
A Discursive Reading of Ideology, Dominance and Resistance in Political Texts

Kelvin Mathayo Lukanga*

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Abstract

The North (or the West) considers itself superior to the South and has thus arrogated to itself the right to ‘guide’ it in many a sphere, something that has gone down badly with some countries in the South, so much so that some of them resist this domination. It is against this background that this paper analyses four texts from the two contending geo-political zones to untangle discursive strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Using Teun van Dijk’s (2006) ideological square, the paper analyses the texts concerning aspects of ideology, dominance and resistance. It has been found that Donald Trump and the European Parliament (representing the North), as well as John Pombe Joseph Magufuli and Nicolas Maduro (representing the South), deployed semantic macrostructures, macro-speech acts, the active voice and lexical resources, among others, to do positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The paper contends that the two sides deployed the strategies because the North wants to continue dominating and exploiting the South and the South wants to liberate itself from the chain the former placed around its neck centuries ago. About the South’s goal, the paper shows how the South could go it alone, with a bias towards Africa.

Keywords: The North, the South, ideology, domination, resistance, positive other-presentation, negative other-presentation

Introduction

The North has given itself the right to *guide* the South in the economic, social, political and technological spheres. This reflects what Karlberg (2005:2) calls “power over” or domination at the global level. The North commonly deploys language to re-assert its superiority complex to boost its self-confidence and make the South look at it with awe. This superiority complex is based on the North’s advances in ideology, economics, science, technology, military power and whatnot. The region also uses its self-conception as well as the power arising from the areas just mentioned and others to lord it over its counterpart. The South is expected to swallow hook, line and sinker when the latter tells it to, irrespective of the benefits (if any) to it. Some countries in the South have toed (and continue) the line the North has told them to toe, but others (relatively fewer than the former) have either refused to do so outright or have acted in ways that show that they are not willing or ready to toe the line. A good example in this regard was Tanzania under Julius Kambarage Nyerere.

However, the leaders who are in cahoots with the North (for example the late Mobutu) accept the conditions that are imposed on them, in their interest and in the interest of their Northern allies at the expense of the majority of people in their countries. Such leaders deploy discourse to make their people see that they have their interests at heart, interests which they are prepared to mortgage their souls protecting! The North makes statements which shock enlightened minds when such leaders mangle their people’s rights. For example, the European Union gave the 2021 Ugandan elections a clean bill of health, although the elections

were marred by state violence (during the campaigns), which claimed the lives of several people (Onyango-Obbo, 2020). This paper examines aspects of ideology, dominance and resistance manifested in political texts. It engages with speeches by former President Donald Trump of the United States, former President John Pombe Joseph Magufuli of Tanzania and President Nicolas Maduro of Venezuela, and a resolution on Tanzania passed by the European Parliament to decode their discursive strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The resolution is included in the analysis because it has several aspects of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation about Tanzania. Given the centuries-old domination and exploitation of the South by the North, the paper proffers suggestions as to how the former could go it alone, with a bias towards Africa.

Language and Politics

Language is bound up with “other social elements” (Fairclough, 2003:205), for it is used in various social domains, not least in politics. Wardhaugh (2006) maintains that linguistic analyses need to take into account both the linguistic and social aspects of a language. It is worth noting that considering such aspects is good but not sufficient. This is because, apart from using a given language while observing its linguistic and social norms, language users usually have goals they intend to achieve through language. Chilton (2008:226), for example, observes that politicians use language to “rouse political emotions.” The emotions just alluded to may be fear and hope. This paper shows that Trump and the European Parliament would like to make the people in their and other countries see that Venezuela and Tanzania have gone up in smoke, and that swift action is needed to rescue the Venezuelans

and Tanzanians. Such language use may rouse fear in their audiences.

Van Dijk (2008) demonstrates how Tony Blair (former UK Prime Minister) did that. As he spoke in the House of Commons, Blair alleged that Hussein and the Iraqi government were bad, but the people of Iraq were good. This is an instance of the US/THEM polarisation depicted using positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Fairclough (2018) notes that wrong use of discursive resources can cause unnecessary damage in society. Therefore, much care and restraint are required, especially from those who hold positions of power.

Chilton (2004) says it is impossible to imagine the practice of politics without language being involved in it at all. The link between the two has existed as long as politics has been around on earth. It is acknowledged that Aristotle was the first thinker to point out the relationship in question (Chilton & Schaffner, 2002; Chilton, 2004; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). He observed that humans are political animals in that, as well as living and sharing or doing many other things together, they use language to indicate what is useful and what is harmful, and therefore what is just and unjust (Aristotle, 1887).

Fetzer (2013:2) stresses the centrality of language to politics, noting that “[b]oth macro and micro-politics require language as a means of communication to exercise governmental control and to communicate felicitously in the political arena.” Pocock (1984) contends that language gives one power, but the power is shared

with others who may also use language to respond to what one might have said. That is why those on whom someone has performed using language can either reply or do anything else verbally, just as the speaker has done. Regarding mind control, van Dijk says:

[...] through [...] the means of public discourse and communication, dominant groups or institutions may influence the structures of text and talk in such a way that, as a result, the knowledge, attitudes, norms, values and ideologies of recipients are—more or less indirectly—affected in the interest of the dominant group (van Dijk, 1996:85).

A political speaker's position gives him some "institutional authority" which, combined with the setting of the speech or stretch of discourse, helps to influence the addressee or listeners (Reyes, 2011:784). This paper demonstrates how the texts are used to persuade the audiences to believe what is said.

Ideology

Ideology cannot be divorced from discourse, since speakers or writers consciously or unconsciously infuse the latter with their values, beliefs, interests, doctrines, etc. This infusion manifests itself in the communicative choices they make: semantic, syntactic, lexical or even intertextual or interdiscursive choices. In situations of ideological clashes, these strategies are deployed to put Self above Other. This reflects a group's (Self's) desire to dominate Other. The desire may be relevant locally, municipally or even globally when, for instance, a transnational institution exercises power or influence over a small institution(s) inside or even outside a country of its origin or in which it is based. In

giving financial aid or loans, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) often make demands about, say, democracy and the rule of law, to those asking for aid or loans (Abdildina & Jaramillo-Vallejo, 2005).

If examined using a critical discursive lens, various social practices exhibit ideological nuances (Fairclough, 1995). Jones (2001:227) explains that an ideology “is not just any system of ideas or beliefs but ways of thinking in which historically transient exploitative forms of social organisation are represented as eternal, natural, inevitable or ‘rational’.” Fairclough (1995:17) notes that it is a good idea “to use the concept of ideology [...] as virtually synonymous with ‘worldview’, so that any group has its particular ideology corresponding to its interests and position in social life.” Thus, ideology is directly related to domination.

Examining the ideological aspect of discourse is, therefore, helpful in “tapping into speakers’ beliefs and feelings about other groups” (Dyer, 2007:107). The discursive or linguistic choices the speaker makes will almost always be very strategic. Commenting on Blair’s speech about Iraq, van Dijk (2009:82) says, “[...] Tony Blair’s opinion about Iraq in his speech is controlled by his political ideologies, quite explicitly so by his democratic ideology,” adding that “[w]e must assume that he also has these opinions before speaking or when being silent.” Flowerdew and Richardson (2018) explain that ideology affects discourse and people’s relations and that an ideology may be promoted in the interest of the group to which it belongs.

Theoretical Orientation

Teun van Dijk's ideological square is concerned with positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation in discourse. Van Dijk (2006) argues that positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is a strategy people deploy to present themselves in a good light and others in a bad one. US and THEM feature in their speeches because speakers belong to bigger groups and, through speeches or texts such as those analysed in this paper, they usually speak as representatives of such groups.

The ideological square comprises several sub-strategies. Van Dijk (2006:373) has identified the following sub-strategies: positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (overall interaction strategies), macro-speech acts, semantic macrostructures, local speech acts, local meanings, lexicon, local syntax, rhetorical figures and expressions. Politicians employ these sub-strategies to talk ill of others and favourably of themselves. Words or expressions with positive meanings are deployed to talk about Self and those with negative ones to talk about Other. Similarly, grammatical aspects like the passive voice which hide OUR agency in bad things are adopted and those which project OUR agency in bad things such as the active voice are used to speak of Other. Van Dijk adds that figurative expressions like hyperboles may be employed to exaggerate THEIR bad actions. The overall strategy, therefore, involves putting in the foreground OUR good actions, identity, activities, etc. and in the background bad ones, as well as foregrounding THEIR bad actions, identity, activities, etc. and putting in the background THEIR good actions or activities.

In this paper, there are Trump and the European Parliament from the North on the one hand, and Maduro and Magufuli from the South on the other. The former talk about the latter (separately) in

an ideologically orientated manner and with a superiority stance, and the latter give rejoinder sorts of speeches, also speaking in an ideologically orientated manner, supported with a stance which shows that the countries they are leading are sovereign and will, therefore, not take dictation from anybody any more.

Method

The texts were given on separate occasions, but they are thematically and discursively closely related. Trump discussed the so-called Venezuelan crisis in the speech he delivered at Florida International University in 2018; he talked a great deal about Venezuela and Nicolas Maduro, including the steps his government had taken and would continue taking against Maduro and some of the members of his inner circle. Trump called Maduro a dangerous dictator and Venezuela a failed state. Maduro gave his speech on the occasion of the United Nations 75th General Assembly. He mentioned some of the speeches Trump had given about Venezuela and Maduro himself, and the steps that had been taken against them. The European Parliament issued the resolution on Tanzania in 2018. Magufuli gave his speech at a gathering of retired African leaders in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in 2019.

This paper engages with the texts to establish the clash in ideological orientations between the South and the North, dominance and resistance. Specifically, it analyses the discursive tools of self-presentation and other-presentation, focusing on semantic macrostructures, macro-speech acts, sentential types, diction and suchlike deployed for the double-edged purpose. The paper also provides suggestions as to how the South could

strengthen its avowed determination to chart its own course, with a bias towards Africa.

Analysis and Results

Positive Self-presentation

Macro-speech Acts

The speakers focus on speech acts to show the values they or the bigger groups to which they belong consider important. Among the macro-speech acts are praising and defending Self. Talking about what the people of Venezuela are doing, Trump says that the United States is beside Venezuelans, who are said to stand for democracy and freedom. He says, “The people of Venezuela are standing for freedom and democracy, and the United States is standing right by their side.” This also implies that the people of Venezuela are under authoritarian rule. Maduro also praises his country/government thus:

(1) We are committed to defending the principles of universality, impartiality and objectivity and the non-politicisation and the non-selective nature of implementing these principles.

He shows that Venezuela is ready to defend good principles, thus suggesting that the country can face the North, especially the United States. What he says is not dissimilar to what KhosraviNik (2015) found about Iran’s stand against the West, in particular the United States. Since the 1979 revolution, Iran has been considering itself capable of facing the West, because it has nuclear weapons! Therefore, it could be noted that Maduro or Venezuela is an instance of other countries that project themselves positively before the international community to counter the image Other presents of them, among other purposes. Magufuli praises Self and thus does positive self-presentation. He talks about the effort his government has made to industrialise

Tanzania and about the alleged investments it has made in industrial technology. He believes that industrialisation and industrial technology go together and that Tanzania will benefit much from such investments. He says:

(2) *Tumeweka msukumo mkubwa kwenye ujenzi wa viwanda na ukuzaji wa teknolojia ya viwanda ili mazao yanayotokana na rasilimali zetu yasindikwe kwanza kabla ya kuuzwa nje.*

“We have emphasised industrialisation and made industrial technological investments to process our resources before exporting them.”

Trump notes that the United States is supporting the struggle for freedom and democracy in Venezuela, while Maduro says they will continue supporting the universal principles in the interest of Venezuelans and others. Unlike the two, Magufuli seems to focus on the industrialisation agenda his government has elected to pursue exclusively in the interest of Tanzanians, something that throws Trump into a suspect position. Trump said during his presidential campaign as well as several times after his ascent to power that America was first in virtually everything he would do or was doing. Magufuli adopted a similar kind of rhetoric and appears to have kept his word, judging from his numerous speeches and statements in this regard. Of course, in the final analysis, each speaker wants to portray a positive image of Self.

Semantic Macrostructures

The texts also contain semantic macrostructures, which are very helpful in doing a positive presentation of Self. The macrostructures relate to the norms, values and beliefs of the bigger ideological orientations represented in the texts: liberalism/capitalism and socialism. Among the semantic

macrostructures adduced are human rights, democracy, resources and economic liberation. According to Bhatia, in US-THEM texts:

There is the wholly good side, the nations, people, or communities that form the “us” category metonymic of all the values attributed to this wholly positive side (e.g., justice, freedom, democracy, civilisation, lawful) and legitimised because of these very values. The other half of this category-pair is the wholly evil “other”, the enemy of the good people who embody all those values that criminalise and vilify them, threatening the core of humanity (Bhatia, 2018:437).

In the resolution, the European Parliament projects the US-THEM categories identified by Bhatia and thus presents itself as an institution that values and respects human rights. The resolution reads in part:

(3) [...] having regard to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, having regard to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, having regard to the ACP-EU Partnership Agreement (‘Cotonou Agreement’) [...].

The instruments are mentioned to ideologically portray the parliament as a careful and informed organ. They are also used to show that the resolution is based not only on the allegations of human rights violations by the Tanzania government but also on internationally recognised instruments. It could equally be argued that the instruments are used to legitimate the resolution by showing that it is based on them.

Magufuli refers to resources and economic liberation. He explains why Africans fought for independence. The aim, he says, was to have both political and economic independence. He points out that political independence is less meaningful in the absence of economic independence. If a country continues to depend on other

countries economically or financially, they may influence or even exploit it. He, thus, stresses the importance of protecting and using resources in the interest of Africans, saying:

(4) *Maana hasa ya kupigania uhuru ni kurejesha rasilimali zetu. Lakini pia kuwa na uamuzi kamili wa namna ya kuzisimamia na kuzitumia ili kuleta ukombozi wa kiuchumi*

“The struggle for independence was actually for reclaiming our resources and for having control over how to manage and exploit them to bring about economic liberation.”

Magufuli says that against the background of the fact that before independence the resources were in the hands of the colonialists and after independence they are in the hands of neo-colonialists in the form of multilateral corporations such as Acacia which exploit resources like minerals at the expense of local people (Noe et al., 2022). He presents Self positively, stating that they will control the resources and use them for the benefit of Tanzanians. What he says can only be taken to be true if it is translated into actions beneficial to many Tanzanians.

Trump talks about democracy and a peaceful transfer of power in Venezuela, noting that the United States wants to restore democracy in Venezuela and that the power transfer will happen peacefully. What he says suggests that there were occasions when the transfer of power engineered by the United States did not happen peacefully in other countries or the same country. In Zaire, for example, Patrice Lumumba was killed by CIA agents and Mobutu was installed as the country's leader instead, because he was their puppet (Hoskins & Howard, 1961; Kuklick, 2014).

Trump says that the United States does not want to impose a leader on Venezuela. Of course, it would be wrong to expect him

to say openly that his country will use force and impose a leader on Venezuela. It is palpable that that is what the United States was attempting to do: Juan Guaidó was their project and was a darling of the US government. He was given much support, including the United States threatening anyone who tried to attack him, his family and his political colleagues. Has the United States changed its style of imposing leaders on other countries? The country has in many countries, including Venezuela, used force to do so. It organised the 2002 coup against Chavez's government, in collaboration with people like Pedro Carmona and Leopoldo Lopez (Macleod, 2018). It is observed that the "National Endowment of Democracy (NED) and USAID had been funding a wide range of anti-government groups who planned the coup, and funding for the activities quadrupled in 2001 (Macleod, *ibid*:41–42)." Moreover, Trump's statement suggests that he believes in, and supports, democracy. However, Wodak, Culpeper and Semino (2021) have shown that Trump is not a democratic leader, as evidenced by, for example, his tendency to silence journalists who were against what he was doing when he was president during press conferences.

Lexical Items

Strategic lexical expressions are also used to portray a very positive image of Self. Since all the speakers hold very high political and leadership positions, doing so is very important. Face-saving also comes into the picture as the speakers want other people to see them as well as the larger groups of which they are a part of being good, caring and concerned about the issues each is talking about. Maduro says: "We endorse the United Nations appeal to bring an end to the shameful embargo that has lasted for almost 60 years against the brotherly people of Cuba." He uses the word endorse to show that Self is opposed to the oppression of

the Cuban people by the United States. Various accusations have been made by the North, in particular by the United States, against the Maduro government, calling it undemocratic, dictatorial and inhumane. However, here is Maduro calling the Cubans the brotherly people of Cuba, in whose interest he wants the oppressive embargo lifted. The objective in deploying this phrase cannot be other than a positive presentation of Self.

Magufuli deploys the phrase *rasilimali zetu* “our resources”. The use of this lexical item is not accidental. For years the resources (for example minerals and gas) of Tanzania had been plundered by multilateral corporations, some government officials and a few rich people at the cost of the suffering majority (Lukanga, 2022; Mathayo, 2020).

Furthermore, Trump employs positive lexical expressions as exemplified by the word peaceful in the construction “We seek a peaceful transfer of power [...]” The antonym of the word peaceful is violent, which, if it had been used, would have resulted in the casting of the United States in a bad light. It might be the case that the speaker says that while reading from the book of negative experiences. After the 9/11 attacks on Washington and New York, the United States used force to install regimes of its choice in Iraq and Afghanistan, a war which cost many lives and property. As a consequence, the United States has been condemned for its deplorable actions almost all over the world ever since. Perhaps Trump is taking counsel from this experience in deploying the word peaceful.

Negative Other-presentation

Macro-speech Acts

The texts are also used to do negative other-presentation. This is done using various strategies, including macro-speech acts. The most commonly used macro-speech acts are accusations, threats and blame. Trump accuses the Maduro government of stealing Venezuelans' wealth, shutting down free markets and doing many other bad things against the same people. He says:

(5) They engaged in massive wealth confiscation, shut down free markets, suppressed free speech and set up a relentless propaganda machine, rigged elections, used the government to persecute their political opponents and destroyed the impartial rule of law.

He also says, "Already more than three million Venezuelans have fled Maduro's brutal opposition, and brutal it is." The Maduro government is said to be oppressing Venezuelans by, for instance, stealing their wealth, persecuting political opponents and breaking the rule of law. These actions and similar others mentioned in the two quotes are supposedly included in the global rules that Maduro talks about below. Amid the global Covid-19 pandemic, Maduro claims, the United States has frozen bank accounts belonging to Venezuela and withheld various things meant for the country, not least medicine. He remarks, "In addition to that they go after any business or government, trade and goods [...] for our country, be it food, medicine, fuel, additives [...]."

Magufuli notes that Africa fails to manage its natural resources to bring about socio-economic development because of the vestiges of the colonial mentality many Africans have. This mentality makes it difficult for African countries to develop as many of them seem to believe that handouts from the North can make their countries develop. Although support or help may be important in

the development effort, what Magufuli says about the vestiges of the colonial mentality may be true. There is no country in the history of the world that has developed through aid. Contrariwise, development is the result of what he says, but also of hard work, good governance, etc. Since this kind of thinking is missing, African countries think it is the erstwhile colonial masters who will manage their resources and turn them into the development Africa needs.

Semantic Macrostructures

The speakers also deploy semantic macrostructures to let the audiences see that the person and the bigger group are bad and, therefore, must be exorcised, condemned and, where necessary, deposed. The resolution of the European Parliament on Tanzania focuses on human rights violations. It reads in part:

(6) [The European Parliament] [e] expresses its concern about the *deteriorating political situation* in Tanzania characterised by *a shrinking of the public space through the tightening of restrictions* on the activities of civil society organisations, human rights defenders, the media and many political parties; [it] is especially worried about the deteriorating situation for LGBTI persons.

Similarly, Maduro refers to the United States' disregard for multilateralism and talks about its actions thus:

(7) The United States of America, rather than taking a positive, forward-looking leadership role, is ironically working under the guidance of an [...] agenda, a hostile government. It is hostile to diplomacy and shows open contempt for multilateralism, any type of pre-existing global rules.

Maduro says the United States does not respect multilateral rules and does bad things against other countries. For instance, the United States does not want countries to interfere in the affairs of other countries. Nonetheless, she does the stark opposite of that herself. This presupposes that the country preaches water but drinks wine. Otherwise, it would uphold the global rules, which ideally should keep all countries in check when they want to behave badly towards others. Magufuli talks about the stealing of natural resources from the South, especially from Africa, by the North. He shows the extent to which Western corporations have stolen Tanzania's resources. He uses a metaphor to show that Western corporations steal Africa's resources. He says, *Na hapa nchi yetu imeliwa sana kutokana na mikataba mibovu na hasa kwenye madini* "Our country has been eaten much because of dubious agreements, especially in the mineral sector." Therefore, Tanzania has taken certain steps to stop this and Magufuli advises other African countries to follow in its footsteps. Tandon (2016) argues that the North wants the resources of the latter so that less than three billion people can continue leading a good life while the five billion people in the South continue suffering. Magufuli supposedly wants to reverse this trend so that Tanzania's resources benefit Tanzanians.

Lexical Items

Maduro notes that the United States has constantly been attacking Venezuela, adding that it has even threatened that it might take military action against the country. In the following excerpt, he uses lexical expressions which show that the United States is very dangerous and acts violently towards Venezuela. He says:

(8) Mr President, as you know, Venezuelans are under constant attack. Our beloved homeland is the victim of a multipronged

attack by the United States. In the media, in the political arena, economically. We have even been threatened with direct military aggression.

Maduro does not say that the United States targets only him and his government. Rather, he shows that the country targets the entire Venezuela, saying: "Our beloved homeland is victim to a multipronged attack by the United States." He states that it is *their* homeland and that it is a beloved homeland. The former suggests that the United States has no business poking its nose into other people's (Venezuelans') countries.

The foregoing is an instance of the negative other-presentation that Oddo (2011) and Reyes (2011) talk about. They note that Bush did whatever he could to make other people believe that Saddam had weapons of mass destruction. Oddo (2011:293), for one, says, "In his 7 October 2002 speech, Bush charged Iraq with criminal wrongdoing and cautioned the public that military action against Iraq would likely be necessary." Bush did this, notes Oddo further, although most Americans "[...] believed that the conflict could be solved diplomatically through weapons inspections" (Oddo, 2011:293).

Like Bush, Trump also shows that the Maduro government does not care about the suffering Venezuelans are going through and that its top officers steal property belonging to the suffering people and hide it abroad. He says:

(9) Millions of Venezuelans are starving and suffering while the top officers of the Maduro regime plunder the nation into poverty, into death. We know who they are and we know where they keep the billions of dollars that they have stolen.

Syntactic Resources

The speakers also deploy active sentences to foreground the bad actions of Others. The Parliament shows that the Magufuli government violates human rights by enacting restrictive laws to prevent Tanzanians from exercising their fundamental rights enshrined in various municipal, regional and international legal instruments. The government is said to violate the rights of pregnant girls, people on ARVs and homosexuals. For example, “[t]he Tanzanian Government obstructs access to sexual and reproductive health services and intimidates organisations providing information about such services.” The resolution also reads:

(10) On 22 June 2018 President Magufuli issued a declaration banning pregnant girls from attending school; whereas the authorities are intimidating civil society organisations (CSOs) that advocate the rights of pregnant girls to go back to school.

The actions of both Magufuli and the authorities are represented using active sentences to front the agents so that they and their bad actions are seen.

Maduro uses the active voice to show that the United States is an empire with criminal behaviour. The word humanity refers to Venezuelans and other peoples, and therefore the behaviour of the United States is supposedly dangerous to the whole of humanity. In foregrounding the empire’s negative actions, Maduro says, “This Empire is now writing some of the most horrific chapters of inhumanity and criminal behaviour.” If the empire’s actions were good, the speaker would have highly likely opted for the passive voice and possibly deleted the agent. However, since the actions are dangerous, the speaker has chosen the active voice to front the oppressor and possibly his alleged actions as well. The alleged danger the United States poses to humanity was also noted by

Hugo Chavez (Reyes-Rodríguez, 2008). In the speech Chavez delivered at the 54th United Nations General Assembly, he said the United States was dangerous to humanity (ibid). Iran also perceives the country in the same way, although it shows that it is not afraid of it (KhosraviNik, 2015).

Finally, Trump combines the active voice and a negative word (dictator) as he talks about Maduro's actions concerning the aid his country has given to Venezuela. He says, "Unfortunately, dictator Maduro has blocked this life-saving aid from entering the country. He would rather see his people starve than give them aid than help them." The deployment of the active voice is aimed at foregrounding Maduro's alleged actions against Venezuelans.

Discussion

Political groups' ideological differences make them adopt different perspectives on social, cultural, economic and political issues. Positively valued constructions, expressions and semantic macrostructures, among others, are deployed to portray a positive image of Self and negative ones to portray a negative image of Other to bash or discredit the latter. To illustrate, the texts analysed contain issues of, for example, human rights violations, democracy, multilateralism, equality and democracy. Devices such as macro-speech acts, semantic macrostructures, active sentences, positive lexical expressions and others are deployed to this end. The objective in all four cases is to cast Self in a good light. In contrast, the ideological square shows the mitigation of the negative aspects of Self. Thus, the language used hides the real nature of Self.

According to the ideological square, negative aspects of Other are foregrounded through negatively valued discourse. The objective is to portray a negative image of the devil, Satan or bastard. Magufuli says the North steals Africa's wealth and that the North is the source of the conflicts facing the continent. It should be noted that this negative other-presentation is ideologically influenced. The North alleges that it subscribes to democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and suchlike. The North wants to universalise these values by imposing them on countries such as Venezuela, and if a country or a leader appears to act differently from the way the North expects him to behave, it criticises or condemns him. The South asserts that it is opposed to imperialism, dominance, exploitation, etc. Maduro notes that Venezuela is opposed to the unilateralism of the United States, which has, for instance, put an embargo on Cuba and which is engineering the installation of Juan Guaidó as Venezuela's president. It seems the leaders from the South illustrate the desire of this geo-political zone to end what Heywood (2007:283) terms "global inequality and [its] subordination to western (sic) powers and interests." However, all the speakers portray a positive image of Self but a negative one of Other.

The final point is in stark contrast with what Li and Zhu (2020) say about China's Self-Other presentation. They note:

The producers of Chinese political discourse not only upturn the negative aspects of Other but also upscale China's negative aspects. Likewise, the producers mitigate both negative presentations of China and Other (sic) countries. This reflects China's dynamic perspective on Self-Other relations which draws on the prevailing philosophy of harmony (not making enemies) in the social and political life of contemporary China (Li & Zhu, 2020:167–168).

Another reason for that kind of Self-Other portrayal may be the belief that “ideological opponents may become allies in pursuing the realisation of the same goals” (van Dijk, 1998:71). However, there is nary a scintilla of evidence of that in the four texts analysed in this paper. Nevertheless, the speakers are busy cutting off one another’s throats using language. The reason for this may be that none of them thinks the opponent might become an ally in future. However, given that the South, in particular Africa, trails the North in many areas, the following suggestions are essential. One, Africa needs to revive the dream to form the United States of Africa to make itself socially, economically, technologically and politically strong, and to have a voice in world affairs. If African countries unite and put their vast human and natural resources together, the continent will be far better and stronger than it is, and countries on the other continents will give a hearing to what Africa says. The movement in this direction requires the adoption of a people-centric ideology, which brings all Africans under one umbrella. Likewise, all Africans need to shield themselves from external manipulations by forces such as the North. In all the deals or relations Africa is involved with the external world, the continent’s interests should be put first. This necessitates beginning with electing selfless leaders. Therefore, unity needs to happen in Africa to make it stronger and more prosperous.

Another area in which Africa is extremely weak is the area of science-cum-technology. African countries now (and the United States of Africa later) need to invest heavily in science and technology. In his speech, Magufuli said his government was

investing in industrialisation and industrial technology because technology is important in adding value to unprocessed materials. Since time immemorial, African countries have been exporting such materials abroad, thus losing much money and employment in the value chain. The education provided in Africa should make Africans self-conscious, creative, critical, innovative, honest, hardworking and enterprising. As already mentioned, the continent has vast natural resources, but the resources cannot transform themselves into the development the continent needs and the North can never do so for Africans. That is why massive investments in quality education are required. The North is ahead of the South generally and of Africa specifically in science and technology partly because it provides quality education to its people.

The North has also got strong political or government institutions which, Africa, if it is to get rid of the innumerable ills it faces, must build apace. Nonetheless, Magufuli, who seems intent on bringing about change in Africa or Tanzania, is silent in this regard. It is worth stressing that strong institutions are also key to Africa's transformation and development.

Conclusion

This paper has drawn on the ideological square to decode the discursive strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation deployed in the four texts from the North and the South analysed. The results have shown that Trump, the European Parliament, Maduro and Magufuli deployed semantic macrostructures, macro-speech acts and the active voice, among others, to do positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The paper concludes that the two sides deployed the

strategies because the North wants to continue dominating and exploiting the South, and the South wants to liberate itself from the chain the former placed around its neck centuries ago. The paper has also proffered several suggestions as to how the South could go it alone, with a bias towards Africa. Among the suggestions made is the need to revive the dream to form the United States of Africa and to provide quality (science) education to Africans all over the continent.

*** Kelvin Mathayo Lukanga**

Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics,
University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

kamugalo@yahoo.co.uk

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