established the ‘turn-taking’ rules.

As it is already mentioned, CA focuses on the analyses of the organization of conduct “*within interaction*” with the use of recorded interaction as a form of data this makes it distinct from the other forms of discourse analysis (Clyman and Gill, p.120). As a result, Sacks (1974) introduce the “*naturally occurring rather than research-generated of analyzing data*” (as cited in Wilkinson &Kitzinger, 2011, p.23). To be more precise, as Drew and Curl (2012) explain, CA shows how patterns in talk reveal how participants produce and understand conduct in interaction in real -time. In a few words, CA takes real-time or actual data for analysis. Later on, after the emergence of the audio recording technology in the early 1960s Conversational analysts started to audio-record and video-record authentic verbal and non-verbal conversations and made it possible to playback conversations when necessary for a more rigorous and detailed analysis (Clayman& Gill, 2012, p.122).

### **3.2 Interactional Sociolinguistics**

Interactional sociolinguistics (IS) studies peoples’ use of language in face-to-face interaction. It is a theoretical and methodological perspective on a language use with eclectic roots in a wide variety of disciplines such as dialectology, ethno-methodology, conversation analysis, pragmatics, linguistic anthropology, micro-ethnography, and sociology. IS was developed primarily out of the work of John Gumperz and his colleagues.

IS analysis puts stress on how interlocutors tend to express themselves in daily talk and how miscommunicating can have a negative impact on social relationships (Gumperz, 2001, p.215). In this respect, Gumperz (2001) described IS as follows:

*“IS analysis therefore concentrates on speech exchanges involving two or more actors as its main object of the study? The aim is to show how individuals participating in such exchanges use to achieve their communicative goals in real life situations by concentrating on the meaning making processes and the taken-for granted background assumptions that underlie the negotiation of shared interpretations”*

(Gumperz, 2001, p. 218).

Correspondingly, Gaspers (2012) highlighted the point that language users deliver incompleteness of talk (p.135). More precisely, when people converse, they may misunderstand what is precisely they meant, as a result, they leave some talk unexpressed and unsaid which leads to the incompleteness of talk. Moreover, Gaspers (2012) explains that people trust each other to provide a suitable interpretation of their words. Consequently, in order to understand what is intended to be expressed; language users cannot rely on words that are used but also on background knowledge and social context which is referred to as “extra communicative knowledge” (Gaspers,2012,p.135). Additionally, Gaspers explained that when the interaction is incomplete, interactants need to complete the talk and that happens only if the individual makes sense of the contextual situation in which the interaction occurs. Gaspers added that contextualization is the use of extra communicative knowledge when talk is incomplete in order to clarify or disambiguate the meaning of what is said. Indeed, contextualization avoids misinterpretation, misunderstanding, and vagueness of the conversation. In this respect, Gaspers claimed that *“finding out what unstated extra communicative knowledge contributes to or disambiguates the meaning of what is said, or the process of selecting, rejecting, molding and/or (re) negotiating the relevant context is what is said ‘contextualization’”*(p.136).

According to Gumperz (2001), the misunderstanding or miscommunicating that happens between users of language did not happen due to grammatical knowledge differences but due to differences in contextualization conversations. Thus, he added that the situating of utterances in their context *“is cued by empirically detectable signs”* or what he calls *“contextualization cues”*. In addition to Gumpers, Gaspers also added that *“words can be said to have indexical meaning, and it is this meaning that interactants need to bring to bear when they interpret the talk”*(p.136), he also added, *“ one of the important contributions of IS to the study of language and social interaction is its findings that interactants employ many other signaling channels than words to make aspects of context available”*. Furthermore, in order to make communication successful, one should take the indexical meaning of words to interpret any talk. In other words, to make communication meaningful *“we need to look at what indexical meanings are implied by the words in particular context than only at the words themselves”*. That means, the word can have various meaning. As a result, one should relate the words to the context in order to interpret the talk. Thus *“Contextualization cues”* refers to

any verbal sign that helps to put the talk in context, it also facilitates the interpretation of the conversation. These signs can be vocal (intonation, accent ...), or non-vocal (gaze, gestures, mimics...), it provides information about the kind of speech activities that interlocutors engaged in (whether they are joking, serious angry...). However, the interpretation of the talk depends on the conventional social indexicality that is used in a specific community, place, and society. In this regard, Gaspers highlighted the point that talk is conventional (p.137). As a result, misunderstanding, misinterpreting, and miscommunication become more troublesome when the conversation occurs between two interlocutors from different cultural background and societies (Gaspers, 2012). That means, since the meaning of talk is learned within a society, that make social meaning or the indexical meaning differ from one society to another, may affect conflict between the users of language; one may consider the talk as impolite irrespective while for the others the talk is considered as a daily conversation. Gaspers added that the absence of comembership and the stereotypification, which differ from one society to another, may lead to the misinterpretation of the talk, as a result, communication fails. In this regard, Gaspers added, " *it is easy to see how different differencing habits may disadvantage certain social groups, damage workplace relations and confirm dominant stereotypes and race inequality*"(p.139).

### **3.4 Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis:**

Before discussing corpus-based approach to discourse analysis, it is necessary to see how corpora and discourse may be brought together in more fruitful marriage, and it would be more beneficial to explain some fundamental concepts. Formerly, the term corpus has different meaning as inasmuch as "*there are several ways to define a corpus*" (Long, 2015, p.23). Therefore, a corpus is a collection of electronic texts that are useful for linguistic study (Long, 2015). Thus, a corpus is not a random selection of texts; however, they are selected in accordance to specific criteria to be used as a representative sample of a particular language or a subset of that language (Long, 2015, p.23). Furthermore, a corpus is a collection of spoken or written texts that are representative in both general and specific areas of language use (Paltridge.2012.p144). In inasmuch as, Paltridge (2012) claim that:

*“Corpus studies draw on collections of texts that are usually stored and analyzed electronically. They look at the occurrence and re-occurrence of particular linguistic features to see how and where they occur in the discourse. They may look at words that typically occur together (collocations ) or they may look at the frequency of particular items. Corpus studies may look at language use in general, or they may look at the use of a particular linguistic feature in a particular domain, such as spoken academic discourse, or use of the item in a particular genre, such as university tutorial discussion”*

(Paltridge, 2012, p.144)

It is important to mention too what does the concept “*corpus linguistics*” is. CL is an approach for studying the language in use. It is also defined as “*an empirical approach that involves studying examples of what people have actually said, rather than hypothesizing what they might or should say*” ( Long,2015,p.23). It is also defined as the study of real-life language use, it uses “*computer software to examine frequencies and relationships between words in (often large) sets of authentic texts that have been electronically encoded*” ( Baker & Allege,2011, P.25). Moreover, corpus linguistics and discourse analysis are complementary in the sense of using corpora as a sample to analyze discourses (Flowerdew, 2012,p.175).Additionally, Flowerdew(2012) added that “*...discourse analysis and corpus linguistics both make use of naturally occurring attested data (P.174)*. In other words, the two approaches; CL and DA, focus on the analysis of natural occurred data, in short the language in use.

Corpus-based approach to discourse analysis focused primarily on the work on lexicology and grammar. Thus ,the initial work of corpus-based approach to discourse analyses focuses on the analysis of general corpora ( written or spoken) used in different context with the aim of representing the language use, in short, the way that language used and taking into consideration their functional variation and lexico-grammar features. As Bhatia, Flowerdew & Jones (2008) proclaimed:

*“The earliest initiative in corpus-based analysis of language use begins with the creation of a large ( by the standards of those days) general corpora representing language use in a variety of contexts, both written as well as spoken, to draw insights*



*from observations about how people use language, both in term lexico-grammar features and their functional variation”*

(Bhatia, Flowerdew&Jones, 2008)

### **3.5 Multimodal Discourse Analysis:**

Multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) is an approach for analyzing discourse which considers text as a mean of communication that is used to interact in the society. Thus, these texts are not constructed only by the use of words but by the combination of words with other modalities; like pictures, film, videos, images, and sounds (Patridge.2012).In this regard, Patridge claimed that;

*“Multimodal discourse analysis considers how texts draw on modes of communication such as pictures, film, video, images, and sound in combination with words to make meaning. It has examined print genres as well as genres such as web pages, film, and television program. It considers how multimodal texts are designed and how semiotic tools such as color, framing, focus, and positioning of elements contribute to the making of meaning in these texts”.*

(Patridge, 2012, p.170)

Moreover, the multimodal approach (MA) to discourse analysis is considered as *”the social semiotic theory”* i.e. it deals with how meaning is expressed through the use of semiotics modes of communication in social interaction. As Paltridge defined it *” a social semiotic approach to language, a view that considers language as one among a number of semiotic resources (such as gesture, images, and music) that people use to communicate, or make meaning, with each other”*(Patridge,2012,p.169). He added, that many texts readings are constructed not only by using words, but also by combining words with other modalities, such as pictures, film, video images, and sound (Patridge, 2012).

Additionally, Paltridg added that *”Multimodal discourse analysis, thus, aims to describe the socially situated semiotic resources that we draw on for communication.* (Patridge.2012.p.169). That is to say, MDA describes the language in relation to the socio-cultural context in which it occurs.

It is worth mentioning that much of the work in Multimodal discourse analysis draws from Halliday's approach. Halliday (2009) describes three types of social meanings or functions that are drawn on simultaneously in the use of language. These are *ideational* (what the text is about), *interpersonal* (relations between participants), and *textual* meanings (how the message is organized). Furthermore, as mentioned previously, MDA is the field of study where the semiotic work takes place. These meanings are expressed in the multimodal texts by using visual tools, starting from ideational meaning explains how the image conveys aspects of the real world, moving to the interpersonal meaning which deals with how the image engages with the viewer, and finally, textual meaning deals on how the elements in an image are arranged to achieve its attention or effect.

In addition to Halliday, Jewitt, another influential figure in MDA, described four theoretical assumptions that underlie multimodal discourse analysis. Starting from the point that language is a set of forms that contribute meanings as images, gaze, and posture. Therefore they do not only support meaning, but each contributes to meaning. The second is that each mode of communication has various meanings and that view language as the primary or the only tool of communication. The third assumption is that individuals choose and customize these various modes in order to make meaning. The fourth assumption is that meanings that are made by the use of multimodal resources are, like language, social. These meanings, further, are shaped by the norms, rules and social conventions for the genre that are current at the particular time, in the particular context (Paltridge, 2012, pp.170-171).

Last but not least, MDA takes its roots from Conversational analysis, in 1960s period, linguists were interested in the multimodal analysis of spoken language and nonverbal communication. Pittenger, Hockett, and Danahy (1960) published a highly detailed and groundbreaking multimodal analysis of the first five minutes of a psychiatric interview. Just after, in the late 1960s, Conversational analysts started to analyze everyday communication by recording the talk using the cassette recorder as a research tool of choice.

#### **4. Political Discourse:**

Research on the association between language and politics began in the preceding decades when language was considered to be originated from the political reasons (Josef,2006). Furthermore, Dunbar (1996) believes that language emerged as a mean of creating “allies”, that means, language evolved as an ultra-efficient means of distinguishing allies from enemies and of grooming allies and potential allies” (p.1). Similarly, Dessalles (2000) relate the origins of language to the need of forming coalitions based upon the initial form of social and political organization. As stated in:

*“We humans speak because a fortuitous change profoundly modified the social organization of our ancestors. In order to survive and procreate, they found themselves needing to form coalitions of a considerable size. Language then appeared as a means for individuals to display their value as members of a coalition”.*

(Dessalles 2000, pp. 331–2)

Additionally, the intellectual interest in the relationship between language and politics dates back to the classical thinking of Aristotle and his view of politics which has become a point of reference for many political theorists and a number of political discourse analysts. According to Aristotle (2012), man is by nature a political animal. This man is gifted with the power of speech. Besides, man is also gifted with reason, the thing that makes him different from other animals, by reason man distinguishes between good and evil, just and unjust. In other words, the main purpose of human’s power of speech is to indicate what is fair or unfair and what is useful or harmful. As Norman Fairclough and Esabela Fairclough (2012) claimed “Aristotle makes a connection between man’s political nature and the power of speech “. (p.18). In this regard, Aristotle stated:

*“But obviously man is a political animal in a sense in which a bee is not, or any other gregarious animal. Nature, as we say, does nothing without some purpose; and she has endowed man alone among the animals with the power of speech. Speech is something different from voice, which is possessed by other animals also and used by them to express pain or pleasure . . . . Speech, on the other hand, serves to indicate what is useful and what is harmful, and so also what is just and what is unjust. For the real difference between man and other animals is that humans alone have the perception of good and evil, just and unjust, etc. It is the sharing of a common view in these matters that makes a household and a state”.*

(1253, pp. 1-18- as cited in Ackrill,1987 )

Accordingly, the reflection of Aristotle about “man” is considered to be the starting point of the idea that language and politics are interrelated. Based upon this idea, Chilton (2004) stated that it is thanks to language that politics exists (p.6). In this regard he affirmed that *“Only in and through language can one issue commands and threats, ask questions, make offers and promises...And only through language tied into social and political institutions can one declare war, declare guilty or not guilty, prorogue parliaments, or raise or lower taxes”*(p.30). Similarly, Wodak (2012) emphasized that *“ all organizational forms can be translated into language and communication”*; based on this one can assume that *politics, which is a form of organization and activity can be translated into language”* (p.528).

As far as modern studies are concerned, the connection between the two concepts “Language & Politics” began in the late 1940s, with the work of Orwell (2001) who contributed to the emergence and development of the political potential of language. Orwell developed his idea about politics and language in his article *“politics and the English language”*(Wilson,2001,p,299).

Wilson (2002) highlighted the point that the concepts *“power, conflict, control, or domination”* may be employed in almost every type of discourse, as a result, the ambiguous nature of the term political discourse comes out because of the association between this term and these concepts. Wilson added that the concept of political discourse is over generalized and in order to avoid this issue, he restricted the functionality of this term as follow:

*“Formal/informal political contexts and political actors (Graber 1981); with, that is, inter alia, politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments to achieve political goals. This first approximation makes clearer the kinds of limits we might place on thinking about political discourse.*

(Wilson,2002,p.398)

However, this delimitation of the term political discourse is difficult to maintain in exact terms, but they are nevertheless can be used as the starting point (Wilson, 2002, p.399). This

idea fits the idea developed by Liebes and Ribek(1991) the daily talk within particular family is considered as political discourse (as cited in Wilson, 2015, p.775).

PD refers to any type of discourse which is political production, speech, debate, political interview, policy document, and so on (Wilson p.775). Additionally, Van Dijk defined the term “Political Discourse” as any discourse that is regarded as *“the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions such as president and prime minister and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels”* (Van Dijk, 1997, p.12). However the term of political discourse may also refer to any talk that is either about a political subject or which is politically motivated. Following this idea, John Wilson stated that *“family talk about political events could also be political discourse, since the topic of talk is about “political events or issues”* (p.775). Precisely, political discourse is not restricted to politicians. However, the talk of people about political context considered as a political discourse. Accordingly, Van Dijk added:

*“Political statements occur in all sorts of contexts. You find them in everyday conversation at home, in restaurants, or at work, as well as reading or hearing more or less elaborate fragments of political discourse in the printed press or other media, in school-books and lectures, at universities, in parliaments, and on many other political platforms”*

(Van Dijk, 1997, p, 148)

Ultimately, it is worth noting that the existence of an analysis of political discourse, considered simply as an approach in discourse analysis which deals with the study or the analysis of political discourses. In short, Van Dijk (1997) assert *“its most common interpretation is that PDA focuses on the analysis of political discourse”* (p.11).

## **5. Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics:**

Many approaches were interested in describing “Language” phenomena, which was the subject matter of either semantics, syntax, discourse, and pragmatics. Furthermore, Syntax deals mainly with the connection of words (at the level of grammar) without referring to its context. In this regard, Joan Cutting (2002) claimed that *“syntax is the way that words relate to each other, without taking into account the world outside; it includes grammar, and it does*

*not consider who said it to whom, where, and when or why” (p.1).* On the other hand, another approach to language study, “semantics” which studies the meanings of words outside of the context. According to Joan Cutting (2002), “*Semantics is the study of what the words mean by themselves, out of context, as they are in dictionary*”(p01).

However, discourse and pragmatics differ completely from the above disciplines. According to Flowerdew, “...discourse has been traced in linguistic term as a language in use, informing areas such as pragmatic and speech act theory ”( Flowerdew,2012,p.175). Besides, both pragmatics and discourse “*are approaches to studying language’s relation to the contextual background features*” (Cutting, 2002, p. 1). For Wodak & Meyer (2001), CDA is the study “*Where the relation between language and context was considered, as in pragmatics with a focus on speakers’ pragmatic/sociolinguistic competence, sentences and components of sentences were still regarded as the basic units*”(p.5). Consequently, DA and pragmatics are interrelated, as put by Cutting, “*pragmatics and discourse analysis have much in common: they both study the context, text and function*” (Cutting, 2002, p.2). More precisely, these two approaches share a common interest in language analysis on three levels; context, text, and function. Starting from “context” both pragmatics and discourse analysis focus primarily on the study of the meaning of texts in relation to the context in which they are used, with the help of knowledge of the physical and social world , and socio-psychological factors influencing communication as well as the time and the place (Cutting ,2002,p.2). Moreover, both pragmatics and DA study the meaning of “words in interaction” and the fact that interactants communicate more information than the words itself (Cutting, 2002, p.2). In this regard, Cutting asserts that:

*“The speaker’s meaning is independent on assumptions of knowledge that are shared by both speaker and hearer: the speaker contrasts the linguistic and intends or implies a meaning, and the hearer interprets the message and infers the meaning”.*

(Cutting, 2002,p .2)

The second feature that pragmatics and discourse analyses have in common is that “*they both look at discourse, or the language use, and text, or pieces of spoken or written discourse, concentrating on how stretches of language become meaningful and unified for their users*” (Cutting ,2002,p.2). Precisely, the two approaches examine the meaningfulness and unification of texts, pragmatic approach calls this latter, “*the relevance*” while the other call it

“*coherence*”. The last common feature between these two approaches is the fact that both are concerned with “*function*” which deals with the purpose of using short-term and long-term in speaking.

Despite the common points between the two approaches, there are two main differences between them, pragmatics emphasizes primarily on the structure of words. That is to say, “*discourse analysis studies how large chunks of language beyond the sentence level are organized, how the social transaction imposes a framework on discourse* (Cutting, 2002, p.2). In other words, DA focuses on the structure of the text, what makes a well-formed text (Yule,1996,p.83).In the study of discourse, pragmatics tends to be more specialized, that means, Pragmatics differ from discourse in the importance given to the social principle of discourse (Cutting, 2002,p.3). Moreover, Yule (1996) claimed that “*pragmatics tends to focus specially on aspects of what is unsaid or unwritten (yet communicated) within the discourse being analyzed* “(p.83). That means, it goes beyond the social concerns and takes into account the socio-cultural perspective on language usage, in order to describe the unwritten maxims. Besides, pragmatics pays much more attention to psychological aspects as background knowledge, beliefs and expectations (Yule, 1996, p.83). In short, “*in pragmatics of discourse, we inevitably explore what the speaker or writer has in mind*” (Yule, 1996, p.83).

## **Section two: Critical Discourse Analysis.**

The aim of the present section is to deal with the selected approach CDA and highlight its main features and principles.

### **1. What is Critical Discourse Analysis:**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), or Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) is an interdisciplinary field of study that regards “*language as a social practice*” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) and it “*takes consideration of the context of language use to be crucial*” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001,p.1). Both Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are often used interchangeably. This movement was developed by “Critical Linguists” at the University of East Anglia during 1970s including Fowler, Kress, and Hodge. In addition to Van Dijk (1985), Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (1989) whose works serve to explain and

illustrate the main assumptions, principles, and procedures of what had then become known as CL (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.5).

The work of these linguists was based upon the systemic functional and social semiotic linguistics of Michael Halliday because it offers clear and rigorous linguistic categories for analyzing the relations between discourse and social meaning. Besides, CDA was also influenced by British Cultural Studies. Since, this latter systematically addresses social, cultural, and political issues related to transformations in late capitalist society in Britain (such as neo-liberalism, racism and so on), some of these topics have become foci of intense activity within CDA (Blommaert, 2005, p.23)

It is worth mentioning that the start of this CDA network is marked by the work of Fairclough's "*Language and power*" (1989) which is commonly considered to be the landmark publication for the 'start' of CDA. Moreover, many scholars got immersed in CDA and dedicated their works to this field with an interest in different disciplines (Van Dijk, 1995a). It has major fora of publication in the journals *Discourse and Society* (edited by Teun van Dijk), *Critical Discourse Studies* (edited by Norman Fairclough), and *Journal of Language and Politics* (edited by Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilton) as well as in several books series (Blommaert, 2005, p.24)

CDA is an interdisciplinary form of analysis that focuses on how power and inequality are expressed in language use (or in discourse), giving a particular interest in the relation between language and power (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 2). Besides, the purpose of CDA is to analyze 'opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language' (Wodak, 1995, p. 204)

Additionally, CDA is the critical study of language use in relation to society and its elements inasmuch "*Critical discourse analysis (CDA) brings the critical tradition of social analysis into language studies and contributes to critical social analysis a particular focus on discourse and on relations between discourse and other social elements (power relations, ideologies, institutions, social identities, and so forth)*" (Fairclough, 1992, p.1).

Moreover, CDA considers language as social practice and relates theories of society to theories of language. In this regard Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999, p.16) assert: "We see



*CDA as bringing a variety of theories into dialogue, especially social theories on the one hand and linguistic theories on the other, so that its theory is a shifting synthesis of other theories, though what it itself theories in particular is the mediation between the social and the linguistic ...”*

To sum up, CDA deals with the analysis of the social interactions by taking into consideration its linguistic form. It also studies the relationship between language and society as affirmed by Wodak “*CDA studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form. The critical approach is distinctive in its view of (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analyzed*” (Wodak, 1997, p. 173). Wetherell, Taylor, and Yates (2001) also describe CDA as “*the study of talk and texts. It is a set of methods and theories for investigating language in use and language in social contexts*”.

## **2. Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis**

Most of the principals of CDA approach are summarized in Fairclough&Wodak (1997) citation as follows:

- ✓ *CDA addresses social problems*
- ✓ *Power relations are discursive*
- ✓ *Discourse Constitutes Society and Culture*
- ✓ *Discourse does ideological work*
- ✓ *Discourse is historical*
- ✓ *The link between text and society is mediated*
- ✓ *Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory*
- ✓ *Discourse is a form of social action.*

(Fairclough& Wodak, 1997, pp, 271-280)

Furthermore, according to Fairclough & Wodak (1997), the principles of CDA are outlined as follows. The first principle is the reflection and the construction of social and political issues in discourses. In short, this approach addresses social and political issues. CDA is primarily interested in understanding social issues through DA with the focus of

fundamental understanding of social problems such as dominance and inequality. Also, critical discourse analysts take a sociopolitical stance, which means that they spell out their point of view, perspective, principles, and aims both within their discipline and within society at large. To sum up, CDA focuses not only on the study of language and the use of language “*linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures*” (Fairclough&Wodak, 1997, P. 271).

Additionally, power relations are performed and negotiated in discourse as power is considered central in CDA. Wodak supported this idea by highlighting the point that the purpose of CDA is to analyze “*opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language*” (Wodak, 1995, p. 204). Also, Wodak and Meyer explained that: “*A defining feature of CDA is its concern with power as a central condition in social life....language indexes power, expresses power* (2001, p.1). Thus, the relation between language and power concerned by the powerful and dominant people or “*power elite*”. The influence can be done by who controls conversational interactions. Its main goal is to “*describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions*”(Van Dijk, 1996, p.84).

Besides, ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse, it includes how to represent and instruct the society as relation of power, relations based on gender, class, and ethnicity (Paltridge,p.181).In inasmuch as:

*“Ideology, for CDA, is seen as an important aspect of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. CL takes a particular interest in the ways in which language mediates ideology in a variety of social institutions”.*

*(Wodak& Meyer, 2001,p.10).*

Eggin (1994, p. 10) argues that “*whatever genre we are involved in, and whatever the register of the situation our use of language is will also be influenced by our ideological positions; the values we hold (consciously or unconsciously, the biases and perspectives we adopt*”( as cited in Paltridge,2012,p. 183). That is to say, language is always influenced by ideological position in whatever register or situation is used in.

Fairclough defines critical discourse analysis as an approach which seeks to investigate the relationships between discursive practices, events, and texts and broader social and cultural structures, relations and processes. Namely, how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power (Fairclough, 1993, p.135).

Van Dijk (1996, p.84) defines power as "*a property of relations between social groups, institutions or organizations*". According to him, dominance is understood as a form of social power abuse which structure any discourse.

### **3. Focal Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis**

#### **3.1 Fairclough's Critical Approach:**

Fairclough's theoretical approach deals mainly with "*language in its social context*" also with the "*relationship between language and power*" (Fairclough.2001.p.1). Besides, this approach draws its contribution from linguistics and sociolinguistics. Starting from a linguistic standpoint, Fairclough considers that Saussure's viewpoint of language as "*langue*" and "*parole*" who emphasizes on studying language synchronically rather than diachronically as a fail since it does not consider language as shaped socially. Additionally, from a sociolinguistics standpoint, Fairclough assumed that sociolinguistics concentrates on the relationship between variations in linguistic forms such as phonological, morphological, syntactic... and social variables as the relationship between participants, differences in social setting and topic ...However, according to Fairclough, sociolinguistics describes what the variations are but it fails to describe that these variations are the production of power relations and struggles.

Furthermore, Fairclough considers language as part of society. According to him discourse is a form of social practice which constitutes the performance of speech acts such as promising, asking, asserting, warning and so forth (Fairclough, 2001).

Besides, Fairclough (2001) added that intertextual analysis is considered as a complementary part to linguistic analysis. More precisely, intertextual analysis concentrates

on the relation between language and social context or text and discourse context. In short, “*texts are inherently intertextual*”.

Additionally, Fairclough concentrates on the correlation between discourse, power, and ideology. He combines between the concepts of “discursive practice” and “hegemony”. According to him, hegemony refers to “*the way of theorizing change in relation to the evolution of power relations which allows a particular focus upon discursive change...*”(Fairclough,1993,p.92).

### **3.2 Wodak’s Discourse- Historical Approach.**

Discourse – historical approach considers discourse as a form of social practice (Fairclough&Wodak ,1997). Wodak defines discourse “*as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as ‘texts’*” (p. 66). That is to say, discourse is considered as linguistic acts that are situated in a specific field of social action as semiotic practice. Besides, Wodak (2009) views texts as a product of discourse and as “*a materially durable product of linguistic action*”(p.66).

It is worth motioning that discourse-historical approach concentrated on interdiscursivity in discourse, which means, how discourses are connected to each other. This approach focuses on these relationships to explore how discourses, genres and texts change in relationship to socio-political change (Wodak,2001). Furthermore, in order to succeed the operation of the interrelationship between discursive and other social practices and structures, Wodak (2001) employs the principle of triangulation which combines different interdisciplinary approaches. More clearly, in order to investigate discursive construction of collective groups like “*racess, nations, and ethnicities*” the interdisciplinary approach has combined historical and socio-political as well as linguistic perspectives. In this case, according to Wodak, the analyses of these collective groups are based upon the answer of five questions based on discursive strategies.

Wodak et al (2009) distinguished between three levels of discourse and text analysis including contents, strategies as well as means and forms of realization:

In the first level of discourse analysis, Wodak et al (2009) discern thematic contents including: linguistic construction, the narration of confabulation of common political past, linguistic contraction of common culture, and linguistic construction of the common political present.

In the second level, Wodak et al (2009) contributed the strategies which can be adapted to achieve a certain goal such as political and psychological objectives. They identified four kinds of macro- strategies: constructive, perpetuating, transformational and destructive strategies.

In the third level, Wodak et al (2009) focus on linguistic means especially the lexical and syntactic devices used in discourses. Wodak et al consider that Deixis including personal, special, and temporal references are the most important linguistic devices.

### **Section Three: Van Dijk's Modal of Critical Discourse Analysis.**

This present section contains the following approach to Critical Discourse Analysis. The focus mainly is on introducing the modal that will be adopted in this study.

#### **1. Who is Van Dijk?**

Teun Adrianus Van Dijk is a scholar in the fields of text linguistics, discourse analysis, and critical discourse analysis. He was born on May 7, 1943 in Naaldwijk, the Netherlands. He completed all his studies of French language and literature at the University of Amsterdam and then he received doctorate in linguistics in the same university (1972). He was a professor in discourse studies in Amsterdam until 2004 and still working in the same domain at the University of Amsterdam. After having his doctorate, he was invited to give lectures and conferences in several countries. His native language is Dutch but he got fluent in many other languages such as English, German, French, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Van Dijk shifted from the focus of working on generative poetics, text grammar, and the psychology of text processing, to a more critical perspective and deals with discursive racism, news in the press, ideology, knowledge, and context in 1980.

He is the author of several books in most of these areas, and he edited many books such *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (4 vols,1985), the introductory book *Discourse Studies* (2 vols.,1997), and *The Study of Discourse* (5 vols., 2007). Besides,He made many contributions in the field of Discourse Studies, he founded six international journals: Poetics, Text( now called Text & Talk), Discourse & Society, Discourse Studies, Discourse & communication, and the Spanish journal *Discurso&Siciedad*.. His last monographs in English are *Ideology* (1998), *Racism and discourse in Spain and Latin America* (2005), *Discourse and Power* (2008), *Discourse and Context* (2008), *Society and Discourse* (2009), and *Discourse and Knowledge* (2014). His last edited books are *Racism at the Top* (2000)(with Ruth Wodak), *Discourse Studies* (5 vols., 2007), *Discourse Studies* (2nd ed., 2011) and *Discourse and Racism in Latin America* (2009). Teun van Dijk, who holds three honorary doctorates, has lectured widely in many countries, especially also in Latin America. With Adriana Bolivar he founded the Association “*Latino-americana de EstudiosdelDiscurso*” (*ALED*), in 1995.

## **1. Van Dijk’s Sociocognitive Approach:**

Van Dijk’s approach is simultaneous to Fairclough’s modal because both are interested on connecting between language structures with society (Kintsch and Van Dijk, 1978). However, instead of discursive practice, Van Dijk (1993) focuses on social cognition as the mediating part between text and society. More precisely, Social cognition is defined by Van Dijk as “*socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing, and learning*” (p. 257).

Moreover, Van Dijk’s Sociocognitive approach is based upon the principle of analyzing discourses in relation to society with the accordance of power and dominance. In this regard, Kintch and Van Dijk have distinguished between texts macro-structure which

refers to power, dominance, and inequality between social groups. Whereas micro-structure refers to language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication (Van Dijk, 2001).

One of Van Dijk's contributions in his theory is the relation between discourse and racism, "*racism is a complex system of social and political inequality that is also reproduced by discourse*" (Van Dijk 2001b, p.362; see Wodak&Reisigl, 2001). Besides, Van Dijk's critical approach is based upon understanding ideological structures and social relations of power in discourse. According to him, social power is defined as "control" in the sense that groups have power only in the case of controlling the acts and minds of other groups. Additionally, Van Dijk distinguishes between two types of power: "coercive power" refers to the "force" such as military and violent manpower and "persuasive power" refers to knowledge power authority such as parents, professors, and journalists power ( see Gramsci,1971).

It is worth mentioning that Van Dijk (2000) has approached critical discourse analysis of ideology which he calls "*ideological square*" "on the basis of four principles; Emphasize positive things about Us; Emphasize negative things about Them; De-emphasize negative things about Us; De-emphasize positive things about Them" (P. 44). Additionally, Van Dijk approach is also based upon the tripartite discourse-cognition-society model of ideology which views discourse as a form of knowledge and memory.

## **2. Summary of Van Dijk's Model:**

This adopted modal "Van Dijk's Sociocognitive approach" is based on the analysis of different components, speech act, and discursive strategies used in discourse in order to determine the ideologies, inequalities, power, and dominance of the influential people or elite group. Besides, Van Dijk has approached CDA of ideologies, or as he named it "ideological square". Including a general strategy of positive-self presentation and negative-other presentation as it is shown in this table:

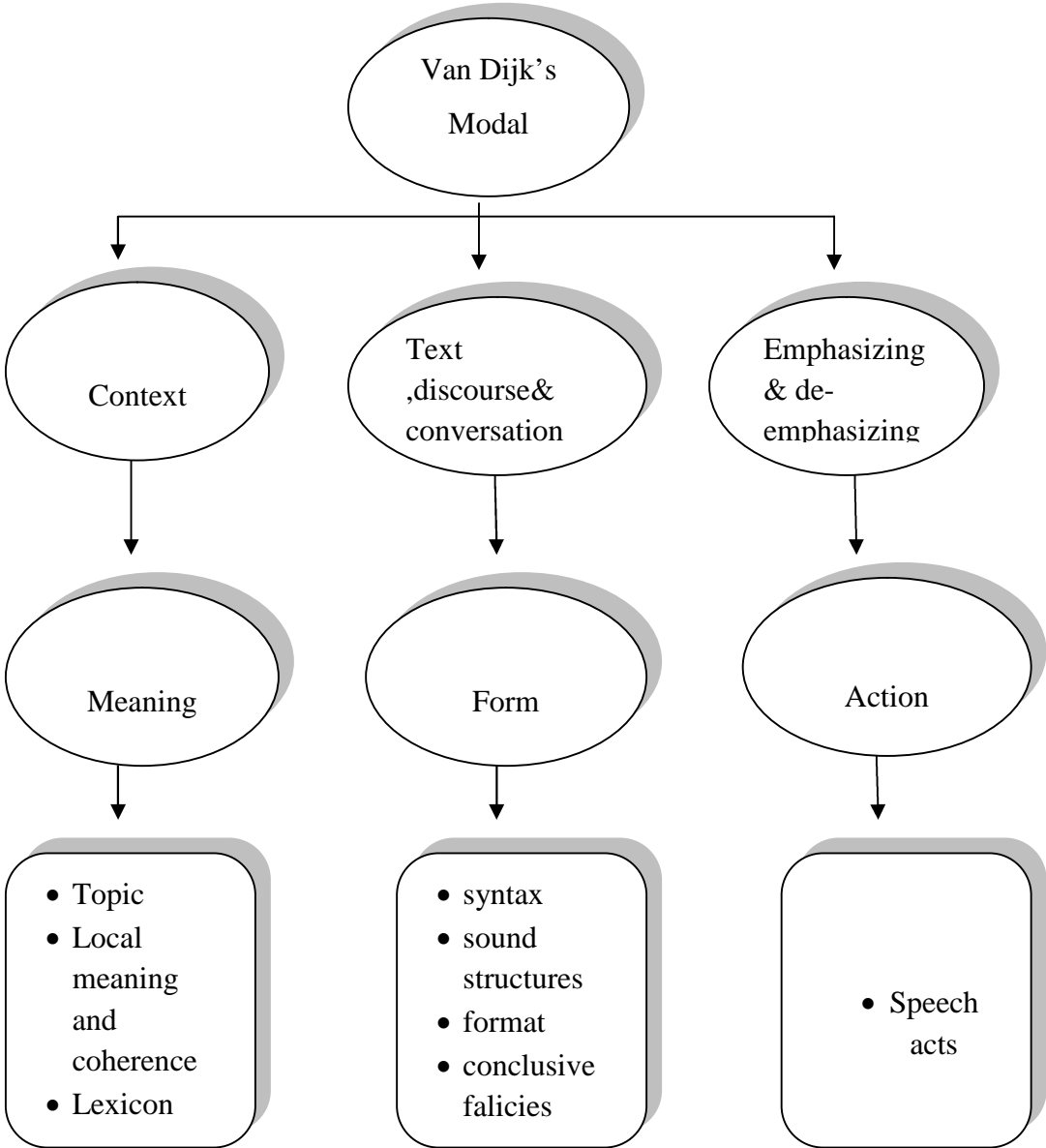
**Table 1:** Van Dijk's ideological square (1998)

	Positive	Negative
Us	Emphasizes positive things about us (good properties /action)	De-Emphasizes negative things about us (good properties /action)
Them	De-Emphasizes positive things about them (good properties /action)	Emphasizes negative things about them (good properties /action)

The above ideological square is more clarified in the eclectic model represented by Van Dijk (2006) that has been adopted as a method of analysis of Nelson Mandela’s speech “No Easy Walk to Freedom”. As follows:



**Figure 2:** An Adapted Version of Van Dijk Model for Analysis



As it is shown previously, Van Dijk's modal is divided into two main parts, the first square represents the discourse structure and the second represents context components which are considered as the most basic element of discourse structure (Van Dijk, 2006a).

In addition to the ideological square where the analysis is about our bad/good things and their good/bad things. Van Dijk also presented in his eclectic model three main levels of analysis:

Meaning level: according to Van Dijk positive and negative meaning are as follow:

- Manifestation: explicit/implicit
- Precision: precise/vague
- Granularity: detailed/fin or broad/rough
- Level: general or specified/detailed
- Modality: we/they must/should...
- Evidentiality: we have the truth/ they are misguided
- Local coherence: based on a biased model.
- Disclaimers: denying our bad things.

(Van Dijk, 2006)

Form level, Van Dijk emphasizes on the structure and strategies used in discourse. Differently, the analysis of phonological, lexical or syntactic forms used in discourse as cited in Van Dijk's (2006) "*all variables phonological, lexical or syntactic forms may thus be controlled by the underlying representations*"

Action level, in this level Van Dijk discussed action that deals with speech act which presuppose our/their good and bad things such as promises accusation, etc. Also, communicative act and interaction strategies which implies our/their good and bad thing like cooperation, agreements, etc (Van Dijk, 2006).

## **Conclusion**

In the theoretical background, our field of interest has been introduced from general to more specific. Starting from the multidisciplinary approach of Discourse Analysis, we have noticed that this field has been defined differently by various scholars. Then, we come to introduce the sub-disciplinary adapted approach of Discourse Analysis, the Critical Discourse Analysis since it is our main concern. After having sufficient theoretical background about this latter, we came to conclude that Critical Discourse Analysis deals with figuring out the ideologies embedded and not for the sake of criticizing. Finally, we have introduced our analytical model of Van Dijk (2006) upon which our analysis is based.

## Chapter Two

### Research Methods, Analysis, and Discussion of the Findings

This present chapter contains three main sections. The first one describes the research methods and procedures that are used in this study. In addition to a short introduction to the corpus. Then, the second section deals with the analysis of Nelson Mandela's "*No Easy Walk to Freedom*" discourse relying on Van Dijk's model (2006) of CDA. Finally, the present chapter is concluded by a conclusion and the limitations of the study.

#### Section One: Research Methods

##### 1. Research Methods

The present work deals primarily with a critical analysis of Nelson Mandela's speech "*No Easy Walk to Freedom*". It is a descriptive research based on mixed methods encompassing both qualitative and quantitative research tools. Firstly, the qualitative method is used with the aim of identifying the ideological strategies embedded in the speech. Secondly, the quantitative method is used in order to count the number of lexical repetitions such as pronouns, words, phrases, and sentences that have a cohesive function in discourse (Halliday & Hassan 1976). The later were illustrated in form of tables.

##### 2. Corpus of the Study

The selected corpus of the present research is Nelson Mandela's Speech "*No Easy Walk to Freedom*" Delivered on September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1953. In fact, Nelson Mandela delivered this speech before his imprisonment precisely during a grave moment in the history known as "dark moment". The core message of this speech was to call for protesting against the white authorities, and it had a profound impact on the social and political life of South Africa. Moreover, Mandela has used a lot of poetical devices that made this speech memorable not only for blacks but also for whites and the whole world. The choice of this corpus is not random; in fact, Mandela's speech is full of various themes including unification between the two notions, blacks and whites, standing against the apartheid system, discussion of human

right violation, and racism. As a result, what is noticeable is that this speech is an important corpus to be analyzed from a CDA perspective which is a suitable model to sort out Mandela's ideological strategies.

### **3. Data Analysis Procedures**

After selecting the field of interest “discourse studies “ and opting for CDA as an approach for analyzing Nelson Mandela's speech, we proceeded to a critical extensive reading of the corpus in order to identify its structures and its schemata. Then, we moved to the application of Van Dijk's Sociocognitive model (2006) as a framework for our study. Ultimately, we selected the pertinent illustrations for each step in the selected model in order to make our research appear less repetitive and wordy. After that, we attempt to discuss the findings carefully and critically, and account for them in terms of Van Dijk's model.

### **4. Data Analysis Framework**

The present study is carried out within the framework of Van Dijk's model (2006) which is considered as the most influential approach in CDA. Besides, Van Dijk's model can be described in two main strategies; emphasizing our good things and their bad things as well as d-emphasizing our bad things and their good things which is considered as an overall strategy used to determine positive self-presentation of our action and negative other-presentation of their actions. Basically, the positive-presentation strategy is used for defining, praising, favoring, and emphasizing the characteristics of the in-group (the blacks). However, the negative other-presentation strategy is mainly used for derogating the out group (the white authorities). Importantly, the two strategies are composed of three main levels: describing the form level, meaning level, and action level used in the speech under scrutiny.

### **Section two: Analysis & Discussion of the Findings.**

The present work is an attempt to investigate the ideological strategies used by the African leader Nelson Mandela in his memorable speech “No Easy Walk to Freedom” that took place on September 21st, 1953 addressed to the ANC congress. Moreover, the present

section attempts to highlight the main ideological strategies used by Mandela using of Van Dijk's model (2006) as a method of analysis.

It is important to give an overview of the whole speech. Hence, it could be noticed that Mandela in the speech under study employs expressions of time such “*since 1912, in June 1952, the early hours of June 26...*” and so on to report a series of significant incidents. He appears to be highly careful in transmitting accurate and constructive information concerning the inhuman policies and racial government in a detailed manner. For example, he said:

- a. *“Since 1912 and year after year thereafter, in their homes and local areas, in provincial and national gatherings...”*
- b. *“...the year 1952 stands out as the year of this upsurge of national consciousness”.*
- c. *“In June, 1952, the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and the SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS...”*
- d. *“Starting off in Port Elizabeth in the early hours of June 26...”.*

In fact, the above extract gives a concrete description of the oppressive measures by the apartheid forces against the Africans who were determined to persist in anti-apartheid resistance until achieving the final goal of the nation. Mandela attempts to highlight and provide evidence of the seriousness of the situation and awakening the Africans in order to defy the different forms of oppression and injustice.

All along the speech, it is noticeable that Mandela described two cross groups. On the one hand, the “in group” that represents the black people who defy the different forms of oppression, inhuman practice and injustice of white people by utilizing different pronouns such “*we, us, our.*” and words like “*defiers, Africans, oppressed ...*”. As in these statements:

- a. *“we had to recuperate **our** strength and muster **our** forces for another and more powerful offensive against the enemy”*

- b. *“Our immediate task is to consolidate these victories, to preserve our organisations and to muster our forces for the resumption of the offensive”.*
- c. *“...bearing in mind their responsibility as the representatives of the downtrodden (persecuted)and oppressed people of South Africa,”*

On the other hand, the “out group” represents the white racial authorities who seek to impose their domination over the blacks by employing words like *“they, them, enemy, whites, criminal, gangsters...”* like illustrated in these present examples :

- a. *“ we had to analyze the danger that faced us, formulate plans to overcome **them** and evolve new plans of political struggle”*
- b. *“We had to recuperate our strength and muster our forces for another and more powerful offensive against the enemy”*
- c. *“We have been gagged because we have emphatically and openly condemned the criminal attacks by the imperialists against the people...”*
- d. *“The gangsters that rule our country”.*

It is also noticeable that the entire speech of Mandela concentrated on reviewing the inhuman practices of white over blacks. Besides, it could be noticed that Africans still remember the frustrating moments that were experienced during the “black time “of the apartheid system of white dominance. This is exemplified when Mandela provides a flashback of a series of inhuman practice of white racist authorities against Africans. Attempting to reveal the unjust and inhuman act of the out-group Mandela employs numbers to assert a high degree of credibility and objectivity. Accordingly, Van Dijk (1998, p.79) says: *“Numbers and statistics are primary means in our culture to persuasively display objectivity”*. In this extent, Mandela employs expressions like *“forty seven, three months , two years , ten Africans, and three years, three hundred pounds thirty-three defiers, hundred and six defiers, more than 8,000 people,190,000,000 Africans ...”* by referring to statistics, Mandela is attempting to show himself as an enthusiastic and resourceful leader who is highly concerned with the details of both the anti-apartheid defiance campaign of the Africans and the reactionary

offensives of the apartheid authorities. In addition to raising the level of understanding of his masses with regard to the nature of the oppressive political system of South Africa.

Also, it is important to mention that Mandela in his speech strongly emphasizes the idea that the anti-racial defiance of Black Africans has been considered as the most serious challenge to racial authorities in South Africa. As a result, the word “*defiance*” has been repeated several times in the speech, in addition to the use of words like “*sacrifices*” as in:

*“The campaign called for immediate and heavy **sacrifices**”*

And other words like “*overcome*” as in:

*“we had to analyze the danger that faced us, formulate plans to **overcome** them and evolve new plans of political struggles”*

In the present speech, Mandela attempts to clarify the major inhuman acts of the white authorities against the Black Africans, among them the unfair acts of racial authorities to ban the leaders of defiance campaign from attending any gathering with the masses who are determined to defy the racial forces with every onus of their energy to end all forms of racial segregation. Consequently, As a way of overcoming the enemy, Mandela suggested in his speech a plan that is based on the strategy of avoiding any gathering and transmitting the important decisions taken to every member of the organization without calling to public meetings.

In addition to stressing on the idea of defying the whites’ supremacy, Mandela in his speech listed some of the places where blacks suffer from the criminal attacks like Kenya, Vietnam, Malaya... to show their solidarity and their attention to make peace not only in Africa but in the whole world. Accordingly, he says:

A. *“We have been gagged because we have emphatically and openly condemned the criminal attacks by the imperialists against the people of Malaya, Vietnam, Indonesia, Tunisia and Tanganyika and called upon our people to identify themselves unreservedly with the cause of world peace and to fight against the war policies of America and her satellites.”*



B. *“We are being shadowed, hounded and traileed because we fearlessly voiced our horror and indignation at the slaughter of the people of Korea and Kenya”.*

Furthermore, all along this speech Mandela emphasizes primarily on providing the techniques and strategies that Africans should adopt in order to defy the racial forces, to bring quality between Whites and Blacks, to defend the right of Africans, and to defy the unjust laws:

- a. *“...a powerful method of voicing our indignation against the reactionary policies of the Government”.*
- b. *“We **had** to recuperate our strength and muster our forces for another and more powerful offensive against the enemy”.*
- c. *“We **must** be ready to drown the whole country in blood if only there is the slightest chance of preserving white supremacy.”*

The sentences above reveal Mandela’s conservation strategy, it is affirmed that he is from the Republican Party. It is all about Africans security and nothing less than victory against the unfair policies of the racial system. Moreover, the analysis of this speech reveals that the African leader Nelson Mandela used the ideological strategies of positive self-presentation and negatives other-presentation. Therefore, the speech under study will be analyzed by applying Van Dijk model (2006) to pick out these ideological strategies. Thus, starting the analysis by positive self-presentation embedded in Mandela’s speech moving to negative other presentation in the following sub-sections.

### **1. Positive Self-Presentation in Mandela’s Discourse.**

It can be noticed after the careful reading of the speech *“No Easy Walk to Freedom”* that Mandela employs a positive-self presentation strategy all along his speech. He emphasized mainly on presenting a positive description of the in-group *“the Africans”*, which

demonstrate his ideology. Besides, he stresses on describing bad things about the out-group “*white authorities*” especially their inhuman act against the Africans. Furthermore, the “*Us*” represents the innocent victims of the unfair practices of the racist system; they are identified as “*defiers*” against the enemy. However, “*Them*” represents the evil and violence of the white authorities over blacks.

Focusing on the three levels of Van Dijk’s model (2006), we proceed in the following pages to the analysis of the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation strategies.

## 1.1 Meaning Level

It is worth mentioning that Nelson Mandela’s speech “No Easy Walk to Freedom” is one of the most memorable and influential speeches. It is considered as a key to settle equality between blacks & whites and to defy the racist authorities. While reading this present speech, it can be observed that some ideas are repeated about the “*unfair practices of the racial system against Africans*” and “*the African protestation against the enemy*”. Moreover, this “*defiance*” is considered not only as an act against the white domination but also as a war against the white systems of racism, inequality, injustice, oppression, inhuman acts, and so on. Also, it is noticed that Mandela focuses on discussing the unfair practices of those who rule the country in order to bring the Africans to see reality and raise their consciousness toward these acts. Furthermore, in his speech, Mandela is interested in presenting positive self-description of the in-group “*the anti-racial protesters*” and appears to be so proud of the African consciousness and the victories they made, in addition to his satisfaction of the African strength to face the enemy. The following extracts are examples of the aforementioned claims:

- a. “*Today the people speak the language of action...*”.
- b. “*Factory and office workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, students and the clergy; Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Europeans, old and young, all rallied to the national call and defied the pass laws and the curfew and the railway apartheid regulations*”.

c. *“But in spite of all the difficulties outlined above, we have won important victories. The general political level of the people has been considerably raised and they are now more conscious of their strength. Action has become the language of the day”.*

While reading the speech, it is noticeable that the whole speech is full of emotion and feeling because Mandela was grateful for the consciousness of the Africans towards the racial practices and especially of their unification to defy the enemy. As in what follows:

*“The African people have discussed the shameful misdeeds of those who rule the country. Year after year, they have raised their voices in condemnation of the grinding poverty of the people, the low wages, and the acute shortage of land, the inhuman exploitation and the whole policy of white domination”*

Besides, he stated that the public has developed political awareness regarding their life under the apartheid system. They and the congress started to move and take initiatives and actions against the different forms of discrimination and injustice. As said in the extract:

*“Our immediate task is to consolidate these victories, to preserve our organisations and to muster our forces for the resumption of the offensive. To achieve this important ...formulated a plan...”*

Mandela in his speech reported all the horrible moments that Africans lived during the “dark time” of apartheid and called for an emergency of taking the situation seriously and defying the enemy with all their forces. This is exemplified as follow:

*“... We must be ready to drown the whole country in blood if only there is the slightest chance of preserving white supremacy.”*

Mandela discussed the various inhuman practices of the enemy courageously because he positively mentioned that even though his nation is living in hard moments during the “black time” but they learned to unify their strength to defy the white authorities:

*“But in spite of all the difficulties outlined above, we have won important victories, general political level of the people has been considerably raised and they are now more conscious of their strength*

In short, Mandela positively transmitted his ideas and it is noticed that his speech is full of hope. He introduced his goals and strategy for defeating the enemy, he also explained the “*M plan*” to overcome the racial acts against the anti-racial movement that is based upon the premise that the old method of public meeting is no longer useful, so the main aim of the M plan is as follow:

- Consolidate the congress machinery.
- Transmission of all decisions without a public meeting.
- Building local Congresses.
- Strengthen the ties between congress and people and consolidate congress leadership.

Importantly, Mandela’s discourse is cohesive and coherent since his ideas are organized logically and chronologically. Starting from reminding his people about the inhuman acts of racial authorities and then presenting his plan to overcome the racist forces.

Besides, Mandela makes use of positive lexical components to describe the strength and power of the Africans to make face to the enemy. As illustrated in the following extracts:

- a. *“Today the people speak the language of action...”*
- b. *“None will deny that they constitute a serious challenge to Congress and we are in duty bound to find an effective remedy for these obnoxious practices”.*
- c. *“We must be ready to drown the whole country in blood if only there is the slightest chance of preserving white supremacy.”*
- d. *“We must rid ourselves of such elements and give our organisation the striking power of a real militant mass organization”.*

In the examples above, Mandela attempts to show the value of African people to defy the racial authorities and overcome the issue, he also proclaimed how strong they are and that they can defeat the enemy. Additionally, he tried to ensure his people that everything is under control and they have a powerful strategy at hand to defeat the enemy. These facts are portrayed in the following extracts:

- a. *“It was an effective way of getting the masses to function politically; a powerful method of voicing our indignation against the reactionary policies of the Government”.*
- b. *“Our immediate task is to consolidate these victories, to preserve our organisations and to muster our forces for the resumption of the offensive. To achieve this important task ...formulated a plan of action popularly known as the "M" Plan...”*
- c. *“We had to analyse the dangers that faced us, formulate plans to overcome them and evolve new plans of political struggle”.*

In (a) and all along the speech, it is noticed that Mandela uses the pronoun “our” and “we” which stand to the congress and general public. He used these pronouns in order to strengthen the ties between him and African people and to have a positive and close relation between him and his population. Furthermore, Mandela utilizes the pronouns “we” in these following extracts to show his pride of the African fighters.

- a. *“We have been banned because we champion the freedom of the oppressed people of our country...”* (positive self presentation)
- b. *We are exiled from our own people for we have uncompromisingly resisted the efforts of imperialist America and her satellites to drag the world into the rule of violence and brutal force...”* (positive self presentation)

- c. *It was one of the best ways of exerting pressure on the Government and extremely dangerous to the stability and security of the State.* (positive self presentation)

Accordingly, Mandela asserted his greatness and pride of his population by their great resistance against the unfair practices of the racial system. And he was satisfied with the strong ties between the Africans and the congress. As shown in the following excerpt:

- a. *“The ties between the working people and the Congress have been greatly strengthened”.* (Positive-self presentation)
- b. *“The general political level of the people has been considerably raised and they are now more conscious of their strength”.* (Positive-self presentation)
- c. *“...it seemed that the day would never dawn when the oppressed people would stand and fight together shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy.”* (Positive self-presentation)

Another important point expressed in the meaning level is “disclaimers” where Mandela used them to deny their bad things.

- a. *“But due to the fact that the local branches did not exercise proper control and supervision, the admission of new members was not carried out satisfactorily. No careful examination was made of their past history and political characteristics”*(De-emphasizing our bad things)
- b. *“In Congress there are still many shady characters, political clowns, place-seekers, saboteurs, provocateurs, informers and policemen who masquerade as progressives but who are in fact the bitterest enemies of our organization”*(De-emphasizing our bad things).

c. *“Remember the case of Leballo of Brakpan who wormed himself into that Branch by producing faked naming letters from the Liquidator, De Villiers Louw, who had instructions to spy on us.”* (De-emphasizing our bad things)

In (a) Mandela refused the bad things in the congress, the fact that in the past there was no careful examination. However, now they should reassure that there is no threat in the congress and protect themselves from shady characters.

In (b) and (c) it is noticeable that Mandela refused and denied their bad thing, he was clear in explaining that they should refuse shady characters in the congress who pretend to be progressives but they are only enemies and they should get rid of them.

**Table 2:** The Positive Terms Frequency Used in Mandela’s Discourse

Subject	Positive terms	Frequency
South Africa/ Africans	Free/dom (11) , defend (1) Liberation (1) , protect (1) Safety (1) , solidarity (1) Power/ful (5) , victory (1) Peace (3) , security (2) Truth (1) , quiet (1) Justice (1) , tolerance (1) Together (2) , friendship (1) Good (1) , best (1) Excellent (1) , great/est/ly (3)	40

## 1.2 Form Level

After discussing the meaning level of positive self-presentation. In this part, the focus is on presenting the form level that is used in Mandela’s discourse. It is noticed that Mandela utilizes different syntactic structures in his speech. These structures are used in order to show

the positive energy and power of “*Black People*” to defeat the enemy and to gain their freedom. These are illustrated in the following:

- a. *“Factory and office workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, students and the clergy; Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Europeans, old and young, all rallied to the national call and defied the pass laws and the curfew and the railway apartheid regulations”*
- b. *“Defiance was a step of great political significance”.*
- c. *“It was one of the best ways of exerting pressure on the Government and extremely dangerous to the stability and security of the State”.*

In (a) Mandela demonstrates the power of “Africans” and highlighted that all people around the world defied the inhuman practices of white authorities. Then in (b) he pointed out that the “defiance” was a great movement of black people against the enemy. In (c) he stresses on the point that “defiance” is the best way to bring security and equality in South Africa.

In addition to syntactic structure, it is observable in Mandela speech that he uses the active voice intending to highlight his good actions like in:

*“The underlying principle of this plan is the understanding that it is no longer possible to wage our struggle mainly on the old methods of public meetings and printed circulars. The aim is:...”*

The above extract attempts to highlight Mandela’s positive action toward his country which is about explaining his plan to defeat the racial practices of white authorities’ against the Africans defiers. Besides, it is noticeable that all along the speech Mandela emphasizes on repeating the main point “calling for Africans awareness and defying the enemy” several times in several forms at the aim of presenting his attention at the point that he wants to accomplish. For instance:

- a. *“Our immediate task is to consolidate these victories, to preserve our organisations and to muster our forces for the resumption of the offensive”*



- b. *“You must defend the right of African parents...”*
- c. *“The decision to defy the unjust laws...”*
- d. *“The day of reckoning between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is not very far off”.*

As a strategic leader, Mandela provided in his speech “argumentative structures” in order to confirm that he will fight the enemy and will develop a new strategy for challenging the danger that faced the persistent anti-racial struggle. By presenting this strategy, Mandela may have influenced positively his people, helping them to overcome their weak points, and raising social awareness. Accordingly, he said:

*“We had to analyse the dangers that faced us, formulate plans to overcome them, and evolve new plans of political struggle”.*

Moreover, Mandela’s speech is characterized by the use of diverse rhetorical devices in order to persuade the ANC organization members in particular, and the Africans in general effectively and appropriately.

- a. *“Johannesburg in the afternoon of the same day with one hundred and six defiers, it spread throughout the country **like** wild fire”*
- b. *“ must be prepared for them **like** men in business who do not waste energy in vain talk and idle action”*

The above statements stand for a simile. In (a) he compares the augmentation of the number of defiers as the wildfire and in (b) he compared the defiers who are prepared to defy the enemy as the businessmen.

*“Factory and office workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, students and the clergy; Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Europeans, old and young, all rallied to the national call and defied the pass laws and the curfew and the railway apartheid regulations”.*

This statement carries out for hyponyms, in which he cited people from different races who are with the defiance against the white authorities.

a. *“The Campaign called for immediate and heavy sacrifices”.*

b. *“The spirit of defiance and action dominated the entire conference ”*

The above statements (a/b) stand for personification in which human quality is given for a non-human thing. It expresses that Mandela and his allies will try with all their forces to defy the enemy.

*“The entire country was transformed into battle zones where the forces of liberation were locked up in immortal conflict against those of reaction and evil”.*

This sentence stands for a hyperbole since it expresses a kind of exaggeration with the use of the expression “the battle zone” to describe the seriousness of the issues between the Africans and white forces. In the same sentence, Mandela uses a Metaphor to compare the anti-apartheid fighters to *“the forces of liberation”* and the racial forces as the forces of *“reaction and evil”*.

*“Let's beat them down with guns and batons and trample them under our feet”.*

This sentence stands for a metaphor because Mandela compares their action as the battle where they beat the enemy and put them down.

*“ We must be ready to drown the whole country in blood if only there is the slightest chance of preserving white supremacy.”*

The above sentence expresses a hyperbole since Mandela uses the exaggerated sentence “drown the whole country in blood” thus even though they beat the enemy they cannot cover the whole country with blood.

*“Our flag flew in every battlefield and thousands of our countrymen rallied around it.”*

The above excerpt expresses a metaphor where Mandela compares the anti-racial movement and the company's sacrifices to a flag that flew on the battlefield.

*“You will also recall the story of... You will also recall the revolting story of ...”*

The above sentence expresses parallelism in which both sentences are grammatically similar.

*“...and oppressed people of South Africa, took the plunge and launched the Campaign for the Defiance of the Unjust Laws”.*

The above excerpt expresses a metaphor where Mandela compares the launch of Defiance Company as if to plunge into the water.

*“The grave plight of the people compels them to resist to the death the stinking policies of the gangsters that rule our country”.*

This last statement stands for a hyperbole, in which Mandela explained exaggeratedly the resistance of blacks to the racial policies until death, in short, until winning the victory.

### **1.3 Action Level**

Moving to the action level which deals, according to Van Dijk's framework (2006) with how Mandela uses speech acts to express promises and political strategies in order to convince his audience and to deepen the relations between him and the masses and maintain the flesh-and-blood ties between the African National Congress (ANC), and the masses. Additionally, the use of speech acts in his speech adds a powerful image of himself, his people, masses, and his plan to defeat the white authorities.

For instance, the following excerpts highlight what is said above:

- a. *“In June, 1952, the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and the SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS, bearing in mind their responsibility as the representatives of the downtrodden (persecuted) and oppressed people of South Africa, took the plunge and launched the Campaign for the Defiance”*
- b. *“At the end of the year, more than 8,000 people of all races had defied”.*
- c. *“In Africa, there are approximately 190,000,000 Africans as against 4,000,000 Europeans”.*

The above sentences show clearly that Mandela attempts to ensure his masses (his audience in general) that they are powerful. It is noticeable that all along his speech he focuses on showing the powerful image of his campaign in so detailed manner using numbers to show that defiers are numerous to defeat the enemy.

- a. *“The masses had to be prepared and made ready for new forms of political struggle”*
- b. *“ Defiance Campaign together with its thrills and adventures has receded”.*
- c. *“A political movement must keep in touch with reality and the prevailing conditions”*
- d. *“I appeal to all members of the Congress to redouble their efforts and play their part truly and well in its implementation”*
- e. *“The decision to defy the unjust laws enabled Congress to develop considerably wider contacts between itself and the masses and the urge to join Congress grew day by day”*
- f. *“Conference further called upon the African workers to boycott and defy the application of this sinister scheme which was calculated to further the exploitation of the African worker”*

All the statements above (from a to f), explain that Mandela gives a very clear image that he and his masses are ready to face the enemy and he promises his country that he and the congress will redouble their forces to face the enemy.

- a. *“The underlying principle of this plan is the understanding that it is no longer possible to wage our struggle mainly on the old methods of public meetings and printed circulars”.*
- b. *“If you are not allowed to have your meetings publicly, then you must hold them over your machines in the factories, on the trains and buses as you travel home. You must have them in your villages and shantytowns. You must make every home, every shack and every mud structure where our people live, a branch of the trade union movement and never surrender”*

In both two statements above, Mandela attempts to highlight what he proposed as a plan to rescue the African people from the inhuman practices against the defiance and in order to reach this goal he explained to the number of congress and the Africans in general what they have to do. He provided them with a new strategy where he explained that the public meeting is now very dangerous. It is noticeable that all along Mandela’s speech, the emphasis is on showing his ideology which calls for equality.

- a. *“Teach the children that Africans are not one iota inferior to Europeans”*
- b. *“Establish your own community schools where the right kind of education will be given to our children”.*
- c. *“The day of reckoning between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is not very far off. I have not the slightest doubt that when that day comes truth and justice will prevail”*

In the above excerpts, Mandela promises his people for a better future where he attempts to give a positive feeling to the African and especially providing them with hope.

*“We must be ready to drown the whole country in blood if only there is the slightest chance of preserving white supremacy.”*

In this example, he promises his masses and African people that he will continue defeating the enemy with all his forces.

*“None will deny that they constitute a serious challenge to Congress and we are in duty bound to find an effective remedy for these obnoxious practices”*

In this above example also Mandela gives a promise to his people to find an effective solution to the unfair practices of the racial authorities.

## **2. Negative Self-Presentation in Mandela’s Discourse.**

Following Van Dijk’s model (2006) precisely his ideological square the negative others-presentation is demonstrated by highlighting other’s negative traits. Moreover, this latter is used to emphasize the bad actions done by opponents.

### **2.1 Meaning Level**

Starting from the meaning level of negative others-presentation in Mandela’s discourse, Mandela highlighted the negative side of the enemy “white authorities” with the aim of illustrating their bad acts against the Black people and talking about the racial measures of the government against the African defiance. As illustrated in the following statements:

*“Year after year, they have raised their voices in condemnation of the grinding poverty of the people, the low wages, the acute shortage of land, the inhuman exploitation and the whole policy of white domination”.*

In the above except, Mandela attempts to clarify that the African people raised their voices against the unfair practices of white authorities. Thus, he uses the sentence “year after year” referring to the crimes of white authorities that were repeated year after year.

*“In November last year, a proclamation was passed which prohibited meetings of more than ten Africans and made it an offence for any person to call upon an African to defy. Contravention of this proclamation carried a penalty of three years or of a fine of three hundred pounds”.*

In this statement, Mandela describes the unjust measures of racial authorities against the anti-apartheid movement as prohibiting them from any gathering. It is noticeable that all along the same paragraph Mandela listed in a very detailed manner the members of congress who were banned by the authorities to attend any gathering. Moreover, he was clear in explaining that the enemy does everything in its power to stop the anti-apartheid movements as illustrated in the following statement:

- a. *“The Government, alarmed at the indomitable upsurge of national consciousness, is doing everything in its power to crush our movement by removing the genuine representatives of the people from the organizations”.*
- b. *“Speaking on the Labour Bill, the Minister of Labour, Ben Schoeman, openly stated that the aim of this wicked measure is to bleed African trade unions to death”.*
- c. *“By forbidding strikes and lockouts it deprives Africans of the one weapon the workers have to improve their position”*
- d. *“ The aim of the measure is to destroy the present African trade unions ... ”*

In (c), (d) and (e) Mandela describes Schoeman unfair and inhuman measures against the anti-racial movement. He clearly explained that the government forbids the strikes and lackouts in order to destroy the African union. By Employing the word "wicked" Mandela tries to emphasize the idea that the Native Labour Act is a glaring violation of workers' rights

because strikes and lockouts are the only path through which workers may improve their conditions by calling for their plundered rights

In addition to the Native Labor Act which reflects the aggressive and discriminatory nature of the apartheid, Mandela refers to the Bantu Education Act which is a flagrant attack against the right of the blacks to get a good education. Furthermore, Mandela asserts in the following excerpts the inhuman act of the racial authorities and the racist act against the African education which is based on teaching African children that they are inferior to Europeans.

- A. *“The Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd, has also been brutally clear in explaining the objects of the Bantu Education Bill. According to him the aim of this law is to teach our children that Africans are inferior to Europeans”.*
- B. *“African education would be taken out of the hands of people who taught equality between black and white”*
- C. *“When this Bill becomes law, it will not be the parents but the Department of Native Affairs which will decide whether an African child should receive higher or other education”*

Besides, around the last lines of his speech, Mandela made a full image of the criminal inhuman acts around the whole world. Accordingly, he said:

- a. *“Children are being burnt alive, women are raped, tortured, whipped and boiling water poured on their breasts to force confessions from them that Jomo Kenyatta had administered the Mau Mau oath to them”.*
- b. *“Men are being castrated and shot dead”*
- c. *“In the Kikuyu country there are some villages in which the population has been completely wiped out”.*

The following table illustrate the negative lexical terms that Mandela uses in his speech:



**Table 3:** The Negative Terms Frequency Used in Mandela Discourse.

Described Person	NegativeTerms	Frequency
Mandela himself	Enemy (2) ,Massacre (2) Fight (6) ,Dangerous (3) Deny (2) , evil (2) Defy (2) , defiance (5) Beat (1)	25
The White Authorities (the enemy)	War (1) , horror (1) Harm (2) , threat (1) Violence (1) , evil (1) Arrest (1) , destroy (3) Inhuman (3) , struggle (8) Bann (6) , prison (1) Misdeed (1) , crime (1) Criminal (2) , massacre (1) Oppression (2) , repression(2) Oppress (11) , penalty (2) Forbidding (1) , apartheid(1) Condemnation (1)	54
Total		79

## 2.2 Form Level

In the form level, it is noticeable that Mandela utilizes the negative representations in his discourse to represent his enemy. Besides, he uses the rhetoric to emphasize the other negative or bad things. Precisely the use of rhetorical devices in Mandela's speech is used to express that the defiance campaign and the Africans, in general, are oppressed severely by the racial forces.

*“Because of lack of proper medical amenities our people are ravaged by such dreaded diseases as tuberculosis, venereal disease, leprosy, pellagra, and infantile mortality is very high”.*

As a consequence of the different methods of exclusion and negligence, Blacks have been struck by different kinds of diseases. Hence, Mandela uses hyponymy in the above statement to refer to the diseases "tuberculosis", "venereal diseases" leprosy" and "pellagra" whose meanings are included in the superordinate sickness.

*“But instead of more freedom repression began to grow in volume and intensity and it seemed that all their sacrifices would end up in smoke and dust”.*

The above statement stands for a hyperbole since Mandela exaggerated by saying “would end up in smoke and dust” to express that all the sacrifices of the defiers would go in scratch.

*“The Government, alarmed at the indomitable upsurge of national consciousness, is doing everything in its power to crush our movement by removing the genuine representatives of the people from the organizations”*

In the above statement, Mandela uses a metaphor where he compares the movement to something that can be crushed in order to explain that the enemy does everything to stop the anti-apartheid movement.

*“the cost of living is rocketing”*

In the aforementioned statement, Mandela uses a metaphor to compare the raise of cost living to the rocket.

*“The cost of milk, meat and vegetables is beyond the pockets of the average family and many of our people cannot afford them”.*

The above excerpt stands for a hyperbole; here Mandela exaggerated in describing the high cost of milk, meat, and vegetables.

*“The insane policies of the Government which have brought about an explosive situation in the country”*

The above statement stands for a hyperbole since it is an exaggerated statement. Mandela explains the seriousness of the situation that the Africans are living. Thus, even though that the bad situation of the country it cannot explode.

*“openly stated that the aim of this wicked measure is to bleed African trade unions to death”.*

This sentence expresses a personification where the human act is given to human things. Moreover, Mandela explained that they wanted to make their trade unions in danger as if they bleed.

*“...the support of the workers is in fact paralysed on the very ground on which it has chosen to wage battle”.*

The above sentence expresses a personification where the inhuman act is given to inhuman thing. Precisely, he explained that the organization without the support of the workers is like a paralyzed man.

*“the efforts of those for co-ordination and unity were like a voice crying”*

In the sentence above, Mandela expressed a simile where he uses a direct comparison between the efforts of the defiers and the baby voice crying.

Additionally, to emphasize the different forms of injustice and political and social exclusion that Blacks have undergone, Mandela utilizes a set of hyponymous nouns in the speech such as *“suppression, unemployment, hunger, exploitation, repression, oppression, discrimination, slaughter, massacre and atrocities”*

*“The insane policies of the Government which have brought about an explosive situation...”*

The above sentence stands for a hyperbole since Mandela utilizes the exaggerated sentence “an explosive situation” which explains that the racial policies acts brought the Africans into a very bad situation.

### 3.2 Action Level

At this last level of negative others -presentation of Mandela’s discourse, the focus is on examining the use of speech acts of both promises and accusations in the speech under the study with an eye to express other’s negatives, precisely their bad things, and actions. Accordingly:

- a. *“The authorities will not easily permit a meeting called under the auspices of the ANC, few”*
- b. *“The intensification of repressions and the extensive use of the bans is designed to immobilise every active worker and to check the national liberation movement.”*
- c. *“Kotane, Marks, Bopape, Tloome and I have been banned from attending gatherings and we cannot join and counsel with you on the serious problems that are facing our country”.*

In The above excerpts, Mandela asserts that the white authorities try to paralyze the anti-apartheid movement by prohibiting them from attending any public meeting and by banning the influential members of Congress among them Mandela from joining the council.

- d. *“The aim of the measure is to destroy the present African trade unions which are controlled by the workers themselves and which fight for the improvement of their working conditions in return for a Central Native Labour Board controlled by the Government and which will be used to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the African worker”.*

- e. *“...workers of the universal right of free trade unionism and to undermine and destroy the existing African trade unions”.*
  
- f. *We are prisoners in our own country because we dared to raise our voices against these horrible atrocities and because we expressed our solidarity with the cause of the Kenya people*

In (d) and (e) Mandela uses speech act to describe the enemy’s bad action toward the African people which aims at destroying their trade unions. And in (f) he expresses accusation to show that the main reason of the unfair practices of white authorities against the Black people is because they called for their freedom and they expressed their solidarity with Kenya people.

- a. *“ It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among the nations, racial or religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace”.*
  
- b. *“But gone forever are the days when harsh and wicked laws provided the oppressors with years of peace and quiet”.*

In the above statements Mandela attempts to express an indirect promise to promote peace in the country. In (a) he uses “shall” to assure them for a good future and in (b) he promises that the days of misery will become days of peace and security.

*“there is no easy walk to freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow (of death) again and again before we reach the mountain tops of our desires.*

Mandela ends his speech with reference to the Biblical text by the use of allusion to the Bible by alluding to the *“valley of the shadow of death”* here he attempts to persuade his audience that they have to make sacrifices so that they could defeat injustice and inequality. Besides, he encourages them to not fear death and never give up hope of having their liberation and freedom by the end.

*“The way of preparation (for action) lies in our rooting out all impurity and indiscipline from our organisation and making it the bright and shining instrument that will cleave its way to (Africa's) freedom.”*

At the end of the speech, as shown in the above statement, Mandela attempts to highlight that their actions are the best weapon to defeat the enemy and promises that their efforts and plans will end up with gaining Africa’s freedom.

*“...where millions of people will be wiped out to satisfy the criminal and greedy appetites of the imperial powers”*

The above statement stands for hyperbole in which Mandela exaggerated on describing the criminal inhuman acts around the world.

## **Personal and Possessive Pronouns**

After a careful reading of Nelson Mandela’s speech “No Easy Walk to Freedom”, it is noticeable the great deal of use of the personal pronoun “we”, the possessive pronoun “our”, and the pronoun “us” to show them that all Africans are in the same boat, to face the enemy. In short, to show his togetherness with Africans, in general, and the Congress in particular. Besides, he used the personal pronoun “they”, the possessive pronoun “their” and the pronoun “them” with an eye to referring to the enemy and his misdeeds and their bad actions. The two following tables show the frequency of personal and possessive pronouns used in Mandela’s speech to designate proximity with his allies and nudity with his enemy.

**Table 4:** Frequency and Occurrence of Personal Pronouns

Personal Pronouns	Frequency
We	30
Us	5
They	12

**Table 5:** Frequency and Occurrence of Possessive Pronouns

Possessive Pronouns	Frequency
Our	21
Their	33

### **Section Three: Conclusions, Limitations, and Suggestion for Further Research.**

The following section suggests a set of conclusions for this present study. In addition to highlighting some limitations we come across during conducting this research. Finally, this analytical research was helpful to suggest some ideas for further research.

#### **1. Conclusions of the Study**

It is obvious from the analysis above that Van Dijk's model (2006) is successfully applied to analyze Nelson Mandela's "No Easy Walk to Freedom" speech and strong conclusions and results were drawn. The present study has shown that freedom, defiance, and equality are the overall ideology of Blacks, whereas oppression and white supremacy are the ideologies of the whites who dominated the Blacks and denied them and their basic and natural rights. Accordingly, Van Dijk model (2006) is applicable to pick out the ideologies used in our corpus that are the main objective behind conducting this research. Besides, we have proposed three pre-answers for our assumptions; we have assumed that Mandela uses various ideological strategies, so according to our analysis this assumption is confirmed. Otherwise, Van Dijk model (2006) is successfully applied to analyze our corpus since all the aspect of this model have reached and helped us to discover the various ideologies used in this speech under study. So, this confirms the validity of our second assumption where we assumed that Van Dijk model (2006) can be applied to critically analyze Mandela's speech. Moreover, Mandela's discourse is full of rhetorical devices and ideological strategies with an eye to attract, convince, persuade, and influence his audience to make a hand in hand to stop racism in South Africa. Thus, this confirms the validity of our third assumption.

Furthermore, political discourse is the language of politicians which is designed for strategic aims, mainly when addresser has the attention to persuade heir audience and convert them to certain beliefs or course of attention. Accordingly, Mandela employed a plenty of strategies throughout his discourse to accomplish his political aims as reflected in his ideologies of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. To refer to the ideological polarization, Mandela has used discursive tactics represented in the use of “US” vs. “THEM”. Concerning the positive self-presentation strategy, Mandela has put emphasis on the good things of himself and his masses (the Africans awareness).Whereas, in negative others presentation, he put the stress on other’s bad things and bad actions toward the Blacks. Besides, to realize positive self-presentation strategy Mandela uses positive matters and lexical terms to put himself, masses, and plans in the highest regard. In addition to the use of disclaimers to reject and deny their bad things and importantly the use of the speech act of promise in the action level has helped him to create a good image of themselves. Concerning negative others-presentation strategy, Mandela focuses on highlighting others bad actions by using negative terms, rhetorical devices such as repetition of other’s bad actions and finally the use of communicative and speech acts of accusations to show the bad image of the enemy.

It is therefore evident from the analysis of our corpus that Mandela’s speech contains communicative acts that are ideologically expressed. These communicative acts are used only to manipulate and control the audience’s unity and consensus. Those messages are used in the way that Mandela’s discourse is featured by social inclusion and exclusion, humanism, racism, and battle.

After the analysis of Nelson Mandela’s speech "No Easy Walk to Freedom" applying Van Dijk’s model (2006),We have come up with the following conclusions:

- The use of both positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.
- The use of Polarization “US” vs. “THEM”.
- The use of Repetition to stress on “our” good and “their” bad actions.
- Reference of Ideologies such as humanism, freedom, racism, and defiance.
- The reference to social inclusion and exclusion, racism, battle...etc.
- Enthusiastic manner of talking to protect Blacks and South Africans in particular



- Van Dijk model (2006) could be successfully applied to analysis, and it is therefore a relevant and pertinent model for such studies.
- At last, the assumptions of the study are all confirmed.

## 2. Limitations of the Study

It is prominent that every research work cannot easily be conducted without facing any obstacles and weaknesses. As already mentioned, our research is limited to analyzing the ideological strategies used by Mandela in his speech “*no easy walk to freedom*”. Besides, even though the critical analysis of this speech can never be done without sources. Hence, we were faced with the lack of books about this field in our library which pushed us to look for references elsewhere. Moreover, getting access to many books and articles was not free and the field of CDA is a subfield of discourse analysis which makes it difficult to find resources about this particular field. However, these limitations have slowed us up but have never stopped us to carry out our research.

## 3. Suggestions for Further Research

Building upon the results of our research, critical discourse analysis is an interesting and a fascinating area especially for students who are interested in analyzing political discourse. In fact, our examination of the ideological strategies of Nelson Mandela’s “*No Easy Walk to Freedom*” speech inspired us to suggest ideas for further research. These new insights are as follows:

- We have applied Van Dijk model (2006) to analyze one speech of Nelson Mandela “No Easy Walk to Freedom”, we suggest to apply this model to analyze more than one speech.
- Mandela is known for his use of rhetoric to persuade his audience, so other researchers can apply rhetorical discourse analysis to study the use of rhetoric in his speeches.
- Mandela’s speeches are full of known citations and colorful linguistic devices, so one can use linguistic analysis to study his speeches.

- Other researchers can also conduct comparative research of Mandela's ideologies and other presidents' ideologies.

To conclude, the suggestions cited above are just ideas for researchers interested in discourse studies; however, these suggestions can be transformed into interesting research topics.

## **Conclusion**

For the realization of the practical chapter, we have applied Van Dijk's model (2006) to analyze our corpus "No Easy Walk to Freedom" speech. We come to conclude that this adapted model is perfectly and successfully applied to the analysis of our corpus. Besides, this model is effectively implemented to critically analyze the ideologies that are our main objective.

## General Conclusion

The present study is conducted with the aim of pinpointing how ideologies are used in Nelson Mandela's speech to persuade his audience to resist different forms of oppression and injustice practiced by racial authorities in South Africa. This study is an attempt to explore the ideological strategies in Mandela's memorable speech "No Easy Walk to Freedom" delivered in September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1953 to ANC congress and his other supporters. The analysis is done in terms of Van Dijk's ideologies of Positive Self-Presentation and Negative other-presentation. Accordingly, Mandela expressed through the use of polarization symbolized in his use of "US" vs. "THEM". More precisely, "US" refers to Mandela joined by "Black Africans" who endeavored tirelessly to gain freedom, self-determination, empowerment, and liberation. However "THEM" refers to the racial authorities who sought to impose their domination over Blacks. In this present study, we have been able to analyze critically Mandela's discourse using Van Dijk's model (2006) that consists of three main parts; meaning, form, and action for both Positive self-presentation and Negative others-presentation. Besides, we have successfully reached to analyze all the aspects presented in Van Dijk model. As a result, this model is applicable for our corpus which is "No Easy Walk to Freedom". Accordingly, this model is a good referential for any researcher who wants to work in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis. Moreover, through our analysis we noticed that Mandela used more Negative terms rather than positive ones because he wanted to put emphasis on the bad actions of his enemy. Additionally, Mandela's discourse is featured of social inclusion and exclusion, humanism, battle, and racism.

## List of References

- Ali, A, B. (2014), *ideologies in Mandela No Easy Walk to Freedom*, published thesis in the journal of applied linguistics (Dubai), University Putra Malaysia.
- Ali, A,F., Shamala, P.,Tan, B ,H., &Abdul, M,Z (2016), Persuasive strategies in Mandela's No Easy Walk to Freedom, *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature*, Australian International Academic Centre, Australia. 5(1), 198-199.
- Baker,P., &Ellece,S. (2011). *Key terms in critical discourse analysis*. London: continuum.
- Bayram,F.(2009), *ideology and political discourse: a critical discourse analysis of Erdogan's political speech* ,NewcastleUniversity.7, 23-40.
- Bhatia,V.K., Flowerdow,J., & Jones,R.H. (2008). *Discourse studies* .USA and Canada: Routledge.
- Bloomaert,J. (2005). *Discourse a critical introduction*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Chany,C., & Robertson, V.R .(2013). *Racism and police brutality in America*. Springer science and businessman men media –New York
- Chikoune, Ch. (2019). *David Cameron Bloomberg Speech: A Rhetorical Discourse Analysis*. Unpublished Master Thesis ,University of Bejaia, Algeria.
- Cutting, J. (2002). *Pragmatics and discourse:A source book for students*.London: Routlage.
- Fairclough, I .,& Fairclough, N. (2012). *Political discourse analysis: a method for advanced students*. London and New York: Routlage.
- Fairclough,N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*.UK: Policy Press.

- Jahedi,M., & Abdullah,F.S., &Mukunda,J. (2014). An overview of focal approaches of critical discourse analysis. *International journal of education and literacy studies*. Australia . 2(4), 28-35.
- John.E. Joseph. (2006). *Language and politics*. Edinburgh university press.
- Jorgenson, M., &J.Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and Method*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Ouhenia,C .,& Lahlou, F (2016). *Clinton and Trumps second debate: a critical discourse analysis*, Unpublished Master Thesis, University of Bejaia, Algeria.
- Paltridge, B. (2006). *Discourse Analysis*. University of London: Bloomsbury.
- Paltridge,B. (2012). *Discourse analysis: an introduction*. London: continuum.
- Poderva,J. R .,& Sharma, D. (2013). *Research methods in linguistics*. United Kingdom: Cambridge university press.
- Yang, W., & Ying, S. (2015). Reclassification and Exploration of Discourse Analysis, *The International Journal – Language Society and Culture*. School of Foreign studies, Yangzhou University, Yangzhou, China
- Long, P. (2015). *The perception of nature in travel promotion texts: a corpus based discourse analysis*. Switzerland : international academic publishers.
- Schiffrin,B., Tannen.D., & Hamilton,H. (2001). *The handbook of discourse analysis*. USA: Blackwell publishers.
- Tannen, D., & Hamilton, E.H., Shiffrin, D. (2005). *The handbook of discourse analysis*. Massachusetts: Blackwell publishers.

Van Dijk, T. (1992). *Principles of critical discourse analysis*. Retrieved from:  
<http://www.discourses.org>

Van Dijk, T. (2015). *Short Curriculum Vitae Teun A. Van Dijk*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.discourses.org>

Van Dijk, T. (2013). *Biographical Note Teun A. Van Dijk*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.discourses.org>

Wodak, R., & Michael, M. (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage.

Yang, S., & Sun, Y. (2015), *Interpretation of 'Discourse' from Different Perspectives: A Tentative reclassification and exploration of Discourse Analysis*. International journal: language society and culture.31, 127-133.

Yule, G. (1996). *Pragmatics*. USA: Oxford university press.

## Abstract in French (Résumé)

Cet article explore la dimension idéologique qui est ancrée dans le plus grand discours jamais prononcé par le héros qui a consacré sa vie à combattre la ségrégation raciale et la minorité blanche sous le régime de l'apartheid en Afrique du Sud. Nelson Mandela dans son discours « No Easy Walk to Freedom » délivré le 21 septembre, 1953 au congrès de l'ANC, notre modèle d'analyse est celui de Van Dijk modèle (2006) de stratégies discursives d'auto-présentation positive et d'autre présentation négative qui ont été prises en compte pour atteindre l'objectif de l'étude. Le résultat révèle que ces stratégies idéologiques sont bien exprimées dans le discours de Mandela. De plus, Mandela utilise des polarisations dans son utilisation de « nous » contre « eux ». De plus, l'utilisation du « nous » vise à approfondir les relations entre lui et ses masses et à maintenir les liens de chair et de sang entre le Congrès National Africain (ANC) et les masses. En outre, il utilise « eux » pour faire référence au groupe extérieur ou aux autorités raciales blanches de l'État. De plus, les résultats montrent que le modèle de Van Dijk (2006) est approprié et applicable pour l'analyse de ce corpus puisque nos hypothèses sont acceptées et confirmées. La stratégie de présentation de soi positive reflétait l'idéologie sous-jacente de Mandela pour glorifier et louer les Noirs pour leur défi de longue date des politiques injustes de l'État racial. Le modèle de Van Dijk est réalisé par l'utilisation de la stratégie de la Présentation Négative de l'autre qui a été utilisée pour parler des tragédies et des misères infligées au peuple noir par l'état racial. Pour conclure, il est observable que Mandela utilise des termes plus négatifs pour exprimer son idéologie conservatrice envers son ennemi. De plus, son discours se caractérise principalement par l'inclusion et l'exclusion sociales, le racisme, l'égalité, la bataille, l'humanisme.

**Mots clés:** Analyse Critique du Discours, Idéologie, Nelson R. Mandela, Modèle de Van Dijk (2006)

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: A Short Biography of Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela in full Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela byname Madiba was born on 18 July in the small African rural village “Mvezo” in the Eastern Cape. Nelson’s name was given to him by his primary school teacher in accordance with the custom of giving Christian names to all schoolchildren. He married three times and he had five children. In 1943, Mandela was graduated in his studies of Bachelor Degree of Arts and then he embarked on professional legal studies which allowed him to practice law, and in 1952 he and Olive Tombo established first South African’s first Black law firm. Nelson Mandela while increasingly politically involved in 1942, enjoined ANC in 1944 when he helped to form the ANC youth league (ANCYLL). In 1952 he was chosen as the National Volunteer-in-Chief of the Defiance Campaign. This campaign of civil disobedience against six unjust laws was a joint program between the ANC and the South African Indian Congress. He and 19 others were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act for their part in the campaign and sentenced to nine months of hard labour, suspended for two years. Nelson Mandela was banned for the first time in 1952 and then arrested with 100 other people in charge of treason in 5 December 1956 and acquitted in 29 March 1961.

On 5 august 1962 Mandela was arrested in police road back and charged with leaving the country without a permit and inciting workers to strike (national strike called “off early”) and he was convicted to 5 years in imprisonment. On June 12.1964 he was sentenced to life imprisonment, narrowly escaping the death penalty. On 12 august 1988 he was treated for tuberculosis and after 14 months he was released from prison to become the ANC president in 1991 and the first South African democratically elected president in 10 May 1994. He died at his home in Johannesburg on 5 December 2013. Mandela left a rich legacy of splendid achievements and magnanimity.



## **Appendix2:Presidential Address1 by Nelson R. Mandela to the ANC (Transvaal) Congress**

21September1953

Since 1912 and year after year thereafter, in their homes and local areas, in provincial and national gatherings, on trains and buses, in the factories and on the farms, in cities, villages, shanty towns, schools and prisons, the African people have discussed the shameful misdeeds of those who rule the country. Year after year, they have raised their voices in condemnation of the grinding poverty of the people, the low wages, the acute shortage of land, the inhuman exploitation and the whole policy of white domination. But instead of more freedom repression began to grow in volume and intensity and it seemed that all their sacrifices would end up in smoke and dust. Today the entire country knows that their labours were not in vain for a new spirit and new ideas have gripped our people. Today the people speak the language of action: there is a mighty awakening among the men and women of our country and the year 1952 stands out as the year of this upsurge of national consciousness.

In June, 1952, the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and the SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS, bearing in mind their responsibility as the representatives of the downtrodden (persecuted)and oppressed people of South Africa, took the plunge and launched the Campaign for the Defiance of the Unjust Laws. Starting off in Port Elizabeth in the early hours of June 26 and with only thirty-three **defiers** in action and then in Johannesburg in the afternoon of the same day with one hundred and six defiers, it spread throughout the country like wild fire. Factory and office workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, students and the clergy; Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Europeans, old and young, all rallied to the national call and defied the pass laws and the curfew and the railway apartheid regulations. At the end of the year, more than 8,000 people of all races had defied. The Campaign called for immediate and heavy sacrifices. Workers lost their jobs, chiefs and teachers were expelled from the service, doctors, lawyers and businessmen gave up their practices and businesses and elected to go to jail. Defiance was a step of great political significance. It released strong social forces which affected thousands of our countrymen. It was an effective way of getting the masses to function politically; a powerful method of voicing our indignation against the reactionary policies of the Government. It was one of the best ways of exerting pressure on the Government and extremely dangerous to the stability

and security of the State. It inspired and aroused our people from a conquered and servile community of yesmen to a militant and uncompromising band of comrades-in-arms. The entire country was transformed into battle zones where the forces of liberation were locked up in immortal conflict against those of reaction and evil. Our flag flew in every battlefield and thousands of our countrymen rallied around it. We held the initiative and the forces of freedom were advancing on all fronts. It was against this background and at the height of this Campaign that we held our last annual provincial Conference in Pretoria from the 10th to the 12th of October last year. In a way, that Conference was a welcome reception for those who had returned from the battlefields and a farewell to those who were still going to action. The spirit of defiance and action dominated the entire conference .

Today we meet under totally different conditions. By the end of July last year, the Campaign had reached a stage where it had to be suppressed by the Government or it would impose its own policies on the country.

The government launched its reactionary offensive and struck at us. Between July last year and August this year forty-seven leading members from both Congresses in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley were arrested, tried and convicted for launching the Defiance Campaign and given suspended sentences ranging from three months to two years on condition that they did not again participate in the defiance of the unjust laws. In November last year, a proclamation was passed which prohibited meetings of more than ten Africans and made it an offence for any person to call upon an African to defy. Contravention of this proclamation carried a penalty of three years or of a fine of three hundred pounds. In March this year the Government passed the so-called Public Safety Act which empowered it to declare a state of emergency and to create conditions which would permit of the most ruthless and pitiless methods of suppressing our movement. Almost simultaneously, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act was passed which provided heavy penalties for those convicted of Defiance offences. This Act also made provision for the whipping of defiers including women. It was under this Act that Mr. Arthur Matlala who was the local [leader] of the Central Branch during the Defiance Campaign, was convicted and sentenced to twelve months with hard labour plus eight strokes by the Magistrate of Villa Nora. The Government also made extensive use of the Suppression of Communism Act. You will remember that in May last year the Government ordered Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, J. B. Marks, David Bopape and Johnson Ngwevela to resign from the Congresses and many other

organisations and were also prohibited from attending political gatherings. In consequence of these bans, Moses Kotane, J. B. Marks, and David Bopape did not attend our last provincial Conference. In December last year, the Secretary General, Mr. W. M. Sisulu, and I were banned from attending gatherings and confined to Johannesburg for six months. Early this year, the President-General, Chief Luthuli, whilst in the midst of a national tour which he was prosecuting with remarkable energy and devotion, was prohibited for a period of twelve months from attending public gatherings and from visiting Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and many other centres. A few days before the President-General was banned, the President of the SAIC, Dr. G. M. Naicker, had been served with a similar notice. Many other active workers both from the African and Indian Congresses and from trade union organisations were also banned.

The Congresses realised that these measures created a new situation which did not prevail when the Campaign was launched in June 1952. The tide of defiance was bound to recede and we were forced to pause and to take stock of the new situation. We had to analyse the dangers that faced us, formulate plans to overcome them and evolve new plans of political struggle. A political movement must keep in touch with reality and the prevailing conditions. Long speeches, the shaking of fists, the banging of tables and strongly worded resolutions out of touch with the objective conditions do not bring about mass action and can do a great deal of harm to the organisation and the struggle we serve. The masses had to be prepared and made ready for new forms of political struggle. We had to recuperate our strength and muster our forces for another and more powerful offensive against the enemy. To have gone ahead blindly as if nothing had happened would have been suicidal and stupid. The conditions under which we meet today are, therefore, vastly different. The Defiance Campaign together with its thrills and adventures has receded. The old methods of bringing about mass action through public mass meetings, press statements and leaflets calling upon the people to go to action have become extremely dangerous and difficult to use effectively. The authorities will not easily permit a meeting called under the auspices of the ANC, few newspapers will publish statements openly criticising the policies of the Government and there is hardly a single printing press which will agree to print leaflets calling upon workers to embark on industrial action for fear of prosecution under the Suppression of Communism Act and similar measures. These developments require the evolution of new forms of political struggle which will make it reasonable for us to strive for action on a higher level than the Defiance Campaign. The Government, alarmed at the indomitable upsurge of national consciousness, is

doing everything in its power to crush our movement by removing the genuine representatives of the people from the organisations. According to a statement made by Swart in Parliament on the 18th September, 1953, there are thirty-three trade union officials and eighty-nine other people who have been served with notices in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. This does not include that formidable array of freedom fighters who have been named and blacklisted under the Suppression of Communism Act and those who have been banned under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Meanwhile the living conditions of the people, already extremely difficult, are steadily worsening and becoming unbearable. The purchasing power of the masses is progressively declining and the cost of living is rocketing. Bread is now dearer than it was two months ago. The cost of milk, meat and vegetables is beyond the pockets of the average family and many of our people cannot afford them. The people are too poor to have enough food to feed their families and children. They cannot afford sufficient clothing, housing and medical care. They are denied the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, old age and where these exist, they are of an extremely inferior and useless nature. Because of lack of proper medical amenities our people are ravaged by such dreaded diseases as tuberculosis, venereal disease, leprosy, pellagra, and infantile mortality is very high. The recent state budget made provision for the increase of the cost-of-living allowances for Europeans and not a word was said about the poorest and most hard-hit section of the population - the African people. The insane policies of the Government which have brought about an explosive situation in the country have definitely scared away foreign capital from South Africa and the financial crisis through which the country is now passing is forcing many industrial and business concerns to close down, to retrench their staffs and unemployment is growing every day. The farm labourers are in a particularly dire plight. You will perhaps recall the investigations and exposures of the semi-slave conditions on the Bethal farms made in 1948 by the Reverend Michael Scott and a Guardian Correspondent; by the Drum last year and the Advance in April this year. You will recall how human beings, wearing only sacks with holes for their heads and arms, never given enough food to eat, slept on cement floors on cold nights with only their sacks to cover their shivering bodies. You will remember how they are woken up as early as 4 a.m. and taken to work on the fields with the indunassjambokking those who tried to straighten their backs, who felt weak and dropped down because of hunger and sheer exhaustion. You will also recall the story of human beings toiling pathetically from the early hours of the morning till sunset, fed only on mealie meal served on filthy sacks

spread on the ground and eating with their dirty hands. People falling ill and never once being given medical attention. You will also recall the revolting story of a farmer who was convicted for tying a labourer by his feet from a tree and had him flogged to death, pouring boiling water into his mouth whenever he cried for water. These things which have long vanished from many parts of the world still flourish in SA today. None will deny that they constitute a serious challenge to Congress and we are in duty bound to find an effective remedy for these obnoxious practices.

The Government has introduced in Parliament the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Bill and the Bantu Education Bill. Speaking on the Labour Bill, the Minister of Labour, Ben Schoeman, openly stated that the aim of this wicked measure is to bleed African trade unions to death. By forbidding strikes and lockouts it deprives Africans of the one weapon the workers have to improve their position. The aim of the measure is to destroy the present African trade unions which are controlled by the workers themselves and which fight for the improvement of their working conditions in return for a Central Native Labour Board controlled by the Government and which will be used to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the African worker. The Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd, has also been brutally clear in explaining the objects of the Bantu Education Bill. According to him the aim of this law is to teach our children that Africans are inferior to Europeans. African education would be taken out of the hands of people who taught equality between black and white. When this Bill becomes law, it will not be the parents but the Department of Native Affairs which will decide whether an African child should receive higher or other education. It might well be that the children of those who criticise the Government and who fight its policies will almost certainly be taught how to drill rocks in the mines and how to plough potatoes on the farms of Bethal. High education might well be the privilege of those children whose families have a tradition of collaboration with the ruling circles.

The attitude of the Congress on these bills is very clear and unequivocal. Congress totally rejects both bills without reservation. The last provincial Conference strongly condemned the then proposed Labour Bill as a measure designed to rob the African workers of the universal right of free trade unionism and to undermine and destroy the existing African trade unions. Conference further called upon the African workers to boycott and defy the application of this sinister scheme which was calculated to further the exploitation of the African worker. To accept a measure of this nature even in a qualified manner would be a betrayal of the toiling

masses. At a time when every genuine Congressite should fight unreservedly for the recognition of African trade unions and the realisation of the principle that everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests, we declare our firm belief in the principles enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that everyone has the right to education; that education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among the nations, racial or religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. That parents have the right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

The cumulative effect of all these measures is to prop up and perpetuate the artificial and decaying policy of the supremacy of the white men. The attitude of the government to us is that: "Let's beat them down with guns and batons and trample them under our feet. We must be ready to drown the whole country in blood if only there is the slightest chance of preserving white supremacy."

But there is nothing inherently superior about the herrenvolk idea of the supremacy of the whites. In China, India, Indonesia and Korea, American, British, Dutch and French Imperialism, based on the concept of the supremacy of Europeans over Asians, has been completely and perfectly exploded. In Malaya and Indo-China British and French imperialisms are being shaken to their foundations by powerful and revolutionary national liberation movements. In Africa, there are approximately 190,000,000 Africans as against 4,000,000 Europeans. The entire continent is seething with discontent and already there are powerful revolutionary eruptions in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Tunisia, Kenya, the Rhodesias and South Africa. The oppressed people and the oppressors are at loggerheads. The day of reckoning between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is not very far off. I have not the slightest doubt that when that day comes truth and justice will prevail.

The intensification of repressions and the extensive use of the bans is designed to immobilise every active worker and to check the national liberation movement. But gone forever are the days when harsh and wicked laws provided the oppressors with years of peace and quiet. The racial policies of the Government have pricked the conscience of all men of good will and have aroused their deepest indignation. The feelings of the oppressed people have never been

more bitter. If the ruling circles seek to maintain their position by such inhuman methods then a clash between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is certain. The grave plight of the people compels them to resist to the death the stinking policies of the gangsters that rule our country.

But in spite of all the difficulties outlined above, we have won important victories. The general political level of the people has been considerably raised and they are now more conscious of their strength. Action has become the language of the day. The ties between the working people and the Congress have been greatly strengthened. This is a development of the highest

importance because in a country such as ours a political organisation that does not receive the support of the workers is in fact paralysed on the very ground on which it has chosen to wage battle. Leaders of trade union organisations are at the same time important officials of the provincial and local branches of the ANC. In the past we talked of the African, Indian and Coloured struggles. Though certain individuals raised the question of a united front of all the oppressed groups, the various non-European organisations stood miles apart from one another and the efforts of those for co-ordination and unity were like a voice crying in the wilderness and it seemed that the day would never dawn when the oppressed people would stand and fight together shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy. Today we talk of the struggle of the oppressed people which, though it is waged through their respective autonomous organisations, is gravitating towards one central command.

Our immediate task is to consolidate these victories, to preserve our organisations and to muster our forces for the resumption of the offensive. To achieve this important task the National Executive of the ANC in consultation with the National Action Committee of the ANC and the SAIC formulated a plan of action popularly known as the "M" Plan and the highest importance is [given] to it by the National Executives. Instructions were given to all provinces to implement the "M" Plan without delay.

The underlying principle of this plan is the understanding that it is no longer possible to wage our struggle mainly on the old methods of public meetings and printed circulars. The aim is:

1. to consolidate the Congress machinery;

2. to enable the transmission of important decisions taken on a national level to every member of the organisation without calling public meetings, issuing press statements and printing circulars;
3. to build up in the local branches themselves local Congresses which will effectively represent the strength and will of the people;
4. to extend and strengthen the ties between Congress and the people and to consolidate Congress leadership.

This plan is being implemented in many branches not only in the Transvaal but also in the other provinces and is producing excellent results. The Regional Conferences held in Sophiatown, Germiston, Kliptown and Benoni on the 28th June, 23rd and 30th August and on the 6th September, 1953, which were attended by large crowds, are a striking demonstration of the effectiveness of this plan, and the National Executives must be complimented for it. I appeal to all members of the Congress to redouble their efforts and play their part truly and well in its implementation. The hard, dirty and strenuous task of recruiting members and strengthening our organisation through a house to house campaign in every locality must be done by you all. From now on the activity of Congressites must not be confined to speeches and resolutions. Their activities must find expression in wide scale work among the masses, work which will enable them to make the greatest possible contact with the working people. You must protect and defend your trade unions. If you are not allowed to have your meetings publicly, then you must hold them over your machines in the factories, on the trains and buses as you travel home. You must have them in your villages and shantytowns. You must make every home, every shack and every mud structure where our people live, a branch of the trade union movement and never surrender.

You must defend the right of African parents to decide the kind of education that shall be given to their children. Teach the children that Africans are not one iota inferior to Europeans. Establish your own community schools where the right kind of education will be given to our children. If it becomes dangerous or impossible to have these alternative schools, then again you must make every home, every shack or rickety structure a centre of learning for our children. Never surrender to the inhuman and barbaric theories of Verwoerd.

The decision to defy the unjust laws enabled Congress to develop considerably wider contacts between itself and the masses and the urge to join Congress grew day by day. But due to the



fact that the local branches did not exercise proper control and supervision, the admission of new members was not carried out satisfactorily. No careful examination was made of their past history and political characteristics. As a result of this, there were many shady characters ranging from political clowns, place-seekers, splitters, saboteurs, agents-provocateurs to informers and even policemen, who infiltrated into the ranks of Congress. One need only refer to the Johannesburg trial of Dr. Moroka and nineteen others, where a member of Congress who actually worked at the National Headquarters, turned out to be a detective-sergeant on special duty. Remember the case of Leballo of Brakpan who wormed himself into that Branch by producing faked naming letters from the Liquidator, De Villiers Louw, who had instructions to spy on us. There are many other similar instances that emerged during the Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley trials. Whilst some of these men were discovered there are many who have not been found out. In Congress there are still many shady characters, political clowns, place-seekers, saboteurs, provocateurs, informers and policemen who masquerade as progressives but who are in fact the bitterest enemies of our organisation. Outside appearances are highly deceptive and we cannot classify these men by looking at their faces or by listening to their sweet tongues or their vehement speeches demanding immediate action. The friends of the people are distinguishable by the ready and disciplined manner in which they rally behind their organisation and their readiness to sacrifice when the preservation of the organisation has become a matter of life and death. Similarly, enemies and shady characters are detected by the extent to which they consistently attempt to wreck the organisation by creating fratricidal strife, disseminating confusion and undermining and even opposing important plans of action to vitalise the organisation. In this respect it is interesting to note that almost all the people who oppose the "M" Plan are people who have consistently refused to respond when sacrifices were called for, and whose political background leaves much to be desired. These shady characters by means of flattery, bribes and corruption, win the support of the weak-willed and politically backward individuals, detach them from Congress and use them in their own interests. The presence of such elements in Congress constitutes a serious threat to the struggle, for the capacity for political action of an organisation which is ravaged by such disruptive and splitting elements is considerably undermined. Here in South Africa, as in many parts of the world, a revolution is maturing: it is the profound desire, the determination and the urge of the overwhelming majority of the country to destroy for ever the shackles of oppression that condemn them to servitude and slavery. To overthrow oppression has been sanctioned by humanity and is the highest aspiration of every free man. If elements in our organisation seek to impede the

realisation of this lofty purpose then these people have placed themselves outside the organisation and must be put out of action before they do more harm. To do otherwise would be a crime and a serious neglect of duty. We must rid ourselves of such elements and give our organisation the striking power of a real militant mass organisation.

Kotane, Marks, Bopape, Tloome and I have been banned from attending gatherings and we cannot join and counsel with you on the serious problems that are facing our country. We have been banned because we champion the freedom of the oppressed people of our country and because we have consistently fought against the policy of racial discrimination in favour of a policy which accords fundamental human rights to all, irrespective of race, colour, sex or language. We are exiled from our own people for we have uncompromisingly resisted the efforts of imperialist America and her satellites to drag the world into the rule of violence and brutal force, into the rule of the napalm, hydrogen and the cobalt bombs where millions of people will be wiped out to satisfy the criminal and greedy appetites of the imperial powers. We have been gagged because we have emphatically and openly condemned the criminal attacks by the imperialists against the people of Malaya, Vietnam, Indonesia, Tunisia and Tanganyika and called upon our people to identify themselves unreservedly with the cause of world peace and to fight against the war policies of America and her satellites. We are being shadowed, hounded and trailed because we fearlessly voiced our horror and indignation at the slaughter of the people of Korea and Kenya. The massacre of the Kenya people by Britain has aroused world-wide indignation and protest. Children are being burnt alive, women are raped, tortured, whipped and boiling water poured on their breasts to force confessions from them that Jomo Kenyatta had administered the Mau Mau oath to them. Men are being castrated and shot dead. In the Kikuyu country there are some villages in which the population has been completely wiped out. We are prisoners in our own country because we dared to raise our voices against these horrible atrocities and because we expressed our solidarity with the cause of the Kenya people.

You can see that "there is no easy walk to freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow (of death) again and again before we reach the mountain tops of our desires.

"Dangers and difficulties have not deterred us in the past, they will not frighten us now. But we must be prepared for them like men in business who do not waste energy in vain talk and

idle action. The way of preparation (for action) lies in our rooting out all impurity and indiscipline from our organization and making it the bright and shining instrument that will cleave its way to (Africa's) freedom."