A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF JULIUS MALEMA'S FOREWORD TO THE ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS (EFF) 2024 ELECTION MANIFESTO

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ABSTRACT

Using van Dijk's (1998/2001) model of Critical Discourse Analysis, which includes text structure, social cognition, and social context, the article examines Julius Malema's foreword to the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) 2024 election manifesto. The primary aim was to explore the ideologies implicit (hidden) in Malema's foreword to the EFF 2024 election manifesto. This paper contributes to the literature by demonstrating the value of language in politics. The analysis was done through the examination of lexical, semantic and syntactic features of Malema's foreword to the EFF 2024 election manifesto. The rhetorical devices examined include blaming others, self-praise, metaphor, pronouns and the use of tenses. Critical Discourse Analysis provides the tools for analysing how certain ideologies are produced and legitimised through discourse. It provides appropriate tools to uncover the underlying ideologies present in texts. The findings revealed that Malema could liberate the majority of South Africans economically.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Economic Freedom Fighters, foreword to the EFF election manifesto, rhetorical strategies

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The 2024 South African national elections were important in many respects. It took place at a time when the support for the ruling party had continued to dwindle, and the support for opposition parties had increased. Although the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) did not grow as well as they had in previous elections, the party's manifesto, as well as its foreword, was well-crafted to persuade voters to see the party as the only one capable of liberating the black majority of South Africans economically. Kgobe *et al.* (2024:373) and Robertsons (2004:295) defined an election manifesto as an official statement of intent by political parties or candidates, outlining their intended policies at the start of an election campaign. Furthermore, Baker and Hobolt (2013) argued that political manifestos present the outlook of political parties in terms of their stances, ideologies and preferences. Consequently, voters use manifestos to understand the position of parties on various issues to make informed decisions (Calvert, 2021). A foreword to the election manifesto provides a summary of the main issues covered in the manifesto. This study sought to explore how Julius Malema used language to persuade readers to advertise the EFF as the party that voters should choose to vote for. The study aimed to investigate the strategies used by Julius

Malema to position his party as the party that would truly liberate black people from landlessness, joblessness and loadshedding. Through the examination of the rhetorical devices used by Malema, the study reveals that language can be used to hide ideologies held by the speakers or writers. Julius Malema is the leader of the EFF. The EFF is a relatively new party that was formed in 2013 after the expulsion of Julius Malema and other leaders from the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL). The EFF became the third-largest party in South Africa from the 2014 election onwards and only became the fourth-largest party after being overtaken by the Umkhonto Wesizwe Party. Even though much has been written on politics in South Africa, little has been written about how language use plays a significant role in politics. This paper attempts to fill that gap by analysing how Julius Malema used language to further his interests. Language is a communication tool used by human beings to send and receive messages. According to Yule (1985), human beings use language to interact with one another socially or emotionally. Gee (1990) maintains that the function of language is not just to communicate information, but also a device used to think, feel and negotiate social identity. The present study explores the relationship between language and power, demonstrating how power is secured through the strategic use of language in political discourse. Bourdieu (1991:188) stated the following about political discourse:

> "Political discourse is often important because of the result of that discourse, and this in turn is why CDA is, in my opinion, an interesting approach. In other words, it is not the language itself which has wider ramifications, which makes it a worthy field of study, but rather a consequence of a powerful person using that language to achieve some goal."

This means that politicians use language to persuade people through positive manipulation, social power abuse, cognitive mind control and discursive interaction.

Manifestos are essential because they present an outlook on the parties/politicians. McDonald and Mendez (2001) stated that parties usually issue a manifesto in which they outline the policies they advocate. This article examines how politicians manipulate human beings through the creation of mental models.

Charteris-Black (2005) argued that successful speakers, especially in political contexts, need to appeal to attitudes and emotions that already exist within the listeners. When presenting arguments, a speaker must communicate at an emotional level and adopt morally sound standpoints. Furthermore, the listener must perceive that the arguments are relevant to the issue (Charteris-Black, 2005:10). Charteris-Black (2005:1) further stated that, "within all types of political system, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic; leaders have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership." In political speeches during election campaigns, ideas and ideologies need to be conveyed through language in such a way that they are agreed upon by the receivers, as well as others who may read or hear parts of the speech afterwards in the media. Schaffner (1997) pointed out that language is vital to the process of transforming political will into social action. Any political action is prepared, accompanied, controlled and influenced by language. Another relevant element to consider is that the primary function of political language is persuasion. Mooney and Evans (2019) pointed out that politicians manipulate language and demonstrate how it can be used as a means of persuasion. The following features will be explored: rhetoric, pronouns, vocabulary use, structure, and register. Schaffner (1997) stated that "any political action is prepared, accompanied, controlled, and influenced by language."

Goatly (2008) stated that political rhetoric makes language memorable because it has the habit of being engaging and thought-provoking. Charteris-Black (2005) stated that "in democratic frameworks, it is

primarily through language that leaders legitimise their leadership." The main aim of the study was to investigate Julius Malema's use of persuasive language in his foreword to the EFF 2024 election manifesto. The aim was achieved by attempting to answer the research question below.

1.2 Research questions

The research question for this study was formulated as follows:
- How did Malema use language in his introduction to the EFF foreword to the 2024 election manifesto?

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study adheres to Teun van Dijk's analytic paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis, which is a branch of discourse analysis that goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of how and why particular discourses are produced. The study is based on van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework through micro-macro examination, namely, the existence of power as control. Discourse in this context is not understood objectively as a linguistic corpus but reflects socio-historical meaning according to the context in which it is reinterpreted. This discourse is discursive in the form of social practice. Van Dijk (1988) defines CDA as a field concerned with the study and analysis of written and spoken texts to reveal the discourse sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. CDA examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced with specific social, political and historical contexts. Janks (1997) views discourse about power in terms of how texts are positioned and whose interests they serve.

The word 'critical' is a key theoretical concept in CDA that bears some explanation here. The word signals the need for readers or analysts to unpack the ideological underpinnings of discourse that have been so naturalised over time that we begin to treat them as common and acceptable. Proponents of CDA believe that "hidden socio-political control actively constructs society on some level" (Atkins, 2002:2). Texts, as they stand in society – even those that seem to be concerned with ordinary language – are not neutral; they are ideologically loaded. Hodge and Kress argued that every day, innocent and innocuous mundane text is as ideologically saturated as a text which wears its ideological constitution overtly" (1993:174). The speeches selected for the analysis have a bearing on power relations. Anybody reading them passively will not be aware of these power relations but will accept the naturalisations that the texts underpin. Reading them critically, however, will reveal how they are constructed.

We can deduce from the above quote that CDA differs from other methods of discourse analysis because it is critical. 'Critical' implies highlighting connections and causes, which are hidden or not obvious (Atkins, 2002:3), which we aim to illustrate in our analysis of the data used in this paper. Huckin (2004:2) stated that the primary aim of CDA is the close analysis of written or oral texts that are deemed to be politically or culturally influenced within a given society. However, the activity of text analysis cannot be carried out in isolation. Instead, the analyst must always consider the larger context in which the text is located. This study analysed how Julius Malema employed linguistic devices, techniques, and strategies to portray his party as being better suited to govern than other parties.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1 What is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)?

Blackledge (2005:2) argued that "there is no single theory or method which is uniform and consistent throughout CDA." Instead, it is an approach to the study of language which is influenced by diverse fields such as sociolinguistics, formal linguistics, social psychology and literary studies (Wodak, 1995:205). Wodak (1995:205) identified the following seven basic questions that inform CDA research:

- How does the naturalisation of ideology come about?
- Which discursive strategies legitimise, control, or naturalise social order?
- How is power linguistically expressed?
- How are consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of domination manipulated?
- Who has access to which instrument of power and control?
- Who is discriminated against in what way?
- Who understands a specific discourse? In what way and with what results does this occur?

Widdowson (2000) stated that CDA is the uncovering of implicit ideologies in texts. It unveils the underlying ideological prejudices and therefore the exercise of power that underlie texts. While various approaches to CDA have been employed, this study utilised van Dijk's socio-cognitive model. Van Dijk (2001) defined CDA as a kind of discourse analytical research which investigates the representation and resistance of social power. Van Dijk (2008) stated that language can be a tool for social control. Van Dijk argued that CDA is concerned with the use of language in action, as well as interrelated text patterns across several dimensions, namely, (1) text, (2) social cognition and (3) social context. This approach to CDA combines cognitive theories with linguistic and social theories. The text dimension analyses how text structures and discourse strategies are applied to emphasise particular themes. Text analysis involves three levels that support each other, namely macro structure, superstructure, and microstructure. The social cognition dimension examines how the process of text induction on content involves the individual cognition of the content creator. The social context examines the relationship between the development of discourse and societal issues.

The purpose of using CDA is to highlight ideological content which is present in texts. CDA equips the reader and the analyst with tools that are necessary to identify and demystify texts in which discourse is engendered. Discourse concerns the representation of aspects of society and social life shaped by the ideology of the writers. CDA is a critical linguistic and social way of analysing texts. It is concerned with how social practices are represented by linguistic symbolism and how this reflects the ideological positioning of the producers of the texts. This is more fully encapsulated in the following quote (Janks, 1997):

> "Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice. All social practices are tied to specific historical contexts and show how existing social relations are reproduced or contested, and how different interests are served. It raises the following questions regarding interests: How is the text positioned or positioning? Whose interests are served by this positioning? Whose interests are negated? What are the consequences of this positioning? – that relate discourse to relations of power. Where analysis seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in relations of power, it is called *Critical Discourse Analysis*" (p.1).

The study is based on van Dijk's CDA framework through micro-macro examination, namely, the existence of power as control. Discourse in this context is not understood objectively as a linguistic corpus but reflects socio-historical meaning according to the context in which it is reinterpreted. This discourse is discursive in the form of social practice. Van Dijk uses the term "text analysis." He focuses on both textual and contextual sources (i.e. cognitive as well as social). CDA is a type of discourse research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (van Dijk, 1995:139). CDA is "a theory and method analysing the way that individuals and institutions use language" (Richardson, 2007:1). Critical Discourse analysts focus on "relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality" (van Dijk, 1998:249). CDA therefore addresses broader social issues and attends to external factors, including ideology, power, inequality, etc., and draws on social and philosophical theory to analyse and interpret written and spoken texts. Van Dijk (1998:1-2) stated that CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts.

Van Dijk's concept of CDA is referred to as social cognition. According to van Dijk, discourse analysis is insufficient if it only examines the text, as the text has a practical effect that must be observed. In this context, readers should know how the text is produced. Although the primary focus of this study was on the linguistic aspects of Julius Malema's foreword to the EFF election manifesto, it also drew on van Dijk's idea that context is essential for fully understanding specific discourse. One way a text can be understood is through mental models.

2.2 Mental models

Van Dijk (2014:49) stated that mental models "define and control our everyday perception and interaction in general and the production and comprehension of discourse in particular." He argued that we create mental models based on our past experiences stored in the episodic or autobiographical memory. Mental models are "subjective representations of events or situations" with a schematic structure allowing us to categorise and identify ongoing experiences. This subjective representation also includes specific and personal emotions, opinions, sounds, gestures, and visions that accompany the situation in which the experience unfolds (van Dijk, 2018).

The two main types of mental models that the socio-cognitive model defines are situation models and context models. Situation models or semantic models represent the individual's subjective understanding of the situations, or the take of the subject matter, i.e. what the discourse is about, or what the experience aims to portray. Semantic models are the cognitive correlates of the "intentional and referential function of language." Context models or pragmatic models account for how individuals define the circumstances of an experience or the communicative situation in which they are involved in terms of relevance. Context models represent the 'socially' and 'communicatively' relevant characteristics of a situation. Cognitive dimensions of discourse provide a unique and valuable framework for understanding how language is used to create and maintain social dominance.

Van Dijk's work focused on how the interplay between discourse, cognition, and society in the perpetuation of power structures and inequality operates. His approach can be summarised in the following manner:

1) At the textual level, the model analyses the textual structures and the applied discourse strategy to assert certain views.
2) At the social-cognitive level, the model analyses the production of the texts.
3) At the social context stage, the model studies the development of discourse in a community. Van Dijk's textual dimensions are grouped into three and are interrelated. They are termed 'macrostructure,' as the global meaning of an observed text based on the theme or topic. 'Superstructure' refers to the dimension concerned with structuring an argument within a textual framework and organising its components into a coherent news discourse. Microstructure studies the observed meaning of discourse by focusing on word, sentence, preposition, sub-clause, paraphrase and figure implementation.

2.3 Linguistic aspects of CDA

CDA allows a reader or an analyst to locate and demystify ideological structures. It will enable the reader and researcher to have a better understanding of how hegemonic groups engender discourses within texts. According to van Dijk (1995:136), these discourses are legitimised, defended or naturalised using concealing ideology within texts.
CDA establishes the identification of document ideologies within a text. The way it accomplishes this is by examining certain linguistic or syntactic aspects of a text. These aspects include transitivity, modality, nominalisation, permutation initialisation, innuendo, and utterance context and metaphor. For this paper, transitivity, modality, nominalisation, and metaphor are examined. Other aspects include figurative language, such as metaphors and symbolism within the text.
Identifying ideology in language means recognising that words carry ideological meaning and are shaped by the writer's intent.

1) At the textual level, the model analyses the textual structures and the applied discourse strategy to assert specific topics.
2) At the social-cognitive level, the model examines the production and interpretation of the texts.
3) At the social context stage, the model investigates how discourse develops within a community.

Van Dijk's textual dimensions are grouped into three and are interrelated. They are macrostructures, which involve the global meaning of a text, based on the theme or topic. The superstructure dimension relates to the arrangement of an argument within a textual framework, and the process of organising the parts into a complete news text. The microstructure pertains to the meaning observed in discourse by focusing on words, sentences, prepositions, subclauses, paraphrases and figurative language. Table 1 below illustrates the three textual dimensions proposed by Teun A. Van Dijk, highlighting how discourse can be analysed at the macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure levels.

Table 1: The textual structure of Teun A. Van Dijk's Analysis

The Discourse Structure	The Observed Aspects	Elements
Macrostructure **The global meaning of a text is determined by examining the given topic of a text.**	Thematic (the process of an arranged argument in a text)	Topic
Superstructure **A textual framework consisting of an introduction, content, closing and conclusion**	Schematic (the process of an arranged argument in a text)	Scheme

Microstructure **The meaning of an observed text is based on the diction, sentences and applied styles in a text.**	Semantics (the emphasised meaning in a text, for example, by providing the details on the other side)	The background, the detail, the intention and the prejudice.
	The syntax (reviewing the forms and the sentence arrangement) Stylistics (the diction of a text)	The sentence forms, the coherence, and the pronouns. The lexicon (the diction)

2.4 Language and ideology

Van Dijk (2003) stated that ideology refers to the fundamental values and beliefs shared by a group. He argued that ideology presents a representative form and consists of several widely accepted rules that allow social actors to quickly understand, build, reject or modify widely accepted ideology. Ideology can often be concealed within texts through language structures. Ideology concerns systems of belief and ideas which are common to individuals and communities. Van Dijk (1995:7) explained the ideological analysis of and discourse below:

> "Ideological analysis of language and discourse is a widely practised scholarly and critical endeavour in the humanities and social sciences. Such analyses presuppose that ideologies of speakers or systematic analysis of language users, explicitly or unwittingly, express their ideologies through language and communication" (van Dijk, 1995:7).

Thompson (1990:7, 151) viewed ideology as encompassing discourse and symbolic forms, which sustain and legitimise relations characterised by asymmetrical power and domination. Notions of power within ideologies are based on the premise that some ideologies or beliefs are more dominant or relevant to specific groups than others. Whatever values are more critical to the group subscribing to the ideology will be dominant in the group's literature. Systems of beliefs, i.e. attitudes, ways of thinking and ideas, are referred to by van Dijk as models. Van Dijk (1995:19) stated that,

> "Models are mental representations of events, actions, or situations people are engaging in, or which they read about. The set of these models represents the beliefs (knowledge and opinions) people have about their everyday lives and defines what we usually call people's experiences."

Van Dijk proposed different kinds of belief systems. He averred that "Beliefs may be personal vs. social, specific vs. general, concrete vs. abstract, simple vs. complex, rather fleeting or more permanent, about us or others, about the physical or the social world, and so on. Similarly, we distinguish between knowledge and opinions, or between knowledge and attitudes, depending on whether the beliefs have an evaluative element or not" (van Dijk, 1995:11).

Different kinds of belief systems are engendered in various ways within texts. They may be easy or difficult for readers and analysts to identify. These are known as either explicit (easily detectable) or implicit (hidden) ideologies. CDA equips the reader and the analyst with the necessary tools to identify and demystify texts in which discourse is engendered (Barnes, 2015).

CDA allows a reader or analyst to locate and demystify ideological structures. It also allows the reader and the researcher to have a better understanding of how hegemonic groups engender discourses within

texts. Van Dijk (1995:136) stated that these discourses are legitimated, defended or naturalised, concealing ideology within texts. CDA establishes the identification of dominant ideologies within a text. The way it accomplishes this is by examining certain linguistic or syntactic aspects of a text. These aspects include transitivity, modality, nominalisation, permutation initialisation, innuendo, and utterance context and metaphor. The main aim of this study was to analyse the rhetorical devices used by Julius Malema in his foreword to the EFF 2024 election manifesto.

For this study, transitivity, modality, utterance context and metaphor were examined as van Dijk (1993) proposed that analysts of political discourse should relate linguistic structure to broader contexts of communicative settings and political functions. He suggested that readers or analysts needed to examine the rhetorical devices and meanings of texts that aim to conceal social power relations and the exercise of power. Van Dijk asserted that to obtain certain ideologies that the group with power wants to construct, the circumstances of text production, such as who, when, where, and how, and a deep analysis of the texts themselves, cannot be ignored (van Dijk, 1993).

3. METHODOLOGY

The current study relied on documentary sources as its primary method of data collection. This is in line with Denscombe's (2003:212) claim that "documents can be seen as a source of data in their own right." Documentary-based sources are sources that already exist in published form. These include books, journals, newspapers and magazines, government publications and official statistics, letters and memos, memoirs and diaries, biographies and reports, press releases and leaflets, and website pages and other sources on the internet (Denscombe, 2003:212-218; Rapley, 2007:17).

This research applied the content analysis method with a qualitative approach. It was useful to classify and analyse the content based on specific criteria. The study applied Teun van Dijk's model to investigate Malema's foreword to the EFF 2024 election manifesto.

3.1 Ethical aspects

Rapley (2007:23) argued that a research process can hurt those who participate in it. Therefore, social research should be done ethically (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:240; Denscombe, 2003:134). This means that ethical principles should guide the collection of data, the process of analysing data and the dissemination of the findings of the study. These principles include:

- Respecting the rights and dignity of participants in the research project.
- Not compelling anyone to participate in the research project, meaning that participation should be voluntary.
- Avoiding any harm (personal, physical, psychological and otherwise) to participate, because of their involvement in the research project, and
- Operating with honesty and integrity.

(Babbie & Mouton, 2001:521; Denscombe, 2003:134; Rapley, 2007:24).

The research project was conducted in full accordance with these ethical principles, and with the utmost honesty and integrity. It should be noted that the research process focuses exclusively on documents that are freely available on the EFF website. In other words, no data was elicited from specific individuals or

groups using questionnaires, interviews, etc. Therefore, no special permission from institutions or individual participants was required.

3.2. Data analysis procedure

The study used a qualitative content analysis approach for analysing the data. The choice for this approach is that it allows "subjective interpretation of the context of the text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes and patterns" (Hsien & Shannon, 2005:1278). It goes beyond merely counting words or taking objective content from texts. It may help researchers to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific way.

4. RESULTS ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Researchers (van Dijk, 1988, 1995, 2003; Schaffner, 1997; Charteris-Black, 2005; Goatly, 2008; Mooney & Evans, 2019) argued that politicians use various rhetorical strategies to get audiences to consent to their ideas. These techniques include the use of plural pronouns, comparative, present tense, future tense, hyperbole and personification. This reflects the idea that language influences social actions and possesses power that can be used for manipulative purposes.

Van Dijk suggested three levels of CDA in determining the ideology in a text. These contain semantic macrostructure features, local meanings, and formal structures. At the first level (semantic microstructure), the analysis endeavours to find the global meaning of a discourse. This approach was adopted because discourse is not limited to the meaning of its words, phrases and sentences. Thus, van Dijk (2003) argued that discourse additionally has more global meanings, such as topics or themes. To ascertain global meaning as suggested by van Dijk, the overall content must be summarised because the summary is found at the very end of the text and functions as a recapitulation of the main points expressed by the writer (Gylling, 2013:145). In this summarisation, three ways were proposed by van Dijk. These are deletion, generalisation, and construction. The first attempt involves deleting unimportant expressions or propositions from the discourse—the second aims at generalising similar statements by Malema. The third attempt involves formulating a new construction by condensing the text without compromising the essence of its information.

At the global level of discourse, the meaning of the discourse theme or topic is emphasised more deeply. Thus, its power establishes discourse to develop and spread publicly, including the media institutions themselves. In addition, van Dijk (2001) argued that topics may influence audiences and then may have the most obvious social consequences. The theme of the EFF manifesto was land, jobs and electricity. Therefore, once the gist of the text is identified, the interest of the authors can be easily predicted and captured.

At the second level (local meanings), the analysis attempts to find the meaning of selected words, propositions and relations between prepositions used to enhance and provoke the ideology. This implies the importance of context dependency of such meanings, because specific arguments, discourse fragments, and topics are understood very differently in different historical periods and socio-political contexts (Wodak, 2007:2)) Besides, local meanings are used to de-emphasise "our" bad things and "their" good things (van Dijk, 2001); as cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2001:104). There is a strong emphasis placed on the contention that the speaker's group or community is better than others (the EFF is more caring about black people). Consequently, van Dijk (2001) argued that people may need models featuring beliefs that

remain implicit (presupposed) in discourse to understand its meaning and coherence. The final level (formal structures) pertains to the analysis, and the intention is to find the formal styles, passive constructions, and so forth (Wodak & Meyer, 2001:106). Formal styles are used before the statements, and these are usually repeated to emphasise the ideas and argumentation emphatically. Meanwhile, passive constructions are used to hide the doers and maintain a bad image. This was done to emphasise "our" agency of negative acts through passive sentences or nominalisations (Wodak & Meyer, 2001:108). This is also related to interactional concerns, such as positive self-representation, included in the subtle formal structures of the discourse.

4.1 Rhetorical strategies used by Julius Malema

Malema used several linguistic strategies in his foreword. These strategies include blaming the ruling party and white capitalists, engaging in self-praise, and employing various rhetorical devices such as pronouns, metaphors, and tenses.

4.2. Blaming the ruling party and white capitalists

This is a strategy whereby the speaker or writer blames a particular situation or person for being the cause of a specific situation. In his foreword, Malema blames the ruling party for the problems facing South Africa. He characterised the government as being "incompetent, directionless, and visionless." On the other hand, the vision of the EFF is presented as "clear, implementable and decisive." The governing party is blamed for having failed to provide land, jobs and electricity. He also blamed white people, especially white capital, for the problems faced by black South Africans. He refers to the two races as "white settlers" versus the "black colonisers." He continued, stating that "poverty is associated with blackness and wealth with whiteness."

4.3. Self-praise

The successes of the EFF in Ekurhuleni and elsewhere. While the foreword blames the governing party for the ills facing the country, Malema engages in self-praise. Some of the examples of this include the claim that "the EFF political programme is the only programme that is embedded in the interests of all South Africans." CDA is also related to the concept of positive self-representation and negative self-representation, in which we emphasise our positive aspects and others' negative aspects. For example, "The Economic Freedom Fighters has demonstrated in its ten years of existence, through various interventions and political leadership in different spheres of influence, that it is the only political movement that will bring about real economic change in South Africa." In addition, van Dijk argued that groups may control other groups or only control them in specific situations or social domains. Moreover, dominated groups may resist, accept, condone, comply with, or legitimate such power, and even find it natural.

4.4. The use of pronouns

Bull and Fetzer (2006) emphasised that "politicians use personal pronouns to good effect: for example, to accept, deny, or distance themselves from responsibility for political action; to encourage solidarity, to designate and identify both supporters and enemies." Their choice of pronouns may also reflect their personal and political ideologies, influencing the audience to feel either connected with or disconnected from the speaker. Levinson (1983:62) stated that person deixis is involved in the encoding of the role of participants in the speech. The choice of a personal pronoun is closely bound to its context; thus, the use of personal pronouns can easily be manipulated. Research has shown that the manipulation of personal pronouns influences the way we interpret relationships with others. Moreover, the context and the way personal pronouns are utilised create decisive turning points for any politician (van Dijk, 1997:34).

The plural pronouns in the first person (we) can be used inclusively, as well as exclusively. Mooney and Evans (2019:47) stated: "The inclusive 'we', as you would expect, includes the people being addressed. The exclusive 'we' can function in two ways. It may be used to refer to the self and some other people, not the addressees." For example, Malema used 'we' to refer to himself or his party. This can be seen in the following example, "… what 'we' will do when elected as the government of South Africa." It can also be used to include his audience: "We want justice now. We want our land now. We demand the economy NOW!"

Charteris-Black (2005:4) observed that the use of first person pronouns aims to establish the shared interests between the speaker and audience. Mooney and Evans (2019:47) stated: "The inclusive 'we' as you would expect, includes the people being addressed." Van Dijk (1998:61-63) provided a framework to be applied if one wishes to analyse the *Us* versus *Them* discourse and suggests the following approach:

a.   Analyse the historical, social background and political nature and the major participants in the conflict to comprehend the context of the discourse.
b.   Inspect the groups, the relations based on the phenomenon of power and study the nature of the conflicts involved.
c.   Recognise if 'Us versus Them' is perceived negatively or positively.
d.   Identify and reveal what is being assumed and what is implied.
e.   Investigate the lexicon and syntactic structure more formally to accentuate or de-emphasise the opinions of the group that exhibit partiality.

Berger (1994:45-54) discussed various definitions of power. One such definition is offered by Pennycook (1993), who stated that because pronouns are embedded in naming people and groups of people, they are always "political" as they always imply power relations. For example, the personal pronoun 'we' is always simultaneously inclusive and exclusive. It is a pronoun of solidarity and rejection, of inclusion and exclusion. It defines 'we' on the one hand and 'you' or 'they' on the other hand. This is essential in the construction of 'them' (the other) as opposed to 'us' and is the negative that this process may entail. The example below shows how Malema used the pronoun 'we' to create affinity between himself and the audience.

"More fundamentally, the emphasis on NOW is because *we* cannot postpone the true liberation of *our* people from economic apartheid. *We* are not part of the 1994 elite pact. *We* are a completely new generation, with new demands. And our demands, unlike those of the 1994 generation, will not be postponed. *We* refuse to be silenced with so-called reconciliation. *We* want justice now. *We* want our land now. *We* want jobs now. *We* demand the economy NOW!"

4.5. Metaphor

A metaphor is a literary device which can engender ideology using figurative language. "Symbols in general and cultural in particular may be based on well-entrenched metaphors in a culture" (Kovecsces, 1987:65). Metaphors may be used as an ideological device to conceal certain discourses in the form of language from the target culture. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) held that the conceptual system of human beings is metaphorical. Metaphors are not merely linguistic instruments. They permeate perception, thought and behaviour. Common metaphors in politics come from the domains of sport and war. Simultaneously, political campaigns can be seen as actions of war. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) stated, "Political and economic ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms. Like all other metaphors, political and economic metaphors can hide aspects of reality, but in politics and the economy, metaphors matter

more because they constrain our lives. A metaphor in a political or economic system, by what it hides, can lead to human degradation." Lakoff (1991) emphasises the importance of looking systematically not only at what metaphors represent, but at what they conceal. One of the more interesting examples is found in the metaphor that the political freedom attained in 1994 was 'a bluff'. This phrase gives the idea that black people were deceived into believing that they were free, while they were still not free economically. This is also related to the notion that "South Africa is trapped in a vicious cycle of underdevelopment, underperformance and an unpredictable future."

4.6. The use of tenses
Tenses are used to indicate the timing of an action or state being expressed by the verb. Malema used verb tenses skilfully to influence the thoughts and behaviours of his audience. This is in line with Lakoff's (1990:7) statement that "language is politics, politics assigns power and governs how people talk and how they are understood." One of the tenses frequently used in Malema's foreword is the present tense. Wang (2010) argued that the simple present tense is used to create a close relationship between the speaker and their audience. If one looks at how Malema used the simple present tense in his foreword to the EFF 2024 election manifesto, one can accept the validity of this assertion. For instance, "The EFF manifesto takes into consideration various domestic, regional, global, geopolitical, economic and industrial developments."

The other tense that Julius Malema frequently used was the present perfect tense to remind the audience of events or actions that have just happened. Goatly (2008) stated that political rhetoric makes language memorable because it has the habit of being engaging and thought-provoking. Charteris-Black (2005) averred that "in democratic frameworks, it is primarily through language that leaders legitimate their leadership." The following example illustrates this point: "The Economic Freedom Fighters has demonstrated in its ten years of existence, through various interventions and political leadership in different spheres of influence that …" These examples indicate that Malema strategically used tenses to influence his audience.

5. CONCLUSION

As mentioned above, this study adheres to the analytic paradigm of CDA, which is a branch of discourse analysis that goes beyond the description of discourse as an explanation of how and why particular discourses are produced. Van Dijk (1988) defined CDA as a field concerned with the study and analysis of written and spoken texts to reveal the discourse sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. CDA examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. Malema used carefully chosen language to persuade voters to see his party as the only party that could liberate black South Africans economically. This is in line with Janks' (1997) view that discourse was "related to power and that texts are positioned to serve certain interests."
We can deduce from the above quote that CDA differs from other methods of discourse analysis because it is critical. 'Critical' implies highlighting connections and causes, which are hidden or not obvious (Atkins, 2002:3), which I aim to illustrate in my analysis of the data collected in this paper. Huckin (2004:2) stated that the primary aim of CDA is the close analysis of written or oral texts that are deemed to be politically or culturally influenced within a given society. However, the activity of text analysis cannot be conducted in isolation; instead, the analyst must always consider the larger context in which the text is located.

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Appendix

Introducing the EFF election manifesto - Julius Malema

Julius Malema |
11 February 2024
CIC says we cannot postpone the true liberation of our people from economic apartheid

2024 ROAD TO VICTORY

Consolidating the Ground Force Towards Socialist Power

OUR LAND & JOBS NOW. STOP LOADSHEDDING!

2024 ELECTION MANIFESTO

THE EFF

JULIUS MALEMA

President & Commander In Chief

FOREWORD BYTHE PRESIDENT AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF

The year 2024 marks exactly 30 years since the first inclusive elections in South Africa. As observed in the Founding Manifesto of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), the political inclusion in South Africa has hardly translated into observable economic benefits for the majority of the people who were oppressed and exploited under colonialism-cum-apartheid. Black people remain landless, they remain on the margins of economic production and outside of life-enhancing economic participation. The majority of those that participate in the economy do so as suppliers of cheap and easily disposable labour. Landlessness and joblessness among black South Africans are at crisis levels, posing the biggest challenges that confront South African society today.

South Africa is trapped in a vicious cycle of underdevelopment, underperformance and an unpredictable future due to incompetent, directionless, and visionless government. In 2024, South Africa is confronted with a crisis of loadshedding caused by a government that is unable to guarantee dependable and reliable electricity generation, transmission, and distribution to the entire society.

While focusing on clear, implementable, and decisive programmes for all spheres of governance, the EFF's emphasis for the 2024 general elections will be on LAND, JOBS and ELECTRICITY. Consequently, the EFF's theme for the 2024 elections is: OUR LAND AND JOBS NOW. STOP LOAD SHEDDING!

The emphasis on LAND derives from the fact that 30 years since the attainment of political freedom, 80% of the population continues to occupy less than 10% of South Africa's land. Landlessness is still the lived reality of majority of our people.

The emphasis on JOBS is motivated by the sad reality that after 30 years of attempts at addressing the matter, more than 11 million capable South Africans who need jobs are unemployed, with no hope that anything will change unless the current government is changed, while 13 million are not economically active.

The emphasis on NOW is informed by the fact that 30 years is a rather long time for any political party to keep making empty promises. The emphasis on NOW is also because our people live in absolute poverty. Similarly, the emphasis on NOW is because our people are landless. The emphasis on NOW is because our people are jobless. Yet again the emphasis on NOW is because the crises of racialised poverty, inequality, underdevelopment, landlessness and joblessness are being experienced NOW, and must be resolved NOW!

More fundamentally, the emphasis on NOW is because we cannot postpone the true liberation of our people from economic apartheid. We are not part of the 1994 elite pact. We are a completely new generation, with new demands. And our demands, unlike those of the 1994 generation, will not be postponed. We refuse to be silenced with so-called reconciliation. We want justice now. We want our land now. We want jobs now. We demand the economy NOW!

It is our considered view that the political change-over in 1994, did not bring true liberation. It was a bluff which continues to subject black people to economic and social apartheid. This economic apartheid must end now. The demand for land and jobs now is the demand to end apartheid because it is now evident that apartheid did not end in 1994. We are not part of the CODESA and the 1994 transitional compromises, which only focused on taking over political office without the control of the economy. We are a generation that is fighting for true economic emancipation NOW!

The emphasis on STOP LOAD SHEDDING is due to the fact that despite many empty promises, the South African government has not brought forth a dependable electricity plan that will guarantee the supply of electricity to all its citizens.

The economy in South Africa continues today to be under the ownership and control of the white minority settlers, whose ownership and control of land in particular, were gained through settler colonialism and its corollary - the dispossession of the black colonised. Other sectors of the economy, such as the retail chains, industry and the financial sector, are also owned and controlled by the white minority in South Africa. All the means of economic survival and existence continue to be controlled by the white minority. All of this continues to be the case two decades after the country attained political freedom.

The black majority, and Africans in particular, are the numerical majority, yet they continue to be the economic minority, living under difficult conditions and perennially begging for participation in and benefit from what is a white-owned economy linked to the global capitalist system. The few black people who participate in the economy, do so, subject to white approval through a black economic empowerment model that is ostensibly designed to benefit a small number of individuals without ever changing the structural exclusion of the majority.

The post-1994 governments have dismally failed to transfer economic power to the black majority and, even worse, to optimally use government ownership and control of certain state assets for the benefit of all South Africans. Instead, they have reproduced and worsened apartheid economic inequalities, such

that a prominent defining characteristic of all post-1994 governments is their perpetuation of economic apartheid defined along racial lines. Whilst political apartheid has been abolished, economic and social apartheid remain a stark reality, evidenced by the fact that poverty is associated with blackness and wealth with whiteness.

The Economic Freedom Fighters has demonstrated in its 10 years of existence, through various interventions and political leadership in different spheres of influence, that it is the only political movement that will bring about real economic change in South Africa. As a movement, we carry collective and individual capacity that will fundamentally change South Africa's economy in a manner that will allow us to reclaim economic ownership, expand the productive economy, give black people real ownership, create jobs and drive inclusive development.

The EFF's political programme is the only programme that is embedded in the interests of all South Africans, having been organically developed to meet people's demands. The manifesto we present hereafter for the 2024 general elections is therefore not a wish list of unattainable goals, but a clear programme of action of what we will do when elected as government of South Africans, having been organically developed to meet people's demands. The manifesto we present hereafter for the 2024 general elections is therefore not a wish list of unattainable goals, but a clear programme of action of what we will do when elected as government of South Africa.

The EFF Manifesto 2024 is primarily based on three sources:

a) The numerous submissions the EFF received from different sectors through public consultations, which included public meetings, letters to different organisations, social media inputs and oral submissions;
b) The Founding Manifesto of the EFF; and
c) The collective experience the EFF gained through its participation in Parliament, Provincial Legislatures and Municipal Councils.

It is important to highlight that the EFF's political programme is underpinned by the desire for ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME. This is a generational clarion call that we will never deviate from. The EFF's manifesto commitments for the 2024 general elections are inspired by as well as based on our movement's seven cardinal pillars, which constitute the core of our approach to genuine revolutionary transformation of society for the better.

The seven pillars are:

a. Expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution in use.

b. Nationalisation of mines, banks and other strategic sectors of the economy, without compensation.

c. Building state and government capacity, which will lead to the abolishment of tenders.

> a.d. Free quality education, health care, houses and sanitation.
> b.e. Massive protected industrial development to create millions of sustainable jobs, including the introduction of minimum wage(s) in order to close the wage gap between the rich and the poor, close the apartheid wage gap and promote rapid career paths for Africans in the workplace.

c.f. Massive development of the African economy and advocating for a move from reconciliation to justice on the entire continent.

g. Open, accountable, corrupt-free government and society without fear of victimisation by state agencies.

The seven cardinal pillars and all the areas covered by the manifesto are of crucial importance to us in their totality, while specific emphasis is being placed on LAND and JOBS. It is our firm belief that the crisis levels of poverty, inequality, and underdevelopment being experienced in the country can be ended by the reclamation and equitable redistribution of the land and the creation of millions of jobs. The current government has spectacularly demonstrated that it is incapable, both now and in the foreseeable future, to economically empower all South Africans.

The EFF will not prioritise only the creation of jobs, but also the importance of job quality and workplace conditions. Ensuring a good quality of life for workers is equally important. The role of trade unions therefore needs to be specifically guaranteed and protected. The wage gap is also one of the biggest contributors to inequality. Statistics show that in South Africa, the wealthiest three billionaires own more wealth than the poorest 26 million citizens. Globally, it will take four days for the CEOs of the world's largest fashion companies to earn what a clothing worker in those companies earns in a lifetime. Economic wealth must therefore be transferred from the hands of the few to the hands of the many.

The EFF's manifesto takes into consideration various domestic, regional, global, geo-political, economic and industrial developments. We particularly take into consideration that we have the obligation to present a credible JOBS strategy in the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution and artificial intelligence, which could reduce the number of people employed to produce goods and services for a wage. The Manifesto will address these developments in a manner that appreciates reality and yet achieves maximum benefits.

What distinguishes the EFF's 2024, election manifesto from all other election manifestos is that it makes specific commitments with timelines and clearly specifies areas that will receive the deliverables, illustrating the movement's readiness and preparedness to govern on behalf of the people in national and provincial government. The era of meaningless and broad promises is over. The EFF's quantitative and qualitative growth has taught us that we should always stay in contact with the people and understand their demands and aspirations.

Some of the policy innovations contained in this manifesto include:
a) Land redistribution policies which will guarantee land access by all landless people for residential, industrial, cultural, religious and recreational purposes;
b) Multiple special economic zones to promote inward industrialisation and manufacturing investments with export capacity in order to make the ownership and control of the economy demographically representative, expand its productive capacity and create millions of jobs;
c) Doubling of social grants in order to reduce the crisis levels of poverty and boost domestic economic demands and expansion;
d) Usage of legislated state procurement as a boost for localisation and creation of sustainable quality jobs, prioritising women and the youth;
e) Reconfiguration of the spheres of government into national and local spheres and eliminating the provincial sphere in order to redirect resources to impactful service delivery and investments; and

f) Amending the constitution to make the National Prosecutions Authority (NPA) a Chapter 9, institution accountable to Parliament in order to stop selective prosecutions and fight corruption.
g) The EFF government will overhaul the policing system, emphasizing the role of law enforcement in safeguarding human rights and public safety.

Fellow South Africans, Commissars, Fighters, and all Ground Forces, the EFF hereby presents our commitments, a programme of action and a clearly articulated plan on what we will do when elected to govern on behalf of the people. These are not empty promises. They are clear commitments that will be realised under the decisive and capable leadership of the Economic Freedom Fighters. The clarion call is clear: OUR LAND AND JOBS NOW! STOP LOAD SHEDDING NOW! VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Revolutionary regards,

Julius Malema