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SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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**COURSE
GUIDE**

**JLS 826
SPEECH WRITING**

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Introduction

JLS 826: Speech Writing is a course that is available for students in the post graduate Journalism programmes. It addresses the basics of writing various types of speeches. It discusses language, style, and logic as well as presents selected speeches by various speakers locally and internationally.

This course guide provides you with the necessary information about the contents, process, and materials with which to read and understand the subject matter of the course. It is designed to guide you in planning your study so that you can get the best out of this course.

The guide also specifies the amount of time you are required to spend on each unit of the assignments. It also gives you some guidance on your Tutor Marked Assignments (TMA). You are advised to attend the tutorial classes to discuss your difficulties with your tutorial facilitators.

What You will Learn in this Course

As a communicator, speech writing is one thing you will have to do again and again as you climb up the social and academic ladders. If you are employed by an organization or work for a boss, you may be required once in a while to write a speech which your employer or your boss will present somewhere. If you are self-employed, you may be required, along the line, to prepare and present a speech at a business

forum, a social gathering and other forms of formal and informal gatherings. For some people, speech writing is a headache. Some people can talk on and on if they are not asked to write. But some of the people who will invite you, your boss or your organization to give a speech may request for a written text which they can file, distribute to journalists, give to their members or use in other ways they may deem necessary. It is important, for you therefore, not only to know how to write speeches, but also to be very familiar with different types and categories of speeches and how to write them.

In this course, you will be exposed to different skills required for effective speech writing. You will also participate in practical speech writing to enhance your speech writing skills. You will also have the opportunity of reading many speeches sourced from Nigeria and abroad. By reading through the various speeches and getting familiar with them, you will be encouraged to practice speech writing. Ultimately, your own writing skills will be enhanced.

This Course Guide is designed to show you what you will be doing in this course and to prepare you for the tasks you are expected to accomplish. It is important for you to read the Course Guide carefully and to be very familiar with its contents. This will enable you to get your work properly done and to get the best out of the course.

This course aims at introducing you to the art of speech writing. It also aims to equip you with the necessary skills to analyse and correctly report speeches.

Course Objectives

Upon successful completion of this course, you should be able to:

- 1.0 Identify types of speech;
- 2.0 Identify elements of good speech;
- 3.0 Discuss the qualities of a good speech; logical, language, and style;
- 4.0 Analyse and write good speeches.

Working through this Course

Ensure that you study each unit of the course carefully and thoughtfully. The table of contents, objectives, introduction, etc is all part of what you are expected to study. Do not overlook them. Although the course has been simplified to make it easy for you to understand, you may come across expressions that you may not readily understand or remember. In

such cases, use your dictionary. If you have questions, note them in writing so you can ask questions whenever an opportunity arises. You need to concentrate well.

The answers to the Self Assessment Exercises (SAEs) are not meant to be submitted, but they are as important as the Tutor-Marked Assignments. SAEs give you an opportunity to assess yourself and know the extent to which you understand a given topic. Work on them carefully and use them to assess your mastery of the topic.

Tutor-Marked Assignments are to be answered and submitted for marking. Answer and keep them in your assignment file for submission and marking.

Structure of the Course

JLS 826 is a 3-Credit Unit, course for postgraduate journalism students. There are a total of five modules in this course. Each module is broken down into five units. Therefore, you will find a total of twenty-five units in this course text. Some units are bigger than others, depending on the nature of what is being discussed in them. The five modules in this course text are as follows.

Module 1: Introduction to Speech Writing

Module 2: Types of Speech

Module 3: Steps towards Quality Speech Writing

Module 4: Logic, Language and Style

Module 5: Review of Selected Speeches

Each module starts with a description of the units contained in it, and each unit is preceded by a table of contents, an introduction, a list of objectives and the main content (including Self-Assessment Exercises, SAEs). At the end of each unit, you will see at least one standard Tutor-Marked Assignment (TMA) which you are expected attempt and submit for marking.

What you will need for the Course

The things you will need for this course are in two broad categories, namely material and non material. The material things include:

A quiet place devoid of noise and other distractions, where you can sit and do your work every week.

Files for your assignment

If you have access to a computer, good, but if you don't have access to one, do not worry.

Three biros, including a red one. The other two can be blue or black.

A good English dictionary, especially Oxford Advanced Learners or any other good one. A dictionary that teaches British English rather than American English is strongly recommended.

Ten sheets of paper with which you can do your practical speech writing exercises and assignments.

The non-material things which you need for this course include

- (a) Two -three continuous, uninterrupted hours weekly
- (b) Self-discipline and commitment to excellence
- (c) Honesty (the best policy)

Course Materials

The major components of the course are:

1. Course Guide
2. Study units
3. Textbooks and References
4. Assignment File

Study Units

There are twenty eight study units and a study Guide in this course, and they are as follows:

Module 1 Introduction to Speech Writing

- Unit 1 What Speech is, Its Importance and Why it is Written.
- Unit 2 The Communication Process
- Unit 3 The Historical Context of Speech Writing
- Unit 4 Basic Principles of Speech Writing

Module 2 Types of Speech

- Unit 1 Expository/Informative Speech
- Unit 2 Analytical Speech
- Unit 3 Persuasive Speech
- Unit 4 Technical Speech
- Unit 5 Other Types of Speech

Module 3 Steps towards Quality Speech Writing 1

Unit 1	Choosing the Topic
Unit 2	Analysing the Audience
Unit 3	Sourcing for Information
Unit 4	Outlining and Organising the Speech Contents
Unit 5	Writing the First Draft

Module 4 Logic, Language and Style in Speech Writing

Unit 1	Revisiting the Issue of Logic
Unit 2	Language- Related issues 1(Vocabulary)
Unit 3	Language- Related Issues 2(Punctuation).
Unit 4	Language- Related Issues 3(Grammar and Spelling)
Unit 5	Stylistic Issues

Module 5 Reviews of Selected Speeches

Unit 1	Haven't We Been There Before?-Wole Soyinka
Unit 2	2006 Budget Speech- President Olusegun Obasanjo
Unit 3	New Threats for Old- Margaret Thatcher
Unit 4	The Commonwealth: 'A Partnership of Equals'?- Rt. Hon. Don McKinnon
Unit 5	Towards A sustainable Future for Nigeria- Chief Emeka Anyaoku

Textbooks and References

At the end of each unit, you will see a list of Reference materials which were consulted while the course was being prepared. If you need any information outside the ones provided in this course Guide, you can contact the course facilitator at your study centre.

Assessment

There are two aspects of the assessment in this course; the tutor marked assignments, and a written examination. In doing these assignments, you are expected to apply knowledge acquired during the course. The assignment must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the presentation schedule and the assignment file. The work that you submit to your tutor for assessment will count for 30% of your total score.

Tutor-Marked Assignment

As explained in Working through the Course earlier, you will find Tutor-Marked Assignments at the end of every unit in this Course Text.

Remember to answer them as explained, and to keep them in your assignment file for submission. They will be marked and used to grade your performance.

Final Examination and Grading

The final examination for this course will be for three hours duration and will carry 70% percent of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions, which reflect the kind of self assessment exercises and the tutor marked problems you have previously encountered. All aspects of the course will be assessed. You should use the time between completing the last unit, and taking the examination to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your self assessment exercises and tutor marked assignments before the examination.

Course Marking Scheme

The following table lays out how the actual course marking is broken down.

Assessment	Marks
Assignments 1-4 (the best three of all the assignments submitted)	Four assignments submitted, the best three marked out of 10% Totaling 30%
Final examination	70% of overall course score
Total	100%

How to Get the Most from this Course

In distance learning, the study units replace the lecturer. The advantage is that you can read and work through the study materials at your pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to a lecturer.

Just as a lecturer might give you in- class exercise, your study units provide exercises for you to do at appropriate times. Each of the study units follows the same format. The first item is introduction to the subject matter of the unit and how a particular unit is intergrated with other units and the course as a whole.

Next is a set of learning objectives. These objectives, lets you know what you should be able to do, by the time you have completed the unit. You should use these objectives to guide your study. When you have finished the unit, you should go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives.

If you make a habit of doing this, you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course. Self assessment Exercises are interspersed throughout the units and answers are given at the end of the course. Working through these tests will help you to achieve the objectives of the units and prepare you for the assignments and the examination. You should do each Self assessment exercise as you come to it in the study units. Work through these when you have come to them.

Facilitators/Tutors and Tutorials

There are 15 hours of Tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor, as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignment, keep a close watch on your progress. And on difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must send your tutor marked assignment well before the due date. They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible. Do not hesitate, to contact your tutor by telephone or e-mail if you need help. Contact your tutor if:

- a) You do not understand any part of the assigned readings;
- b) You have difficulty with the self assessment exercise;
- c) You have a question or a problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only way to have face to face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefit from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will gain a lot from participating actively.

Conclusion

Speech writing is both a practical and a challenging endeavour. You now have a very good opportunity to learn new speech writing skills and to improve on old ones. Make good use of the opportunity.

Summary

What you make out of this course depends largely on you. This Course Guide has attempted to equip you with the information you need for a fruitful experience in the course. Speech Writing is a course which equips you with the basic requirements for writing and analyzing speeches for the mass media.

We wish you success in the programme.

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MODULE 1 INTRODUCTION TO SPEECH WRITING

Unit 1	What Speech is, Its Importance and why it is written
Unit 2	The Communication Process
Unit 3	The Historical Context of Speech Writing
Unit 4	General Principles of Speech Writing

UNIT 1 WHAT SPEECH IS, ITS IMPORTANCE AND WHY IT NEEDS TO BE WRITTEN

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5.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	What Speech is, it's Importance and why it needs to be written
3.2	What Speech is and Why it is Important
3.3	Why Speech May Need to be Written
3.4	An Example of a Written Speech
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Every day of the week, different speeches are made by different people at different places under different circumstances to produce different results. While a speech may be as simple, and as easy to understand as a one-on-one verbal interaction between two or more interlocutors, some are as complex as scientific theses shrouded in highly academic registers that non-scientists may find difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend. Some speeches may be as direct and straight forward as, for example, classroom lectures; while others are as circumlocutious as 56+'4' as long-winding political speeches whose undercurrents and full implications may not be immediately understood. No matter the nature or type of a speech, it needs to be understood by the hearers or readers if its objectives are to be achieved.

In this unit, we shall study what speeches are all about, why they are considered as being important, and why some speeches are normally written. We shall also look at some notable speeches and learn one or two things from them.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain what speech is, and why it is important
- discuss the rationale for having some speeches written
- outline some important features of notable speeches.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 What Speech is, it's Importance and why it needs to be written

3.2 What Speech is and Why it is Important

(a) What is Speech?

Simply put, speech refers to the act of speaking. You must have listened to some speeches in the past couple of years. Some of them perhaps are still fresh in your mind, while others may have faded. Some may have so moved you that you took an important action, while some spurred you into taking an important decision. Perhaps some made you to shed tears, while others made you to hate something, some one or some people, with a passion.

Speech is generally meant to be spoken, but sometimes it comes in a written form. In due course we shall see why some are written while others are unwritten. Some speeches are spontaneously rendered without prior preparation, while others are sketched out, with the speaker adding flesh to them as they are presented. Some are copiously written, with every detail spelt out, and the presenter adds nothing to them during the presentation. All he/she does is to read out the written text.

Speech may come in the form of an address by the Chairman of the Board of Directors of a company at the company's Annual General Meeting; an address by the Vice Chancellor of a university at a convocation or matriculation ceremony; an address by the president or the governor of a state (and even a local government chairman) at his inauguration or during the national day celebration; remarks by the friends of a deceased person before the corpse is lowered into the grave; comments by the speaker of a legislative chamber before the commencement of a new legislative year or session, etc.

Some speeches are rendered at formal gatherings while the milieu for some speeches is purely informal. Similarly, some speeches are long,

running into several hours, while others are very short, taking just a few minutes or seconds.

Speech, therefore, means different things to different people, but more often than not, speech is an oral presentation of statements aimed at eliciting a response from the hearers.

(b) Why Speech is Important

Speech has remained an important component of human life, existence and interaction since creation. Man (in a generic sense, including man and woman) has, over the years, communicated with his maker, his fellow man and even himself through various forms of speech. With his maker, man communicates through prayers, supplications, incantations, invocations, chants, and other forms of spiritual speech. Man exchanges ideas, pleasantries, etc with his neighbours through various types of speech, while through soliloquy and other forms of intrapersonal communication; man communicates and interacts with himself. The importance of speech as a means of communication and interaction is vividly seen from the immense setback, which people experience when they are confined to an environment in which they are unable to communicate with others. The capacity to interact is abridged for people in solitary confinement and this is considered as a serious form of punishment. They are unable to speak to others, and most times, they resort to speaking to self or God. That is why the speeches of such people are replete with esoteric experiences that other mortals may not easily understand. A good example is that of Apostle John, writer of the book of Revelations in the Bible, who was banished to the Island of Patmos for his Christian beliefs in the early days of Christianity. Understanding the books of Revelations is not as easy as understanding, for example the book of James, although both of them are books of the Bible.

One of the ways to appreciate the importance of man's ability to talk is to pretend for a few hours that you are unable to talk. Just keep quiet and try to communicate with others through motions. Motion to anyone around you that you would like to have a drink; that you want to know their names; that you love them, etc. It is not really easy. This shows that our speech simplifies several tasks and makes them easy to accomplish.

Speech makes it possible for us to express our feelings, likes, dislikes, etc. We don't really have to slap, kick, push or fight with people before they know our feelings. Our speech can do a better job. Although our actions are said to speak louder than words, it is easy for such actions to be misunderstood. In such circumstances, our words need to re-inforce

our actions. If you love your spouse, for example, the action of giving him/ her flowers may be excellent, but when you add the words “I love you”, the flowers are better appreciated. In corporate set ups, speech plays an important role in the induction of new employees into the organisation. New employees are not just thrown into the organization but cultured through various forms of speech to make them understand, appreciate, believe in, imbibe and subscribe to organizational values, goals, ethics, vision, mission and strategies. This is an important activity in business and other corporation organisations that are desirous of preserving their corporate identity and heritage. But they do not stop at the level of orientation, during send off ceremonies, end of year parties, anniversary celebrations, annual general meetings, etc; speeches are made to draw attention to the core values that keep the organization and its members together.

At the level of society, speech is a major tool of socialization. Through speech, new members of the community are welcome; erring members are chastised or cautioned; social values are enunciated or reiterated, etc. At initiation ceremonies, weddings, burials and other transitional ceremonies in the community, speeches are made with a view to promoting social values, integration and cohesion. Without this, integration and harmony may be threatened; social values may be destroyed, leading to a state of anomie.

At the political level, power and authority are exercised through speech. In our country, Nigeria, the first thing soldiers do whenever they abruptly terminate an elected government is to explain to us through the mass media what they have just done, why they had to do it, what they plan to do for us, what they expect from us, etc. Similarly, during political rallies and campaigns, politicians make very smooth speeches aimed at winning the people’s loyalty (or keeping such loyalty if they have already been won). In courts of law, judges’ pronouncements will determine whether an accused person will be released on bail or remanded in prison custody, etc. The judge does not need to use physical force. He verbalizes his decision or sentence, and it is carried out.

In the school environment, speech facilitates education. The teacher, tutor, lecturer, etc., does not just give reading materials and go away, through his speech or lecture, the contents of the reading materials are elucidated so that the students will understand better. Without this, the student may find it difficult to understand the course. They may even be confused, without the lecturer’s verbal explication of the text.

In public places, during emergencies, etc, speeches help to re-assure the people or to give emergency instructions as the case may be. If, for

example there are delays in delivering a public service and the people become apprehensive or even aggressive towards the service providers, a soothing speech can calm the frayed nerves while efforts are made to provide the service in question. If such a speech is not made, the people's anger could boil over, and many things could go wrong.

From the foregoing, I am sure you would agree that speeches are very important and that they help individuals, groups, organisations and the society to get properly organised. Without such an organization, the society could become chaotic, and life would not be worthwhile.

3.3 Why Speech May Need to be written

As Africans, we are very familiar with verbal speeches and oral traditions. In the time of our great grandparents, writing was not such an important thing in our part of the world. Many important ideas, information, practices, beliefs, etc, were communicated verbally. Today, many of such important ideas, etc, have been lost because of the impermanent nature of oral speech. People in some parts of the world say many uncomplimentary things about Africans. One of such remarks is that if you want to hide anything from an African, write it (in a book, etc) because it is believed that we lack a reading culture. Our generation must reverse this negative perception by reading properly and committing our ideas, principles, experiences, etc into writing for others to read. The Chinese believe that the faintest ink is better than the human memory. This is because of the ability of documents to outlive generations of human beings. We can say therefore, that writing helps to keep speeches alive. If a good speech is forgotten, it is as good as dead. But if it is preserved for successive generations through writing, it stays alive perpetually.

Written speech provides an opportunity to research into and understand the philosophy, principles, values and practices of a people in a particular epoch. If, for example, you want to understand the youth culture of the Americans in the 1970s, the writings of such youths or the writings of others about them could be a very useful source of information. If such written speeches are non-existent, a very important source of information would have been lost.

We are very familiar with certain errors which journalists commit regularly. If you don't want you or your boss to get into problem through being misquoted in the media, let your speeches be committed into writing and copies distributed to journalists. This may not totally remove the chances of being misquoted, but it reduces it. At least, if it exists in writing, you can argue that you were misquoted, but if it does not exist in writing, your argument may not hold water. If for example

you claim to have said “I believe I can fly”, a journalist may insist that he heard “I be witch; I can fly”.

Some speeches must be documented for legal purposes. A judge in a court of law, for example, needs to have his judgments documented as they provide a source of reference for subsequent legal debates and decisions. Similarly, speeches presented at annual general meetings of companies and other corporate bodies are supposed to be filed with the appropriate bodies as part of legal requirements. If this is not done, people could deny what they said.

Written speeches also help those involved to keep track of decisions. This is because speeches contain important decisions. If such decisions are not documented, it may be difficult to implement or even remember them.

3.4 An Example of a Written Speech

An example of a written speech is provided below. Study it carefully.

Speech 1- *The Justification for Change of Government*

(Maiden address to the Nation by General Ibrahim Babangida when he took over power as President and Commander- in-chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, after a palace coup on August 27, 1985)

When in December 1983, the former military leadership, headed by Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, assumed the reins of government; its accession was heralded in the history of this country. With the nation at the mercy of political misdirection and on the brink of economic collapse, a new sense of hope was created in the minds of every Nigerian.

Since January 1984, however, we have witnessed a systematic denigration of that hope. It was stated then that mismanagement of political leadership and a general deterioration in the standard of living – which had subjected the common man to intolerable suffering – were the reasons for intervention.

Nigerians have since then been under a regime that continued with those trends. Events today indicate that most of the reasons, which justified the military takeover of government from the civilians, still persist.

The initial objectives were betrayed and fundamental changes do not appear on the horizon. Because the present state of uncertainty, suppression and stagnation resulted from the perpetration of a small group, the Nigerian Armed Forces could not, as a part of that government, be unfairly committed to take responsibility for failure. Our dedication to the cause of ensuring that our nation remains a united entity worthy of respect and capable of functioning as a viable and credible part of the international community dictated the need to arrest the situation.

Let me at this point attempt to make you understand the premise upon which it became necessary to change the leadership. The principles of discussions, consultation and co-operation, which should have guided the decision-making process of the Supreme Military Council and the Federal Executive Council were disregarded soon after the government settled down in 1984. Where some of us thought it appropriate to give a little more time, anticipating a conducive atmosphere that would develop, in which affairs of state could be attended to with greater sense of responsibility, it became increasingly clear that such expectations could not be fulfilled.

Regrettably, it turned out the Major-General Muhammadu Buhari was too rigid and uncompromising in his attitudes to issues of national significance. Efforts to make him understand that a diverse polity like Nigeria required recognition and appreciation of differences in both cultural and individual perceptions, only served to aggravate these attitudes.

Major-General Tunde Idiagbon was similarly inclined in that respect. As Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, he failed to exhibit the appropriate disposition demanded by his position. He arrogated to himself absolute knowledge of problems and solutions, and acted in accordance with what was convenient to him, using the machinery of government as his tool.

A combination of these characteristics in the two most important persons holding the nation's vital offices became impossible to contend with. The situation was made worse by a number of other government functionaries and organizations, chief among which is the Nigerian Security Organisation (NSO). In fact, this body will be overhauled and reorganised.

And so it came to be that the same government, which received a tumultuous welcome, now became alienated from the people. To prevent a complete erosion of our given mandate, therefore, we had to act so that hope may be rebuilt.

Let me now address your attention to the major issues that confront us, so that we may, as one people, chart a future direction for our dear country. We do not intend to have all the answers to the questions, which our present problems have put before our nation. We have come with the strongest determination to create an atmosphere in which positive efforts shall be given the necessary support for lasting solutions.

For matters of the moment which require immediate resolution, we intend to pursue a determined programme of action. Major issues falling into this category have been identified and decisions taken on what should be done.

Firstly is the issue of political detainees or convicts of special military tribunals. The history of our nation had never recorded the degree of indiscipline and corruption as in the period between October 1979 and December 1983.

While this government recognizes the bitterness created by the irresponsible excesses of the politicians, we consider it unfortunate that methods of such nature as to cause more bitterness were applied to deal with past misdeeds. We must never allow ourselves to lose our sense of natural justice. The innocent cannot suffer the crimes of the guilty. The guilty should be punished only as a lesson for the future. In line with this government's intention to uphold fundamental human rights, the issue of detainees will be looked into with dispatch.

As we do not intend to lead a country where individuals are under the fear of expressing themselves, the Public Officers Protection Against False Accusation Decree No.4 of 1984 is hereby repealed. And finally, those who have been in detention under this decree are hereby unconditionally released. The responsibility of the media to disseminate information shall be exercised without undue hindrance. In that process, those responsible are expected to be forthright and to have the nation's interest as their primary consideration.

The issue of decrees has generated a lot of controversies. It is the intention of this government to review all other decrees.

The last twenty months have not witnessed any significant changes in the national economy. Contrary to expectations, we have so far been subjected to a steady deterioration in the general standard of living; and intolerable suffering by the ordinary Nigerian has risen higher, scarcity of commodities has increased, hospitals still remain mere consulting clinics, while educational institutions are on the brink of decay. Unemployment has stretched to critical dimensions.

Due to the stalemate, which arose in negotiation with the International Monetary Fund, the former government embarked on a series of counter-trade agreements. Under the counter-trade agreements, Nigerians were forced to buy goods and commodities at higher prices than obtained in the international market. The government intends to review the whole issue of counter-trade.

A lot has been said and heard about our position with the International Monetary Fund. Although we formally applied to the Fund in April 1983, no progress has as yet been made in the negotiation and a stalemate has existed for the last two years.

We shall break the deadlock that frustrated the negotiations with a view to evaluating more objectively both the negative and positive implications of reaching a mutual agreement with the Fund. At all times in the course of discussions, our representatives will be guided by the feelings and aspirations of the Nigerian people.

It is the view of this government that austerity without structural adjustment is not the solution to our economic predicament. The present situation whereby 44 per cent of our revenue earning is utilized to service debts is not realistic. To protect the danger this poses to the poor and the needy in our society, steps will be taken to ensure comprehensive strategy of economic reforms.

The crux of our economic problems has been identified to center around four fundamental issues:

1. A decrease of our domestic production, while our population continues to increase.
2. Dependence on import for both consumer goods and raw materials for our industries.
3. A grossly unequal gap between the rich and the poor.
4. The large role played by the public sector in economic activity with hardly any concrete result to justify such a role.

These are the problems we must confront.

On Foreign Policy: Nigeria's foreign policy in the last 20 months has been characterized by inconsistency and incoherence. It has lacked the clarity to make us know where we stood on matters of international concern to enable other countries relate to us with seriousness. Our role as Africa's spokesman has diminished because we have been unable to maintain the respect of African countries.

The ousted military government conducted our external relations by a policy of retaliatory reactions. Nigeria became a country that reacted to given situations, rather than taking the initiative as it should and had always done. Moreso, vengeful considerations must not be the basis of our diplomacy. African problems and their solutions should constitute the premise of our foreign policy.

The realization of the Organisation of African Unity, of the Lagos Plan of Action for self-sufficiency and constructive co-operation in Africa shall be our primary pursuit.

The Economic Community of West African States must be reborn with the view to achieving the objective of regional integration. The problems of drought-stricken areas of Africa will be given more attention and sympathy, and our best efforts will be made to assist in their rehabilitation within the limits of our resources. Our membership of the United Nations Organisation will be made more practical and meaningful. The call for a new International Economic order, which lost its momentum in the face of the debt crisis, will be made once again.

Nigeria hereby makes a renewed request to the Non-Aligned Movement to regroup and reinvigorate its determination to restructure the global economic system, while we appeal to the industrialized nations to positively consider the debt plight of the developing countries and assist in dealing with the dangers that face us. We shall remain members of the various multilateral institutions and inter-governmental organisations, which we belong to and do what must be done to enhance the membership and participation within them.

Fellow Nigerians, this country has had since independence a history mixed with turbulence and fortune. We have witnessed our rise to greatness, followed with a decline to the state of bewildered nation. Our human potentials have been neglected, our natural resources put to waste. A phenomenon of constant insecurity and overbearing uncertainty has become characteristic of our national existence.

My colleagues and I are determined to change the course of history. This government is determined to unite this country. We shall not allow anything to obstruct us. We recognize that a government, be it civilian or military, needs the consent of the people to govern if it is to reach its objectives. We do not intend to rule by force. At the same time, we should not be expected to submit to unreasonable demands. Fundamental rights and civil liberties will be respected, but their exercise must not degenerate into irrational expression nor border on subversion.

The War Against indiscipline will continue, but this time, in the minds and conduct of Nigerians, and not by way of symbolism or money spending companies.

This government, on its part, will ensure that the leadership exhibits proper example. Criticisms of actions and decisions taken by us will be given necessary attention and where necessary changes made in accordance with what is expected of us.

Let me reiterate what we said in 1984: This generation of Nigerians and indeed future generations have no other country but Nigeria. We must all stay and salvage it together. This time it shall be pursued with deeper commitment and genuine sincerity.

There is a lot of work to be done by every single Nigerian. Let us all dedicate ourselves to the course of building a strong, united and viable nation for the sake of our own lives and the benefit of posterity.

Finally, I wish to commend the members of the Armed Forces and the Nigeria Police for their mature conduct during the change.

I thank you all for your co-operation and understanding.

God Bless Nigeria.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

“A speech is a speech. Whether it is written or unwritten makes no difference”. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Speech is an important component of human life and existence. Whether written or unwritten, speeches affect human life, interaction and development in several ways. The advent of new media of communication constitutes no obstacle to the primacy of speech; rather it provides an opportunity to modernize and even improve the propagation of speech. When speech is committed into writing, its benefits are multiplied. It is important therefore, to commit speeches into writing, even if they were not written at the time they were presented. That way, subsequent generations can take advantage of today's wisdom, and the chances of being misquoted as well as being misunderstood would be reduced.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has focused on what speech is, its importance and why it is needful for speeches to exist in a written form. On what speech is, it was explained that simply put, speech is the act of speaking or verbal communication. Forms of speech such as formal and informal; written and unwritten as well as long and short were also mentioned.

On the importance of speech, it was explained, among other things, that speech is an essential component of human life, existence and interaction; that it simplifies human tasks and that it facilitates the expression of feelings, likes, dislikes, etc. Other things attributed to speech include socialization, exercise of political power and authority, education, reassurance and instructions in public places and in emergencies. Finally, it was explained that generally, speech helps society to be properly organized.

Several reasons why speech may need to be written were discussed in this unit. These include the fact that writing speeches helps to keep such speeches and the accompanying memories alive; facilitates research into the philosophy, principles, values and practices of people in a given epoch; reduces the risk of misquotation and misunderstanding; serves legal purposes; and helps to keep track of decisions. In addition to these, an example of a written speech was also provided in the unit.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Read carefully through the speech titled “Justification for Change of Government” in this unit and write out ten of the reasons given by General Babangida for toppling the regime of General Muhammadu Buhari.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 2 THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 The Communication Process
 - 3.2 Definitions of Communication
 - 3.3 Models of the Communication Process
 - 3.4 Types of Communication
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Speech writing is an aspect of the phenomenon called communication. This implies that speech writing does not just exist on its own, but is a component of a larger process. The larger process, of course, is communication.

In this unit, we shall study what communication is, look at various models of the communication process and also examine some types of communication as a way of laying a solid foundation for our study of speech writing.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define communication
- explain the models of the communication process
- discuss types of communication.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Communication Process

3.2 Definitions of Communication

There are very many definitions of communication. This is partly explained by the fact that communication can be studied from diverse perspectives. Communicators, linguists, sociologists, psychologists, philosophers and several other scholars study communication and have

proffered different definitions of communication. Many of these definitions are influenced by the background of the scholar, who proffers the definition. Even among communicators, there are diverse approaches to the study of communication and this has produced a plethora of definitions. There are also a number of multi-disciplinary definitions of communication, yet none of the definitions is self-sufficient or universally acceptable. For the present purpose, let us look at the following definitions of communication: Communication can be defined as:

- i. “Social interaction through messages”-Gebner
- ii. “ The process of sending and receiving messages”-Sanborn
- iii. “The process whereby someone sends a message to someone else and receives a response”-Hedebro
- iv. “ The sharing of meaning” – Hovland
- v. “The process of using signs and symbols which elicit meaning in another person or persons” Sarbough.
- vi. “The process of sending and receiving messages, and it occurs whenever we express ourselves in a manner that is clearly understood”-McCutcheon, Schaffer & Wycoff.

All these definitions emphasise a form of interaction through the sending and receiving of messages. It must be noted that feedback is an essential component of communication. Simply put, feedback is the reaction that results from the receiver’s understanding of the message. It could be in the form of symbols, actions, words, body language, etc. Communication cannot be said to have taken place unless there is a feedback.

It is also important to note that in the process of communication, a set of symbols which are understood by the parties involved in communication are used. The ultimate goal of communication is to promote understanding, and unless there is mutual intelligibility, communication cannot be effective. Effective communication is that which produces the desired result. Imagine what happens when one person speaks or writes and others cannot understand him/her. The outcome is misunderstanding or failed communication.

3.3 Models of Communication

Communicators and other scholars have, over the years, tried to describe what happens in the process of communication. As a result, many of them have come up with models of what they believe happens in communication. Such models are meant to explain and facilitate the understanding of what happens in communication.

According to Folarin (1998:50) a model is a symbolic representation designed to help us visualize the relationships among various elements of a structure, system or process, for purposes of discussion and analysis.

Below are some models of communication:

1. Shannon and Weaver(Mathematical Model)

This model simply shows that in every communication situation, there is a source, a transmitter or an encoder, a message, a channel, a receiver/decoder and a destination. The source is the originator of the message; the message can be music, news or any other content; the transmitter may be a person, group of persons or an organization; the channel may be oral, visual, tactile or other channels; and the receiver or decoder, as the name implies, is the person that receives or interprets the message. It is possible that the receiver is not the final destination of the message, hence the provision for a destination.

Noise, in the model, refers to anything that serves as a distraction or hindrance in the communication process. It can be a misspelling, use of difficult-to-understand or strange expressions, or any other thing that makes the message incomprehensible. Noise also includes things that make the expression to have an unintended meaning. In written communication, poor handwriting, typographical errors and other such things may amount to noise, while in speech or verbal communication, improper pronunciation, mother tongue interference, etc, are all part of noise. Feedback, the signal which the Sender receives from the Receiver or the Destination in response to the message, is an essential component of this model. It is believed that this model, because of its origins in Information Theory (a structural system) may not satisfactorily explain human communication (which is a functional system)

2. Berlo Model

This model has four elements, namely Source, Message, Channel and Receiver. Berlo also calls the sender the Encoder, and the Receiver he calls the Decoder. But usually, the Source is not necessarily the same as the Encoder, and the Receiver may be different from the Decoder. For example, a busy Chief Executive can be the Source, who may ask his secretary to encode a message. The Secretary then becomes the Encoder, but the real Source remains the busy Chief Executive. Similarly, a message Receiver may enlist the assistance of somebody to decode a message for him. That person who decodes becomes the Decoder, but the original Receiver remains the Receiver. In these two instances, Sender and Encoder as well as Receiver and Decoder are different.

This model emphasizes the primacy of skills, attitudes and knowledge which the participants bring into communication. The social and cultural contexts of communication are also emphasized.

3. ABX/Co-orientation Model

According to this model, A and B are the participants in communication, and X refers to any object or event in the environment. It is explained that A and B are communicating about X, that is issues/ events, etc in the environment. The model draws attention to the important role of the orientations of the encoder and decoder towards each other and to the object of communication. That is how it became known as the Co-orientation model. It was developed in the 1960s by McCombs. This model also emphasizes that there must be a feedback for communication to be complete. It is also known as the McCombs model (after the person who developed it) and also the Triangular model (because of the triangular nature of its graphic illustration)

4. Lasswell (Interrogative) Model

This model focuses on: Who says What in which Channel to Whom and with what Effect. It is an interrogative model because it uses questions to provide an explanation. The key element in the model as can be seen are the information source (Who); the message (says What); the channel (in which channel); the receiver (to Whom) and feedback (with what effect). This model shares some similarity with the Shannon and Weaver model and is very popular among journalists who use the interrogative elements in the model and an additional “How” as the framework for analysing news stories. This model was developed in 1948.

There are several other models of communication. As in the case of definitions of communication, those who developed the models of communication were influenced by their backgrounds. For example, Claude Shannon, one of those who developed the Shannon and Weaver model, was not a mass communicator per se. He was a telephone transmission engineer and his main purpose was to enhance the understanding of what takes place in the transmission of messages via the telephony system. That is why he initially did not include Feedback as an element in his model. Warren Weaver, with whom he shares the credit for this model added this crucial element later on.

It is important to realize that communication is always aimed at creating an effect. Communication does not take place aimlessly. The person taking part in communication has an intended effect in mind. The intended effect may be to convey a message, transmit an idea or a heritage, change an attitude, create a desire, arouse a feeling, etc.

Therefore, there are different likely feedbacks or responses to communication. It is generally believed that effective communication would produce the desired effect. If the desired effect is not produced, communication cannot be said to be effective. It must be noted, however, that some effects of communication may not be seen immediately. These are called delayed effects.

It should also be noted that communication is ubiquitous. This means that communication is ever-present. One cannot stop communicating because communication is ever-present in every human action or inaction. We communicate consciously or unconsciously. This explains why some scholars have said that 'we cannot not communicate'. Various actions and inactions can be interpreted as acts of communication, just as it is usually believed that silence speaks volumes. Actions and inactions such as silence, dressing, etc, can attract a variety of interpretations.

There are also a number of things that can hinder effective communication. These may include things done or left undone in the communication process. Some barriers to effective communication include the following:

- (a) Physical barriers such as interfering sounds, poor handwriting, typographical errors, smudges in a written text, etc.
- (b) Psychological barriers such as emotions, wandering thoughts, previous experiences, etc.
- (c) Social barriers such as status in the society, background, nature of relationship, etc.
- (d) Linguistic barriers such as the use of unfamiliar expressions, wrong use of words, grammatical errors, long-winding sentences, etc.
- (e) Process barriers such as the things people do while communicating (like chewing and talking at the same time; some forms of gesticulation; etc)

3.4 Types of Communication

There are various types of communication, and there are also many factors that can be used in delineating the type of communication. Some writers believe that there are four types of communication, namely human communication, animal communication, machine communication and others. To such writers, categories such as intra-personal communication, interpersonal communication, group communication, etc, are levels of communication; not types of communication. Many other writers share a contrary view and express the belief that the later classification (i.e. intra-personal, interpersonal, group, etc) actually refers to types of communication. In this text, we

shall adopt the later approach. This will give us the following types of communication:

1. Intra-personal Communication

This refers to communication within a single individual. The individual is both the source and the receiver; the encoder as well as the decoder of the message. It may be in the form of an individual talking to himself (soliloquy), singing to himself or engaging in other acts of communication within himself or herself. Have you ever written a poem for yourself or recited one for yourself? Have you ever told your self: "I am not afraid. I am victorious" etc? All these are forms of communication within you alone, so they are intra-personal communication.

2. Inter-personal Communication

This form of communication involves, at least, two individuals. It may be face-to-face or mediated (through telephone, letters or other means of communication) When you speak with your boss, employee, spouse, child or subordinate, one-on-one, through the intercom or through the telephone, that is interpersonal communication. The letter your younger brother or sister writes to you, asking for money or for a favour, is also a form of inter-personal communication.

3. Group Communication

This is communication within any group of persons. A group is usually made up of a limited number of people who have something in common. When you sit with some of your classmates at your lecture centre to discuss a topic or an issue, it qualifies as group communication. When the course lecturer talks to the class as a group, it is group communication. When you and a few of your colleagues gather at lunch time to relax and discuss current affairs, that is group communication. Always remember that a group is not made up of a large number of people.

4. Organisational Communication

This form of communication involves organisations or corporate entities. It may involve the use of memos, newsletters, etc. If the University of Lagos (Unilag) writes to the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN), authorising the use of some lecture halls at Akoka as study centres for NOUN, that form of communication is organisational. If your employer writes to NOUN, to confirm if you are truly a registered student of NOUN, it amounts to organisational

communication. Organisational communication can be internal or external. It is internal if the organisation is communicating with insiders such as staff, directors, etc. It is external if the organisation is communicating with outsiders such as contractors, suppliers, customers, regulatory authorities, etc.

5. Mass Communication

This refers to the mass production and distribution of messages for the consumption of large heterogeneous audiences dispersed in diverse locations. The expression 'heterogeneous audiences' simply refers to audiences that are made up of people who have different characteristics. For example, if the audience is made up of people who are young, teenagers, middle aged people, the elderly, males and females, educated and uneducated people, etc, such a group is said to be heterogeneous because the characteristics of members of the group are different. Mass communication involves the use of the mass media such as books, newspapers, television, radio, magazines, etc. to reach large numbers of people.

6. International Communication

This is communication across borders among nations or people of different nationalities. Sometimes it is referred to as inter-cultural communication. It must be noted however, that inter-cultural communication may involve different cultures within a given nation. If the government of the United States of America appeals to the government of Nigeria to help ensure that American hostages in the Niger Delta are released, that would amount to international communication. If members of the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, write to congratulate Nigeria on the success of Nigeria's elections, that would be categorized as international communication.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What is the main difference between definitions of communication and models of communication?

4.0 CONCLUSION

The study of communication is a multi-disciplinary activity. Many of those who have contributed to our understanding of communication are from other disciplines. Yet, their contributions have facilitated better understanding of communication. This unit has looked at some of those contributions in the area of definitions as well as models. A good

understanding of these will set the stage for proper understanding of what we shall discuss later about speech communication.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit began by looking at definitions of communication. Although there are very many definitions of communication resulting from the diverse backgrounds of those defining communication, only six of such definitions were presented in this unit.

In this unit, four models of communication were also discussed. These include the Shannon and Weaver (Mathematical model), the Berlo model, ABX/Co-orientation model, and the Lasswell (interrogative model). To round off the section on models of communication, some of the barriers to effective communication were discussed. These include physical barrier, psychological barrier, social barrier, process barrier and linguistic barrier.

Six types of communication were also discussed in this unit. These include intra-personal communication, inter-personal communication, group communication, organisational communication, mass communication and international communication. The main essence of this unit has been to draw attention to what communication is, the things that go into communication, the types of it that exist, and the factors that can hinder effective communication. All these are meant to set the stage for a proper understanding of speech as a form of communication.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Write a critique of each of the following, relating them to your understanding of the communication process:

- (a) ABX/Co-orientation model of communication
- (b) The Shannon and Weaver model of Communication
- (c) The Berlo model of communication
- (d) The Lasswell model of communication

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UNIT 3 THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SPEECH WRITING

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 The Historical Context of Speech Writing
 - 3.2 Historical Overview of Speech Communication
 - 3.3 The Invention of Printing and the Development of Speech Writing
 - 3.4 Early Training in Speech Making
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Speech writing is not just another modern day development. It has existed for a long time. Although speech writing owes its development to the invention of writing, this practice has existed for a very long time. In this unit, we shall take a look at the past to see what really happened, and how speech writing has developed over time.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain how speech writing has developed over the years
- discuss various contributions to the development of speech writing.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Historical Context of Speech Writing

3.2 Historical Overview of Speech Writing

For as long as human beings have existed on earth, speech making has existed. Speech is apparently the most basic form of communication that man has used since creation. In man's interaction with his maker, with nature and with his neighbour, speech has featured prominently.

In the Bible's account of man's early interaction with God, speech was most pronounced as God spoke with man one-on-one. This is most likely to be the situation with the two other great religions, Islam and Judaism, since the three share a lot in common, especially on issues relating to the early origins of man.

Through various phases of human history, many factors seemed to strengthen speech as a form of communication. These include the following among others:

- (a) It is a most basic form of intelligible communication and requires less elaborate training. A young child in the community of human beings soon learns how to speak. He learns this much earlier and much faster than he learns the art of writing.
- (b) Except in a few special cases, all human beings have a capacity for speech. This capacity can be developed to various extents in human beings.
- (c) There is a certain warmth that accompanies the spoken word. This contrasts sharply with the coldness of written communication and other forms of communication.
- (d) Speech provides a form of social control. Human beings need not resort to fighting because issues can be talked over and possibly resolved amicably.
- (e) Human beings used to live in small communities, and it was more convenient to talk verbally so that anybody within earshot could benefit from the communication.
- (f) In speech, it is easier to pour out one's heart and emotions. Other forms of communication may not vividly convey such emotions as speech does. Pouring out such emotions is believed to have therapeutic benefits.

However, in spite of the numerous advantages of speech as a form of human communication, it also had some setbacks. For example, it was ephemeral and could not be relied on as evidence if it was not recorded in a non-ephemeral form. A person who made an oral statement could later deny it, even when there were eye witnesses. Such oral speeches could even be distorted. Somebody could insist he said "I believe I can fly" while his hearers could insist he said "I be witch, I can fly". It became obvious that as good as oral communication was, reducing it to writing or recording it in a retrievable form such as writing was very important if it was to be preserved as a permanent record.

Before the advent of printing technology, there were various ways in which communication in 'writing' was consummated. As Enemaku (2005) explains, the classical instance as described in the Bible (Exodus 31: 18) offers an excellent example. God reportedly gave to Moses, the leader of the Jews in the era of the Exodus, two tablets of stones on Mount Sinai in the wilderness of Persia as the Israelites migrated en masse from Egypt where they had suffered untold hardship. The two tablets of stone containing God's testimony inscribed by His own hands were handed over to Moses who, in turn, was supposed to read them to the people. It is evident that in the days after this classical instance, etching letters on stones and other hard surfaces became popular. The problem, however, was that although this method ensured that the texts survived for long periods, mass circulation was difficult because the letters had to be carefully etched by diligent craftsmen.

Formal written communication later began, with the invention of the ink, and scribes took over the duty of writing. The scribes wrote long scripts on broad sheets called 'scroll' which could be rolled up at both ends. At this point, the status of 'writing' as a skill for a few skilled craftsmen gradually began to change. There are accounts of original scripts containing valuable information which were discovered much later.

3.3 The Invention of Printing and the Development of Speech Writing

There are various accounts relating to the invention of printing. One account traces it to the development of papyrus in Ancient Egypt, from a sea plant that grew on the banks of the River Nile. It is believed by many writers that this was the first type of 'paper' that ever existed. The word paper is believed to have got its name from 'papyrus', the main ingredient in the first 'paper' known to man. Papyrus was processed and used as the equivalent of modern day paper as scripts were written on it.

Some schools of thought trace the production of the first hand-made paper to Ts'ai Lun, a Chinese philosopher. The first paper mill in Europe is believed to have been built in Spain 300 years after the coronation of Emperor Charlemagne in Rome. He was coronated in 800 AD. The mill was said to have been built by the Arabs. By 1495, Britain had built the first paper mill in England.

Two important things need to be remembered about the early forms of paper. Firstly, they were – hand made, and this did not encourage mass use because what was produced was highly limited in quantity. The 500 mills in Germany around 1800, for example, were reported to be capable of producing only a total of 1,250 tonnes of paper. Secondly, early paper

was produced largely from cotton rags. It was much later that wood, as an essential ingredient for paper production, was discovered.

Germany gave the world the first paper – making machine in 1803, and this revolutionised paper making as more paper was produced, making its use more popular and cheaper.

Until 1440, everything that was read, including speeches, was hand-written. But in 1440, Johannes Gutenberg, a German, invented the separate movable type. The word ‘type’ simply refers to a letter, number or any other character used in printing. Gutenberg’s invention was a watershed in the history of printing for the following reasons:

- (i) It removed the tedium associated with hand written form as printers could now use the same type repeatedly
- (ii) It became faster and cheaper to produce materials for reading.

Although modern printing has gone far beyond the use of the “type” that Gutenberg gave to the world, his initial invention provided a basis for further development of the type. Today, various forms and sizes of type exist, and it is now much easier to produce large volumes of reading materials, including books, journals and newspapers, among others.

It is believed that the invention of printing was a big boost to the art of speech writing. It was not only possible to get a speech written, it was now possible to reproduce a written speech, in print, and get copies circulated to the audience before, during or after the speech presentation. This encouraged more statesmen, nobles and other speech makers to put their speeches into writing for mass circulation. Even people who missed a live speech presentation could now access a verbatim text of such speeches. This was a great development in the history of speech writing.

3.4 Early Training in Speech Making

The earliest forms of formal training in speech are traceable to Ancient Greece, particularly among the Athenians. The dictatorial era was being replaced by democracy, and individuals were expected to be able to speak out their minds publicly. With the overthrow of Thrasybulus the dictator, many citizens resorted to the law courts to re-possess their property that had been unjustly confiscated. It was also expected that individuals should be able to plead their cases in lawsuits since attorneys to defend people in court as we have today were non-existent.

Among the Greeks and Romans public speech making was respected, practiced and refined. Rhetorics, which became the first formalized form

of training in speech making was formulated by the Athenians. It involved the art of practical speech making and persuasive public communication. Rhetorics, then, was a positive training aimed at improving people's ability to speak in public effectively and with a sense of responsibility. Unlike the present meaning of rhetoric which implies empty speech, Rhetorics then was a well-respected art, and its formal study is believed to have started in Syracuse. It had a specific curriculum which was aimed at making citizens skilled public communicators.

Corax, a Sicilyan Greek observed that while some citizens were effective in pleading their cases, some were unable to do so, even when they had good cases. He then developed and published a manual on persuasive public speaking. He is acknowledged as the first person to do this. In the manual, Corax explained that effective speech should have three main parts, namely an introduction, a discussion and a conclusion.

The introduction, according to Corax, should seek to gain the friendly attention of judges, while the discussion or narrative should logically set out the argument of the case. The conclusion, he said, should summarise the key arguments and pray for a just verdict.

Although Corax's contribution was significant, Aristotle is reputed to be the most significant contributor to speech communication because he was the first to publish a full text on the subject. His publication *Rhetorics* was published in 330 BC. Aristotle made the audience the central focus in his theory of communication and went ahead to identified three "proofs" that a public speaker could use in preparing and presenting a good public speech.

The most notable contribution of the Romans to formal training in speech making came after the collapse of the Athenian empire in 404 BC. Rome, which was just growing, had a form of democracy, which, though not very strong, involved a strong degree of freedom of speech. This encouraged education in public speech making and many Romans undertook formal training in speech making. Two major Roman contributors to literature on public speaking include Cicero, a statesman who wrote several books on the subject and an unknown author who also wrote a seminal work on it.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Trace the history of speech making and speech writing from the earliest times to the present time, highlighting major contributions.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Speech making as well as speech writing have come a long way. At every point in time, different people under different circumstances have contributed to its evolution and development.

The Greeks and Romans of old were able to contribute to the development of speech communication because of the wind of democracy that began to blow in their societies. Today, the wind of democracy has reached Nigeria. The ball is now in the court of Nigerians to add their own contributions and write their names on the sands of time. You are encouraged to take advantage of the opportunity offered by this course to prepare yourself to make such meaningful and lasting contributions.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has focused on the historical context of speech writing, tracing it to the earliest times of human existence as explained in the Bible. Speech, it was, explained, has existed with man since creation, while speech writing, in its written form, began much later. Some of the factors that have strengthened speech as a form of communication were also discussed. These include its nature as a basic form of human communication requiring fewer complexes or elaborate training; man's innate capacity for speech; the warmth of speech; its capacity to enhance social control; its ease as a means of communication since people lived in small communities and its therapeutic effect as a means of pouring out people's emotions. This discussion dovetailed into the consideration of some of the weaknesses of speech as a form of communication. The main weaknesses include its ephemeral nature and ease of distortion.

The unit also examined the way writing was done before the invention of printing; then we took a look at the invention of printing as well as the contribution of that invention to the development of speech writing.

The history of formal training in speech making was also traced to ancient Greece and Rome. The Athenian Greeks, it was explained pioneered the process. The contribution of Corax, a Sicilyan Greek who published the first manual on persuasive public speaking was discussed. The contributions of Aristotle, who published the first complete text on the subject was also discussed. Two Romans, namely Cicero, author of several books on the subject, and an unknown writer who published a seminal work, were also discussed in the unit.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss the contributions of the following to the development of speech making and speech writing:

- (a) The Greeks
- (b) The Romans
- (c) Aristotle
- (d) Cicero

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 4 BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SPEECH WRITING

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Principles can be defined as general rules or ideas that guide a given activity. Speech writing is guided by a number of principles that are meant to improve the quality of the written speech. While some of such principles are specific to speech writing, others are general principles aimed at ensuring effective and mutually intelligible communication. In this unit, we shall study some of such principles.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the principles that guide speech writing
- apply those principles in your speech writing.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Basic Principles of Speech Writing

3.2 Principles Applicable to Both Speech Making and Speech Writing

Many of the principles that guide the making and writing of speeches came into existence very long ago. Aristotle in his *Rhetorics*, which was published in 330 BC, mentioned the importance of placing the audience at the centre of the speech. This implies that the speaker should have the audience in mind, because the speech is not really meant for the speaker or writer but for the audience that is being addressed. In modern terms,

we talk about being audience-friendly, which means speaking or writing for the audience in a way that they can get the best out of the speech. Some speakers and speech writers speak and write in a way that puts the audience off, making such an audience to get little or nothing from the speech. A speaker or writer, who uses words and other expressions that members of the audience cannot understand or identify with, is not being audience-friendly. The audience should be the central focus. The speaker or speech writer should not write or speak to impress himself. The main aim should be to communicate in a way that the audience can understand and benefit maximally from the contents of the speech.

It is very important for speakers or speech writers to understand the audience very well so as not to speak or write above or below their (audience's) level. A speaker or speech writer who ignores this is not putting the audience at the centre. Such a speaker or writer has failed to observe one of the most basic principles of speech; the principle of putting the audience at the centre.

The basic way of understanding the audience is to carry out an audience analysis. McCutcheon, Schaffer and Wycoff (1994:331) explain that we can understand the audience by studying their demographics (or demographic characteristics) which simply mean the social, economic and cultural characteristics of the people we are addressing. The authors suggest that before addressing any audience, the speaker or writer should find out if members of the audience are likely to come from the same area or neighbourhood; if they are likely to be about the same age, and if they are likely to share the same political view. More specifically, the writers suggest that we should ask the following questions about the audience:

1. How many people of what age and what sex will be present?
2. What are their interests, attitudes and beliefs?
3. What do they know about the subject?
4. What is their attitude toward it (that is, their attitude to the subject)?

Every society has its own socio-cultural and political realities, and these must be factored in when doing audience analysis. The Americans or the British may not be overly bothered about the educational level of their audiences. But our own reality in Nigeria is that many of our people are illiterates and may not understand certain ideas, principles and expressions. We must therefore consider the educational background of the people we are speaking to, their cultural and social backgrounds, etc. Some times, religion plays an important role in how people will understand or receive what we are telling them. This too, must be factored in if we want to be properly understood by the audience.

In summary, good speech should take into consideration factors such as age, sex, education, background, economic as well as social status, etc, of members of the audience for whom the speech is meant. As McCutcheon, Schaffer and Wycoff (1994:13) rightly advise, a speech writer or presenter should first ask himself or herself the following questions:

1. Is this material appropriate for this group?
2. How would I feel if I were asked the question I am asking?
3. Am I giving my audience new information?
4. Is my material too difficult or too easy for my audience?

Another principle of speech which was relevant in the past and is still relevant today is an ethical principle. Speech must be ethically guided, and should not be made up of falsehoods, half-truths, dishonesty, etc. The Greeks insisted that a public speaker should be responsible. In 4BC, for example, Plato criticized teachers of persuasive public speaking who failed to incorporate the principle of responsibility. Some sophist teachers (who taught their students the art of sophistry) groomed those students to win arguments by all means, including dishonest means. Plato, like other Greeks, spoke against this and insisted on truth, honesty and responsibility.

The Romans were also concerned with this ethical aspect of speech. Quintilian, for example, insisted on ethics and went ahead to develop what is known as the goodman theory which simply states that a good communicator should be both morally upright and eloquent. In his book titled *The Institutes of Oratory* in which he set out the good man theory, Quintilian notes that “It would be tragic to let the power of speech be an accomplice of crime; the foe of innocence and the enemy of truth”. This shows the depth of concern with truth and other ethical principles in those days.

Even in contemporary times, the principles of ethical responsibility are still very relevant. McCutcheon, Schaffer and Wycoff strongly believe that every communicator should aim at communicating positively. They believe that a speech writer or speaker should exhibit a solid work ethic, a sense of integrity, compassion for others, and personal honesty. They insist that a good speech writer or presenter should give priority to being a good person. They also explain that words should build, inspire, and motivate others, and that such words should not belittle or deceive others. In their own words “...when comedians use words to insult; when politicians use words to distort; when teachers use words to condemn; when businesspeople use word to justify ruining the environment, or when students spread rumours about other students, they are doing an injustice to what speech should do”.

It should be noted, however, that honest disagreement in speech is not synonymous with ethical irresponsibility. Two speakers can disagree on the alleged third term agenda of President Olusegun Obasanjo without resorting to falsehood, name-calling and “gutter language”. Differences in knowledge, belief and attitude to issues and to life generally can be communicated in both written and spoken speech without resort to words and other expressions whose use is believed to be insulting or unethical.

There are four main areas of responsibility that are usually emphasized in speech writing and presentation. Let us examine these briefly.

1. Responsibility to Oneself

A speech writer or presenter has responsibility to believe in himself and to be faithful to what he or she is writing or speaking about. Simply put, if you are not committed to what you are saying, do not say it. If you do not believe in an idea, do not espouse it; be true to yourself; be honest to your convictions. In Nigeria, we have many bad examples. Under the military regime, state governors and other public officers spoke about transparency, probity and accountability, while they looted the public treasury. The same thing happens under the civilian administration. Politicians promise heaven on earth and deliver hell fire. They promise dividends of democracy but deliver poverty to the people. This implies that many of them are not responsible to themselves. When you make a promise that you know you cannot keep, you are not being responsible to yourself. When you help your boss to write speeches that are deceitful, to manipulate the public or to deceive the public, you are also being irresponsible to yourself.

2. Responsibility to the Audience

This implies that every speech prepared and delivered should reflect a measure of respect for the audience. It is wrong to assume that the audience is made up of people who lack the capacity to think. If your audience is made up of human beings, you would do well to ascribe to them a measure of intelligence or the capacity to think and decide. If you look down on them, you are not being responsible to them; neither talk above them or below them. Talk to them intelligently and honestly. Also ensure that you do not waste their time unnecessarily. By coming to listen to you, the audience is making a sacrifice. Make the sacrifice worthwhile by giving value to members of your audience. Do not sell them a dummy; offer them your best.

3. Responsibility to Speech Content

The speech should be logical. Some speeches are illogical, meaning that they are lacking in the quality of thinking or presentation of evidence. Such speeches cannot convince or persuade the audience. If a speech is meant to explain, convince or persuade, the argument in it should be logical. There should be sufficient evidence, and such evidence should be logically presented. If supporting evidence is presented haphazardly, its strength may diminish or be weak.

What some speeches require is emotional appeal; not necessarily reason. The responsibility of the speech writer or presenter in such a circumstance is to include sufficient emotional appeal to move the audience. Relying on logic alone may be insufficient. We shall discuss this in greater detail later on, but for now, let us realize that various appeals are required in different circumstances. The speech writer or presenter should be responsible to the speech content by using the most appropriate appeal while not compromising ethics. Let us look at a small example. The Bar Beach at Victoria Island, Lagos, has been surging frequently of late, sometimes overflowing the banks and submerging the Ahmadu Bello Way and the neighbourhood. If the situation gets worse (God forbid) and the government decides to evacuate residents of the area, do not be surprised that some residents will refuse to be evacuated because of their emotional attachment to the neighbourhood. Some will prefer to die there rather than be evacuated. Examples from New Orleans, U.S.A, would confirm this. Some residents will argue that it is illogical to abandon their homes because of Tsunami or tidal waves. Some will explain that death is a necessary end, irrespective of where a human being chooses to live, and that there is no need to run away from one's home because of death. In addressing such people, logical proof of danger may be insufficient. They are aware of the looming danger and they are aware of the consequences of the looming danger, but they are emotionally attached to their homes. An emotional response to their emotional situation may be more appropriate. Therefore, responsibility to speech content would demand that emotional appeal be used rather than logical appeal in this instance.

4. Responsibility to Society at Large

Every speech writer or presenter should be responsible to the society at large. One of the benefits of democracy is freedom of speech. The speech writer or presenter should contribute to the sustenance of that freedom by avoiding things that could destroy democracy. In enjoying our freedom of speech, we should also know that we have a responsibility to contribute to the entrenchment of that freedom. This we can do by speaking only on issues we are well- informed about; basing

our speech on sound argument and creating an opportunity for other members of the society to express themselves freely. If we enjoy freedom of speech and we deprive others of that freedom, we are not being responsible to the society from which we got that freedom. If we use our freedom of speech to destroy other members of the society or to sabotage the society, we are not being responsible. If we overlook human needs and use our speech to ridicule the less privileged, and other vulnerable groups, we are not being responsible. In law, there is a concept of jural correlate, which implies that rights go with certain responsibilities. If those responsibilities are not discharged, our ability to enjoy the rights may be affected sooner or later.

3.3 Principles Specific to Speech Writing

To understand some of the principles that are specific to written speech, it is important to mention some of the qualities that distinguish written speech from spoken speech.

Written speech gives the writer an opportunity to properly think through the speech, commit it into writing, prepare a draft, read through and revise several times. This means that the speech writer is given enough rope to tie himself or herself, or so to say. While errors in spoken speech can be explained away as ‘a slip of the tongue’, a speechwriter has no such luxury. He is both responsible and liable for whatever he/she has committed into writing, and cannot claim ignorance or innocence. This requires the speech writer to be more careful and more diligent.

The speech reader may never get to meet the speech writer. The reader may therefore not have an opportunity to ask for clarifications or further explanation. This makes it imperative for the speech writer to do more work in ensuring that the reader understands the contents of the speech.

Written speech is also part of permanent record. It will not only be remembered for a long time, it is available to be read again and again for a long time. Generations yet unborn may read the speech you are writing today. This requires great care and wisdom to ensure that the speech writer does not get to the wrong side of history.

In addition, if a written speech becomes a subject of litigation, it may attract more sanctions than unscripted speech. As such, speech writers need to be more circumspect to avoid or mitigate adverse legal consequences.

Based on the foregoing and other related factors the following principles are in place to guide the speech writer.

1. *The Principle of Due Diligence*

The speech writer should not be in a hurry to get through with the writing. Instead, he/she must carefully think through every statement, including their likely connotations, to ensure that what is impressed on the reader is what the writer actually has in mind. Whatever research is required to authenticate claims made in the speech should be carried out. Assumptions that could mar the integrity of the speech writer need to be properly investigated and confirmed. If it cannot be confirmed, it is better discarded, because as the English people say, it is better to err on the side of caution than to err on the side of negligence.

2. *The Principle of Clarity*

The level of clarity expected from the writer of a speech is even more than that expected of a speaker who has no written speech. If need be, repetitions which can enhance clarity may be used. The words and other expressions used should be such that the audience can easily understand and identify with. The speech should not be written in such a way that the reader would require a dictionary, thesaurus or an encyclopaedia to be able to understand. The jokes, if any, should be such that the audience can understand without much effort. All these are aspects of the principle of clarity.

3. *The Principle of Accuracy*

The principle of accuracy in speech writing implies that in citing dates, numbers, measurements or other figures, the speech writer should endeavour to be accurate because such figures being cited may get into the records and thereon into history. It will not be proper to discover, may be fifty years later, that figures cited in a written speech half a century earlier were incorrect. To avoid such embarrassments, it is important to be accurate in citing such figures. But accuracy is not limited to figures alone. Place names, names of individuals, communities, groups, etc, need to be properly spelt in every written speech. Oriental wisdom tells us that the faintest ink is better than the human memory. But if documented errors are stored for posterity, they could create conflict and confusion. To avoid these, it is important to be accurate in all forms of documentation, in this case speech writing.

4. *The Principle of Reader-Friendliness*

Although the principle of reader-friendliness has existed for a long time, it seems to have experienced a rebirth in recent times. This simply means that the speechwriter should not put unnecessary strain on those who will read the speech. This can be achieved through the use of

simple and short sentences, correct use of punctuation marks, and ensuring that the speech is properly proofread. If a speech is properly proofread, typing errors and other related problems can be identified and corrected before the speech goes too far. If the speech goes out with such avoidable errors, the readers will assume that the speech writer is unserious or does not care enough. This affects the way the speechwriter is perceived by the audience and those who will later come across the writing. For that reason, it is important to ensure that every written speech is reader-friendly.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

In this unit we have discussed a number of principles relating to speech. While some of the principles relate both to speech making and speech writing, others are specific to speech writing. What do you think we would have lost, if these principles did not exist?

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit we have looked at the principles of speech writing. We began by looking at the principles that are applicable to speech making and speech writing before focusing on the principles that are specific to speech writing.

To start with, the history of the principles was traced to the Greeks and Romans of ancient times from whose works and thoughts most of the principles were developed. We also looked at the views of some contemporary writers on the subject.

One of the main principles examined in this unit is that of understanding the audience. It was explained that in both classical and contemporary writings, the principle of understanding one's audience is very prominent. The basic way of understanding one's audience, it was explained, is through audience analysis. In the unit, we also looked at how to analyse the audience, and what to look out for in audience analysis.

This unit also discussed four dimensions of the principle of ethical responsibility, namely responsibility to oneself, responsibility to the audience, responsibility to speech content and responsibility to the society at large.

The discussion of the principles specific to speech writing started with a focus on the main distinction between written speech and spoken speech. The principles specific to speech writing which we examined in

this unit, include the principle of due diligence, the principle of clarity, the principle of accuracy and the principle of reader-friendliness.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Using relevant examples, discuss the five principles that relate directly to speech writing.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Enemaku, O.S (2005) *Publication Layout and Design: A Course Text for the National Open University of Nigeria*. Lagos: National Open University of Nigeria.

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MODULE 2 TYPES OF SPEECH

Unit 1	Expository/Informative Speech
Unit 2	Analytical Speech
Unit 3	Persuasive Speech
Unit 4	Technical Speech
Unit 5	Other Types of Speech

UNIT 1 EXPOSITORY/ INFORMATIVE SPEECH

CONTENTS

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	Expository/Informative Speech
3.2	The Main Objective of an Expository/Informative Speech
3.3	How to write an Expository/Informative Speech
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Written speech falls into various types or categories. A speech is categorized on the basis of its contents or what it attempts to achieve. Therefore, some speeches are categorized as being informative or expository because they simply provide information or explain an issue or subject; some are categorised as being analytical because they analyse a subject, an issue or a development, while some are categorized as being persuasive because they are designed to bring about opinion or attitude change. In this unit we shall look at the expository/informative speech, which is one of the types or categories of speech.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of unit, you should be able to:

- explain what an expository/informative speech is
- write an expository/informative speech.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Expository/Informative Speech

3.2 The Main Objective of an Expository/Informative Speech

The main objective of an expository or informative speech is simply to provide information and foster the understanding of a given phenomenon. The emphasis is on sharing information with a viewing to promoting the understanding of an issue, a subject or an identified phenomenon. There is no deliberate attempt to persuade or influence the opinion of the reader, so the main effort is geared towards the provision of information. Usually, an informative speech takes off from what the audience knows already and tries to build up on that knowledge. Since it is not good to assume that the audience already understands so much, the writer of an informative/exploratory speech makes an effort to ascertain what the audience already knows or does not know on the subject. That becomes the take-off point for the speech. For example, if journalists, a labour union, a social club or a similar group or organisation asks you or your boss to present a speech explaining the process of applying for and gaining admission into the National Open University of Nigeria, the speech is likely to be an informative/expository speech. Similarly, if you are a public relations officer with an organization such as the Department of National Civic Registration, Power Holding Company of Nigeria, a bank, etc and you are asked to give a speech on the process or procedure for doing something or obtaining something, the speech is expected to be expository /informative.

Let us look at some practical examples. A speech on how to obtain the Nigerian national identity card; how a customer can get a new electricity meter; the procedure for opening a bank account; the process for getting an international passport; how Coca Cola is produced, and several others like that, are expected to be expository/informative. They are supposed to provide information, knowledge or guidance about how something is done or how a process or a procedure is carried out. If you work with the Local Government Council and the Chairman asks you to prepare a speech on how the marriage registry works, what is expected from you is an informative/expository speech.

3.3 How to Write an Informative/Expository Speech

The first and basic thing is for you, the writer of an informative/expository speech, to understand the process, procedure or event you are explaining. If you do not understand it very well, there is no way you

will be able to write a good informative/ expository speech on it. If you are asked to write a speech or any aspect of your work, choose the aspect that you understand very well. If you work in a big factory and you are asked to write a speech on any aspect of the company's activities, choose the aspect you are very familiar with. Is it procurement, product line, staff welfare, marketing, research and development, etc? Try and understand very well before you can explain to others. You may need to ask questions, read books and other publications or generally conduct a research so that you will properly understand the process or procedure that you want to explain. It is when you have a proper understanding that you can properly explain whatever you wish in a speech.

Also bear in mind that the topic needs to be relevant to the people you are addressing. If you are not given a topic, and you are asked to present a speech on how certain things are done, or the procedure/processes involved, try and think of what will be relevant to the audience. You may not be able to explain all the procedure or operations of your organization, but you can at least choose an aspect that may be relevant to your audience and work hard on it so you can write an excellent speech. As you write the speech, remember to clarify terms, expressions and other things that the audience may not understand. For example if you are explaining how the newsroom works and you mention the word 'beat', remember to explain that beat is a place to which a journalist is assigned and from where he is expected to regularly obtain news items. Remember to give examples where necessary. Provide illustrations or examples to make the speech both interesting and clear. Also ensure that whatever you explain has sufficient information that the audience can use. For example, if you tell them that before a contract is awarded, a sample of the product being supplied must be provided by the contractor, and try and explain why such is necessary. It could be that the company wants to be sure of the quality, taste, smell, etc, of the product. By providing such information that explains why certain steps are taken, the audience will better understand your informative/ expository speech. If you just mention some things casually in passing without explaining how or why they are done, the audience may not understand properly.

Sometimes the speech may require you to explain a policy. You need to provide sufficient evidence that will enable the audience understand the policy. If you are a customs officer, for example, or you work at the ports and you are asked to write a speech on the introduction of 100% destination inspection by the federal government, you need to provide information about what was in place before now, the problems associated with it, why it is being replaced, the benefits of the new policy, the effective date of the new policy, etc. Or you could be

working with the National Population Commission and you are asked to address journalists or Local Council chairmen on what Enumeration Area Demarcation is all about. Ensure you provide sufficient information. Do not assume they know what EAD is all about. When you use concepts, new ideas or other terms and terminologies that the audience may not understand, you have a duty to explain well so that the audience can understand. Remember that your speech is informative/expository. It should inform and expose things that the audience needs to know.

As you write the informative/expository speech, you may need to use quotations, comparisons, illustration, statistics and other forms of back up that are meant to enhance understanding. Ensure that you use them correctly and properly so that the audience is not confused. If you need to explain the meaning of such quotations, statistics, etc, please, go ahead and do so. If you use examples or illustrations, emphasise the local ones that the audience can identify with and relate to. Examples or illustrations that are distant may not readily appeal to the audience or serve your purpose. So, focus on examples and illustrations that are immediately relevant and that the audience can identify with. If you compare and contrast, ensure that you bring out the differences and similarities clearly. Ensure that the audience is not confused or left dangling.

A well-written informative/expository speech, whether it is the description of a process, person, place, procedure, an event, etc, or the explanation of a policy, practice, idea, etc, it must contain accurate and insightful information. If the job is well done, members of your audience should be able to explain what you have explained, to others in a very clear manner.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Find below a sample speech from the United States of America, that talks about distance education and telecommunications. You are to do the following:

- (a) Study the speech carefully from the beginning to the end
- (b) Explain what you think is the strength or weakness of the sample speech

Speech 2: Looking Ahead Speech • Sol Trujillo

Prepared for Sol Trujillo, President, US West Delivered at a Telecom Conference in the United States of America.

Good afternoon.

I've been asked to talk about distance learning today, and I think it's especially fitting that we are meeting next door to Disneyland. Not just because some of our ideas may have a Fantasyland quality to them, but because this is the place where dreams take form. Of all the creations of Walt Disney's fertile imagination -- his memorable characters, movies, and theme parks, the one he was most excited about in his later years was EPCOT center. Disney passed on in 1966, before it was completed. And someone said, "Isn't it a shame he never lived to see his idea realized?" One of Disney's creative people answered: "But he did see it -- that's why it's here." Nothing becomes real unless it is first held as a vision, and that's why we're here today ---- not just to see the latest telecom tools, but to envision how they can be used to craft a better future.

The vision for distance education is clear -- to use these wondrous new tools to build a genuine learning culture in America... a learning culture that is not confined to a classroom, or a corporate training center, or even a home computer, but one that encompasses all of this and more... a learning culture that is lifelong, and available to all... a learning culture that allows each of us to be more productive, and more globally competitive -- to literally outlearn our competitors. Outlearn them, and out earn them... a learning culture that allows us not just to make a better living, but to make our lives more personally enriching and rewarding. That may sound like Disneyland dream stuff, but it really isn't. The timing is right, right now, to begin building.

At US West, for example, we've already begun. In Scottsdale, Arizona, we're building a community of 6,000 in which every home is integrated into a high-speed voice, video, graphics, and data network. Any resident can take remote college classes over the Net... voice and e-mail instructors... easily access and communicate with experts in any field, anywhere in the world to get the latest thinking. Yet learning takes many forms. The individual in this community can attend town hall meetings and learn about candidates in his or her living room via the network. There's even a health connection, where the doctor does make house calls -- electronically.

And there are other, equally utopian examples, already in place. In Portland and Beaverton, Oregon, for instance, we have linked five engineering schools using asynchronous transfer mode technology. Engineering students in all of these schools work with Intel engineers, in real time, on design and development projects. At US West, we are involved with many such efforts in an effort to take a genuine leadership role in community education and distance learning.

And while I'd like to pat myself on the back for this, truth is that US West has special interest and needs for distance learning because we are... ah, how can I say this... we're geographically challenged. US West serve more than 25 million customers in 14 rather large Western and Midwestern states. While we have several major metropolitan areas, for the most part, our people are spread out over an area that's larger than Australia (?) or Europe (?). Being geographically challenged has inspired us to take a leadership role in distance learning, yet it has made us realize that when it comes to learning, every individual is geographically challenged.

In this Knowledge Age, the only competitive advantage any individual, any company, and any country has is in the ability to learn and apply the learning in a rapidly and radically changing world of products and ideas. As Peter Drucker said: "Education has become a condition of national survival. "The essential new fact is that a developed society and economy is less than fully effective if anyone is educated to less than the limit of his potential."

So universal, life-long education is a vision born of necessity. It is the ideal. But as someone once said, "Idealism is great. It is only when idealism approaches reality that it becomes prohibitively expensive." That's certainly the case with the technologies of distance learning. The ideal situation would be to have universal, video-quality two-way communications in every home, school, and office.

Walt Disney was right when he said, "Of all our inventions for mass communication, pictures still speak the most universally understood language." Fiber optic is the current "ideal" way of accomplishing this. Glass technology is the stuff science fiction is made. A single strand the size of a human hair, with thousands of bands of light, and each band carrying the equivalent of several hundred voice messages simultaneously. Estimates place going the last miles -- stringing fiber glass lines to every home in America -- at around 300 billion dollars. That's the cost equivalent of several moon shots, and dwarfs the twenty-year expenditure for building our interstate highway system. Yet fiber optic delivery, at least in metropolitan centers, is coming.

US West Communications has 1.65 million miles of fiber lines already in service, and we're laying more every day. Fiber optic delivery will evolve and come on line over the next ten to twenty years simply as demand grows, and wave-length technology improves. A more immediate answer is the long-awaited Digital Subscriber Line. Just a couple of weeks ago in Phoenix, US West offered the country's first commercial DSL service. And we're working flat out to make this technology available to the vast majority of customers in all of the 14 states we serve.

DSL will provide video telephony, computer-aided services, high-speed data transmission, video conferencing, and much more. We call our service Megabit because it does deliver a million bits of two-way transmission simultaneously. That's a quantum leap ahead. It means internet service that is 25 times faster than the most common existing modem technology. Home, school and office can be connected continuously, which means no more delays logging onto the Net, and no possibility of getting booted off at peak use hours. This digital delivery system doesn't even require stringing a second copper wire that last mile. You can actually receive and make telephone calls on the same line -- at the same time -- that you are browsing the Net. DSL, of course, does have its limits, and its costs. Yet the cost of all of these technologies will continue to come down, as Moore's law works its wonders.

Both in computer and delivery technologies, we fully expect to see dramatic breakthroughs and exponential changes over the next few years. In fact, these technologies will improve in ways not even someone with the imagination of a Walt Disney could begin to imagine. Yet the problem is we can't wait. The need for universal and readily accessible life-long learning is here and now. We need to find ways now to address the cost of progress, or in fact, we may never get to that future ideal.

One of the ways, I believe, is to take a far more holistic view of distance learning. We speak of distance learning, and teleconferencing for business and government, and high-speed data communications for commerce, as if they were mutually exclusive. They are not. In Oregon, for example, they realized that establishing advanced technology for one need, could serve all. We helped Oregon install Frame Relay Service -- circuit based package switching, for the state's lottery network.

Now that this infrastructure is in place, it can be used to connect schools, businesses, and homes, and to serve all of the educational and growth needs of the state. By bringing together governments, the business community, and educators into consortia, we cannot only share

our vision, and our costs. And while we're thinking holistically, we can find more ways to transfer and integrate technology from one sphere to the next. At US West, for example, we've tackled the problem of having three tiers of communications systems – local area networks, wide area networks, and I.P. networks, none of them speaking the same language. So we've developed protocols, which do for communications what Esperanto was supposed to do for language, but didn't. Efforts like this can eliminate complexities; can reduce the costs, while improving the scope of communications.

Next, I believe we should defer to the wisdom of Disney's friend, Jiminy Cricket, who said, "It's what you do with what you got that counts." While it may be blasphemy to say so at this conference, we don't have to go even higher levels of technology, to connect that last mile with fibre optics, or even DSL, to move aggressively ahead on distance learning." What we've got" is already the essentials for a viable continuously learning culture. We have copper lines that connect every home in America, home computers, and the ubiquitous Internet. They are all we need right now to more aggressively develop distance, and life-long learning.

The challenge is really not hardware, but human ware. The challenge is applications. There is no reason why we can't connect the dots now. Outstanding distance learning problems incorporate televised lectures, with on-line chats between students, and e-mail office hours with professors. Programmed learning is ideally suited for the existing Internet. And we can easily go beyond that to "intelligent tutoring," to defining what the individual knows, and work from that baseline.

At US West, we have a number of highly-successful efforts underway to tech teachers to fully use these technologies, to broaden their vision, enhance their resources, and extend their reach. I would suggest that we all do to focus on fully-utilizing the capacity we now have to develop more innovative educational applications, for school, distant degree programs, and continuous learning. Accessibility to the Internet is another opportunity.

To have truly universal education, it has to come into the home. And the vehicle to access this information highway is a home computer.

The technology exists, yet it's far from universal. Only about 14 percent of the American homes have a computer with a modem. Even adding a few percent for those who are provided with computers at work that still means that 80 percent or more of the American people have no access. If the Internet is the lifeline to life-long learning, as most of us believe it is, then 20 percent access is woefully inadequate. It makes the term

“universal” applied to education as ludicrous as “world series” applied to an American-only sport competition. The simple reason that home computers are not universal is that they’re not easily affordable. As Dave Barry says, “There are only two kinds of people today -- those with personal computers, and those with several thousand extra dollars of annual disposable income.”

Moore’s law promised that we’d halve the cost of computing every 18 months. But when it comes to prices, Moore’s the pity, for an average p.c. today costs between \$ 2,500 and \$ 5,000, and a thousand or so more with modem, printer, and peripherals. Add to this the ongoing cost of software upgrades, which has led to the First Law of Computer Ownership, which is that any given program, installed and running, is obsolete. The problem, of course, is that we engineers and software designers can’t resist the temptation to add complexity. As one engineer told me, “If it ain’t broke, it probably doesn’t have enough functions yet.”

To make Internet-delivered education universal, we’re going to have to go the other way. We’re going to have to simplify. One encouraging solution is Networked computers. Essentially, this takes the complexity and programming out of stand-alone p.c. and places these functions in accessible, centralized networks via the Internet. Intel, Sun, and Microsoft have all proposed systems which would be based on stripped-down computers that a family could purchase somewhere between \$500 to \$700. A couple of weeks ago, IBM added its voice, announcing a project with Intel to develop its own business Networked Computer system.

Another positive aspect of Networked Computers is that they are really a logical extension to what we’ve learned, and are learning, about networked systems in our public schools, government agencies, and major corporations. There are natural synergies here with what many of you in teleconferencing and distance learning technology are doing. And your involvement could vastly increase the reach of on-line education. At US West, we believe the Networked Computer is a viable way of avoiding the very real possibility that our technologies will increase the gap between the haves and have-nots.

Some 45 years ago, Alvin Toffler predicted the Knowledge Age’s arrival in his book *The Third Wave*. That prediction came with a warning. Toffler wrote, and I quote:” Elites, no matter how enlightened, cannot by themselves make a new culture. The energies of whole peoples will be required.” We in this room constitute technological elite. Yet to achieve our goals we must inspire a broad-based learning culture.

We must foster a learning culture in America that incorporates everyone, at every level, and at every age and circumstance.

So what I'm saying in all of this is that broad bandwidth isn't the most important issue – a broader vision of the opportunities is. By taking a holistic approach to education, establishing naturally synergistic joint efforts with allies in government and industry..... We can build a learning culture here and now....we have the talent to create innovative applications now..... we have the need to drive that talent.....now all we need is a broad commitment to achieve the dream of universal, life-long learning. Walt Disney always said "A dream is a wish your heart makes." We have everything it takes to make this wish a dream come true. Thank you.

4.0 CONCLUSION

An informative/expository speech gives you an opportunity to explain to your audience what they do not know or what they know little about. It is your duty to explain it in such a way that they will understand it very well. The subjects that may be covered are many, but bear it at the back of your mind that your purpose is simply to inform by explaining.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has looked at the informative/expository speech, its objectives and how to write it. It was explained that your objective in writing an informative/expository speech is to explain and make clear how a process, procedure, etc is carried out, or what a given policy entails. You were also told that to write a good informative/ expository speech, you need to source for information. You need to properly understand a subject, issue process, procedure, etc, before you can explain it satisfactorily to your audience.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Re-write the passage above and make it suitable for a Nigerian audience while retaining the main ideas.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 2 ANALYTICAL SPEECH

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

As explained in unit 1, written speech falls into various types or categories, and a speech is categorized on the basis of its contents or what it attempts to achieve. That is why speeches are categorized as being informative/expository, analytical, persuasive, etc. As mentioned in that unit (Unit 1) a speech is categorized as being informative or expository because it simply provides information or explains an issue or subject; some are categorized as being analytical because they analyse a subject, an issue or a development, while some are categorized as being persuasive because they are designed to bring about opinion or attitude change. In this unit we shall now look at the analytical speech, which is one of the types or categories of speeches.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of unit, you should be able to:

- explain what an analytical speech is
- write an analytical speech.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Analytical Speech

3.2 The Main Objective of an Analytical Speech

The main objective of an analytical speech is not simply to provide information and foster the understanding of a given phenomenon. It makes deductions and value judgments. Its main aim is to make an issue, a policy or an idea clearer so that the listeners or readers can take right decisions that are not based on emotions but sound knowledge and analysis. In the process, the speech writer does not hide his position on the matter. He or she declares his stand and also provides justification for that position, based on an analysis of the information contained therein. The emphasis is not just on sharing information with a view to promoting the understanding of an issue, a subject or an identified phenomenon but also to take a stand on an issue or a topic, and to provide sufficient reason for the stand taken. Note that in an analytical speech, there is no deliberate attempt to persuade or influence the opinion of the reader, but the main effort is geared towards not only the provision of information, but also providing a sound analysis of the information, taking a stand and providing justification for the stand.

Usually, the analysis done in an analytical speech is supposed to be as objective as possible, providing facts, figures, statistics, etc, and analyzing them as objectively as possible to show why a particular position is good or bad; why a certain decision is right or wrong, etc. Like an informative/expository speech, an analytical speech takes off from what the audience knows already and tries to build up on that knowledge, but then unlike an informative/expository speech, it does not stop there. It goes ahead to take a position on a given issue, and justifies that position, without trying to persuade. This point must be remembered: an analytical speech is not meant to persuade. Persuasive speech does that. But an analytical speech gives fact and information, analyses them, takes a position and justifies such a position.

3.3 How to Write an Analytical Speech

As in the case of the informative/expository speech, the writer of an analytical speech needs to first understand the information that is being analysed. Without proper understanding of the information, you cannot analyse. If, for example, you are asked to present an analytical speech on the banking reforms which led to the consolidation of banks, mergers and acquisitions, etc, in the banking industry, the first task will be for you to properly understand what the reforms were all about, why the reforms were necessary, and the benefits which Nigerians or the Nigerian economy now enjoy as a result of the reforms. By now you would have realized that you cannot do this without sufficient facts and figures. You need facts and figures which you will then analyse to justify the policy in question. And if you feel that the policy is not good or beneficial, you must also provide facts and figures to back up your position.

Also bear in mind that an analytical speech is not only about facts and figures. You should be able to compare and contrast; to bring out the difference between two things or sets of things; to intelligently discuss the advantage one thing has over the other, etc. It is not just about supporting a policy or being against it, but logically explaining why it is better or worse and using information to back up the position taken. It is not enough, in an analytical speech, to say that you support the idea of a national open university in Nigeria. You should be able to provide information to back up that position: how many conventional universities are there in Nigeria? How many candidates apply to such universities every year; how many are admitted; how many are not admitted; what percentage is admitted and what percentage is not admitted; out of those admitted, how many are unable to take up the admission because of their work; how many of such people are likely to benefit if the idea of a national open university is pursued vigorously; which other countries have tried the idea; what results do those countries have to show for their decision, etc, etc. Remember that in all this, your main concern is not to persuade the listeners, but to analyse the situation as factually and as objectively as possible. They may get persuaded at the end of the day, because of your sound analysis, but persuasion is not your main goal.

One of the questions that can guide you as you write an analytical speech is this: why am I analysing this issue or policy? As indicated above, the purpose of an analytical speech is to make an issue clearer so that the hearers can make informed decisions; decisions that are not based on mere emotions but sound analysis. Many Nigerian civil servants like the idea of monetization of fringe benefits. Many clamoured for it when it appeared as if they had been forgotten in its implementation. But what exactly is monetization? Is it just paying more salaries and allowances? No. It is not just that. It is part and parcel of a package of reforms that also include the 'downsizing' or 'rightsizing' of the civil service. Many liked monetization very well, but not the 'downsizing' or 'rightsizing' component. A good analytical speech on monetization will show the full picture of it; what it entails; why the government is pursuing it; the various components; how it will affect the work force, etc, etc. This means that you cannot just analyse; you must first understand it very well before you can do a proper analytical speech on it.

As in the case of informative/expository speech, as you write the analytical speech, you may need to use quotations, comparisons, illustrations, statistics and other forms of back up that are meant to enhance understanding, but you have to interpret them and relate them to the issue you are analyzing as well as the position you are taking.

Remember to ensure that you use, interpret and relate them correctly and properly so that the audience will not get confused. If you need to explain the meaning of such quotations, statistics, etc, please, go ahead and do so, but remember that since this is an analytical speech, you must analyse, interpret and relate them to the issue or policy under focus and your position on such an issue or policy. Also remember that if you use parallels, examples or illustrations, you should emphasise the local ones that the audience can identify with, because as explained under informative/expository speech, examples or illustrations that are distant may not readily appeal to the audience or serve your purpose. They may not see the sense in your analysis. To avoid that, focus on examples and illustrations that are immediately relevant and that the audience can identify with. If you compare and contrast, ensure that you bring out the differences and similarities clearly, and relate these to the position you are taking.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

The speech below, titled “Women and Diversity” was delivered at a forum in Australia. It analyses some of the challenges that women face in the society and how women can overcome such challenges. Study the speech very carefully and explain what qualifies it as an analytical speech.

Speech 3: “Women and Diversity • Helen Petrauskas

*Prepared for Helen Petrauskas, Exec. V.P., Environmental Affairs
Delivered at National Centre for Women, Melbourne, Australia*

Good morning,

It’s a great honour to speak to this group, and to play a small part in this Woman of the Year recognition.

Wendy Perkins, our Public Relations Manager at Ford of Australia, told me I’m supposed to start with a little story for two reasons, first to lighten us all up. Second, in case someone laughs later in the serious part of my talk I can just assume that person was just late getting the punch line. So my story is about a man lying in the street and a woman about to help him, when someone from the crowd rushed in and said, “Out of the way Lady. I’ve been trained in first aid.”

“Good,” the woman said, “Do you remember the lessons?” Yes. “Then when you get to the part about calling a doctor, I’m right here.”

I like that story because it not only points out a fallacious assumption about women in non-traditional roles, but also it's entirely in character for men to assume the role of authority.

Well, right off, I've got to admit I'm a traditional woman in that I'm not terribly comfortable as an authority figure... as someone who gets up and acts as if I know what you should do and tells you how to do it. That role puts me one up... suggests talking down... a hierarchy that men are far more accustomed to. I'm more comfortable removing the barriers of rank and authority, and bringing people together. Very traditional, but that's who I am. In that respect, I assume I'm rather a traditional woman manager.

I read a paper recently by Judy Rosener, a professor of business management at the University of California, who has studied women in authority roles for 20 years, and concluded, and I quote: "Women tend to share power, encourage participation, boost others' sense of self worth. Women believe their subordinates perform best when they feel good about themselves, and equal to the challenges asked of them."

My point is that as someone once told me, "life is a come-as-you-are party." As women in non-traditional roles, we are still women. We bring our own uniqueness, our own special character to even the most non-traditional careers. At Ford, we have a saying that "Diversity is our strength." When we put a team together to work on a problem, the more diverse the backgrounds of each member -- genders, races, nationalities, cultural and subculture differences -- the more unique perspectives we can bring to a problem, and the more creative and innovative the answer will be.

At Ford, we say "diversity is our strength." And sometimes we actually live up to that ideal. At least, as a corporate policy, in the 30 countries and six continents where we do business, we are committed to the concept of diversity being a fundamental strength. I'm personally pleased with the fact that Ford recently has been honoured with the Alliance Global Corporate Leadership Award from the Women's Economic Alliance Foundation.... Honoured for Ford's leadership in providing opportunities for women and minorities in higher and higher level positions.

Today, I'd like to tell you about some of the women in Ford who occupy non-traditional jobs. I believe these women have some special messages for all of us.

The first lady is Anne Stevens. Anne wasn't satisfied with the nursing school she was enrolled in after high school, so she changed colleges and became a mechanical engineer. An American mother of two, Anne's

daughter also became an engineer. Anne has worked her way up in Ford, and is now plant manager of Ford's Enfield Components operations near London, England. In that position, Anne is in charge of 1,000 production people.

What advice does she have for women entering non-traditional fields? Anne says, "Mostly, as an outsider, the onus is on you to find how you can fit in. You're the one who wants to be an insider, so you're the one who has to find the best way to make a significant contribution."

That not only applies to gender, but to every other aspect of fitting in. For example, Anne points out that as an American taking responsibility for running a manufacturing plant in England, she had the experience of being an outsider because of her nationality, and her American cultural background. To Anne, finding your fit is all part of taking a positive attitude. She says, "I don't go into a position looking for obstacles, and I don't find them. If you are competent, fair and respectful of others, people will respect you."

Anne expects positive things to happen, and they do. Since there are so few professional women in Britain, for example, the British men she works with went out of their way to introduce her to other women in leadership positions. Anne says, "That they even thought to do it shows a sensitivity that men sometimes aren't given credit for having." Anne credits her mother for the one thing that has served her best. Anne says, "Mother taught me that people sense how you feel about yourself and treat you accordingly."

Now, I'd like to introduce you to Loretta Burrell. Loretta is an African-American woman who with only a high school diploma, and with four children, was working in a laundry shop when she got a job on the assembly line at the Ford Rouge Stamping Plant. When she got involved as a union worker in the plant, her husband, whom she describes as a traditional "no help" guy, told her that if she couldn't do it all and take care of the kids, too, she should quit her Ford job. Loretta didn't quit. In fact, she took on more and more union responsibility. Then she ran for the office of plant union chairman and was defeated.

Still Loretta didn't quit. She started working 12 hour days, so she could help people on both day and evening shifts. And three years later, she ran for office again, and that time was elected chairman by a landslide. Loretta has been re-elected twice since then, giving her the most longevity as union chairman of anyone in the plant's history -- male or female.

Why has Loretta been successful? “I’m doing what I am,” she says. “I’ve always had the shoulder everyone looks for to cry on. I not only care, I get mad, and I speak up for them. I won’t tolerate anybody being stepped on. It’s just who I am.”

In union politics, Loretta also came to realize that her traditional feminine care giver tendencies worked in her favour. Loretta said: “I always remember birthdays, and wish everyone a special day on holidays, and special occasions. The men I ran against just never thought to do things like that. And when they did say it, you just knew they didn’t mean it. I honestly care about people, and they come to know and appreciate that.”

Loretta is as passionate about her plant’s quality products as she is about representing her union people. Loretta says: “This plant almost got closed down once because it was old, and quality wasn’t so good. It made all of us realize that the company’s success was our security.”

Working with the Ford management team, Loretta and her union leaders made quality their number one priority. “Well,” she says, “safety is always number one in a plant, but we put quality right up there with safety as our top concern.”

Since then, the Ford Rouge Stamping Plant earned a Q1 rating, ranking it among the top plants. And then the plant was recognized as the “best in class” of any plant in Ford’s North American stamping operations. Ford responded, and has invested more than \$ 40 million to modernize the plant and make it even more competitive.

Loretta says, “I ask myself what I can do to make this a better place to work, and make our products better for our customers. Of course, sometimes I do have to fight with management, to remind them of what Ford says they stand for. They don’t always like me, but they respect me when I’m right.”

Recently, officials of the United Auto Workers in Detroit recognized Loretta Burrell’s leadership qualities, and they offered her an important position at union headquarters.

“I thought about it,” Loretta says. “But at headquarters, you don’t get to work closely with people, and get the satisfaction of helping them first hand. I wouldn’t like that, so I turned the job down.”

When we asked Loretta to give advice for women in non-traditional careers, she said: “Tell them the door is open. Not all the way open, but its open enough to get in. If you really feel you can make a difference...

not a selfish difference... but make things better for everyone... I'd say you can do it."

The third woman I'd like to tell you about is a young working mother. O.K., she's 34 years old, but from where I'm standing that's really young. Lisa Farnin has a degree in industrial engineering and works as an information systems engineer at Ford Electronics' North Penn Plant in Pennsylvania.

As an engineer, Lisa is someone who does a lot of planning before she acts. For example, she subscribed to Working Mother Magazine when her family was just in the distant planning stage. When Lisa's daughter, Rachel, was born, she found herself in the difficult situation of balancing a career with formulas, diapers, and colic. Lisa felt that the plant she worked at hadn't made any provisions for working mothers, so she set out to do something about it. Lisa formed a committee with six other women, and for two years she gave up her lunch hours and after-hours time to come up with improvements. Those improvements included a child care resources and referral service, a company information line to connect mothers with sitters, a proposal to have more flexible working hours, and company recognition that taking care of a sick child or going to the doctor constituted legitimate personal time off. Lisa says, "I presented our case to the plant manager and emphasized that the stress that working mothers experience can influence the quality of their work. So it really is in Ford's best interest to improve the situation." The plant manager agreed.

Working Mother Magazine was so impressed by her effort, that she was named Working Mother of the Year in 1996. And as only can happen in the media-mad U.S., she became big news. National television shows invited her to appear, newspapers interviewed her, and President Bill Clinton asked her to be a member of a panel on working mothers. Last time I talked to Lisa, in fact, she just returned from The White House, where she had lunch with Hillary Clinton. Lisa said, "I'm flattered by all attention, but it's not really about me. And it's not about working mothers. It's about the challenges working families face. All of the attention brings attention to the issues that have to be addressed." And Lisa now has more of a stake in the issue, as on Christmas day, she gave birth to a son, Christopher. Lisa has taken a two-month maternity leave from Ford, and while she's at home, she's also finishing up a Master's Degree in Computer Sciences.

Lisa's advice to women entering non-traditional careers? "Look for role models," Lisa says. "I'm constantly looking for women who have been there. I want to know how they did it, not just their successes but their failures and frustrations. I've learned scads from networking."

From what Lisa said, I know she would applaud Australia's National Women's Centre, and the awards that not only give outstanding women recognition, but provide role models for all to benefit from.

And I agree. This organization clearly gives you a network, and role models. I only wish there had been such a group in Detroit when I was exploring my career directions. But I don't want to leave Lisa Farnin's example without pointing out that she has one tremendous advantage in having a supportive, involved husband. Paul Farnin is definitely, as my daughter would say, "one of the sensitive, new-age kind of guys." Paul shares household and parenting chores, including splitting time-off from work with Lisa when one of them needs to be home or to take Rachel to the doctor. Paul appreciated Lisa so much, in fact, that he was the one who wrote a long letter nominating Lisa for "Working Mother of the Year."

This brings me to the one bit of advice I'd like to suggest from my own career experience. That is, you can't do it alone. There is no such thing as a self-made man or woman. As a Ford Chairman, Don Peterson, was fond of saying, "If you see a turtle sitting on a fence post, you know she didn't get up there all by herself." All of us have gotten where we are with a lot of support and mentoring from a lot of people along the way. In my case, there was a Detroit Council woman, Mary Beck, who sponsored my family to come to America when my native Ukraine fell to communism. There was a medical doctor, Saul Meyers, whom I worked for after school. Dr. Meyers taught me that "time passes whether you learn or not, so you might as well learn." There was my husband, Ray, who was there for me when I decided to change careers, from a chemist to a corporate lawyer, a very long step. And at Ford I have had many mentors, men and women, whose names you wouldn't recognize, but whose mentoring meant everything to me along the way. It is to these special people, these friends, or as you say in Australia, these "mates," who made the difference.

I'd like to leave you with a thought from a woman who overcame a great number of obstacles. Her name is Helen Keller, and in reflecting on her success, Helen said, and I quote: "It is my friends who have made the story of my life. In a thousand ways they have turned my limitations into beautiful privileges."

Thank you.

4.0 CONCLUSION

An analytical speech gives you an opportunity not only to explain, but also to take a stand and to justify the stand as you can see in the profound yet simple and analytical speech above. You can see that the speech is not all about figures and statistics. It is about giving information, analyzing the information and taking a stand. If you look at the speech carefully, it does not attempt to persuade, but at the end you may get persuaded because of the sound analysis of issues. It is clear that the author takes a stand, and the reasons for taking such a stand are clearly analysed. That is what an analytical speech is about.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has looked at the analytical speech, its objectives and how to write it. It was explained that your objective in writing an analytical speech is not only to explain, but also to analyse, interpret, take a stand and provide justification for the stand taken. It was explained that an analytical speech does not set out to persuade, but that rather, it sets out to provide sound analysis that can help people to take good decisions. At the end of a good analytical speech, people may get persuaded, but persuasion, it was explained, is not the main objective of an analytical speech.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Write a three-page analytical speech on what the Open University system is all about, and why you have chosen to attend the National Open University of Nigeria rather than the conventional universities. The speech will be presented at the annual meeting of the old students association of the secondary school you attended.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 3 PERSUASIVE SPEECH

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Many people, especially in democratic societies, are familiar with persuasive speeches. This is because most political speeches are persuasive. A persuasive speech does not simply give and analyse information; it tries to change people's knowledge, opinion, attitude, reaction, etc, towards an idea, a person, a policy, a party, etc. It does not mean that persuasive speeches are used only in politics; they are used in different situations and fields, including religion, business and several others. In this unit, we shall focus on persuasive speeches, their objectives and how to write them effectively.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain what a persuasive speech is
- write a persuasive speech.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Persuasive Speech

3.2 The Main Objective of a Persuasive Speech

The main objective of a persuasive speech is to convince the audience that a particular idea, policy, party, etc, is right or wrong or that a particular action is desirable, necessary, undesirable, unnecessary, etc. It provides or manipulates the available information in order to produce the desired result. A persuasive speech marshals arguments to support

the position taken, and every effort is geared towards swaying the audience. For example, if a political office holder wants his tenure in office to be extended and he needs the support of the people to achieve this, he can make a persuasive speech meant to gain the support of the people. If there are opponents of that move, they can also make persuasive speeches to try and discourage the people from supporting regime extension. This is one of the beautiful things about democracy. Each person has the right to articulate a position and to persuade the people to buy into that position.

However, persuasive speeches, as mentioned earlier, can be used for other purposes. For example, if a community practices female circumcision or female genital mutilation, and you want them to stop it because of its harmful effects, a persuasive speech could be very useful. There are several other objectives that a persuasive speech can help to achieve.

3.3 How to Write a Persuasive Speech

The first thing is to understand the relationship between informative/expository speech, analytical speech and a persuasive speech. It was explained in Unit 1 that an informative/expository speech simply provides information. In Unit 2, it was explained that analytical speech analyses information, takes a position and justifies the position taken without necessarily trying to change people's opinion, although opinion change could follow. What a persuasive speech does includes what these other types of speech do, but it goes a step further: it tries to change the opinion of the audience. It gives information, but the motive is to change the opinion or attitude of the audience. It analyses, but the analysis is done in such a way that the opinion and attitude of the audience will be changed from or towards a given direction.

Therefore, the writer of a persuasive speech needs to properly understand the available information and then think of how to use such information persuasively. You are not just analyzing so that people will take an informed decision; you are actually analyzing so that they will believe what you want them to believe; think what you want them to think and act the way you want them to act. This shows that persuasive speech does not just mean telling lies, using sweet tongue, making unjustified claims or making false promises. Persuasive speech is much more than that. It involves getting all necessary facts and figures together and cleverly analyzing them in such a way that the audience will begin to look at issues from your own point of view.

If the company you are working for introduces a new product and you are asked to write a speech that will be delivered at the formal launch of

the product, you cannot rely on lies and half-truths; you are to obtain all necessary facts about the product and facts about other products that are likely to compete with the new product. All these you will clearly, persuasively and cleverly analyse, in such a way that those using other products will discard such products and begin to use the new one.

It is important to note that in writing a persuasive speech, promises that cannot be fulfilled should not be made. It is unethical. It also spoils your chances in the market, including the market place of ideas.

In writing a persuasive speech, your strategy should include leading the audience step by step, stage by stage, gradually through the speech, until your idea or position is finally accepted.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

In January 1991 the United States of America and her allies, launched a military attack on both Kuwait and Iraq with the aim of liberating Kuwait which had been annexed by Iraq. When fighting a war, every leader needs the support of his people. The speech below was made by the American President, Mr George Bush, to persuade his people to support the war on Iraq. Study it carefully and summarise the elements in the speech that make it persuasive.

Speech 4: George Bush - Announcing War against Iraq

Just 2 hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Ground forces are not engaged.

This conflict started August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbour. Kuwait -- a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations -- was crushed; its people, brutalized. Five months ago, Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait. Tonight, the battle has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress, follows months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States, and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution, only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others travelled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held an historic meeting in Geneva, only to be totally rebuffed. This past weekend, in a last-ditch effort, the Secretary-General of the United Nations went to the Middle

East with peace in his heart -- his second such mission. And he came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution -- have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities. Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed. Our operations are designed to best protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal. Initial reports from General Schwarzkopf are that our operations are proceeding according to plan.

Our objectives are clear: Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions, and then, when peace is restored, it is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Some may ask: Why act now? Why not wait? The answer is clear: The world could wait no longer. Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities -- and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children.

While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses, an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction -- a nuclear weapon. And while the world waited, while the world talked peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein dug in and moved massive forces into Kuwait.

While the world waited, while Saddam stalled, more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the Third World, emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, to the entire world, including to our own economy.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations, he could weaken the forces arrayed against him.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace with open contempt. While the world prayed for peace, Saddam prepared for war.

I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took its resolute action, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation resolutions. He did not do that. Instead, he remained intransigent, certain that time was on his side.

Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations: Leave Kuwait, or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead, he tried to make this a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he failed. Tonight, 28 nations -- countries from 5 continents, Europe and Asia, Africa, and the Arab League -- have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. These countries had hoped the use of force could be avoided. Regrettably, we now believe that only force will make him leave.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail as quickly as possible, and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and allied service men and women. I've told the American people before that this will not be another Vietnam, and I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back. I'm hopeful that this fighting will not go on for long and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful -- and we will be -- we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfil the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.

We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict, I pray for their safety. Our goal is not the

conquest of Iraq. It is the liberation of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls." Those well-known words are so very true today. But even as planes of the multinational forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united, no nation will be permitted to brutally assault its neighbour.

No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the Nation's finest. Ours is an all-volunteer force, magnificently trained, highly motivated. The troops know why they're there. And listen to what they say, for they've said it better than any President or Prime Minister ever could.

Listen to Hollywood Huddleston, Marine lance corporal. He says, "Let's free these people, so we can go home and be free again." And he's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.

Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said: "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in."

Listen to Master Sergeant J.P. Kendall of the 82nd Airborne: "We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next 100 years. It's better to deal with this guy now than 5 years from now."

And finally, we should all sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an Army lieutenant, when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who knows what's going to be next?"

I have called upon Hollywood and Walter and J.P. and Jackie and all their courageous comrades-in-arms to do what must be done. Tonight, America and the world are deeply grateful to them and to their families. And let me say to everyone listening or watching tonight: When the troops we've sent in finish their work, I am determined to bring them home as soon as possible.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they and their families are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf, and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America.

George Bush - January 16, 1991

4.0 CONCLUSION

A persuasive speech goes a step further than both the expository and the analytical speech. It is not “cheap” as some people think. It provides information (just like the expository speech) and analyses (just like the analytical speech), but it has a motive, which is to change the opinion, beliefs, attitudes, etc, of the audience. Sometimes the audience already has the information as well as a sound analysis. Yet, a persuasive speech may try to change the mind of the audience from what they already know and what they believe or think. This is not a “cheap” task. It requires, ‘proper’, intelligent and careful handling of the information that the people already have, in such a way that they will change their mind outrightly or begin to doubt their beliefs.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has looked at the persuasive speech, its objectives and how to write it. It was explained that the main objective of the persuasive speech is not only to explain and analyse, but to do these in a way that the opinion, beliefs, attitudes, etc, of the audience will change. It does what the other two types of speech do, but it has a motive which is opinion or attitude change. It was also explained that although persuasive speech is very common among politicians, its use goes beyond politics. It can be used in business, religion, social advocacy and for other purposes.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

The senate committee on education is thinking of a law to reintroduce tuition fees into Federal universities in. Towards that end, a public hearing is being planned, and members of the public, including students like you have been invited to come and make presentations at the public hearing. You know quite well that this law, if made, may affect the ability of many to complete their higher education. Write a three-page persuasive speech which you will present at the public hearing.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 4 TECHNICAL SPEECH

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Technical Speech
 - 3.2 The Main Objective of a Technical Speech
 - 3.3 How to Write a Technical Speech
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Technical speech also forms a category of its own. A technical speech usually contains technical information and is prepared for a specialized, technical audience. In this unit, we shall focus on technical speech, its objectives and how it is written.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain what a technical speech is
- write a technical speech.

3.0 MAIN Content

3.1 Technical Speech

3.2 The Main Objective of a Technical Speech

The main objective of a technical speech is to convey technical information to a specialized, technical audience. It is meant to explain a new discovery, report an observed trend, question an existing practice or introduce a new development. Most time, such technical information is not meant for the general public. Through technical speeches, new ideas emerge and the frontiers of existing knowledge are expanded. Technical speeches do not try to persuade. They provide and analyse technical information, and this can result into behaviour and attitude change. For example, in Nigeria, we have known for a long time that chloroquine is used in the treatment of malaria fever. However, recently, some medical doctors, pharmacists and other medical professionals as well as medical

researchers have presented technical papers on the need to utilize other drugs and discourage the use of chloroquine. Such technical papers are usually presented at technical sessions of professional bodies as well as regulatory councils such as the Nigerian Medical Association (NMA), Nigerian Medical Council, etc, etc. Such technical information is not actually meant for the general public, because ideally, when you are ill, you are not supposed to go and buy drugs. You are supposed to consult a professional, such as a medical doctor, a pharmacist, etc. Since such people are supposed to participate in technical sessions and obtain first hand information, they are expected to utilize such information when prescribing or dispensing drugs.

It must be quickly added that technical information is not for medical doctors alone. Engineers, lawyers, technologists, communicators, architects and such other professionals have technical workshops, conferences, and other such technical fora at which they exchange technical information and ideas. It is mostly at such fora that technical speeches are presented.

3.3 How to Write a Technical Speech

Technical speech is usually based on research and technical experience. The information contained in it is usually esoteric, meaning that a person who does not belong to the concerned profession or discipline may not understand it. Technical speeches also involve the use of technical register. Register simply refers to the special terminologies used by people in a given profession. You must have heard of journalese (the way journalists use language) legalese (the way lawyers use language) etc. All these are components of technical speeches, and for somebody to understand such specialized usage, he or she has to be in that technical field or profession.

Most times professionals write their technical speeches or request their younger professional colleagues to do a draft, which they will vet and improve upon before taking them for presentation. Therefore, as a public relations officer working in an engineering firm, your boss may ask you to draft some other types of speech, but asking you to write a technical speech for presentation at a technical forum may be unlikely, although it cannot be completely ruled out.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Carefully study the technical speech below. Thereafter, try and write a technical speech on any topic of your choice. It should not exceed three pages.

Speech 5: Quasi-Technical • Anne Stevens

*Prepared for Anne Stevens, Ford V.P., Manufacturing
Delivered at International Thermal Spray Conference, NY, NY*

Back when I was an injection moulding supervisor, my plant boss had a way of discouraging us from attending engineering conferences like this one. He'd simply say, "The great thing about conferences is that they tell us how many of our people we can actually do without."

I disagree. Conferences are tremendous for stepping back from the manic pace of manufacturing life. I like to compare manufacturing engineers to recovering Alcoholics, we both have to take it one day at a time.

One day at a time. Right now back at the office, I think the one day I'm working on is last Wednesday.

So it's good to get away, compare notes with our peers, and think beyond the immediate to the larger implications of our work.

Today, I'd like to tell you about a significant Ford innovation in thermal spray die making, one that promises to change the process of product development, allowing us to provide more unique products, in less time, at lower cost and complexity.

Yet I'd like to go further... to place this innovation and ones like it, into the context of a new age, one which will demand that manufacturing change more quickly, more completely, than any time in our history.

To really understand what this new age means it's vital to look back, to take an historic view of our industrial heritage.

And I admit to having an ulterior motive for putting this into historical perspective.

Ford Motor Company celebrates our 100th anniversary this summer. As I like to say, a hundredth birthday doesn't come around every day, so its significant event.

Yet its not just history for its own sake. As everyone knows, Henry Ford refined and went a long way to perfecting large-scale, low-cost mass production.

By 1920, more than half of all the cars in the entire world, not just in North America, were identical Model T Fords. Henry Ford literally put

the world on wheels and defined the next hundred years of American mass market culture.

And it is Henry Ford's tenants of manufacturing, more than anything else, which now are challenged, and must give way to this radically new age.

How can one self-trained engineer do so much? Well, it really is the technical innovators, the engineers, who are most responsible for historical change.

As Isaac Asimov, a, biochemist who authored 500 books, once said, "Science can amuse and fascinate us all, but it is engineering that changes the world."

You can look to a grand innovation like Johannes Gutenberg's printing press. That one invention made working class literacy possible, fostered England's Nation of Shop Keepers, and led to democracy and the protestant reformation.

Then there were Eli Whitney's interchangeable parts which made the American industrial revolution possible.

More recently, there was an engineer named Jack Kilby down in Texas who decided to take a handful of common sand, silicon, and draw miniature pictures of circuits on it.

You really have to wonder what he was smoking to come up with the idea for the microchip.

Yet that miraculous innovation led to the computer revolution, the information age, and to the circumstances that will permanently change the way manufactures think and do business.

My point is that while we engineers may not be interested in history, we certainly make a lot of it. We're busy shaping the tools, and forever after, those tools shape our lives.

And today innovations are not just important, they are all important. Even the economists -- who predicted nine of the last three recessions -- are in agreement on the importance of innovation. They say invention accounts for as much as 75 percent of all real productivity improvements. Many consider that an underestimate.

As business guru Peter Drucker says, "The only competitive advantage any company has today is the rapid development and application of innovative new technologies."

So where does the great automotive tinkerer Henry Ford fit into all of this?

Well, if you asked high school kids in the 1920s, they would have said "Henry Ford invented the automobile." That was easy to believe at the time, as his cars were the most plentiful, and he was not only the richest man on earth, but one of the most popular. The New York Times in a national survey ranked Henry Ford among the top eight Americans who ever lived, right up there with George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

The man who brought the world the freedom and mobility of a personal car was a folk hero. And he was publicly credited as the inventor of the moving assembly line, vertical integrated manufacturing, flow-through production, and as-needed, now called Just-in-time, delivery.

Yet the truth is, Henry Ford invented nothing whatsoever. What he did was to bring the most advanced ideas together from other industries to achieve his goal of a mass production process that could produce high-volume, high-quality, yet low-cost vehicles.

Henry Ford's contribution was more like that of a manufacturing engineer, not the father of ideas but the one who sees their potential in infancy, then nurtures them to maturity.

Maybe I'm prejudice since I am a manufacturing engineer, but I believe being the one who nurtures an idea is the more difficult and demanding task.

For our brain children, like our own children, do not come into this world fully formed and functional. It takes many years of care to bring it to where it can stand on its own.

One of my favourite philosophers is the late Charles Schultz. He once had Charlie Brown say:

"A new idea is delicate. It can be killed by a sneer or a yawn; it can be stabbed to death by a quip and worried to death by a frown on the right man's brow."

So the real challenge is getting an idea from conception to maturity. Even the greatest inventors recognize that their initial idea were only the beginning.

Charles H. Townes, winner of a Nobel Prize for his work in laser technology, once said, "It's like the beaver told the rabbit as they stared up at the immense wall of Hoover Dam, "No, I didn't actually build it myself," the beaver said, "But it was based on an idea of mine."

So Henry Ford's contribution was in recognizing the seed of great potential and bringing it to fruition. To that extent, he was probably one of the last century's first and foremost manufacturing engineers.

Today, I'd like to touch on just two aspects of his manufacturing contributions, because I believe they are central to why Ford's new thermal spray die making is so important.

First is Henry Ford's concept of technological progress. In 1929, he was asked what he had accomplished. Henry Ford said, and I quote him here:

"I simply assembled into a car the discoveries of other men behind whom were centuries of work, and the discoveries of still other men who preceded them..."

"Progress happens when all the factors that make for it are ready, and then it is inevitable. To teach that a comparatively few men are responsible for the great forward steps of mankind is the worst sort of nonsense."

Not surprising, even this notion of progress wasn't his original idea.

Henry Ford's idol was Thomas Alva Edison, the greatest inventor of his era. Long before Ford started making cars, Edison had hundreds of patents to his credit, including the phonograph, motion picture, and electric light bulb. If it weren't for Edison, you and I would be working on our personal computers by candle light.

Edison's greatest invention of all, however, was his team approach to research and development. He brought a team of machinists, chemists, mathematicians, and inventors together to work for him at Menlo Park. And he provided his cross-functional team with a lab outfitted with the most advanced tools available.

Edison guaranteed the world one minor invention every ten days, and a major one every six months.

"Not invented here" wasn't a concern to him. He said his work began where the last person's left off.

The phonograph was a good example. Many earlier inventors had developed aspect of the sound recording concept, yet it was Edison who brought it together.

Once at a conference like this one, Edison was introduced as the inventor of the talking machine. When he came to the podium, Edison said, "I'd like to make one small correction to that wonderful introduction. I didn't invent the talking machine. God did that. I merely invented the first talking machine you can turn off."

Similarly, Henry Ford didn't really invent the automobile, but he created the first one made with such manufacturing efficiency, that average families could afford to own one.

Both for Edison and for Ford, continuous refinement and improvement were central to a process that was one percent inspiration and 99 percent perspiration.

With each improvement of process or product, Ford was able to lower the price of his car -- from \$840 originally to \$720, to \$595, to \$500, and finally to just \$260 in 1925.

Edison's approach was the prototype for our modern industrial labs, but it was a failure. He never made any money on his inventions and Henry Ford eventually had to financially support him and his company.

What Henry Ford did was to establish an industrial lab on Edison's model, one that was in every way successful. His skunk works employed cross functional teams of individuals who worked independent of the corporate hierarchy. For the most part, his project teams reported only to him.

Not all of his inventions were successful, of course.

Everyone who works in plastics, for example, has a mental image of Henry Ford swinging the axe at his soybean plastic deck lid back in 1941. With that axe, Ford struck a blow for the use of plastics in mass produced vehicles.

Yet what we may not know is that historic deck lid was a composite of phenol-formaldehyde reinforced with straw and hemp. That's right. Formaldehyde, the same chemical morticians use to embalm bodies. The

formaldehyde-laced plastic made Henry's plastic body parts smell like the back room of a mortuary.

Most of Henry Ford's skunk works inventions were not so fragrant, and they were far more successful. His researchers created a wide range of inventions in an equally broad range of fields. Automotive, of course, but also agriculture, aviation and navigation, alternative materials and power, and environmental stewardship technologies, all emanated from Ford's informal research labs.

In his career, Thomas Edison patented 1,096 inventions. Some speculate Ford's innovators may have rivalled the total number of Edison's inventions. No one really knows as Henry Ford steadfastly refused to patent his ideas. He encouraged anyone to use them, improve on them, thus fostering progress for everyone.

While we are not as magnanimous today, Ford maintains a tradition as a company that readily licenses our technologies, and is open to new ideas wherever and whenever they spring up.

In Ford Engineering and Research centre's program called "Labs without walls," we actually send engineers out on several month assignments to where a high-potential idea is developing to learn the new technology and bring it home to Ford.

Today, the vast majority of Ford's extensive research efforts are through affiliations, joint-agreements and partnerships with suppliers, academia and governments. We even team up with our primary rivals in non-competitive R & D. As Henry Ford was fond of saying, "there is no such thing as independence. There is only interdependence."

As you'd assume, Ford Motor Company research has come a long way since Henry Ford's skunk works. Here is a video which brings you up to date of what Ford Research is and has been doing since it was formally established in 1951 after Henry Ford's passing.

[Run Ford Research Lab 50th Anniversary Video -- (CUT from 13 to six minutes)]

Anticipate, innovate, and incorporate. That's what the Ford Research Labs, and good product or process development, is all about.

And it also happens to be an excellent model for managing our new age of knowledge workers. In fact, when we realized the implications of the knowledge age -- that the computer had elevated the power and

importance of every individual -- the lab's matrix management approach became the template.

In the knowledge age, we need people to do what only they can -- to think, to create, to innovate. So every employee is trained, empowered and rewarded, to become a decision maker.

This brings up the other contribution Henry Ford made which was the antithesis of the research model.

For Ford's goal was to manufacture the highest quality cars and the lowest possible price. That meant no variation, not in the machinery nor in the men and women who ran the assembly lines.

You've all heard Henry Ford say that "you can have any colour Model T, as long as its black." He found the key to a low price was to allow absolutely no variations in the products and the line.

The same applied to workers. Ford boasted that he could teach any assembler his job in 15 minutes or less. Individuals were extensions of the machines. Without smart machines, it was the only way to achieve absolute standardization and uniformity.

Besides the obvious psychological problems unvarying routine fostered in employees, there was a larger outcome to mass production that Henry Ford hadn't anticipated.

Every few years in auto industry history, there was a dramatic shift in customer preferences. Suddenly, the existing products were made obsolete by the public voting against them in the marketplace.

The result is that for a hundred years, auto makers have had to endure cyclical downturns as companies re-designed and retooled for shifting market preferences.

Interestingly, this problem ended Ford Motor Company's complete dominance of the industry in the 1920s.

Henry Ford said that secret to automotive success was the same one as marriage --- pick one model and stick with it. Ford was wed to the Spartan Model T.

Then some people down the block at General Motors realized that as people became more prosperous, they wanted distinct models, and even options on those models. Their motto became "a car for every purse and purpose."

Yet the bigger problem market shifts produced was cyclical downturns. They hit us especially hard, and they do it with unfailing regularity.

A career in the auto industry meant regular downturns, and long periods in which the lines were idled to accommodate changeovers. Workers were accustomed to be laid off several months every year.

So mass production always was both my industry's strength and our greatest weakness.

Mass manufacturing systems are, by design, hard tooled to produce millions of virtually identical vehicles. Consequently, manufacturing is cumbersome, like a freight train that once up to speed is difficult to stop, and impossible to turn.

Yet the knowledge age has nurtured a dynamically opposite market reality.

Smart technologies make it possible for more competitors to enter every market.

We have a new market out there. Highly informed, sophisticated, aware, with a world of knowledge about competitive products and practices readily available via the web.

Given a crowded, highly competitive global market, the customer is in complete charge.

He and she demands one-of-a-kind products tailored to each individual's specific wants and needs. If one company can't provide the diversity of products and options they want, well, someone else can.

There are lots of books written lately about what industry must become. The most common new term is "virtual corporation." The Virtual Corporation, like virtual reality, is designed to be ultimately flexible, to provide whatever the customer wants at any time and in any given place.

Agility, robustness, adaptability are essentials of manufacturing in this new competitive age.

Contrast that to Henry Ford's ultimatum that customers could have cars in any colour as long as it was black.

The situation, in fact, reminds me of a story. Actually, it was President Lyndon Johnson's favourite story about a teenager back home in Texas who got a job as an apprentice brake man on the railroad.

On the first day, the foreman was teaching him the job. He said, "O.K. son, now what would you do if you saw a train coming North on this track at 60 miles an hour. And then you saw another train a couple of miles away coming South on the same track at 90 miles an hour."

The boy said, "Well, I'd run home and get my brother."

"And why would you do that?" the foreman asked.

"Cause my brother ain't ever seen a train wreck before."

No question, traditional fixed and inflexible manufacturing is on a collision course with knowledge age agility.

With our complex products, long development times and massive investments in each vehicle, what we lack is real flexibility.

And those trains are speeding up. The conversion of knowledge, information, and transportation ages, everything is changing at an astronomical pace. Markets and economies move about like bees in boxcars.

What can we do? Obviously, we've got to get flexible.

Agility, robustness, nimbleness, responsiveness, resilience, and flexibility... these are the only viable strategies in an era of unprecedented, and unpredictable, change.

We've been moving from mass manufacturing to lean production, and now in one decisive effort we'll go to fully flexible manufacturing.

The bottom line for us is that this transformation will cut waste, improve quality and efficiency -- and allow our plants to change the mix of products within existing capacity, and convert to new products with minimal investment and changeover losses.

All this to turn on a dime... to meet any market eventuality in the shortest possible time.

Our timetable for this transformation is aggressive. By 2004 -- just two years from now --- half of our plants will be flexible. By 2008 virtually all of Ford's North American plants will have flexible operations.

Flexible manufacturing is, however, a radical change for manufacturing. It is as much a mindset as a machine setup. It is a cultural norm that requires everyone and everything to be oriented to responsiveness.

Let me briefly touch on three areas we've changed to achieve genuine flexibility.

First is virtual design. We create a cyber world in which we can explore alternatives in products, processes, and ergonomics before any costly commitments are made. Lead time and initial costs are significantly reduced.

[RUN available video on virtual design]

Virtual design moves manufacturing upstream, allowing us to precisely design each step, producing sequential models of all assembly stations. This makes the abstract tangible. You can visually walk through your pre-built plant, see for yourself how all the elements work together.

The people side of virtual design is vital. Ford is a leader in ergonomics which we are applying in virtual design. We place simulated humans in an operational situation, and then calculate the impact of movement on the body, including a determination of the stress levels produced by repetition. In this way, we prevent poor ergonomic assembly conditions from ever reaching a production line.

In manufacturing plants, modularization is almost a synonym for flexible manufacturing. The idea is to take leading-edge, yet proven, manufacturing technologies and to incorporate them into a modular manufacturing system, with standardized processes, standard equipment and standard plant layout.

You might call these cookie-cutter plants, or Mc Manufacturing. When finished, you can walk onto the floor of any one of our plants and until someone speaks a language, you won't be able to tell whether you're in a Ford plant in Australia, Europe, South America, or America.

This approach lets us take greater advantage of standardization on a scale that more accurately meets customer and model needs.

Components must be designed for flexibility. Consider our new I-4 engine. This engine is designed so that relatively minor changes in cylinder bore and cylinder head configuration can produce more than 100 variants of this engine.

So we start with common architectures; then add common manufacturing facilities; then add new modular machines that can be retooled and reprogrammed to perform new tasks rapidly with minimal disruption to production.

Materials and personnel can be shared, if needed. And we'll save about 50 percent in changeover costs.

There are scores of other changes, but I think I've said enough to make my point that rapid changeover and flexible production are not just vitally important, they are virtually critical.

Now you understand why traditional tooling with four and five month development times is totally unacceptable in a robust manufacturing environment.

At Ford, we set out to find a way to create production die tooling for thermoforming and injection moulding that was first and foremost faster yet did not sacrificing accuracy nor durability. And if such a technology could also reduce costs, well, that would be a tremendous bonus.

What we came up with was a rapid tooling method that cuts tool production time from 20 weeks to less than a week. Tool making without any machining. It delivers a 30 percent reduction in cost, and a 50 percent improvement over existing technologies. That's a major breakthrough.

We did it by changing the basic premise of tool making.

The traditional method of die making is as old as the sculptor's art. As the artist says, "You start with a block of stone and chip away everything that is not your statue."

For more than a hundred years, we've made tools by starting with a hunk of steel, then chipping and grinding away what we don't want. Oh, a lot of sophisticated new grinding and chipping technologies have been added, like carbide tools, numerical control CNC, and high-speed five-axis machining, which has speeded things up from nearly a year in Henry's time to five months today.

We've gone the opposite direction. Ford's thermal spray method is an additive process. Essentially we get a part model from any number of methods like stereo lithography, REN boards, silicone rubber or plaster. Then the part is cast in ceramic and frozen.

After we separate the master, the die is dried in an oven, not fired. It accurately replicates the pattern and has excellent surface and thermal shock properties.

Then a high-evolved industrial robot with four spray guns builds the surface.

And I can just hear some of you saying that thermal spray deposition isn't a new process. You're right. But in the past its been a flawed

process. It traditionally made dies that were prone to surface imperfections and cracks.

Our system uses a computer-based thermal compensation software and programmable logic controller and infra red camera on the spray unit. It is a closed-loop system which can make instant, in-process adjustments. It's an impressive technology.

We've developed this technology for small, as well as large dies. Our largest part to date is the inner hood mould for the Mercury Mountaineer, with measurements of ___ by _____.

We've taken this technology from concept to production level in just two and a half years.

And we've used our Ford Scientific Laboratory approach all the way. Our scientists were aggressive about going outside our own labs, to universities and other companies worldwide. We found what was done, bought it, and incorporated it into our program, not unlike Henry Ford did in finding the most advanced thinking for his production system nearly a century ago.

The spray coating method came from a small British company, Sprayform Holdings, which we acquired to gain the technology. And many, many resource people from a vast array of companies and universities were enlisted in the development process.

We don't, of course, want to go into the tool making business. Our goal is to quickly get this enabling technology into the hands of tool making vendors. We're licensing the technology to make dies, punches, and other tools by this thermal-spray process.

The first license went to Praxair Surface Technologies of Indianapolis, which not only does a volume business in automotive and aerospace, but also sells thermal spray coating equipment through one of its companies. Another initial vendor is Atlas Tool of Michigan, one of the world's leading independent stamping die makers.

This Rapid Tooling technology is an excellent example of Ford's century-old approach to research and development, and a giant step, among many, into a new century of flexible manufacturing.

Henry Ford was a manufacturing pioneer whose approach to problem solving was both inclusive and direct. Much of the methodology he established is in use today, and will help us address the challenges of a new age.

So I hope in all of this rambling you see why I left it to a history lesson to help explain the importance of this new technology.

What we need now is more of that pioneering spirit, understanding the challenges of a new age, and employing both inspiration and perspiration to make it happen.

I'd like to end with a couple of thoughts Henry Ford made on pioneering efforts. Once, late in his career, he said -- "History doesn't mean dates and wars and textbooks to me; it means the unconquerable pioneer spirit of man."

And later he would add --

"Our great pioneering has not been in covered wagons but in laboratories and workshops and in better ways of living together as a human society."

It's my hope for all of us at this conference that we see this new age of whirlwind change as an opportunity for all of us to leave a legacy of pioneering achievements.

Thank you.

4.0 CONCLUSION

A technical speech, gives technical information, most often, to technical people. Some of the information contained in technical speeches is often difficult for non-technical people to digest. But technical people, because of their knowledge and exposure are often able to comprehend and even utilise such information.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has looked at the technical speech. Among other things, it has explained that the main difference between a technical speech and other forms of speech can be found in the content and audience. The content of a technical speech is technical information, while the audience is most times made up of technical people who are able to understand and utilize technical information.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Write a two-page technical speech on any subject or issue of your choice

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 5 OTHER TYPES OF SPEECH

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Other Types of Speech
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

There are many other types of speech. Just as human endeavours are many and varied, types of speech are also many and varied. In this unit, we shall look at a few more types of speech, especially those not covered by the types we have already discussed.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain other types of speech that exist
- write other types of speech.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Other Types of Speech

As mentioned in the introduction, many other types of speech exist. These include introductory speech, opening/closing remarks, impromptu talks, tributes, toasts, eulogies, acceptance speech, valedictory speech, etc, etc. Let us briefly look at some of them.

(a) Introductory Speech

As the name implies, an introductory speech is meant to introduce an event, a process, an idea, etc. This means that the speech itself is not the main thing; it only introduces the main thing. In making an introductory speech, it is important to bear this fact in mind to avoid taking the place of the main thing that the introductory speech is meant to herald. All that is required in an introductory speech is a preamble that gives an insight into the main thing. It is not necessary for an introductory speech to be lengthy or wordy, since it is not the main thing. But the introductory

speech should be sufficient in scope to clear the way for the main thing. Examples of introductory speech include speeches to introduce a guest speaker, a performer, or other public personalities at the commencement of special events.

(b) Remarks

Like introductory speeches, remarks are meant to be brief. They may come at the beginning (opening remarks) or at the end (closing remarks). If they come at the beginning, they are a form of introduction, and if they come at the end, they herald the end of the event or activity.

(c) Impromptu Talks

An impromptu talk is an unrehearsed action remark on a subject. It is not supposed to be long. The problem, however, is that some people, when asked to give an impromptu talk get so lost in the talk that they drag on endlessly. Since it is unplanned and unrehearsed, the speaker may not know where to start or where to end. Some end up talking out of point, while others speak for too long without really meeting the expectation of those that asked them to talk. The way out is that if you are fortunate to have a few more minutes before the impromptu talk is due, quickly reduce it to writing or outline the key points. That way you can stay on course.

(d) Tributes

Tributes are short speeches meant to show respect or admiration, and to acknowledge the efforts of another person; dead or alive. They are often made during award ceremonies, retirement parties, send off parties, receptions, birthday ceremonies, funerals, and other transitory functions. They are meant to eulogise; but they should not flatter. Usually, they are poetic and witty. Tributes should avoid criticizing the subject or object because the occasion is usually not meant for criticism. Funeral orations are a form of tributes to the dead.

(e) Toasts

A toast is a short speech to wish somebody happiness or success and it is usually followed by raising glasses of wine, cheering and drinking. Toasts are not long histories as we hear during some wedding receptions. A few sentences, and the toast is over. If you commit the toast into writing, the temptation to talk long may be overcome.

(f) Valedictory Speech

In some institutions, especially academic institutions, it is customary to have a valedictory speech from an outgoing person. The outgoing person may be a professor who is retiring from active service, or a graduating student who speaks on behalf of the graduating class. It is an opportunity for the speaker to reflect on the period of stay in an institution, acknowledge those that contributed to the success of the period of stay, and to highlight some memorable experiences. Sometimes, it is an occasion to reflect on the state of affairs at the institution and to make some recommendations. On August 26, 2005, Professor Niyi Osundare, a multiple award-winning poet and a lecturer at the University of Ibadan, delivered a most memorable valedictory speech in which he shared his experience at the premier university and made some remarkable comments on the state of university education in Nigeria.

Since valedictory speeches are not impromptu, there is no excuse not to write them down. It is very important to document valedictory speeches as a way of preserving knowledge.

In 1986, an American space shuttle was billed to launch into space as part of the United States' space programme. The launch was well publicized, and all over the world, people watched it live on television. Within a few minutes after its launch, the space craft, with Astronauts on board, had a fatal mid-air accident in which all the astronauts died. People watched across the globe in amazement as the craft blew up and turned into a ball of fire. The event plunged the country, if not the world, into a mourning mood. The U.S. President at the time, Ronald Reagan, who was billed to give a state-of-the-nation address, had to abandon the original plan and give a nation-wide speech that would address the grief of the moment. That is an example of 'other kinds of speech', because it does not fit into any of the specific categories earlier listed. The speech is reproduced below.

Speech 6: Ronald Reagan - The Challenger Disaster

Ladies and Gentlemen, I'd planned to speak to you tonight to report on the state of the Union, but the events of earlier today have led me to change those plans. Today is a day for mourning and remembering. Nancy and I are pained to the core by the tragedy of the shuttle Challenger. We know we share this pain with all of the people of our country. This is truly a national loss.

Nineteen years ago, almost to the day, we lost three astronauts in a terrible accident on the ground. But, we've never lost an astronaut in

flight; we've never had a tragedy like this. And perhaps we've forgotten the courage it took for the crew of the shuttle; but they, the Challenger Seven, were aware of the dangers, but overcame them and did their jobs brilliantly. We mourn seven heroes: Michael Smith, Dick Scobee, Judith Resnik, Ronald McNair, Ellison Onizuka, Gregory Jarvis, and Christa McAuliffe. We mourn their loss as a nation together.

For the families of the seven, we cannot bear, as you do, the full impact of this tragedy. But we feel the loss, and we're thinking about you so very much. Your loved ones were daring and brave, and they had that special grace, that special spirit that says, 'Give me a challenge and I'll meet it with joy.' They had a hunger to explore the universe and discover its truths. They wished to serve, and they did. They served all of us.

We've grown used to wonders in this century. It's hard to dazzle us. But for twenty-five years the United States space programme has been doing just that. We've grown used to the idea of space, and perhaps we forget that we've only just begun. We're still pioneers. They, the members of the Challenger crew, were pioneers.

And I want to say something to the schoolchildren of America who were watching the live coverage of the shuttle's takeoff. I know it is hard to understand, but sometimes painful things like this happen. It's all part of the process of exploration and discovery. It's all part of taking a chance and expanding man's horizons. The future doesn't belong to the fainthearted; it belongs to the brave. The Challenger crew was pulling us into the future, and we'll continue to follow them....

I've always had great faith in and respect for our space programme, and what happened today does nothing to diminish it. We don't hide our space programme. We don't keep secrets and cover things up. We do it all up front and in public. That's the way freedom is, and we wouldn't change it for a minute. We'll continue our quest in space. There will be more shuttle flights and more shuttle crews and, yes, more volunteers, more civilians, more teachers in space. Nothing ends here; our hopes and our journeys continue. I want to add that I wish I could talk to every man and woman who works for NASA or who worked on this mission and tell them: "Your dedication and professionalism have moved and impressed us for decades. And we know of your anguish. We share it."

There's a coincidence today. On this day 390 years ago, the great explorer Sir Francis Drake died aboard ship off the coast of Panama. In his lifetime the great frontiers were the oceans, and a historian later said, 'He lived by the sea, died on it, and was buried in it.' Well, today we can

say of the Challenger crew: Their dedication was, like Drake's, complete.

The crew of the space shuttle Challenger honoured us by the manner in which they lived their lives. We will never forget them, nor the last time we saw them, this morning, as they prepared for the journey and waved goodbye and 'slipped the surly bonds of earth' to 'touch the face of God.'

Ronald Reagan - January 28, 1986

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Carefully study the speech above. Thereafter, write a one-page speech on any topic of your choice that fits into the category of 'other types' of speech.

4.0 CONCLUSION

There are many other types of speech that cannot be accommodated here. As explained earlier, types of speech are limitless. It is important therefore, for you as a student of speech writing, to read up every type of speech you come across as a way of broadening your knowledge and equipping yourself for speech writing tasks that may arise at any time.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has focused on other types of speech that were not accommodated in the categories discussed in units 1-4 of this module. It was explained that there are so many of such types of speech that all of them cannot be sufficiently covered in a unit like this. However, the following six types were discussed in the unit: introductory speech, remarks, impromptu talks, tributes, toasts and valedictory speech. A speech made by former president of the United States of America, Mr. Ronald Reagan, after the 1986 space shuttle disaster was also reproduced as an example of the other types of speech not covered in the discussion. In the concluding part, you were encouraged to read up as many speeches as you come across as a way of improving your knowledge and speech writing skills.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Write short notes on any four of the following:

- (a) Introductory speech
- (b) Remarks
- (c) Impromptu talks

- (d) Tributes
- (e) Toasts
- (f) Valedictory speech

7.0 **REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

<http://www.espeeches.com>

MODULE 3 STEPS TOWARDS QUALITY SPEECH WRITING I

Unit 1	Choosing the Topic
Unit 2	Analysing the Audience
Unit 3	Sourcing for Information
Unit 4	Outlining and Organising the Speech Contents
Unit 5	Writing the First Draft

UNIT 1 CHOOSING THE TOPIC

CONTENTS

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
	3.1 Choosing the Topic
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

There are various steps that can enhance the quality of your written speech. These steps start from the point of selecting a topic. Sometimes you will have an opportunity of selecting a topic for yourself, but sometimes a topic can be thrust on you. Whenever you have the option of choosing a topic, there are things you could do to enhance the quality of your written speech. In this unit, we shall focus on such things.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of unit, you should be able to:

- explain how to select an appropriate topic
- select a good topic for your written speech.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Choosing a Topic

Choosing a good topic is an essential step towards writing a good quality speech. Most times, it is best to select a topic that interests you

very well. If you choose what is of great interest to you, you are most likely to be motivated to look for materials that will help you write a quality speech. At the beginning the topic may appear vague or unwieldy. But no matter how it is, remember to write it down. As more topic ideas surface, also write them down. It is most likely that the topic you start with will not be the topic you will end with, because as you move on with the writing, new and better ideas may emerge. While you may accommodate slight changes, ensure you stick to the general theme so that you won't lose focus. This means that you may start with a topic such as "The Enemies of My Country" but as you make progress, you may wish to amend it to something like "The Problems of my Country". There is no problem with such an amendment of the topic, provided you don't shift from the main focus. What you have done so far is to change 'enemies' into 'problems'. They may not be exactly the same, but in a sense they are related and you are on course. You may even realise, by the time you finish the final draft, that the topic has become "The Problem with Nigeria"

While choosing a topic that is of interest to you, there are a number of related questions you need to ask yourself: Do you have sufficient information to write on the topic? Can you access additional sources of information if the need arises? Do you have time to assemble the information required? You need to think of these and other related questions as you think of a general theme or topic for the speech.

It is important to remember that the topic you start with is like a general theme; not a topic in the strict sense of it. It is important not to deviate from that general theme once you have started. Chances are that if you change from the general theme, you will be tempted repeatedly to change it along the line, and this can make the writing to derail midstream.

In deciding on the general theme, it is also important to bear in mind the forum for which the speech is meant. The forum may be a product launch, a professional conference, a wedding reception, a public lecture, etc, etc. A theme that may be suitable for one forum may not be suitable for another. You need to keep this in mind. If for example, your company is re-launching an old product and your boss requests that you draft his/her speech, it may not be the right forum to speak about life after death, unless of course the product being re-launched has something to do with life after death. If the product has to do with a food product, it is not time to talk about a subject that could make people to lose their appetite. You also need to ask yourself if within the time you are given to deliver the speech, you can do justice to the topic. There are some topics that may require several hours to speak on, while there are

some you can tackle within a few minutes. You must put these into consideration as you think of the topic.

The audience, of course, must be considered in selecting a topic or theme. Are you going to address engineers or lawyers? Is it a mixture of people from different professions? Are there females or males? Is it a mixture of the sexes? Are the people to be addressed young or old? What is their level of education? This aspect will be discussed in greater detail when we consider audience analysis. But it is important to put this into consideration because it could determine or influence the attitude of the audience to your chosen topic.

One of the things you should not forget is that the topic will have to be narrowed. As you select the general theme, it is likely to be very wide, but as you move on, you need to narrow it down to a specific and manageable scope. Chances are that your topic may not be able to solve all the problems there are to be solved, but when you select a slice or a piece of the big problem, you may be able to address it in greater detail.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Find below Martin Luther King Jr's popular Speech, "I Have a Dream". Read through it carefully and then write out five new topics that you think are appropriate for the speech.

Speech 7: Martin Luther King, Jr. - I Have a Dream

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity. But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation, and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition. In a sense we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note

insofar as her citizens of colour are concerned. Instead of honouring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check -- a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice. We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all of God's children. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment and to underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges. But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvellous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny and their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" we can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and

righteousness like a mighty stream. I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal." I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at a table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state, sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today. I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today. I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together. This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with a new meaning, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring." And if America is to be a great nation this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania! Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of

Colorado! Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California! But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia! Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee! Let freedom ring from every hill and every molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring. When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

Martin Luther King, Jr. - August 28, 1963

4.0 CONCLUSION

Selecting an appropriate theme or topic is very important. It helps to keep your thoughts in focus, but most times, you would realise that what you thought was your topic was actually a general theme that had to be narrowed down. Most often, you will not end with that topic the way you started because along the line, good ideas may arise. However, even if you have to amend or re-work the topic as you move on, ensure that you do not change it completely whenever you have the opportunity. This is because, you will have several opportunities to change the theme or topic, and if you keep changing, the speech may never get written.

5.0 SUMMARY

Selecting an appropriate topic is very important if you are to write a good quality speech. This unit has focused on a number of things that you need to consider when selecting a topic. These include your interest, the forum, the interest of your audience, the time available for research, writing the speech and presenting it, etc. You were also told that the topic you start with may, after all, be a general theme, subject to amendment as the speech writing process progresses.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

A secondary school has invited the Managing Director of your company to present a motivational speech during the graduation ceremony for final year students. Your boss has in turn, delegated the assignment to you. Choose a topic and prepare a 3-page speech on your dream or vision for Nigeria.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 2 ANALYSING THE AUDIENCE

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Analysing the Audience
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

As indicated in Unit 1, analyzing your audience can enhance the quality as well as the effectiveness of your speech. It is usually said that the taste of the pudding is in the eating. It is the members of the audience that can judge the quality or effectiveness of your speech. If what you have written lacks appeal for the audience, you cannot claim that the quality of your speech is good. You are not the judge of your own speech.

In this unit, we shall look at a few more things about analyzing your audience to enhance the quality or appropriateness of your speech.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of unit, you should be able to:

- explain how to analyse the audience
- analyse the audience of your written speech.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Analysing your Audience

Let us assume that you have already selected a speech topic or theme and you are now about to plan how to start. Do not forget to put your audience and their need into consideration. Who are the people you are going to address? What is likely to be their age range? What are their backgrounds? These and all those related questions you asked earlier on need to be answered by you. If you forget them now that you are about writing, you will run into difficulty. Therefore, keep them before you. They will inform your style or approach, your language and even the contents of what you are writing.

You can afford to tell an audience that is much younger than you; “You young people of nowadays, your taste is outlandish”. But if you are addressing a much older audience- an audience that is much older than you- you are likely to say “As senior citizens, your tastes are really very special”. Remember that Nigerian senior citizens are self-respecting and so want to be respected. If you forget to accord them their due respect, some of them may call you to order or politely remind you to remember your culture. So, be sensitive to the result of your audience analysis.

Meanwhile, our youths, teenagers, adolescents, etc, are in a special class, and you must keep this in mind. Most of them do not like “long talk”. Some of the things that may amuse you may not sound funny to them. If you are not careful, you may think they hate you, but all they may be saying in their minds is that you belong to the old school. So, watch out and utilize the result of your audience analysis.

Is your audience made up of university lecturers or market women? Is it a mixture of the two? Well, if you are writing the speech for university lecturers, mind your language. Do not plan to impress them with ‘big English’. Chances are that they know more grammar than you do, and if you try to impress them by using high-sounding words, somebody may inform you that your high falutin (or hi-falutin) expressions lack substance, structure and meaning. If I were you, knowing my audience well, I would keep it simple. If your speech to them is simple, they may fault other things, but its not likely to be your expressions, structure and meaning.

The market woman too does not want “too much grammar”. What she wants is for you to finish the speech quickly so she can go back to the market. Please, do not waste her time. Whatever you want to say, go straight to the point. Avoid unnecessary circumlocution (or beating around the bush). Other wise, you will lose her attention soon, and you will find yourself talking only to yourself. But they will still smile at you, laugh with you and even clap for you so you won’t feel bad (Trust the Nigerian audience!).

The scenario with university undergraduates may be different. If your “grammar” is flowing well, and you can use words from the encyclopedia that they are not familiar with, they may clap for you and even shout “more, more, more...!” The only problem is that in that euphoria, if you commit any small grammatical error (or “grammatical atrocity”), that they are aware of, they will laugh at you badly and you may never recover from the shock. So be careful. The audience is powerful, and a good knowledge of their composition, including their age range, level of education, occupation or profession, and background

generally, could help you to write a speech that will be effective and adjudged as being of good quality.

Remember that the audience is usually made up of individuals from different groups (i.e. age group, educational group, socio-cultural group, economic group, etc) You may not be able to know every individual in the audience or his/her background, but a fair knowledge of the background of the various groups of people in the audience could be very helpful as you write the speech.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Find below a speech by Nelson Mandela, former South African President and hero of the South African anti-apartheid struggle. The topic of the speech has been intentionally removed so you won't know the people he was addressing. Now, read through it carefully and then answer the following questions.

- (d) What are the likely characteristics of the audience he was addressing?
- (e) What are the reasons for your answer?

Speech 8

Your Majesties, Your Highnesses, Distinguished Guests, Comrades and friends:

Today, all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of our country and the world, confer glory and hope to newborn liberty.

Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud.

Our daily deeds as ordinary South Africans must produce an actual South African reality that will reinforce humanity's belief in justice, strengthen its confidence in the nobility of the human soul and sustain all our hopes for a glorious life for all.

All this we owe both to ourselves and to the peoples of the world who are so well represented here today.

To my compatriots, I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld.

Each time one of us touches the soil of this land, we feel a sense of personal renewal. The national mood changes as the seasons change.

We are moved by a sense of joy and exhilaration when the grass turns green and the flowers bloom.

That spiritual and physical oneness we all share with this common homeland explains the depth of the pain we all carried in our hearts as we saw our country tear itself apart in a terrible conflict, and as we saw it spurned, outlawed and isolated by the peoples of the world, precisely because it has become the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression.

We, the people of South Africa, feel fulfilled that humanity has taken us back into its bosom, that we, who were outlaws not so long ago, have today been given the rare privilege to be host to the nations of the world on our own soil.

We thank all our distinguished international guests for having come to take possession with the people of our country of what is, after all, a common victory for justice, for peace, for human dignity.

We trust that you will continue to stand by us as we tackle the challenges of building peace, prosperity, non-sexism, non-racialism and democracy.

We deeply appreciate the role that the masses of our people and their political mass democratic, religious, women, youth, business, traditional and other leaders have played to bring about this conclusion. Not least among them is my Second Deputy President, the Honourable F.W. de Klerk.

We would also like to pay tribute to our security forces, in all their ranks, for the distinguished role they have played in securing our first democratic elections and the transition to democracy, from blood-thirsty forces which still refuse to see the light.

The time for the healing of the wounds has come.

The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come.

The time to build is upon us.

We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination.

We succeeded to take our last steps to freedom in conditions of relative peace. We commit ourselves to the construction of a complete, just and lasting peace.

We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity--a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world.

As a token of its commitment to the renewal of our country, the new Interim Government of National Unity will, as a matter of urgency, address the issue of amnesty for various categories of our people who are currently serving terms of imprisonment.

We dedicate this day to all the heroes and heroines in this country and the rest of the world who sacrificed in many ways and surrendered their lives so that we could be free.

Their dreams have become reality. Freedom is their reward.

We are both humbled and elevated by the honour and privilege that you, the people of South Africa, have bestowed on us, as the first President of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, to lead our country out of the valley of darkness.

We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom.

We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success.

We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world.

Let there be justice for all.

Let there be peace for all.

Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all.

Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfil themselves.

Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world.

Let freedom reign.

The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement!

God bless Africa!

Thank you.

Nelson Mandela

4.0 CONCLUSION

Just as it is said in business that the customer is king, in speech writing the audience is both the king and the judge of the “worth” or quality of your speech. Your efforts should be geared towards achieving the result you want in the audience. To achieve that, you need to know your audience. This underlies the importance of audience analysis. To understand the audience, you need to analyse. The analysis does not necessarily have to be a complex process. It is a process that should enable you to understand the composition of your audience so that the speech can be tailored to meet their needs or expectations. Remember, however, that no matter how well the audience analysis is, there may be surprises during the presentation. That should not put you off. Just ensure that your speech is properly written, with the audience and their characteristics in mind.

5.0 SUMMARY

A good knowledge of your audience, their characteristics, expectations, etc, can help you to write a speech that will not be off the mark. It will be a speech that the audience will appreciate; a speech that will produce results, and a speech that you will be proud of. A way to know the audience is to do an audience analysis which does not necessarily have to be complex. In this unit, we have looked at how to analyse the audience and how to utilize the analysis in tailoring your speech towards meeting the needs of the audience. You were also requested in the SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE to do an activity aimed at sharpening your ability to analyse an audience. Practising the processes of audience analysis repeatedly can enhance your skills and thereby sharpen your ability to write speeches that properly target and reach the audience.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

You are your boss’ special assistant on media, and your boss has just been elected as the National President of the Nigerian Union of Journalist (NUJ). Prepare a 2-page inaugural speech to be presented at your inauguration. Most members of your audience will be media professionals.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 3 SOURCING FOR INFORMATION

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Sourcing for Information
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Sourcing for the right information is a very important consideration if you are to write a good quality speech. Without proper and good quality information, your speech may be too ordinary or outrightly poor. In this unit, we shall look at how to source for information for your written speech.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to:

- explain how to source for information for a written speech
- source for information for your written speech.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Sourcing for Information

Information is the main ingredient you need for your speech writing. Without information, there can be no good speech. There are many sources of information that you can utilize as you prepare to write a speech. Let us look at the following sources of information.

(a) **Books-** These are among the most popular sources of information. Volumes of books have been written over the ages, and more are still being written. Books contain huge volumes of information that can be used to strengthen written speeches. Books contain information on a diversity of subjects, ranging from home keeping through gardening to computer science, astronomy and many more.

Once you have chosen a topic, you may wish to check at the nearest library or bookstore for books on the subject. If you don't know of any

book that has been written on the subject, ask the librarian or the person who runs the bookstore. They may be able to show you different books on the subject, and then you will select the ones you feel are very essential.

Current books are usually better than very old books because more current books may have information that older books do not have. Every day, the body of knowledge in every discipline is growing, and newer books are likely to contain more information about such current knowledge. This does not mean that older books are absolutely useless. They have their own place too.

In using books for your written speech remember that you are not to copy the works of authors verbatim (or word for word). You may use some of their ideas, but when you take their words, ensure that you properly acknowledge them. If you do not, it amounts to plagiarism. Any word or idea you borrow from a book or any other source needs to be properly acknowledged. Those people have laboured to write the books, and the least you can do is to acknowledge their efforts.

If you read through the speeches in this text, you would notice that the authors of the speeches acknowledge the authors of ideas that they have borrowed. Similarly, if you use other people's words and ideas, remember to acknowledge them.

(b) Newspapers and magazines-You can also get a large volume of information from newspapers and magazines. Current information on a subject may be found in current or recent newspapers and magazines, but information that is not quite recent may be obtained in such publications in the archives. If you go to a library and ask for newspapers in the archives, they may be able to oblige. But you need to remember the information you are looking for. The main difference between information sourced from books and information sourced from newspapers and magazines is that the former (that is information sourced from books) tend to be more detailed, more professional and more dated (older) while the latter (information sourced from newspapers and magazines) tend to be less detailed, but more current. You can combine the two sources where possible.

(c) The Internet – This is a very rich and more scientifically advanced method of obtaining information. You can get information on virtually every subject or issue on the Internet. Whether it is parenting, reading, driving, writing speeches, etc, etc, you can get information on them on the Internet. This is one of the benefits of modern science and technology. So, if you are preparing to write a speech on a topic and you

seem to know next to nothing on that subject, just use the Internet and you will get more information than you can probably handle.

(d) Radio and Television- From radio and television stations, you can obtain a large volume of information to use in your speech. Such information may be live or recorded, depending on what your speech topic requires.

(e) Interviews-For some speeches, you may need to interview people who are knowledgeable on the topic of your speech. They could be older people, more experienced people, and even younger people, etc. If, for example, you want to write a speech to discourage young people from smoking cigarettes, you could interview some of them to find out why they smoke. This could give you some idea. If you ignore them because they are young, you may miss the point. There is some information you may never get from men but which you can obtain from women. So, the topic you are writing on, will determine the category of people from whom you are likely to get the required information.

In interviewing people, remember to respect their rights to privacy. Some may give you information but ask you not to disclose that they gave you the information. You are to protect them accordingly.

The interview can take different forms. Sometimes it is very casual and informal. At other times it may be very formal, and you may need to use a midget tape recorder. The consent of the person being interviewed should be obtained before you use such a gadget.

(f) Observations- Observations from things happening around you may also provide a good source of information for writing your speech. Do you notice that there are traffic snarls on major roads at a particular time of the day? Do you observe that there are more beggars on the streets of Lagos than on the streets of any other city in the southern part of Nigeria? Do you observe that some children are made to hawk for their parents during school hours instead of being in school? All these and other observations from things happening around you can provide valuable information for speech writing.

(g) Discussions- From discussions with friends, neighbours, colleagues, fellow passengers in public transport, etc, you can get valuable information which you can further investigate and use for your speech. Please, remember that the people giving you information may have ulterior motives. You must first investigate and confirm the information provided before you use it in your speech so that you won't be a rumour monger.

Discussion can take many forms. Some are very formal while others are informal. A focus group discussion is a more formal type. A number of people, usually not exceeding twelve, are brought together to discuss an issue, and a note taker records the various viewpoints for the purpose of analysis. For your speech, you may need a less formal discussion with a fewer number of people.

“What is the difference between an interview and a discussion?” you may ask. For the present purpose, an interview involves a question-and-answer approach, and usually one person is interviewed at a time. For a discussion, there is a general topic or issue, and the discussants, usually more than one, express their views freely. There is no interviewer per se, but a moderator, who simply moderates the discussion.

(h) Museums –Museums are a rich source of historical information which you can use when writing a speech. Unfortunately, many people ignore the rich resources that abound in the museums. If you are writing a speech on traditional warfare in Nigeria, a visit to the National Museum, Lagos, or the National War Museum, Umuahia, may help to broaden your knowledge and understanding of the weapons of war that were used in the past. If you are writing a speech on Nigerian houses or architecture, a visit to the Museum of Traditional Nigerian Architecture (MOTNA), Jos, could make a whole world of difference. There are several other museums across the length and breadth of Nigeria. When you read a book, you can get information and even see photographs; when you go on the Net, you can read up, download information and see pictures; but when you visit a museum, you can see, touch, smell and feel the items. The choice is yours.

(i) Others- There are several other ways in which you can get information for the writing of your speech. For example, if you need to administer questionnaires and analyse the responses before you write up the speech, by all means do. If you need to write a speech, sit down and think of all possible sources. While considering all such possible sources of information, also bear in mind the time available to you, the resources involved, etc. All these will help you to take a right decision on which source of information to use for your speech.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Study the speech below very carefully. Thereafter answer the following questions:

- (a) From where do you think the author of the speech sourced information for the speech?

- (b) With reference to particular statements in the speech, give reasons for your answer in question (a) above.

Speech 8: Franklin D. Roosevelt - A Date Which Will Live in Infamy.

Yesterday, December 7, 1941 - a date which will live in infamy - the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya. Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong. Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam. Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands. Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island. This morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us. No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces - with the unbounded determination of our people - we will gain the inevitable triumph - so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December seventh, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

Franklin D. Roosevelt - December 8, 1941

4.0 CONCLUSION

There is a popular saying that information is power. This saying is particularly true in speech writing. With the right information, your speech can touch the audience where you want and move the audience the direction you want. With all the libraries, book stores, media stations and other sources of information in the society, you cannot give the excuse that you lack access to information. No matter what your speech writing topic is, sit down carefully and itemize the possible sources of information. Thereafter, consider the amount of time, money and other resources you would need in order to have access to those sources of information. Having put all those factors into consideration, of course including the volume and quality of the information you are likely to get from those sources, you can then decide on which source of information or a combination of sources of information, to use as you prepare to write the speech.

5.0 SUMMARY

Access to good sources of information plays a significant role in speech writing. In this unit, we have taken a look at several sources of information for speech writing. These include books, newspapers and magazines, radio and television, interviews, observations, discussions,

museums and others. A speech by a former president of the United States, Franklin D Roosevelt, was also provided under the self – assessment exercise, and you were requested to study it carefully and identify the likely source or sources of information for the speech. This is meant to stimulate your imagination. As you practice exercises like this one, you are likely to discover more sources of information for written speeches.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Your boss has been invited to deliver a speech on the topic “Why Nigeria is where she is today” during an Independence Day workshop being organized by the Students of the Department of Mass Communication, University of Lagos. Outline at least ten possible sources of information for his use.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 4 OUTLINING AND ORGANISING THE SPEECH CONTENTS

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Outlining and Organising the Speech Contents
 - 3.2 Outlining the Speech Contents
 - 3.3 Organising the Speech Contents
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Before you start writing the speech it is important to outline your key points, and to think of how you will organize them on paper. While outlining involves bringing out the points, organizing the points means arranging them in such a way that they will make maximum impact. In this unit, we shall look at how to outline and organize the information sourced for speech writing.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to:

- explain how to outline and organize information for speech writing
- outline and organize information for your speech writing.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Outlining and Organising Speech Contents

3.2 Outlining the Speech Contents

When you have gathered the information you need for your speech writing, it is important to write down the points you intend to use in your speech. Chances are that you have so much information and you won't be able to use all of them. The basic thing to do is to write down the points you have in order to determine those you will need to use and those you may have to put aside. This process is called outlining. It is like a fisherman who throws his net into the sea. The net is likely to

catch different items, good and bad; useful and useless. The fisherman will first and foremost, pull the net back into the boat, pick out the good and useful items before discarding the bad and useless items. Similarly, you are to write out the main information or points you have gathered, check through them carefully and see which to use and which not to use. You can take a decision on some of them after you have written them down, but there are some others that you may discard outrightly and not write down because you consider them outrageous or absolutely useless. You may number the points as you write them down for ease of reference and organization. What you are doing is outlining. Remember that you have not really started writing the speech yet. Also note that in outlining, it is the key points you will write down; not all the detailed information.

Take a look at the speech outline below:

Speech outline

Topic: The Growth and Transformation of the Igala Kingdom

1. Protocol and courtesies
2. Who are the Igalas?
Geographical location of Igala land
Origin of the Igalas
3. Pre-colonial History of the Igalas
 - Contact with the Jukuns
 - War and independence from the Jukuns
 - Abutu Ejeh, the first Igala Monarch?
 - Ebulejonu; a woman rules the kingdom
 - contact with the Yoruba
 - Tsoede: an Igala prince founds the Nupe kingdom
 - War and peace with the Bini Kingdom
 - Hausa/Fulani influence
 - The Whiteman arrives
4. The colonial period
 - Missionary activities intensified
 - Trade and commerce around the Niger
 - Schools are built
 - Other indices of colonialism
5. Igala becomes part of Northern Nigeria

6. Kabba Province
7. All the way to Ilorin-Igala becomes part of Kwara State
8. From frying pan to fire- Igala goes to Makurdi
9. Naked I come, Naked I go; Igala leaves Benue State for Kogi State
10. At home at last- Igala settles down for development
11. Honour to whom it is due-Key contributors to the emergence and development of modern Igala kingdom
12. The battle ahead-Challenges ahead of the Igala people

Remember that this is just an outline or a rough sketch of some of the points you have. You may add or subtract from the outline. It is important to finish all the additions and subtractions before you organize so that you won't move backwards and forth. It is important, therefore, to 'crack your brain' very well at this point, to bring out as many points as possible. Check through the information you have gathered to ensure that you have not forgotten or overlooked any significant point. Do this thoroughly several times until you are sure and satisfied that you have itemized all the important points. When you get this assurance and satisfaction, we can assume that you now have an outline of your proposed speech. The next thing is to get your outline organized.

3.3 Organising the Speech Contents

Organising your speech contents involves deciding on which point comes first, which one follows, and so on and so forth. You need to bear in mind that you are not to put a point first or second just for the fun of it. You have to ask several strategic questions: Why should this point come first and not second or third; what will I gain by making it the first point; what will I lose by making it the fourth point, etc. These are key issues. Like an army general planning an assault on enemy forces, you need to think of the strength of your 'troops' and develop an effective war plan. Should the amphibious brigade attack first to surprise the enemy? Should aerial bombardments start first to "shock and awe" the enemy? Should commandoes raid the enemy territory first and create panic? etc. Similarly, a speech writer maps out his strategies: should I start with this opening statement to make the audience sober, or should I start with the other to stir up their enthusiasm; where should I insert this key point?; at the beginning to make them think about it throughout the

speech or at the end so they will remember it long after? If I insert this point at the middle, would it not be lost? With which point will I close this speech? These are the key decisions you have to take when organising the speech contents, and you need to be strategic in doing it because a general with good troops can lose a battle if his strategy is bad.

It is generally believed that a speech, like an essay, has four main parts, namely the introduction, the body of the speech and the conclusion. As you organize the contents, you need to bear the structure in mind. Which point is good for the introduction; which is better as conclusion; which one is better in the body of the speech, etc? You need to get these sorted out at the stage of organizing the contents of the speech.

As you organize the contents, there are several points you need to keep in your mind: what kind of speech am I writing? Who are the members of my audience? What occasion is this speech meant for? What effects do I want to create? If I put this point here or there will the effect or impact be created? If the impact or effect is created, will it be as strongly as I want it to be? Will it be better to move the point backwards? etc. Here, your ability in strategic thinking will be tasked, and this is good because it will help to bring out the beauty of your speech and to produce an effective result.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Study the speech below very carefully and write out an outline of the main points in it. Straw-man argument • Harold A. Poling

*Prepared for Harold "Red" Poling, Ford Chair and CEO Emeritus
Delivered at Business-Higher Education Forum Meeting, Sydney,
Australia*

Speech 9

Good afternoon,

While I've been a strong advocate of education throughout my career, and devoted the past ten years on the Business-Higher Education Forum, I'm a little reluctant to speak about "the learning culture."

"Learning culture" is one of those designer management terms like "employee involvement, participatory management, empowerment, re-engineering and, the latest cliché in the making -- the "virtual corporation."

Coming up with one of these buzz words is a sure prescription for success in the management guru business. By the way, my favourite definition of a business guru is that he's a doctor who comes up with a cure for which there is no disease.

Giving an old leadership issue a new name doesn't make it new, any more than a face lift and a tuck makes you young. It's cosmetic.

Worse, these buzz words lead people to think this is a radical deviation from the path we've always been on. Which is a way of selling major surgery.

That's certainly is the case with "learning culture."

The very term is an unnecessary redundancy. Every culture is a "learning culture." Everyone learns from the first day on the job. Everyone looks to his or her supervisor as a role model...which is why the learning process in business is -- and has always been -- defined by your management team.

This makes the real issue not establishing some new concept called a "learning culture," but about the business of leading people...guiding them to learn the right things -- and unlearn the wrong things... to learn how to improve quality, products, processes, and profits. All of the rhetoric about transforming our global corporations into open campuses misses the essential point of what we're about.

Global business isn't about the accumulation of knowledge -- that's academia. Business is about the application of knowledge. Application turns a learning culture into an earning culture. And that hasn't changed. What has changed, of course, is that today there is so much more to learn and apply -- so much new enabling technology -- that can lead to more and better applications.

Ever since the advent of the computer, and satellite global communications, knowledge has been building on itself exponentially. A couple of decades ago, when we hired an engineer, we used to get a measure of knowledge that would last for most of a career. Today, a degree in engineering, or business, is like milk -- with an expiration date stamped right on the carton.

If our corporation doesn't pick up where the school left off soon, the technical knowledge we thought we'd hired will turn sour fast. And that's true not just of the educated few, but for everyone. As one educator put it, "Learning has changed from the shopping center to the fitness center" -- from something you buy and have, to a continuous, lifelong process. And with this change has come an awareness that

education today is too central to competitive success, and too potentially costly, to be left entirely to your education staff.

So every corporation needs a continuous education and training program. But what kind, and how much? There is literally a world of new knowledge available to every employee today with access to a computer monitor. An open "learning culture" is like an open bar -- it invites excess.

As leaders, we've got to look hard at every aspect of this available knowledge... to ask ourselves what is applicable to our individual corporate needs. Is it worth a penny or a pound? Every decision to draw from an almost bottomless well of new knowledge must be made with a thorough understanding that there are costs -- costs in dollars, costs in human resources, and in a global market -- costs in competitive pricing, jobs, and profits.

Yet I continue to see corporate educational programmes competing with tax-supported schools. I know one corporate-sponsored program, in fact, that includes courses on lawn mower repair and personal estate planning. In my opinion, any manager who approved teaching lawn mower repair had better be selling lawn mowers.

The task of leadership in this new knowledge era -- as in every era -- is to help your organization avoid imitating the grasshopper. The grasshopper is hell on distance, but lousy on direction. Leadership's job is to provide direction.

So how do we define the objectives of our continuing education efforts? Communicate the message? Measure the outcomes? I believe we should start with senior management's evaluation of what is important to the corporation. What are your core competencies? ... the core strengths you want to enhance?

Product quality, costs, employee skills...relations with customers, suppliers, and product outlets or dealers? What core strengths lead to competitive advantage and must be kept in house, and which are better purchased elsewhere?

That's a more relevant question today, because the supplier community has developed into centres of expertise, full service resources.

Keeping the truly competitively-critical knowledge going in house and building linked relationships with full-service suppliers is now the most common and most cost-competitive way to go. Even strategic planning should enter into defining your learning objectives, since learning

should be aimed not at where you are, but where your corporate vision will take you.

Let me give you an example from my own experience. One of Ford's strategic objectives a decade ago was to enter joint ventures, particularly in Asia and Japan.

Part of Japan's success, in fact, was their adroit use of joint ventures. Yet the Ford executives assigned to developing joint ventures were coming up empty. The problem was understanding Asian cultures -- especially Japan where the word for "yes" also means "maybe" and may just as likely mean we're being polite. So we created a three-day seminar for all executives in which we brought in outside experts who gave our people a quick course in Japanese culture. After that course, our joint venture strategy started working overtime.

Find a need and train to it, sounds like a simple enough philosophy. And it is...until you look at the full scope of competitive needs. At Ford, for example, we decided to prioritize major new areas of technical concern that impacted our future. In technology alone, there were 5,138 different technologies of specific concern, each with its own evolving body of knowledge. That's a humongous list, yet, if ignored, any one of them could pop up like a teenager's zit the night before the prom. It could ruin your day. So the task of defining direction for your learning curriculum becomes a formidable one.

The first step to defining education and training is clarifying your leadership priorities, in all their complexity. The second is defining measures to see if you're actually getting what you're paying for. Here, I'd add a word of caution. There are academic measures that help you find out what your people are learning. But this isn't academia. What you want to ultimately measure is actual change in behaviour, in the obtainment of your goals. Training that brings about no change is as useless as a parachute that opens on the first bounce. So make sure your leadership, not your educational specialists, define results measures. Define your goals, link them to learning, and measure outcomes against them.

It doesn't sound complicated, does it? It really isn't. Personally, I've always liked the way Jack Walch of G.E. puts it. Jack says: "This isn't rocket science. Business is simple. It's very simple. People who try to make it complex get themselves all wound around." Yet there is one aspect to all of this that, while not complicated, is exceedingly difficult. For it deals with that critical transition from accumulation of knowledge to actual application. It entails creating the kind of non-threatening and encouraging corporate environment where people are willing to apply

what they learn. It is impossible to develop a free-flowing competitive global organization with structured, inhibited people.

The situation reminds me of the invaluable lesson Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote of in his diary.

When Eisenhower went from being general of our military to President of the United States, he expected it would be a step up in absolute authority. Instead, he wrote: "Here I am sitting at this great big desk with all of these buttons -- but the buttons aren't connected to anything. I have to get out from behind that desk and convince people."

Ultimately, developing a dynamic culture where people learn, and are committed to apply what they learn to the betterment of a company, comes down to leadership. So I guess what I'm saying is that your leaders are your teachers. And I believe we should make it clear in our organizations that the opportunity to lead comes with it the responsibility to teach.

Leadership is being the good teacher -- of not being someone to lean on, but someone who makes leaning unnecessary. Leadership and training have the same goal -- to take people from where they now are to where they have never been before.

In summary, that's all I have to say about establishing a "learning culture." It's not rocket science. It's not brain surgery. But it is a vital function of leadership. That isn't accomplished with buzz words, or with flavour-of-the-month programs. Yet it can happen when leaders take their educational role to heart...when we define the direction, measure the pace, call the cadence, and walk the distance.

Personally, I think the answer is to elevate the function of teacher and trainer to the highest status in our organizations, and in our society, for that matter. George Bernard Shaw set back education with his widely quoted comment -- "Those who can, do. And those who cannot do teach."

I believe we have to rewrite Mr. Shaw, to say: "Those who can do can do more by teaching."

If our leadership can do that, then we can transform learning cultures into earning cultures.

Thank you.

4.0 CONCLUSION

It is important to outline the contents of your speech and to get them properly organized before you start writing. That way, you will be able to create the appropriate impact. In addition, it helps you to save time and optimize the use of the resources available to you. Therefore, if you want your speech writing efforts to produce the desired result; if you want to save time; if you want your speech to be properly organized, outline the main contents in writing, and get them properly organized before you start writing the main speech.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has focused on two key issues, namely outlining and organizing the contents of the speech before writing. The importance of the two was stressed, and the example of an outline was provided as a guide. Also, a sample speech was provided under the self- assessment test, and you were requested to outline the main points in it as a way of strengthening your ability to identify the main issues – an exercise you will do in the process of outlining speech contents. In the concluding part, we stressed the importance of outlining and organising your speech contents. It was explained that in addition to making your written speech more effective, it also helps you to save time and be properly organized.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

You have been invited to deliver a speech on the topic “Why Nigeria is where she is today” to mark the students union day of a polytechnic in your locality. Outline ten key points that will be required.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 5 WRITING THE SPEECH

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Writing the Speech
 - 3.2 Writing the First Draft of the Speech
 - 3.3 Revising the First Draft
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The information you have gathered outlined and organized remains like the main ingredients for preparing a dish. No matter how good the ingredients are, you are not going to serve them the way they are. You need to cook or make them into a meal. Similarly, you are now going to develop your information which you have outlined and organized, into a speech. The starting point is the first draft. In this unit, we shall look into the writing of the first draft as well as subsequent revisions of the draft.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to:

- explain how to write the first draft
- develop and revise the draft.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Writing the Speech

3.2 Writing the First Draft of the Speech

It is now time to write the first draft. The question is how do you start? The answer is simple: start the way you feel in your mind. Many people delay at this point because they are unsure of how to start the speech. Do not be one of those ‘many’ people. Simply put pen to paper and begin to develop the points, which you have already organized. Actually, ideas begin to flow when you put pen to paper. Start with the first point. Is your first point on protocols? If it is, begin by observing the protocols. Is

it the opening statement? Go ahead and write the opening statement as it occurs to you. The important thing at this point is to get started. Do not expect perfection at this stage yet. That will be taken care of later on. The important thing now is to develop the points which you have organized on paper.

A number of people expend so much time and energy, writing, canceling and rewriting, etc, at this beginning point that they soon get frustrated and give up. Do not be like them. Your duty at this point is not to write and re-write. It is simply to get started and to get going. So, develop the first point as best as you can and move on to the next point. As soon as you are through with the next point, proceed to the one that comes after it, like that, on and on. Remember to start each major point as a paragraph. This will help to get your thoughts organized. Each main point should start as a paragraph, and as soon as you are through with that, go on to the next. If a particular point is so big that a single paragraph cannot contain it, try and break it up into two or more paragraphs. Let your thoughts keep flowing and do not stop writing.

At this point, it is important to avoid distractions. It is important to choose a place and a time when there will be no disturbance. This will enable your thoughts to flow naturally. Sometimes, if you get distracted while writing, resuming the writing can get difficult. But the absence of a convenient place and time should not become another excuse for you to delay the commencement of work.

As the thoughts and ideas stream out, put them into writing, following the organization or plan that you had mapped out. Keep doing this until you reach the concluding part. Write out the conclusion, and what you have in your hand is the first draft of your speech.

It is good that you started writing the speech. If you did not start, your outline which you have organized would have remained like mere ingredients. But now you have something that is better than that. You have something that can be developed into something better. Having come this far, you can begin to congratulate yourself for having taken some vital steps. But remember that you have just started. You still have some way to go before the final speech is ready.

Perhaps, you are writing on computer or Braille machine and not pen and paper. Just follow the steps. Keep punching the machine, trying in the process to stay as close as possible to the outline you have organized. Do not veer off too radically, although you can accommodate a few shifts here and there. Keep at it until you have exhausted all the points which you outlined and organized. Like the person writing with

biro and paper, you too now have a first draft which will be revised and developed into the final speech, ready for presentation.

3.3 Revising the First Draft

One question students have asked repeatedly is this: How many times should the first draft be revised? It is important that the question be answered now. The answer is simple. Revise as many times as you think is necessary, but ensure that you are revising the work; not reversing it. “What is the difference?” you may ask. When you revise, you are looking through to see the areas that need improvement and to effect such improvements. When you reverse, you are doing a total ‘U-turn’. What you are expected to do when revising is not a U-turn. A U-turn will take you back to square one, and that is not your destination. So begin to check through the first draft word by word and sentence by sentence. In the process, ask yourself the following questions: Have I left any idea out? If no, good. Continue your revision. If yes, which idea have I left out, and where can I get it inserted? Get that done and continue with the revision. Is this paragraph too long? Should I break it into two? Have I expressed this idea clearly? What improvement can I add to this statement to make it clearer and give it more impact? Should this be a comma or a semi colon? Do I need a full stop here? Should I merge these two short sentences into one? Are they better the way they are? These are some of the many questions you will need to ask, answer and act upon as you revise the paper.

It must be emphasized that the first revision is not an opportunity for you to undo the first draft. I have seen a first draft that was later messed up by the writer during the first revision because he lacked self-confidence. He did a beautiful draft, but he did not have confidence in his ability. Gradually, he began to slice it away, canceling some, adding this and that. At the end, he got frustrated and did not have a speech. Your case has to be different. Revise the paper as thoroughly as you can, checking for completeness of ideas, accuracy of expressions, adequacy of vocabulary, the effectiveness of the structure, etc.

At this point, let us re-visit the question we asked earlier on. How many times should the paper be revised? Well, if you are running short of time, one thorough revision may be enough. But remember to be thorough. However, if you have plenty of time, you may do more than one revision. You may even give the draft to somebody else to read through and suggest improvements. But ensure that you don’t allow that to develop into another strategy for delaying the final write up.

Most times, as many times as you re-read through the draft, you will see something you still feel like changing. It is up to you to draw a curtain

on when you want to stop effecting changes. For as long as you want, you will always find a reason to change a thing or two. This does not mean that genuine errors and oversights should not be corrected. No matter when you notice errors of fact, figures, grammar, punctuation, etc, in the speech, you need to get them corrected. Error should not be allowed. Even at the eleventh hour, you may still correct errors that can render your speech useless or ineffective.

The speech titled “Gains of the Public from Good Programme Presentation” below, started as a draft before it was developed into a full fledged speech. Study it carefully and see how it can add to your knowledge of speech writing.

“Gains of the Public from Good Programme Presentation”

By Dr Ogu Sunny Enemaku, Department of Mass Communication, University of Lagos, Akoka. Being text of an address presented at a workshop on “The Imperative of Good Presentation to the Broadcast Industry” organised by the Lagos Zonal Office, National Broadcasting Commission (N.B.C.) on Tuesday, June 28, 2005.

Introduction

In the year 1927, the American Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was established to serve as an arbiter between the government and broadcasters on the one hand, among the broadcasters themselves on the second hand, and among the public, the government and the broadcasters on the third hand. The main purpose, among other things, was to check monopoly and to allocate frequencies. In the words of Folarin (2000: 102) the FCC “...was to ensure that broadcasting was practiced for public necessity and convenience”. Since that pioneering step was taken five decades ago, various nations, including Nigeria, have sought for ways to ensure that the quality of broadcast programmes presented to the public meet certain minimum standards. Through training programmes and other processes of socialisation broadcast regulatory bodies across the globe have sought to ensure that the quality of programmes are good and devoid of offences to public taste and sensibilities. We at the Department of Mass Communication, University of Lagos, Akoka, are therefore proud of the bold initiative taken by the Lagos Zonal Office of the National Broadcasting Commission to organise this workshop. As a foremost institution in the training of broadcasters and other communicators in this part of the world, we are happy to identify with the NBC as we say “more grease to your elbows”

The Basic Goals of Broadcasting

The ultimate objective of broadcasting in any society is to promote the good and wellbeing of the society in which the broadcasting system operates. Since 1932 when the International Telegraphs Union (ITU) had its name changed to the International Telegraphs and Telecommunications Union, telecommunications (of which broadcasting is a subset) has attracted significant intellectual attention because of its social impact. Even before 1932 broadcasting itself had been recognised as an important social issue in most western countries.

Generally speaking, broadcasting is believed to play four major roles in the society. These include surveillance of the environment (which is the news function), the correlation function (which relates to opinion shaping and propaganda in its broad sense), the cultural transmission function and the entertainment function. The first three were identified as far back as 1948 by Harrold Lasswell in his seminal work titled “*The Structure and Function of Communication in Society*”, while the fourth was identified in 1959 by Charles Wright in his book titled *Mass Communication, a Sociological Perspective* (Folarin, 2000:103) Other general roles of broadcasting that scholars have identified over the years include the diffusion of innovations, agenda setting, economic integration, cultural identification, and development, among others. None of these roles can be effective if there are significant deficiencies in the content or form of programme presentation. In other words, without proper programme presentation, the public cannot gain optimally from broadcasting. It is imperative therefore, to continuously beam the searchlight on programme presentation with a view to ensuring that it does not jeopardise the noble goals of broadcasting.

Effective Programme Presentation

A presentation is said to be effective when its original or initial objective or a substantial part thereof is achieved. If a programme is meant to enlighten the public on an issue, it cannot be said to have succeeded no matter how beautifully it is presented, if at the end of the presentation the audience remains unenlightened. Effectiveness is usually measured using the initial objective as a framework or yardstick. The first task of a presenter is therefore to present the programme communicatively in such a way that it would not leave the audience confused or begging for answers.

A programme presenter has responsibility to deliver the promise of the programme. If the programme is designed to provide information or to facilitate decision making, the presenter owes the public the responsibility of ensuring that the promise is fulfilled. If there are

complexities that make a programme difficult for the audience to comprehend or appreciate, it behoves on the presenter to “untie” those complexities and facilitate comprehension. If this is not done, the presentation is ineffective. Similarly, it is the duty of the presenter to create the appropriate mood for the programme. The mood may be hilarious, sober, sorrowful, tense, relaxed and so on. The way a presenter goes about his/ her job will determine if the right or appropriate mood is created. If the presenter is unable to create the intended mood, there will be a problem, and the objective of the programme may not be realised.

The introductory part of a programme presentation is generally supposed to be brief. The presenter is not expected to spend too much time making promises, many of which will not be fulfilled. The introduction should basically contain the information which the audience needs in order to benefit maximally from the programme.

Public Benefits from Good Programme Presentation

The main question now is: What benefit does the public derive if broadcast programmes are well presented? This question is similar to the question “what does the eater gain if food is well prepared”. The answer to both questions is simple, yet complex. What the public gets from a well presented programme depends on the content of the programme. This is because what one gets from eating a particular dish is not exactly what he or she gets from eating other dishes. One may argue that satisfaction is the ultimate, but satisfaction depends on a number of factors and there is more to eating than satisfaction. The nutritional value of what is eaten is equally important. One may get satisfied eating fast foods or pastries, but these kinds of foods do not have the same nutritional value as a meal of beans with fresh vegetables. Similarly, one may get satisfied feasting on cow skin popularly known as “ponmo”, but it does not give the exact nutrients that fresh fish or meat gives. In the same vein, the benefit which the public derives from good programme presentation depends on the contents of the programme among other things. This implies that an otherwise good programme can be poorly or badly presented, while a programme that is lacking in edifying contents can be “beautifully” presented.

A way out is to assess the benefits which the public derives from good programme presentation using the four general functions of broadcasting which we earlier identified, as a framework. On that basis, we can identify the following gains which the public could derive from good programme presentation:

- i Proper surveillance of the environment
- ii. Proper correlation, interpretation or understanding of information provided. This in turn promotes social harmony and integration.
- iii. Cultural awareness (or acculturation) which also contributes to national cohesion and cultural development.
- iv. Entertainment or relaxation.

The following gains could also accrue to the public if programmes are properly presented:

- (i) Diffusion of innovations
- (ii) Agenda setting
- (iii) Economic integration
- (iv) Cultural identification

The foregoing and others had been identified by scholars and cited by Mcquail (1983) as some of the benefits that society could derive from communication, including broadcasting. But unless programmes are properly and effectively presented, the public cannot have access to the gains.

In addition to the foregoing, Folarin (2000: 107-119) has identified the development function as a crucial one, and good presentation can help the public to have access to information which stimulates personal as well as social development. Development in this sense refers to “the creation of opportunities for the realisation of the human potential” (Sears, cited in Opubor 1985:184).

Permit me to also add that good programme presentation can aid spiritual development and transformation. If there is one thing we need in Nigeria today, it is spiritual regeneration which will liberate the nation from the web of indiscipline, corruption, poverty, underdevelopment and the plethora of other evils that have emasculated the country.

Through proper and effective programme presentation, the public can get educated about global changes and challenges, and how to take advantage of them for national development. It is therefore evident, that good programme presentation is not just a desideratum but indeed, a sine qua non if broadcasting is to take its proper place as a catalyst of socio-political, economic, cultural and moral development of Nigeria.

How to Ensure that the Public Gets the Best from Programme Presentations

McCutcheon, Schaffer and Wycoff (1994: 628) have made some suggestions which we may find useful as we attempt to optimise the benefits which the public gets from programme presentations. According to them, presenters as well as anchor persons need the following:

- (i) Pleasant personality which stems from developing a liking for being on the air, and demonstrating by non verbal cues an enthusiasm for the job. This enables the presenter to project the image of a take-charge person who is business-like but friendly.
- (ii) Charisma-which refers to the ability to connect, touch or move an audience. This quality is believed to inspire allegiance and devotion.
- (iii) Good appearance. This can be developed even if one is not naturally endowed with much of it. This attribute is particularly essential for television presenters. A haggard-looking television presenter is a misnomer.
- (iv) Effective speaking voice which would make the audience to want to listen to the presenter.
- (v) Poise, which means remaining calm, even when things go wrong as they sometimes do.
- (vi) Authoritativeness, which implies speaking crisply and decisively, without hesitations, slurring, mispronunciations and other distractions.
- (vii) Concentration, which is the ability to stay in one's role and not wandering off when there are distractions.
- (viii) Practising to use the teleprompter properly in television, thereby maintaining eye contact with the camera.
- (ix) Ability to write, which enables the presenter to write the outlines or script required for presentation.

I would like to add that for the public to benefit maximally from programme presentations, presenters should be dynamic, well –informed and amenable to change. We are in a digital world, and “analogue” or outdated attitudes to programme presentation should be done away with.

Conclusion

Before the Nigerian broadcast industry was deregulated, there was no deliberate policy to massively train those who will work in the new broadcasting stations. For example, the Department of Mass Communication, University of Lagos, as a foremost trainer of communication professionals could have been designated as a Centre of Excellence in broadcast studies and then supported by all stakeholders so it could help to build capacity for the industry. As a result of shortage of well-trained personnel, various kinds of people have found their way into the industry, and it is very important that this kind of programme and others should be organised. I commend the National Broadcasting Commission as well as its partners and the participants and I hope that the NBC will continue to work closely with training institutions and other stakeholders so that the public can optimally benefit from the deregulation of broadcasting in Nigeria.

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SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Draft a 3-page speech on “Globalisation: Its advantages and disadvantages”

4.0 CONCLUSION

It is important to write the first draft of your speech after you have outlined and organized the contents of the speech. Do not procrastinate. It steals time. The first draft is not supposed to be a perfect document, so do not waste time trying to make it excellent at the beginning. Simply allow your thoughts to flow, and as they flow, commit them into writing, but ensure you stay as close as possible to the outline and organization you wrote. Develop each point as carefully as you can until you have developed all the points you outlined and organized. When you have fully developed each point, including the conclusion, you are now set for the first revision. During the revision, check for correctness of facts and figures, adequacy of expression, etc. Also check your vocabulary, punctuation and other things that can detract from the quality of your speech. Feel free to add and delete, aiming at a general improvement of the speech you have drafted.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have looked at how to write the first draft and then do the first revision. We began by saying that the way to proceed is to develop each of the points which you earlier outlined and organized. You are to develop each point into a full idea, one after the other, until you have fully developed all your points. Thereafter, you are to start the revision by reading through the draft to see if there are ideas you have left out or errors you need to correct. Do this carefully from the beginning to the end of the draft speech to ensure that you are satisfied. If you are still not satisfied, try and go over the draft at least one more time to see areas that may require further improvement.

On the number of revisions required for a speech, we said there is no maximum limit, but that you should try and tidy up all the corrections

and amendments early. However, it was added that if there are still errors or major points that are left out, you should continue with the revisions until they are all satisfactorily addressed.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Under self assessment exercise in this unit, you were asked to draft a speech. Now revise the draft and make it into a fully developed speech

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

MODULE 4 LOGIC, LANGUAGE AND STYLE IN SPEECH WRITING

Unit 1	Revisiting the Issue of Logic
Unit 2	Language- Related Issues 1(Vocabulary)
Unit 3	Language- Related Issues 2(Punctuation)
Unit 4	Language- Related Issues 3(Grammar and Spelling)
Unit 5	Stylistic Issues

UNIT 1 REVISITING THE ISSUE OF LOGIC

CONTENTS

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
	3.1 Revisiting the Issue of Logic
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In Unit Five of Module One, the issue of logic was raised and discussed. It is important, once again to revisit the issue because of its ability to influence the attitude of the audience to the speech content and even to the speech presenter. Logic, broadly defined in this context, simply means 'sense'. Your written speech is supposed to make meaningful sense to the audience. In this unit, we shall focus on how your speech can be written in a way that will make sense to the audience and produce the desired results.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain what logic means
- ensure that your written speech makes the right sense to the audience.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Re-visiting the Issue of Logic

For a speech to be well received, it is supposed to make reasonable sense to the audience. It is either that the speech is reinforcing their present beliefs or trying to change such beliefs. Simply put, beliefs refer to their convictions about an issue or a topic. You may be trying to encourage them to hold firmly to such convictions or to drop such convictions and accept new or different ones. The speech offers you an opportunity to do this, but to succeed; there should be something in the speech that is capable of steering them toward your desired direction. The speech should be logical, meaning that it should be predicated on the use of sound reasoning. If the reasoning is weak, you may not be able to convince the audience. As mentioned above, some speeches are meant to re-enforce the attitudes or beliefs of the audience; to re-assure them that their present view, idea, belief or position on an issue or a topic is right and that they should hold on to it. If your speech lacks logic, the audience may even begin to doubt their own present beliefs. Not only would the speech fail to achieve its objectives, it would also make the audience to drift towards undesirable directions.

Let us assume that there is a fragile peace in a community and the peace is threatening to give way to anarchy and chaos. People respect you so much in the community and have invited you to address the people. You are expected to give them a speech that will make them to embrace lasting peace. If your speech fails, the fragile peace may be lost, and your audience may become violent thereafter. That is why it is important for your speech to succeed. And for your speech to succeed, the right appeal must be used.

If your speech is meant to show that your position on an issue is exactly like the present position of your audience on the subject, give instances that will show the connection between what they have in mind and what you have in mind. You may use an analogy to show that how you would react in a given situation is how they are presently reacting, or you can use one that will show that their present reaction to an issue or a subject is not the right one. But unless there is substance or good reasoning, your proposition may not be accepted.

If your speech addresses consumers who are already loyal to a brand and you want them to remain loyal to that brand, you must be able to show them that they are right by being loyal to that brand. Specific evidence to substantiate your position should be provided. If you succeed, they will indeed remain loyal to the brand, but if you fail, they will not remain where they are, but will look for alternatives to the brand. Brand

here may be expanded to mean a cause, an idea, an action, a principle, etc. Brand may also refer to a political party or a candidate. It may refer to a policy. It is important not to be vague in such situations, but to show the audience what they are getting right or what they are getting wrong, and your reasons for the verdict.

A young man in the bible by name Rehoboam, son of the wise King Solomon, had a very good opportunity to use logical appeal and endear himself to the people of Israel, but he failed to utilize the opportunity. Instead, he utilized fear appeal and lost the kingdom (2nd Chronicles 10: 1-19). The rest of the story shows a divided nation, simply because the right appeal was not used when it mattered most.

Many people make speeches that are illogical, meaning that such speeches are lacking in the quality of thinking or presentation of evidence. Such speeches cannot convince or persuade the audience. If a speech is meant to explain, convince or persuade, the evidence in it should be logical and sufficient. If the supporting evidence is not logically and properly presented, the goal may be jeopardized.

Let us take a simple example. May be a group of people are displeased with the government, a policy or with a segment of the society, and they want to show their displeasure. But rather than go directly to the government or to the segment of the society that has offended them, may be they have chosen to first and foremost let their own leaders know about their displeasure. These could be their political leaders, religious leaders, ethnic leaders, community leaders, etc. The leaders may give a speech to calm the people down, but unless such a speech succeeds, the protest is likely to turn violent as we have seen in some parts of the country repeatedly. The problem, sometimes, is that such leaders have been unable to write down their speeches, therefore, they have failed to think through the issues and use the appropriate appeals. As a consequence, the speech fails. And as explained, if a speech fails, the audience may react in a way that is least expected. It is important, therefore, for a speech writer to think through and utilize the most appropriate appeal in cooling down frayed nerves or waking the people up to their responsibilities as the case may be.

What some speeches require is emotional appeal; not necessarily reason, because certain circumstances are more amenable to emotional appeals than to logic. Emotion is not necessarily a negative thing. It has its own importance in human life and interaction. Emotion, where properly deployed, can heal where medicines fail. Emotions can liberate where canons of war fail. Emotions can also triumph where logic fails. The important thing is to ensure that such emotions are correctly used and not manipulated to wreak havoc. A gentleman once confessed that if not

for the tears of his mother, he would have ended up as an armed robber. His father was gifted with words, but to him, those words were empty because he saw poverty all around. He saw corruption. He saw social injustice and he made up his mind to vent his anger on society. All the intellectual arguments of his father were not enough to dissuade him. After spending about a week, training in the den of robbers, he came back home briefly to see his mother. The mother suspected that the boy had been with a bad gang. She did not utter a word. She sat the boy down and wept bitterly over him. The boy could not stand his mother's tears. He did not want anything that would make the poor woman to weep like that again. He resolved not to go back to the den. That was what God used to rescue him from armed robbery for the rest of his life. Tears succeeded where words failed. Love succeeded where stern discipline failed.

The responsibility of the speech writer or presenter is to determine the appeal that is suitable in any given situation. If it is a situation that requires emotional appeal, the responsibility of the speech writer becomes including sufficient emotional appeal to move the audience. Relying on logic alone may become inappropriate. The summary, therefore, is that the speech writer should be sensitive to the situation on ground and adopt the kind of appeal that best suits it.

Perhaps you have seen a situation where a public speaker comes on stage with a well prepared speech. But sensing the mood of the audience, he discards the prepared speech, not because he is dissatisfied with the scripted speech, but because he realizes that the present situation will not respond adequately to a written speech. If the person has well mastered his script, he can pick a thing or two from there as he addresses the people. If not, he totally abandons the script and speaks *ex tempore*. Some of the greatest speeches known to man arose under such circumstances. The import of this is that a public speaker needs to gauge the mood of the audience when preparing the speech and while presenting. The appeal that best suits the situation should be adopted to ensure that the desired results are produced.

Take another look at the speech in Module 3, Unit 1 by Martin Luther King Jnr. "I have a Dream". It has remained notable after several decades, not just because of its eloquence but because it responded with the right appeal; a combination of logic and emotion, to the mood of the moment and the need of the day.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Study Martin Luther King Jnr.'s speech carefully, and identify five elements that make it look as if it used a logical appeal; and another five elements that make it look as if it was based on emotional appeal.

4.0 CONCLUSION

There are several appeals that can be used when writing a speech. The logical appeal is usually recommended because it tends to be more factual and more empirically verifiable. It appeals to reason rather than emotions, and this appeals most, to an intellectual audience. However, there is also a place for emotional appeals. In some circumstances, emotional appeals may produce the kind of result that logic does not. That is why sometimes, emotional appeals such as appeals to the sense of love, the sense of humanity, the sense of fear, etc, are used. However, emotional appeals are not supposed to take the place of sound reasoning. One of the things that distinguish humanity from other creatures is our capacity to reason. Therefore, this capacity needs to be maximally utilized.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has re-visited the issue of logic and the need to make our written speeches logical. It was explained, among other things, that logic often involves facts and reasoning, which it is believed, are the appropriate tools for communicating with a rational mind. While emphasizing the importance of such logical forms of reasoning, it was also explained that some situations respond better to emotional appeals. Examples of such situations were given, and the speech writer was challenged to identify the most suitable appeal under a given situation and to use it while writing the speech.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Students of the university where you obtained your first degree are planning a protest against plans to increase tuition fees. The protest could turn violent if not properly handled. The university has invited you, as a distinguished alumnus, to address the students. You know quite well that without such an increase, services will be very poor and the university may even collapse. Yet, most of the students are very poor and may have to drop out if the fees are increased. Prepare a 2-page speech, which you will deliver to the students before the commencement of the protest.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 2 LANGUAGE –RELATED ISSUES 1 (VOCABULARY)

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

As in any other form of communication, words play a very important role in speech writing. Words form the basic foundation of speech, and without words it is difficult, indeed impossible, to talk about speech writing. Simply put, vocabulary refers to the range of words we use in building sentences. The sentences, in turn make up paragraphs with which we form speeches. Words can therefore be described as the building blocks of speech.

In this unit, we intend to focus on vocabulary-the use of words, with a view to helping us become more competent speech writers.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain what vocabulary means
- use words more competently in speech writing.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Vocabulary

Most audiences appreciate, respect and admire speakers who are competent users of language. The basic measure of competence in language use is one's ability to use the right word at the right time, properly and creatively. If you cast your mind back to your younger days, you would probably remember that there were some speakers you admired very well because of their competent use of language. It is possible that even now, there are a number of people you admire because they have their way with words.

It did not start today. Over the ages, societies had usually respected competent users of language. No matter the language, be it Greek, Italian, Hebrew, Igala, Isoko, Igbo, Fulfulde, Edo, Yoruba, Hausa- just name it; good users of language are usually respected. Most often, such competent users of language can be found in the palaces of kings, emperors, potentates, etc. In the past, most kingdoms took time to train young princes and princesses to use language competently. That was part of the preparation for their future leadership roles in the kingdoms. Nations also take time to ensure that their ambassadors or emissaries to other nations are trained to use refined and polished language. Perhaps you have heard somebody being accused of using undiplomatic language. This implies that some form of language is suitable for some kind of people but not others.

As a speech writer, you should have the consciousness that your use of words speaks volumes about who you are inside. When we talk about the use of words, there are several dimensions of it. For now we shall focus on using words communicatively and avoiding the use of unacceptable expressions.

Using Words Communicatively

Of course all words are supposed to communicate, but not all of them do. Many words fail to communicate properly, while very many others end up communicating unintended meanings. When writing a speech, it is important to have a fair knowledge of the vocabulary that will be suitable for your audience. If your audience analysis indicates that most of those you are expected to address are people who dropped out of school or 'finished schooling' before age sixteen, you are supposed to adjust your range of words or vocabulary accordingly. You are not supposed to use words that people in that category are unlikely to understand. Here, context matters a lot. Some early school leavers (let us use this expression to describe the people we are talking about) live in very rural communities where the use of English is probably rare. In their communities, they may rank among the best educated people (since there are very many stark illiterates). Their range of English vocabulary may be highly limited. Therefore, if your speech is meant for such people, restrict yourself to the range of words they are likely to understand. Many of them may not understand what you mean by Zebra crossing, motorcade, traffic snarl, vendor, heliport, salon, boutique, shopping mall, gents, etc. A character in Ayi Kwei Armah's novel, *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, said there was no toilet in his house. But there was actually a latrine. Some people may not know what a latrine or a toilet means, or what distinguishes one from the other. Some may be unfamiliar with soak away, flip chart, motor mart, microwave,

boiling ring, hot plate, gas cooker, etc. But the tendency is for some speech writers to assume that their own experiences are the experiences of others. Therefore, their written speeches contain expressions that their audiences may never understand. Some Nigerians bring house helps or extended family members from rural areas into towns and cities and expect the newly arrived people to be familiar with how things are done. And when these people are unable to understand quickly, they are abused verbally, physically, etc. Sometimes, the intelligence or even sanity of such house helps is questioned. Yet, these are people who have just arrived from their position of disadvantage.

Early school leavers (as we agreed to call them) who are based in urban or semi-urban areas may have a wider range of English vocabulary because the use of English (or versions/varieties of English) is fairly common in their environment. Some of them may be familiar with Zebra crossing, television, deep freezer, etc, but some of them may not be familiar with microwave, lawn mower, janitor, steward, etc. If your speech is meant for this category of people, you may adjust your vocabulary accordingly to accommodate their likely range of experience. You would notice that although they have the same qualifications with those in the rural areas, there are differences in their range of vocabulary because of the environment in which they operate. Most rural areas in Nigeria have no zebra crossings, lawn mowers, janitors, etc.

You would also notice that the socio-economic background of the environment in which people live and work also affects their vocabulary. A house help working for a very comfortable family at Victoria Garden City, Lagos, may be able to watch cable television once in a while, get to see new things, pick up a few new words, etc. But his/her colleague, who works for a struggling family at Agege or elsewhere, may not have access to some of such luxuries and experiences. His/her vocabulary may therefore be more limited. Now, let us leave this category of people alone and move straight to the graduate.

The vocabulary of graduates may differ, depending on where they are based, the nature of their jobs (if they have one), their socio-economic status, their life experiences, etc. Some graduates are based in rural areas and so certain words are not within the range of their regular usage. The same applies to those in the urban areas. Their vocabulary may exclude some of the things that rural-based graduates are conversant with. I was surprised when a Lagos-based reporter travelled for the burial of the Late Mr. Dele Giwa in the then Bendel State and reported that garri was planted around the place. It was cassava that was planted there; not garri. A graduate working in an organization where he has the privilege

of earning estacode whenever he travels abroad, or obtaining Basic Travelling Allowance (BTA), per diem, etc, may be familiar with the meaning of such expressions, but not the self-employed graduate who is struggling to eke out existence from petty trading.

We will reserve the issue of register for later on, but it is evident that not all graduates know what obiter dictum, asphyxia, bearish trading, eschatology, medulary rays, longitudinal sectioning, Dutch auction, burlesque, etc, etc, stand for, because such expressions may not be common or present at all in their areas of specialization or experience. Of course, there are common expressions that all graduates (at least most of them) should know under normal circumstances. One should, under normal circumstances, not define for a Nigerian graduate what oil bunkering, democratic dividends, nomadic education, etc, mean, but each situation should be treated on its merit, considering the context in which the speech is being made. However, a rule of the thumb from the foregoing is that the range of the vocabulary in your speech should be aligned with that of the audience so that they can actually access the speech content. What then should a speech writer do in a situation where the audience is a mixture of the well- educated, the not-too-educated and the stark illiterate? Simple. Use the “lowest common vocabulary”, that is, use the level of language that the majority can access. In other words, the audience is not a specialised one, therefore use the simplest form of expression so that majority can understand.

Avoid the Use of Unacceptable Expressions

There are many expressions in the English language that could offend the sensibilities of members of your audience. Some dictionaries have a way of indicating words that are offensive, but unacceptable expressions are not limited to words. The word ‘beast’ is acceptable in English, but when you use it to refer to a people, a race, nation or even an individual, it becomes offensive. Former President of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, allegedly used that word to refer to a people, and for a long time, others used that as a major point against him.

The idea, habit or practice of referring to black people as Niggers was seen by many people as unacceptable and had to be stopped. Similarly, it offends public taste if in your speech you describe a person or a people with the word “arsehole”, imp or similar expressions. The *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary* is an example of a dictionary that indicates words that are considered offensive, indecent, vulgar or unacceptable.

There is a tendency to stereotype some human beings and give them labels which, to them, are derogatory, demeaning or simply unacceptable. Such expressions do not promote goodwill and mutual

understanding, therefore, you are to eliminate them from your speech. At various times in human history, the Israelis, Africans, Arabs, etc were marginalised, ill-treated and branded with offensive, prejudiced labels. Some of such forms of social ostracism and class label still exist and do not promote the well being of the human race. They should not be allowed in our written speech.

In many of his speeches while in power, the late president of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic, allegedly used expressions that were insulting and unacceptable to some races. In the heat of nationalism and tension, it may be tempting to use such labels, but they could reinforce ill will against other human beings. Women, the poor, the physically challenged, the mentally retarded or ill, etc, have also in the past been victims of negative labelling, but through more enlightenment, some of such negative labels have receded and should not be allowed to contaminate written speeches.

Every human being is supposed to be equal; but even if the unjust social system we operate makes some human beings apparently inferior to others, they still deserve human dignity as part of their fundamental human rights. The use of such labels alienates those involved and promotes negative attitudes towards them. As a speech writer, you have a duty to watch out and avoid the use of such.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Read the Speech below and write out a total of ten words or expressions which make you feel that the vocabulary is not meant for a 21st century audience.

Speech 10: Patrick Henry - Liberty or Death

No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope that it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining as I do opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve.

This is no time for ceremony. The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offence, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of

an act of disloyalty towards the majesty of heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation?

For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth -- to know the worst and to provide for it. I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years, to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House?

Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with these warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation -- the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motives for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies?

No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer on the subject? Nothing.

We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer.

Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament.

Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrance has produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation? There is no longer any room for hope.

If we wish to be free -- if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending -- if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir that we are weak -- unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance, by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of the means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us.

The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable -- and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, "Peace! Peace!" -- but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of

resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

Patrick Henry - March 23, 1775

4.0 CONCLUSION

Vocabulary is a major factor in speech writing. The vocabulary that is suitable for one audience may be out of place for another audience. Similarly, the vocabulary that is suitable for today may be not be suitable for another day. A good speech writer is one that keeps himself/herself abreast of changes in vocabulary and adapts his speech to accommodate the appropriate vocabulary for a given audience. To the elderly Nigerian generation, their parents were *father* and *mother*, to the not-too-old, *mum* and *dad* was it. But to the much younger, *popsy* and *mumy* have crept into the vocabulary. Some even refer to these wonderful people (parents) as old man/old woman. Language is dynamic enough to accommodate varying degrees of change influenced by time, education, location and other factors. The duty of the speech writer is to be familiar with these changes and to utilize them maximally in the task of writing speeches.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has examined the issue of vocabulary. It started by defining what vocabulary means to a speech writer, that is, the range of words and other expressions that are available for use in speech writing. It was explained that the vocabulary of a speech writer should take cognizance of the education, location, age and other characteristics of the audience for which the speech is meant. In a mixed audience, the speech writer was advised to use the vocabulary that the majority of audience members can understand. In other word, the speech writer should use the lowest common vocabulary so that no segment of the audience will be cut off or alienated.

The issue of unacceptable expressions was also discussed. It was explained that some expressions could offend the sensibilities of members of the audience and so should be avoided. With relevant examples, it was shown that there are many of such expressions which should be avoided by the speech writer as a way of promoting understanding and avoiding alienation and misunderstanding.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

The speech by Patrick Henry above was meant for an 18th century western audience. Re-work and make it suitable for a 21st century Nigerian audience.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 3 LANGUAGE-RELATED ISSUES 2 (PUNCTUATION)

CONTENTS

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- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Punctuation
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

A smooth road without road signs could be very dangerous. Consequently, the use of roads is regulated to avoid accidents. Similarly, the use of language is regulated to ensure that the meanings conveyed are the right ones. If I say good morning, you should be able to understand that it is a greeting and not a question. If I say “How great is the Lord!” you should be able to understand that I am not asking you a question. To ensure that the bends, turns, twists, etc, in language are properly used and understood, we have punctuation marks. In this unit, we shall look at punctuation marks, and how to use them effectively in written speech.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain what punctuation is all about
- use punctuation marks more competently in speech writing.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Punctuation

Somebody described punctuation marks as the bolts and nuts that hold language together. Whether we look at punctuation marks as the road signs that help to maintain law and order on the roads or as the bolts and nuts that hold language together, one thing is clear: punctuation marks are not there for fun. They are functional, and their proper use enhances communication. The question that then arises is this: why are some people careless with punctuation marks? The answer is not too difficult to get. Human beings are careless with many things. Carelessness with punctuation marks does not mean that people are unaware of the ‘life-saving’ potentials of punctuation marks; it simply means that more care is required. It does not mean that we do not know the punctuation marks and their functions; it probably means that we need to be reminded of their functions. In this unit, therefore, it is important to remind ourselves

of the various punctuation marks and to insist that in all written speeches, they should be used correctly and appropriately to avoid 'dangers'. The punctuation marks are as follows:

- (a) **The Full Stop (.)** The full stop marks the end of a full statement or sentence. The Americans call it period. Check through all the sentences in this course, and you will realize that they all end with a full stop, except those that are direct questions. If you are not sure of when to use a full stop, simply ask yourself: is this the end of a complete statement? If your answer is yes, chances are that what is required is a full stop.
- (b) **The Comma (,)** The comma is used to indicate short pauses. In constructing sentences, sometimes you need short pauses here and there, for example when listing a series of items. Whenever you have such short pauses, a comma comes in handy.
- (c) **The Semi Colon (;)** This is used to indicate longer pauses. Some sentences may become clumsy if a fairly long pause is not used to indicate a transition. In such situations use a semi-colon. The rule of the thumb here is if a comma is too small, use a semi colon. But remember that the kind of pause a semi colon indicates is not long enough for a full stop to be used. If the pause is so long that a semi colon is not sufficient, use a full stop to end it and then start a new sentence
- (d) **The Colon (:)** The colon comes handy when you want to herald a list of items, introduce a direct quotation, etc. Its use simply signifies that you are about to list a series of things or introduce a special statement. For example, the items ordered are as follows: a deep freezer, a dish washer, three plates, five spoons, three cups, three pots, etc.
- (e) **Quotation Marks (“” or ‘’)** As the name implies, you use quotation marks when you want to quote somebody or when you are 'borrowing' somebody's words. They simply indicate that these are not your own words. They belong to somebody else. You can also use quotation marks when you are using words in a special sense. In other words, when you use a word in a way that is not normal, common or usually acceptable, you can put those words in quotation marks to indicate that you are using them in a special sense. If you move back a few sentences you will see that I put the word 'borrow' in quotes. That is because; in reality you don't borrow words. Borrow means you intend to pay back. But if you use somebody's words, I am sure you don't intend to pay back. So when you say you want to borrow somebody's word, you are using the word in a special sense.

The next question is this: when should single quotation marks be used, and when should double quotation marks be used? They may be used interchangeably, but when you have a quotation within another quotation, use a different type to indicate the different quotations. This is very easy to understand. If you start a quotation with double quotation marks, and you need to make another quotation inside the first set of quotation, then use single quotation marks for the inside quotation. And if you start a quotation with single quotation marks, and you have to make another quotation inside that quotation, then use double quotation marks to differentiate the inner quotation from the outer one. See the following examples:

- (a) In the words of the professor “ I am not a prophet, but I can ‘prophesy’ to you that the alleged third term plot will take Nigeria nowhere”
- (b) As the man’s wife later explained ‘ we were all short of ideas, but surprisingly, our ten-year old daughter became the “mid wife” of a new idea which rescued my husband from the hands of the ruthless robbers’
- (f) **Question Mark (?)** This is used to indicate or ‘mark’ all direct questions. Please, note that it is used only after direct questions; it is not supposed to be used after indirect questions. What then is a direct question, and what is an indirect question? See the examples below.

Direct question: What is your name?

Indirect question: Tell me your name.

Direct question: Are you a Nigerian at all?

Indirect question: I want to know where you come from.

Direct question: Please, are you Mr. Tom Davis?

Indirect question: Please, confirm if you are Mr. Tom Davis.

The most common errors people commit with respect to the use of question marks are two. The first one is that many people fail to put question marks at the end of direct sentences. The second one is that some people make the mistake of putting question marks at the end of indirect questions. Please, watch out and do not be numbered in any of these two groups.

- (g) **Apostrophe (’)** This shows that a letter has been ‘withheld’. It is also used in some contexts to show ownership. Let us consider the following examples:

It’s such a nice day =It is such a nice day

It’s my turn to shine = It is my turn to shine

It is Tunde's laptop computer; not mine
 Today's date is 21st March 2006.

In the above examples, while the first two uses of apostrophe indicate that a letter is 'withheld' the last two uses indicate possession or ownership.

One of the most common misuses of apostrophe is in the possessive form of 'it'. When we want to show that something belongs to 'it' the correct thing to say is 'its'; not 'it's'. If you write 'it's, it means you are saying it is. In other words,

Its = it belongs to it, while it's = it is.

For example "Its tail was cut off" is correct, but "It's tail was cut off" is not correct.

- (h) **Brackets (or Parentheses)** These are used to enclose additional information. Without the additional information the statement is still correct, but you are giving it to shed more light or "gratuitously", so you put in brackets or parentheses. 'Gratuitously' simply means that it is not compulsory, but you are giving it out of your freewill. After I wrote 'brackets' at the beginning of this paragraph, I wrote the word 'parentheses' in brackets. This means that it is not compulsory for me to tell you that the two things mean the same thing, but all the same, I am telling you. Information put in brackets is also called parenthetical information because, even if it is not there, it does not spoil the sentence or statement.
- (i) **Dash (-)** This performs the function that brackets or parentheses perform. If you decide not to use brackets or parentheses, dash is available for your use. For example:

Two false witnesses –who had been briefed about the lies to tell-suddenly appeared from nowhere.

The two men of God-whom I respect so much- told us to be steadfast and prayerful.

- (j) **Hyphen (-)** The first thing to note is that the hyphen is supposed to be shorter than the dash. Hyphens are mostly used to indicate compound words. If you join otherwise separate words to form a

compound word, hyphens are used to show that separate words have been ‘compounded’. For example:

Africa’s main problem is that of sit-tight leaders.

What I don’t like about you is your I-know-it all attitude

We need to get rid of the winner-takes-it -all practices in our body polity

The above are not the only punctuation marks in English Language, but they are the most commonly used. If there are others whose usage you are not sure of, please check them up in your dictionary. Every good English dictionary has a section for punctuation marks or entries for the various punctuation marks. So, get familiar with them and use them properly in writing your speeches.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

The speech below was made by former US President, Bill Clinton. The punctuation in the speech has been intentionally muddled up for our present purpose. Read through it and write down your feelings about the punctuation of the speech the way it is in its present form. Include your frustration (if any) and the problems you think one would have in trying to understand the speech the way it is.

Speech 11

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen Welcome to the White House! and to this day to which’ Hillary and the vice president, and I look forward so much every year.

This is always an important day .for our country, for the reasons that the vice president said. It is an unusual and, I think, unusually important day today: I may not be quite as easy with my words today as I have been in years past, and I was up rather late last night thinking about and praying about what I ought to say today? And rather; unusual for me, I actually tried to write it down. So if you will forgive me, I will do my best to say what it is I want to say to you - and I may have to take my glasses -out to read my own writing

First” I want to say to all of you that, as you might imagine, I have been on quite a journey these last few weeks to get to the end of this, to the rock bottom truth of where I am and where we all are?

I agree with. Those who have said that in my first statement after I testified I was not contrite enough? I don't think there is a fancy way to say that I have sinned.

“It is important to me that everybody who has been hurt know that the sorrow I feel is genuine” first and most important, my family also my friends, my staff, my Cabinet, Monica Lewinsky and her family, and the American people. I have asked all for their forgiveness:

But I believe that to be forgiven; more than sorrow is required - at least two more things. (First, genuine repentance - a determination to change) and to repair breaches of my own making. I have repented? Second, what my bible calls a "broken spirit"; an understanding that I must have God's help to be the person that I want to be; a willingness to give the very forgiveness I seek; a renunciation of the pride and the anger which cloud judgment, lead people to excuse and compare/ and to blame and complain;

Now, what does all this mean for me and for us: First, I will instruct my lawyers to mount a vigorous defense, using all available appropriate arguments. But legal language must not obscure the fact that I have done wrong. Second, I will continue on the path of repentance, seeking pastoral support and that of other caring people so that they can hold me accountable for my own commitment).

Third, I will intensify my efforts to lead our (country and the world toward peace and freedom, prosperity and harmony, in the hope that with a broken spirit and a still strong heart I can be used for greater good, for we have many blessings and many challenges and so much work to do.

In this, I ask for your prayers and for your help in healing our nation. And though I cannot move beyond or forget this - indeed, I must always keep it as a caution light in my life - it is very important that our nation move forward,

I am very grateful! for the many, many people - clergy and ordinary citizens alike - who have written me with wise counsel /. I am profoundly grateful for the support of so many Americans who somehow through it all seem to still know that I care about them a great deal, that I care about their problems” and their dreams. I am grateful for those who have stood by me and who say that in this case and many others, the bounds of privacy have been excessively and unwisely invaded. That may be. Nevertheless, in this case, it may be a blessing, because I still sinned. And if my repentance’ is genuine and sustained, and if I can maintain both a broken spirit and a strong heart, then good can come of this for our country as well as for me and my family. (Applause)

The children of this country can learn in a profound way that integrity is important and selfishness is wrong, but God can change us and make us strong at the broken places. I want to embody those lessons for the children of this country - for that little boy in Florida who came up to me and said that he wanted to grow up and be President and to be just like me. I want the parents of all the children in America to be able to say that to their children.

A couple of days ago when I was in Florida a Jewish friend of mine gave me this liturgy book called "Gates of Repentance." And there was this incredible passage from the Yom Kippur liturgy. I would like to read it to you:

"Now is the time for turning. The leaves are beginning to turn from green to red to orange. The birds are beginning to turn and are heading once more toward the south. The animals are beginning to turn to storing their food for the winter (For leaves, birds and animals, turning comes instinctively. But for us, turning does not come so easily. It takes an act of will for us to make a turn. It means "breaking old habits. It means admitting that we have been wrong, and this is never easy, It means losing face. It means starting all over again. And this is always painful. It means saying I am sorry. It means recognizing that we have the ability to change these things are terribly hard to do? But unless we turn we will be trapped forever in yesterday's ways. Lord help us to turn, from callousness to sensitivity, from hostility to love, from pettiness to purpose) from envy to contentment, from carelessness to discipline from fear to faith. Turn us around, O Lord! and bring us back toward you. Revive our lives as at the beginning, and turn us toward each other, Lord, for in isolation there is no life.'

I thank my friend for that? I thank you for being here "I ask you to share my prayer that God will search me and know my heart? Try me and know my anxious thoughts, see if there is any hurtfulness in me, and lead me toward the life everlasting. I ask that God give me a clean heart, let me walk by faith and not sight

I ask once again to be able to; love my neighbour - all my neighbours - as myself, to be an instrument of God's peace to let the words of my mouth and the meditations of my heart and? In the end, the work of my hands is pleasing. This is what I wanted to say to you today;

Thank you. God bless you.

President Bill Clinton - September 11, 1998

4.0 CONCLUSION

Punctuation marks perform vital roles in written speech. They tell the reader where to pause briefly, where to pause a little longer, etc. etc. Wrong use of punctuation can confuse the reader and mess the speech up. It is very important, therefore for punctuation marks to be properly and correctly used. Where you are in doubt, check the dictionary to ensure proper and correct use.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has focused on punctuation marks and their use in speech writing. The unit started by emphasising the importance of correct use of punctuation marks, after which it went into a discussion on specific punctuation marks and how they are supposed to be used. A total of ten punctuation marks were discussed, starting with the full stop and ending with the hyphen. Relevant examples were provided and you were also encouraged to consult your dictionary whenever you have a doubt about which punctuation to use.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

In the speech above, i.e. the Bill Clinton's speech, the punctuation marks were intentionally muddled up for our present purpose. Copy out the speech and punctuate it correctly from the beginning to the end.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 4 LANGUAGE-RELATED ISSUES 3 (GRAMMAR AND SPELLING)

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- 2.0 Objectives
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 - 3.2 Spelling
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Grammar and spelling may be described as two little foxes that spoil the vine. An otherwise great speech may be messed up by problems with grammar and spelling. In this unit, we shall focus on these two ‘little foxes’ to see how they can be effectively handled for excellent results.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain how to effectively handle grammar and spelling-related issues
- use grammar and spelling without errors.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Grammar

Simply put, grammar refers to the rules that guide the use of a language. Every language, including English, has rules that regulate sentence structure and related elements. In most Nigerian schools (if not all) the basic rules of English grammar are taught right from the primary school level. Yet, when some Nigerians speak, grammatical errors abound. Some argue that since English is not their mother tongue and that such errors do not matter. But if you are involved in speech writing, your attitude to the issue should be different. You should aim at perfecting your English grammar because it is a mark of competence, and as we mentioned in an earlier unit, people respect those who use language competently.

One of the basic causes of grammatical problems among Nigerian users of English is wrong attitude as mentioned above. The argument that we should use English anyhow because it is not our mother tongue is baseless. If we choose to use English (although it is not our mother tongue) we should strive to use it competently instead of making excuses.

Another problem with grammar is what is described as mother tongue interference. Each of us has a mother tongue, and for most Nigerians, the mother tongue is also our first language. It is the language spoken at home, and in most rural areas it is also the language of the community, and we use it to interact with our friends, neighbours, colleagues and

other members of the community. The mother tongue has its own grammatical rules, most of which are unwritten. Although unwritten, we tend to be familiar with those rules, and when we find ourselves speaking English, sometimes there is a tendency to import the grammatical rules of our mother tongue into English. Sometimes the logic of English usage becomes difficult to understand. Let us use a basic example. In English, if you do somebody a favour or perform your duty and the beneficiary says ‘thank you’, your reply is expected to be “welcome” or “you are welcome”. But in most Nigerian languages, you would not say “welcome” in such a situation. Think about this. If somebody tells you in Hausa “Sanu” or “Sanu da aiki” (literally meaning, ‘thank you’) you are unlikely to say “Barka da zuwa” (meaning ‘welcome’) because the expression is usually reserved for those who have just made a trip or returned from a trip. Similarly, if an Igbo man tells you “Imela” (meaning ‘thank you’ or ‘thank you so much’) you are not expected to say ‘Nno’ (meaning ‘welcome’). This same trend applies to Yoruba, Igala, and most other Nigerian languages. Most times, our response to ‘thank you’ in most Nigerian languages is something like “don’t worry, don’t mind, don’t mention, I have not done anything for you”, etc. Therefore, unconsciously, when somebody tells us, ‘thank you’ in English, the first tendency is to use the English equivalent of “don’t mind, don’t worry, don’t mention”, etc. This is just a basic example. There are several other things in our mother tongue that we unconsciously bring into English, and these have a way of affecting our grammar.

Another factor bothers on carelessness. Many Nigerians apparently do not read through the final version of their written texts. Once they are convinced the idea has generally been well expressed, we consider the arduous task of diligent proofreading unnecessary, thereby allowing grammatical errors to rear their ugly heads in our written texts. The remedy to this is simple. Make efforts to thoroughly proofread your work and check for grammatical errors before handing the text in.

Yet another factor is the use of complex sentence structures. Sometimes the sentence structure becomes so complex that the writer gets confused over grammatical issues. The remedy to this is also fairly simple. Only use sentences that you are able to manage properly. Generally, as a matter of principle, sentences in written speeches are supposed to be very brief and to the point. Some textbooks simply advise that you should write as if you were speaking, since it is a speech. This is a good advice because it helps to keep sentences short. Most times, when talking to people verbally and face-to-face, long-winding sentences are not used. Similarly, in our written speeches, such long-winding sentences should be discarded and shorter and simpler ones should be used. Let us look at the following sentences:

- (i) The man whose house got burnt before he returned from the far away village where he went to sympathise with his sister in-law whose husband was involved in a road accident along Kaduna–Zaria road has promised that before the end of the year, all the money he borrowed to rebuild the burnt house will be returned to all the various people from whom he collected the money as it is not in his best interest to be owing so much money when it is just a few more weeks to the end of the year and the beginning of another year that promises to be a year of hope, prosperity and progress for everybody in the community; young and old; male and female; educated and illiterate; married and single ; rich and poor.
- (ii) The ill-advised youngman, Solomon Davies, Son of Dr A.Y. Davies and Mrs. J. B. Davies, more committed to unwitting passion than the prompting of his heart has begun what in truth and indeed promises to be a new term of life in the undulating and ungraduating University of experience.

Most times, when we speak, we do not use sentences as long as the two above. The reason is that before we finish those sentences, we are already running short of breath, and there is a tendency to break them up into smaller “breathe sizes”. If we use the same strategy by making the sentences in our written speeches smaller, we are most likely to be able to manage the grammatical issues in such speeches.

In English grammar, there are some expressions (words, phrases, etc) that do not go together. Technically, it is said that they do not collocate. Sometimes, because we are unaware of such grammatical rules, we tend to bring them together. A good example is ‘can’ and ‘be able’. In English, it is wrong to say: *I cannot be able to do it*. But you can say, *I am unable to do it* or *I cannot do it*. Unfortunately, many Nigerians, including prominent people, fall victim of this error. A prominent politician (name withheld) recently said something like: President Olusegun Obasanjo *cannot be able to run for a third term*.

It is also important to avoid using can and possible at the same time, because the meaning of *can* is already embedded in the meaning of *possible*, and vice versa. So, avoid sentences like: *It cannot be possible*. Simply say: *It is not possible* or *It will not be possible*. Trying to use *can* and *possible* at the same time is like trying to use *female* and *woman* at the same time. Most of us would agree that it is not right to say: *If a female woman wants to vote, allow her*. The reason is simply that the meaning of *female* is embedded in the meaning of *woman* and vice

versa. But you can say *girl child* or *female child*, because a child could be a boy.

3.2 Spelling

Many times spelling errors creep into written speeches because we entrust the corrections to the typist, secretary or the computer. But there are things that these people and the computer may not correct. Look at the sentences below:

- (a) This is the man whose son did it
- (b) This is the man whose son did eat
- (c) This is the man whose sun did it
- (d) This is the man whose sun did eat
- (e) This is the man whose urn did it.

Chances are that what you have in mind is the second sentence above. While the computer may draw your attention to the problem with the first sentence, the others may appear right to the computer. That is the first kind of problem you may have with spelling. The remedy is also simple. Read through carefully. Do not rely absolutely on the computer, your typist or the secretary to correct your spellings. They may not notice some obvious errors.

Sometimes, because you wrote the speech, you may not even notice a glaring error which others may see. It is advisable, therefore, to allow at least one other “good head” to read through the speech. Two (good?) heads, they say, are better than one.

Another source of spelling problem is the confusion of American spellings with British spellings. The Nigerian educational system seems to be more comfortable with British spelling. Therefore, it is advisable to stick to this and be consistent in using it, unless of course, you are addressing an American or an American-oriented audience.

Find below a number of words spelt the British way and the American way. If you check a good English dictionary, you will find many more of such words:

British Spelling

Advice (Noun)
 Advise (Verb)
 Programme
 Colour
 Manoeuvre

American Spelling

Advise (Noun)
 Advise (Verb)
 Program
 Color
 maneuver

Vapour	Vapor
Odour	Odor
Centre	Center
Humour	Humor
Criticise	Criticize

Another spelling-related problem in English is what is popularly known as malapropism. It is a situation where two words which appear similar are mistaken for the other. This time, it does not have to do with British or American spelling. The basic thing here is that the spelling or pronunciation of the words look/ sounds so similar that in writing, one can confuse one for the other. Find below an example of such words:

Compliment /complement
 Dialectal/ dialectical
 Formally/Formerly
 Belief/Believe
 Underline/Underlie
 Later/Latter
 Lose/Loose
 Pursue/Persuade
 Seize/Cease
 Two/Too
 Tries/Thrice
 Principal/Principle
 Once/ones

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

- (a) Write out ten wrong sentences that you have ever come across and write out the correct versions.
- (b) Write out ten words that are often misspelt, and write out the correct spellings.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Grammar and spelling are two important elements in written speech. They can make or mar the speech and should not be treated lightly. Constant practice can help to enhance one's capacity in these two areas. It is important to regularly practice speech writing, and to show some of the practice speeches to others who may be in a position to help improve the quality of our writing. Such people may be our speech writing lecturers, English teachers and others that are proven to be competent. It is also important to regularly read the speech of well-established writers. Whenever you read through the speeches of others, three things

should be at the back of your mind. These are: (a) what is right with this speech? (b) What is wrong with this speech? (c) What lessons can I learn from this speech to enable me improve on my speech writing skills? As you do these regularly, your speech writing skills will improve unconsciously.

One point that we must also remember is that no matter how skilled we become in speech writing, we cannot outgrow the need to be careful and diligent. Even the best speech writers can get into grammar and spelling-related troubles if they do not form the habit of diligently proof-reading their speeches. Therefore, carefulness and diligence in proof reading are among the skills we must take along as we develop in the art of speech writing.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has focused on grammar and spelling. These two vital elements in speech writing were described as the little foxes that spoil the vine, to bring out vividly the havoc they can wreck on written speeches if one is not careful.

The unit began by defining grammar as the rules that guide the use of the elements in a given language. The elements include words, phrases, sentences, etc. Thereafter, some of the causes of grammatical problems in English as well as how to overcome them were discussed, using relevant examples. Some of the root causes identified include wrong attitude to the English language by some Nigerians who believe that since it is not our mother tongue we should handle it anyhow; mother tongue interference in our use of English; carelessness in the use of English; use of complex sentence structures ; wrong collocation, etc.

In the unit, we also looked at spelling problems. Three main factors responsible for spelling errors in written speech as well as their solutions were discussed. The identified factors include the tendency of many people to leave spelling corrections for typists, secretaries and the computer; the confusion of American spellings with British spellings and the issue of malapropism, that is, confusing words whose sounds or spellings appear to be similar.

In concluding the unit, it was emphasized that greater care in handling grammar and spelling, regular practice, reading written speeches regularly, etc, could help a speech writer to excel in the art of speech writing.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

In the speech below, some words have been intentionally misspelt while some sentences have been re-constructed to make them wrong. Re-write

the speech, and in the process, correct the wrong spellings and sentences.

Speech 12: Abraham Lincoln - The Gettysburg Address

Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is all together fitting and proper that we should do these.

But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate - we cannot consecrate - we cannot hallow - this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us - that from this honored dead we may take increased devotion to that course for which they gave the last full measure of devotion - that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain - that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom - and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln

- November 19, 1863

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.espeeches.com>

UNIT 5 STYLISTIC ISSUES

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Style is a very important issue in speech writing. It can also be looked at from various perspectives. Style, generally put, is a particular way of doing things. Some describe it as a deviation from the norm. Style may operate at the level of an individual or at a group level. Some have even gone to the extent of equating style with the individual, confirming therefore, that style can be an individual thing. Style, in that sense, is that thing which gives uniqueness to you, and in this case, to your written speech.

At another level, style may refer to a way in which a certain thing is expected to be done. At that level, it is not simply the individual, but whoever is involved in a certain thing is expected to conform to a general style, but there is still room for the individual's taste, habits, and other reflections of personal style.

In this unit, we shall examine the issue of style in speech writing. Both the style of speech writing generally and personal style are of interest to us.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain what style is, in the context of speech writing
- use the appropriate style in your written speeches.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Stylistic Issues

As mentioned in the introduction above, there are different views of what style is. You would have seen, by now, that there are rules and guidelines that regulate the writing of speeches. Those are among the things that influence the style of speech writing. Those rules and guidelines also reflect the style of speech writing. They make us to realise that although speech writing is a form of writing, it is in a class

of its own and cannot be handled just the way any other form of writing is handled.

Even while applying the rules and guidelines of speech writing, your uniqueness still comes out. That uniqueness is your personal style. You do not write exactly the same way as everybody else, in spite of the fact that everybody is supposed to follow a general set of rules. Sometimes, there are up to five words that may mean the same thing, but you cannot use more than one of them at a time. You therefore, have to choose one and leave out the others. Your choice of one instead of the others reflects your style. Similarly, in some circumstances, there are up to two or more ways in which you can structure a sentence, using virtually the same set of words. Why would you choose one structure instead of the other? That is a reflection of your personal style.

A general fact in style is that before you become unique or before you deviate from the norm, you are supposed to be familiar with what the general pattern or the norm is. In other words, before you bend the rules to accommodate your style, you must understand what those rules are. If a person is not familiar with the rules of speech writing, for example, and he/she deviates, it is interpreted as a form of ignorance; not style. But if the person is already familiar with the rules and bends them (note: not breaking them) to accommodate his/her own uniqueness, the outcome is style.

The basic rules of writing generally are accommodated in the various principles and rules of speech writing which we have seen in previous units, and modules of this course text. For example, the principle of clarity earlier mentioned, does not apply to speech writing alone but also applies to other forms of writing. The only thing is that in speech writing, it is emphasized. That is speech writing style; not breaking the laws of writing, but bending them to suit the requirement of speech writing.

You would also realise that clarity is not meant for writing alone. Every form of communication requires clarity. But that requirement is emphasized in writing; therefore it becomes a style of writing. That is how the concept of style operates.

Now let us look at style at the level of the individual. The following set of words mean virtually the same thing, according to the thesaurus. Your preference of one instead of the others is a reflection of your style:

1. Amiss, wrong, awry, defective, unsatisfactory
2. Brilliant, gifted, talented, bright, astute
3. Check, examine, inspect, scrutinize, survey

4. Deft, adroit, agile, dexterous, astute
5. Eager, keen, avid, enthusiastic, earnest
6. Fastidious, scrupulous, punctilious, painstaking, meticulous
7. Gigantic, enormous, vast, immense, monumental
8. Haphazard, random, unplanned, chaotic, arbitrary
9. Ideal, perfect, consummate, classic, model
10. Joker, humorist, comedian, comic, jester
11. Kidnap, capture, seize, abduct, and snatch
12. Landscape, scenery, terrain, topography, outlook
13. Majestic, stately, dignified, distinguished, magnificent
14. New, novel, original, fresh, modern
15. Openly, blatantly, publicly, flagrantly, overtly
16. Pact, agreement, treaty, protocol, deal
17. Quality, standard, grade, class, calibre
18. Rest, repose, relaxation, leisure, respite
19. Sunny, bright, clear, fine, cloudless
20. Testament, testimony, witness, evidence, proof
21. Unique, distinct, idiosyncratic, special, exclusive
22. Vitality, liveliness, zest, sparkle, buoyancy
23. Warrior, combatant, soldier, fighter, serviceman
24. Xenophobic, chauvinistic, jingoistic, prejudiced, bigoted
25. Yahoo, thug, barbarian, brute, bully
26. Zealot, fanatic, enthusiast, extremist, radical

Also take a look at how style is reflected in the following sentence structures, although the words are virtually the same.

A.

1. Since they did not open the bank and it was getting late, I decided to leave.
2. I decided to leave since it was getting late and they did not open the bank.
3. It was getting late and they did not open the bank, so I decided to leave.

B.

1. We waited for several hours but nobody offered an explanation, so some people shouted at the top of their voices.
2. For several hours we waited, but nobody offered an explanation, so some people shouted at the top of their voices.
3. After waiting for several hours without anybody offering an explanation, some people shouted at the top of their voices.

C.

1. Distance education is good, if one is hard- working and determined.
2. If one is hard-working and determined, distance education is good.

There are so many other ways in which the above sentences may be written to convey virtually the same meaning. One's choice reflects the person's style.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

The speech below was delivered by the United Nations Secretary –General, Mr. Kofi Annan to the South African Parliament. Read through it carefully, and identify ten things in the speech that reflect his style.

Speech 13: Address by United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Kofi Annan to a Joint Sitting of the South African Parliament, Cape Town

14 March 2006

Madam Speaker of the National Assembly,
Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP),
Mr President,
Excellencies,

Ladies and gentlemen

I am delighted to be back in South Africa, which was the first Member State of the UN that I visited on becoming Secretary-General in 1997. By inviting me to address this joint sitting of the South African Parliament you have paid a second great honour to the UN and to me personally. Two years ago you awarded me the Order of the Companions of Oliver Tambo. I thank you again for that. It is indeed an honour to be called a companion of such a truly great man, one who worked tirelessly for freedom and justice and played a decisive role in the struggle against apartheid.

Madam Speaker,

In one week's time you will celebrate Human Rights Day, which commemorates those who sacrificed themselves in that struggle –

particularly the 69 killed and 180 wounded in Sharpeville on 21 March 1960.

South Africa and indeed all of Africa, has come a long way since then. African people have successfully asserted their right to independence and become the largest group of member states in the UN. Your own struggle against apartheid was the longest and bitterest. All Africa and the UN itself, was with you in that ordeal. The whole world rejoiced in 1994, when you at last emerged victorious.

Yet even as our countries emerged, one by one, from the struggle for independence and against apartheid, they had to embark on another, no less arduous, struggle for unity, peace and development. In that struggle, too, there have been victories but there have also been setbacks and disappointments.

Whatever our pride in some specific achievements, much remains to be done. Indeed, last September the leaders of the whole world acknowledged this. They said, in the Outcome Document of the UN World Summit, that Africa is “the only continent not on track to meet any of the goals of the Millennium Declaration by 2015” – and President Mbeki drew attention to that statement in his speech to the Summit. Africa continues, as we say in the UN, to face a major challenge.

We all know the mountains of human misery behind those polite words: the grinding poverty and back-breaking toil; the hunger and thirst that force proud parents to give their children polluted water to drink; the millions who die of Tuberculosis (TB), malaria, AIDS and other preventable diseases; the violence and humiliation inflicted on women by men and on citizens by gangsters, warlords and corrupt officials; the misappropriation of natural resources; the ravages of ethnic and social conflict.

It is easy to blame these ills on the past and on outsiders – the depredations of imperialism and the slave trade, the imbalance of power and wealth in a flagrantly unjust world. But that cannot absolve us, the Africans of today, from our own responsibility to ourselves and to our children.

The truth is that development in Africa requires a new approach and the good news is that South Africa is pointing the way. First, you are pointing the way by what you are doing at home. South Africa today reminds us all of the remarkable African capacity for forgiveness and reconciliation, despite the pain of racial discrimination and oppression.

Your robust economy, stable democracy, support for the rule of law and perhaps most important – your fully inclusive constitution have made South Africa a beacon of tolerance, peaceful co-existence and mutual respect between people of different races, languages and traditions

Your “rainbow nation” shines out in the very shape and composition of this assembly. As I look around this chamber I am impressed not only by the variety of races and colours that are represented but also by the number of women. You put the General Assembly of the UN to shame! But this should not surprise me, since I understand, Madam Speaker, that all your predecessors have been from the same gender as you and that this was the first parliament in the world to adopt a specific budget process for empowering women and dealing with gender issues.

Secondly, you are pointing the way by what you are doing in your sub-regional neighbourhood – both through the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and by your vitally important peacemaking and peacekeeping contributions in Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

This is very important, because no country today can be unaffected by events in its neighbourhood and it is the responsibility of the stronger countries in each neighbourhood to lend a hand to the weaker, without seeking to impose their domination. When any country gets caught in a downward spiral of poverty, misgovernment and conflict, this is bound to be a problem for its neighbours. And the best neighbours are those who play a constructive part in helping to halt and reverse the spiral before it leads to a complete meltdown.

Thirdly, you are pointing the way through your leading role in Africa as a whole. Economically, South Africa is now the biggest foreign investor in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa. It has also played a leading role in forming the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) – a new paradigm based on African ownership of development strategy and a partnership with the international community based on equality and mutual respect.

Politically, this country has taken the lead in transforming the Organisation of African Unity into the African Union (AU). It has helped establish the Union’s peer review mechanism, which over time should ensure a steady improvement in African standards of government and it has taken a leading role in the work of the Union’s Peace and Security Council, which is enabling Africans to help resolve each other’s conflicts.

Thus the AU has become an essential partner of the UN in its work for peace and development. Particularly important is the broad co-operation and partnership between the AU and the UN. Examples of this just now are President Mbeki's key peacemaking role in Cote d'Ivoire, in close co-operation with the UN peacekeeping mission and our joint efforts to make peace and protect the population in Darfur and on the border between Sudan and Chad.

Finally, Madam Speaker, South Africa is pointing the way by what it is doing in the wider world. In his speech to the World Summit last September, President Mbeki referred to "the widely disparate conditions of existence and interests as well as the gross imbalance of power", which define the relationship among the Member States of the UN. He identified these as the main reason why we have not yet achieved the security consensus that we must reach, if we are to maintain peace in the world on a basis of agreement and collective action rather than the unilateral application of power. I agree. The imbalance must be redressed. But the imbalance itself means that those seeking to redress it do not have the leverage to impose their will on the rest of the world. Only with a good strategy and wise leadership can they make progress towards their goal.

Economically, it is important that the developing countries help themselves and each other and that as far as possible they present a united front in negotiations with the industrialised world. Here South Africa is showing the way, in alliance with the new economic giants in other parts of the developing world – China, India, Brazil, by forging a new global geography of trade and investment.

While these countries attract massive investment from the global North, they in turn have become major investors in their own regions. And they are leading the battle within the World Trade Organisation (WTO) on behalf of all developing countries – the battle for free access to Northern markets and for a global market where developing countries can compete on equal terms, instead of having to face subsidised Northern products.

South Africa has also hosted many important global conferences, including the 12th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1998, the World Conference Against Racism in 2001 and the World Summit for Sustainable Development in 2002 – all of which it was my privilege to attend. South Africa is thus, especially in this crucial year in the life of the UN, in every way a suitable country to be chairing the Group of 77, the group that brings together all those countries – more than two thirds of the UN's membership – which, despite the great variations among

them, share an interest in seeing the imbalance of power in the world redressed.

While the Group of 77 deals primarily with economic and social issues, it is also, in alliance with the Non-Aligned Movement, playing an increasingly significant political role. And here too South Africa's leadership and example can be very important.

Even before victory over apartheid had been secured, the struggle against it helped to shape the debate at the UN and in the wider world. It taught us never to underestimate the importance of human rights, since apartheid was so clearly the very antithesis of the values set out in the Universal Declaration.

Today, the kind of things South Africa is doing at home and promoting on the wider African scene may show us the best way for developing countries in general to respond to today's world. In his valedictory address to a joint session of this Parliament, nearly two years ago, Nelson Mandela said: "The memory of a history of division and hate, injustice and suffering, inhumanity of person against person should inspire us to celebrate our own demonstration of the capacity of human beings to progress, to go forward, to improve, to do better."

Indeed, my dear friends, I believe it has inspired you, and you in turn have inspired Africa and the world. Your Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has given the world an idea and a mechanism, which many other countries have used or are now using, to confront an ugly national past.

You have shown that a nation need not be imprisoned by its history, that even people whose communities have been in bitter conflict and have endured or committed the worst injustice, can work together to build a common future.

I believe this example can serve not only other individual nations but also the world as a whole, which today is seething with resentment based on past and present injustice and with misunderstandings based on differences of culture and belief.

Perhaps the most important task of the UN today is to help its member states overcome those resentments and misunderstandings, both between communities within their borders and between different regions of the world. In that task, we have much to learn from South Africa.

As FW de Klerk said, in his 1993 Nobel Lecture, peace "is a frame of mind in which countries, communities, parties and individuals seek to

resolve their differences through agreements, through negotiation and compromise, instead of threats, compulsion and violence”.

South Africa’s particular wisdom, derived from its own history of overcoming resentment and mistrust, can be used to convince other countries that injustices and misunderstandings are not cured by confrontation or threats, since these only strengthen the determination of the powerful to keep power in their own hands.

South Africa can teach all of us that, on the contrary, the way to a better balance lies through dialogue and the establishment of mutual trust. Only in such an atmosphere can the weak win attention and respect from the strong. South Africa can teach its fellow developing countries to make good use of the UN, which is the natural forum for a global dialogue leading to better trust and understanding between rich and poor, between weak and strong, and so to a more balanced and inclusive way of taking decisions that affect the fate of all humanity.

South Africa, as guide and spokesman for the developing world, is already playing a decisive role in the tough negotiations to implement the commitments made at last year’s World Summit – commitments from both developing and donor countries to advance the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); commitments to forge new institutions for peace building and the promotion of human rights, and a new global strategy against terrorism; commitments to strengthen the UN itself – including by continued efforts to achieve a decision on Security Council reform – so that our Organisation can be more efficient and effective in bringing help to those who need it: the hungry, the sick, and the victims of disasters both natural and man-made.

That is why I look forward to continuing to work closely with you President Mbeki and South Africa in my remaining time as Secretary-General and why I know my successors in that post will continue to look to South Africa for advice, for support and for leadership among the nations of the world.

Thank you, Madam Speaker.

Nkosi sikelel’i Afrika!

Issued by: UN Secretary-General, 14 March 2006.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Style is an important element in speech writing. It is like a trade mark that distinguishes one form of writing from the others, just as it distinguishes one speech writer from the others. There is a good and proper style of speech writing, just as there is bad or inappropriate style.

A proper style takes cognizance of the composition of the audience and strives to present information in a way that the audience will understand, while bearing in mind the initial objectives of the speech. A bad or inappropriate speech writing style does the exact opposite. It starts off without considering the audience and the objectives, and in the process, the audience is lost. At the end, the objectives are far from being realised.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has focused on style as an element in speech writing. It began by looking at what style means at the level of an individual, at the level of type of writing, etc. It was explained that style, in speech writing, is what distinguishes one writer's speech from those of others. Style, it was explained, may be reflected in the choice of words, the structure of sentences, paragraphs, etc. A total of 130 words, in sets of five words each, which are synonymous, according to the English thesaurus, were also provided, with the explanation that the choice of one word instead of the others, reflects the user's style. Different sentences, whose meanings are virtually the same, were also presented, with an explanation that using one structure instead of the others may be a reflection of the style of the writer.

For self-assessment test, a speech by the United Nations' Secretary General, Mr. Kofi Annan, to a joint sitting of the South African parliament was provided, and you were requested to identify ten things that reflect his style. This was meant to strengthen your ability to identify elements of style in written speeches. In the concluding part, it was emphasized that a good and appropriate style takes cognizance of both the audience's composition and the objectives of the speech, while a bad or inappropriate style is unable to utilize that knowledge, losing both the audience and the objectives as a consequence.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Re-write the speech by the United Nations Secretary General, Mr. Kofi Annan above, to bring out your own style.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Waite, M (Ed) (2002) *Concise Oxford Thesaurus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MODULE 5 REVIEW OF SELECTED SPEECHES

Unit 1	Haven't We Been There Before?-Wole Soyinka
Unit 2	2006 Budget Speech- President Olusegun Obasanjo
Unit 3	New Threats for Old- Margaret Thatcher

Unit 4	The Commonwealth: ‘A Partnership of Equals’?-Rt. Hon. Don McKinnon
Unit 5	Towards a sustainable Future for Nigeria- Chief Emeka Anyaoku

UNIT 1 HAVEN’T WE BEEN THERE BEFORE?

CONTENTS

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	Haven’t We Been There Before?
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

On Thursday December 15, 2005, The *Guardian* newspaper publicly presented, in a book form, a compilation of some of its editorials that had been published between 1983 and 2003. At that occasion, Nobel Laureate, Professor Wole Soyinka made a speech which reflected on some events that had happened in Nigeria previously and that were apparently being re-enacted. In the process, he asked a pointed question which became the title of the speech: “Haven’t we been there before?”

In this unit, we shall review the speech, with a view to learning from it. In reviewing the speech below, you need to bear the following in mind:

- i. Every speech is meant for an identified audience. The speech before us was meant for those we can describe as the intelligentsia-the well educated members of the society. This may have informed the content and style of presentation.
- ii. Professor Wole Soyinka is in a class of his own as a man of letters. If you are familiar with his literary works, you will agree that the speech below is a highly simplified form.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

explain the content and style of the speech under review

comment on what you consider fascinating or distasteful about the speech.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Haven't We Been There Before? —Wole Soyinka

I address the following question directly to General Olusegun Obasanjo: do you declare before this nation that you could not..... we must accuse you of plotting to restore dictatorial rule..... All structures of resistance of Abacha years must begin to reconstitute themselves. We are back to Ground Zero in the collective effort to raise a citadel that will be unmistakable as – democracy.

If this uncannily timed Guardian publication – The Whole Truth – has one lesson for us at all, it is in compelling us to answer that very question - haven't we been here before? My insertion of that _expression “uncannily timed” is more than sufficient to act as a trigger for activating chastening memories of the past five decades. And if anyone still fails to understand what is being pointed out here, I call your attention to the recent editorials of this same Guardian Newspapers, one of Monday December 12, and the other only yesterday, Wednesday December 14. I shall not direct your attention to the specific editorials in this volume whose present publication reminds us that nothing of what is now happening is new. It is all déjà vu – we have seen it all before. We cannot claim not to have been warned. The editorial of December 12 is entitled *The Closure of Bayelsa State Radio*, while that of December 14 carries the hurricane alert in the title, *The Gale of Forceful Evictions*. Are these two totally unrelated issues? Let the following extracts assist you in deciding that question. From the editorial on Bayelsa state radio, we encounter the following observation: “The forceful closure of the Bayelsa State-owned radio station by security forces of the Federal Government is clearly high-handed and an abuse of power....Besides, this act is a violation of the constitutional rights of the government of Bayelsa State...and the people of the state, the audience, on the other...is a breach of Section 39 of the 1999 Constitution...”

The editorial continues: “...the right of Bayelsans and other citizens of Nigeria ‘to freedom of -expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference’ has been trampled upon.”

Let us quickly summarise this pungent, timely and cautionary editorial in its own words: “Without mincing words, there is much evidence of a calculated and systematic assault on the rule of law in this polity.

Judicial pronouncements are wilfully ignored, the legislature is treated with disdain, and security agencies have become more of tools for settling scores than for the security of the state and its citizens...”

Enough of December 12 – at least for now. Let us move on to yesterday, December 14, and the gale of forceful evictions where the following passages appear:

“Most unfortunately, and totally against the norms of the rule of law, transparency which the Federal Government professes to believe in, occupants of the Federal Government properties...are all being forcibly ejected by strong forces of armed soldiers and policemen, in some instances in clear defiance of orders of the High Courts and proceedings in such courts...”

This editorial continues: “The Supreme Court’s epic judgment in the case of *Military government of Lagos State vs. Chief Odumegwu Ojukwu (1986) A.N.I.R 233 particularly at 239, 240 and 243 encapsulates and exposes the illegality in the present government sponsored or tolerated forceful eviction exercises...*”

Indeed, the present spate of forceful eviction of these Federal Government properties and those of the defunct Nigeria Airways are clearly illegal, unconstitutional and a subversion of the rule of law and, in some instances, a subversion of the entire judicial process. The active participation in or toleration of these eviction exercises by the Federal Government is so undisguised and blatant to the point of being nauseating....”

Dear compatriots, is there any possible failure to grasp the linkage between these two geographically separated events, and the wearisome cycle of illegalities, indiscipline and arrogance that the nation is compelled to tolerate at the hands of governments in whatever guise, military or civilian?

I am tempted to read both editorial in full but cannot for lack of time for my own editorial; nonetheless, I cannot resist the following passage that serves to remind us of the cynicism and arrogance of power in its relations to the ruled. Listen to the following:

“The Commissioner of Police in Bayelsa State, Mr. Hafiz Ringim, is reported to have said – and this has not been refuted – that the closure of Bayelsa Radio was caused by a technical problem. This must rank as the most asinine statement of the year.

Pray, when did the police become a consultant on the diagnosis, and repair of broadcasting equipment...

I cite the report of this 'asinine' officialese because the closure of Bayelsa Radio is cruelly reminiscent of a number of state security actions under the demented reign of General Sani Abacha, such as the sealing off of the home of the late NADECO chieftain, Pa Ajasin, the military takeover of a private home where a former American ambassador was to have been hosted, or indeed the storming of a church service by Abacha troops where a microphone was forcibly snatched by the then Chief Of General Staff, General Diya before the commencement of a sermon. Was that perhaps in order to prevent the microphone from malfunctioning?

So, what is there left to understand? What potential consequences are there left to grasp? What portents for the nation remain shrouded in mystery? What ambiguities do we continue to pretend still remain to puzzle us in the conduct of the power possessed? What further signals does the farmer require from the wolf that has just made off with his prized calf? Are we truly incapable of discerning the fate of thousands, hundreds of thousands, in the condition of an air pilot who, having put in 32 years of service in the Nigerian Airways, finds himself, despite an unambiguous court order, bulldozed out of his home, nothing left to show for a life time of specialised labour but the shirt on his back? Does this recall the dark fate of the Maroko settlement under the regime of Ibrahim Babangida? Shall we proceed to list the court orders, orders upon orders, all the way up to the decisions of the Supreme Court that the democratic regime of General Olusegun Obasanjo has treated with utter contempt, disdain and defiance? Can we truly reassure ourselves that this sequence of encroachments on our collective rights is merely the momentary aberrations of a watchdog that can no longer distinguish between a villainous intruder and the law abiding household it is trained to defend? There comes a moment, surely when the household learns to distinguish between a diligent watchdog and the one that has turned rabid and commenced to savage the members of the household.

A Charles Dickens character once exploded in words – *the law is a ass* – throwing plain grammar to the winds. That character, aptly named Pumblechook was of course a creature of ridicule and was easily rendered harmless. We do have, presiding over this nation however, a character who appears resolved to make the law – *a ass*, and he is no laughing matter. His conduct treats the judiciary indeed as nothing less than an ass, reduces it to abject impotence and subservience in a manner so blatant that it insults the very regarding of the powerless and mocks their dependency on an independent, arbitrating body. Listen to the following cry from the pit of impotence:

“Those in authority and their agencies cannot pick and choose what court order to obey. If they feel aggrieved by the order, the only remedy is to appeal, but in the meantime, the order must be obeyed.”

Does this sound familiar? Take your minds back to the reign of Sani Abacha and similar cries for help from the judiciary of that time. Is there any difference? But one took place during a self-declared, non-hypocritical dictatorship. That regime did not pretend to follow a constitution, did not pretend to recognize the rule of law. It operated by decree, and what decrees had failed to foresee, it drove through by plain and simple *force majeure*, through mechanisms of arbitrary arrests, tortures and disappearances. The legal fraternity knows this only too well, indeed, it still suffers from the aftermath of that season of humiliation, where the overarching legality in the nation was the language of the gun.

A Yoruba proverb goes thus: *a f’ete le, a npa lapalapa* – we ignore the leprosy, and dedicate ourselves to the cure of the ringworm. Permit me to twist that saying around a few degrees. Our current national situation is more accurately captured if we proposed that in the process of treating the ringworm, we precede to contract the disease of leprosy. Or, as I expressed it at a brain storming session in Lagos this past Sunday, the surgeon operates on a cancer but ends up infecting the patient with HIV/AIDS. Is it a crime, or a love of cancer that makes us demand that the surgeon avoid the use of a contaminated scalpel? If the side effect is worse than the disease, wherein does this benefit the patient? Are there no alternative methods to the excision of the cancer of corruption except that the body be rendered immunity deficient to present and future attacks of the dictatorship virus?

I address the following question directly to General Olusegun Obasanjo: do you declare before this nation that you could not deliver Governor Alamiyesiegha a knockout punch without first knocking out the state radio-television service? If you could not, then, for a trained soldier, you are an inept strategist. If however you did have access to alternatives, yet chose to recourse to extra-legal, unconstitutional means, then you have another agenda that extends beyond the cauterisation of a cancerous growth in the national body. It smacks of opportunism. That agenda clearly necessitates trampling on the civic rights of the people, of reducing us once again to a plantation of slaves. In such a case, we must accuse you of plotting to restore dictatorial rule. Any political leader who defies the law so persistently, arrogantly and with such impunity reveals only too clearly that he is on a one-way track to a one-man rule, an open-ended one. Assaulting the freedom of expression in this manner is a certain guarantee of a veritable Tower of Babel, since it will lead to

not one, but a dozen or more Radio Kudirats, and don't imagine it is this speaker who will be found behind its operations.

What now do we do? Here, I direct myself to the judiciary. You have openly acknowledged that there is a new sinister force in the nation that has emasculated your authority. Very good. We, the civic body have decided to take up the gauntlet. And it is not simply because the head of your institution, the Chief Justice of the Federation, has been forced to cry out that we must begin to act, but because the conduct of the state has attained a critical mass of sheer effrontery, brutality and callousness. The state has declared itself to be above and beyond the rule of law, even as it does not hesitate to co-opt the machinery of the law for its own ends. This contradiction, this strategy of having its cake and eating it, cannot be allowed to endure. It must be tackled now and wrestled into submission, or else we accede to a pattern that will prove irresistible to the next power holder in the nation. He will trample on civic rights in broad day light and respond to our now enfeebled protests: *Shut your mouths. Democracy has been re-defined.*

If the state elects to break the law, the citizenry, in who resides the ultimate sovereignty, is being implicitly invited to break the law. Civil society has been shown by example, that the law exists, not to sustain society, but a lottery, and not even where each player makes his own rules, where the dice are loaded permanently against one side. We know however that this is a recipe for anarchy and the destabilization of the society. Unlike the present state, we are not promoters of anarchy. Thus, our only choice is to embark on a campaign of organised defiance of what only purports to be law; since the law is totally compromised by the state, and its custodians are treated as the asses of Pumblechook.

To the judiciary, we say clearly, you cannot save us, so it is up to us to attempt to save you, since in so doing, we shall restore the integrity of our protective agency. We have lost confidence in the state, but we wish to reinstate the law in which surely, you hold primacy of interest. And so, today, I ask you this question: if as an increasingly compelling plan of action, we decide to march on Aso Rock, to demand a restoration of that, without which neither the state nor the judiciary has any foundation, will you march with us? Will you link arm with us? Will you abandon your now degraded, emasculated chambers, abandon the masquerade of authority, and reintegrate yourselves in the foundation of your existence? The last bastion of citizens recourse, whose guardianship was entrusted to you, has been reduced to rubble, so what do you have to loose? After you, I repeat yet again, there is either chaos or dictatorship, or both.

We seek neither. And so, if the people move out, it would be only to restore your own integrity and give meaning to your existence. It is a time to choose, and we are calling all democratic forces to prepare – if we must go back to the trenches, then so be it, so let the preparation begin now. All structures of resistance of Abacha years must begin to reconstitute themselves. We are back to Ground Zero in the collective effort to raise a citadel that will be unmistakable as – democracy. We did not seek this contest, it has been forced upon us, but we embrace it just the same, and must begin to gird our loins in readiness.

Let me take this opportunity to remind all agencies of state that it is a crime – I repeat that word – crime – to carry out orders that are unlawful. Do recall the once self-designated givers of life and death who are currently standing trial in International Courts of Justice, from The Hague in Amsterdam, to the genocidaires of Rwanda. The world no longer accepts the self-exonerating plea of – *I was merely carrying out orders*. No, says the world, you are not creatures of Fela Anikulapo's *Zombie*. Maybe not now, maybe not immediately, but whenever humanity reasserts itself, speaks and demands explanations, you will be forced to answer.

Is it, you think, by accident that the word 'treason' has been exhumed from forgotten and immediate post-colonial archives, dusted and flaunted at the slightest provocation? Why that is the complaints against Uwazurike, Asari Dokubo, Frederick Fasehun and Ganiyu Adams have been framed in these charges and none other? The answer, in case you have not noticed, is that these charges are non-bailable. The *habeas corpus* has been conveniently circumvented. So now, tomorrow, you and I can be charged with treason – for any utterance or attribution of intent. After all, the former chairman of the ruling party was accused of treason merely for warning that treasonable acts were being committed in the state of Anambra, and that such treason might call to a far more violent and more tenacious structure of treasonable dominance. Never in the history of Nigeria has the charge of treason been so prodigally deployed as under this regime. Soon, merely to speak of a strict adherence to the constitution will amount to a charge of treason.

By contrast, I invite you to recall how a self-convicted felon - from the accounts of a Head of State, no less – confessed to having subverted the electoral will of a people. That treasonable felon Chris Uba, however still walks around, not merely a free man, but surrounded by the full security apparatus of the state. After a token rustication, he was recently re-admitted into the bosom of the ruling party, elevated to the lofty position of trustee, to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets and full-page laudations in the media. The highest act of treason of which

any individual is capable is surely to thwart the sovereign will of the people, and that is one crime that was boldly admitted by this felon.

And yet the Uwazurike, the Fasheun, the Gani Adams languish in goal. Is it simply my imagination or do I decry a hideous manipulation of standards?

We must act, and do take that conviction as an invitation to join in whatever motion is decided upon to demonstrate to a dictatorship that our civic dignity has been more than sufficiently abused. If we must march, at the head of the human wave should be the institution in which a people have no choice but to invest, since it remains the sole guarantee of their civic dignity within an equitable environment. There is nothing left to understand. Nothing left to decry. Nothing remains untainted. Even the EFCC, whose achievements are justly lauded and celebrated both nationally and abroad – except of course among the cowering ranks of the guilty is being tainted by improprieties and unconstitutional conduct of its overseers. It is time that we move to safeguard the autonomy of such agencies as long missing enforcers of fiscal discipline and accountability.

Let us remind the EFCC that its very effectiveness and integrity require an independent, fearless judiciary. If judicial pronouncement has been rendered meaningless, consider how, even what we say here today will be dismissed with contempt by the abductors of our civil will. And so, enough of rhetoric. We serve notice on all civic and ethics-minded organisations – academic, labour, religious, student, professional, market women, private enterprise and all others - enough of this executive lawlessness. It is time to head back towards the trenches.

In attendance upon that moment, Mr. Chairman and my much abused, eternally betrayed compatriots, betrayed again and again, I have the honour to present this book of reflection and recollection, a compendium of past and present realities, pungent and instructive, permanently relevant and provocative, yet not without reminders that life need not be grim, disordered and humourless. If you wish to understand why you are where you are today, not where you fought to be, take it with you as companion reading, as you take up your new residence in the strategic trenches of your choice.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Write a one-page summary of the above speech by Professor Wole Soyinka.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The above speech by Professor Wole Soyinka was meant for an audience of highly educated people. It is apparent that he has attempted to simplify the speech so that every member of the audience would understand. In spite of that, the style is not run –of –the mill. The speech seems elevated, and to understand it, one’s intellect must be good. Any one who cannot reason intellectually, may find it difficult, if not impossible, to appreciate the speech. One of the lessons we can learn from the speech is that as mentioned repeatedly in this course text, the audience being addressed, is a very important determinant of both the content and the style of a speech. Another lesson is that each speech writer has a style, and often, this style comes out, no matter how the writer tries to come to the level of the audience.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has reviewed a speech presented by Nobel Laureate, Professor Wole Soyinka, to an audience made up principally of highly educated people. It was explained that the speech tried to capture recent events in Nigeria’s history in such a way that the audience could understand. It was also explained that although Professor Wole Soyinka is reputed for his highly literary style of writing, he has apparently tried, in this speech, to be simple because of his audience. Yet, the style is not common, and the audience needs to be able to think well in order to appreciate the message being passed across.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Write a three-page review of the above speech by Professor Wole Soyinka. The review should contain your comments on the following, among others:

- (a) The content and style of the speech
- (b) What you find fascinating or distasteful about the speech

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

The Guardian, December 16-24, 2005 (nine editions).

UNIT 2 2006 BUDGET SPEECH- PRESIDENT OLUSEGUN OBASANJO

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 2006 Budget Speech
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

While the previous speech by Professor Wole Soyinka was meant for a highly educated audience, the speech in this unit was addressed to members of the National Assembly. Every member of the National Assembly is a politician, in spite of their different academic, professional and social backgrounds. Typically, a budget speech deals with issues that bother on economics-the allocation of limited resources. Study the speech carefully and see how the president's speech writers have married politics and economics in the budget speech.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain how politics and economics are woven together in the speech
- explain the peculiarity in the style of the budget speech.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 2006 Budget Speech

2006 Budget Speech by His Excellency President Olusegun Obasanjo at the Joint Session of the National Assembly Abuja, Tuesday, December 6, 2005

Protocols

I am very pleased to present to you today in the Joint Session of the National Assembly, the 2006 Appropriation Bill, which like its predecessor in 2005 has been prepared in the context of a Medium Term Expenditure Framework that looks at projections for years 2007 and 2008. In addition, and for the first time, this budget is accompanied by Medium Term Sector Strategies of our key spending Ministries and Agencies such as Education, Health, Power, Works, Water Resources,

Agriculture, Federal Capital Territory (FCT) and the Nigeria Police. These sector strategies are business plans that outline the key initiatives and expected targets or results that these agencies are to achieve. They form part of our effort of continuous improvement of the budget formulation process.

Budget 2006 has come to you later in the year – in fact virtually two months later than our record for budget 2005, which came to you October 12 last year. This later presentation of the budget is, as you know, mutually agreed between us and is borne out of the experience of Budget 2005, which though it was tabled early, met with significant delays and difficulties in the appropriations process. A significant part of the reason for the delays was felt to be that the relevant Committees of the National Assembly had not had enough discussion and dialogue with their respective Ministries over the provisions prior to presentation of the Appropriation Bill.

My fervent hope is that this time around, with the kind of cooperation and collaboration we have had with Committee members and their chairpersons as well as with National Assembly Leadership, the process will go much quicker and faster this year so that the Appropriation Bill will be passed as promptly as possible. At this juncture, let me express appreciation and commendation to the National Assembly for the enhanced understanding, cooperation, collaboration and dialogue that have characterized Legislative Executive relations in the past year.

Budget 2006 continues with and accelerates the theme of budget 2005 with a focus on "Building Physical and Human Infrastructure for Job Creation and Poverty Eradication." Budget 2006 is the third of our NEEDS budgets and as such continues the support for the reform and development of our economy that was started with the 2004 budget. Budget 2006 in addition pays special attention to social safety needs, and to other important national priorities such as provision for the Population

Census - N9billion, for modern voting and electoral equipment and techniques N55billion, cushioning the impact of public service reforms N50billion and provision for restructuring and monetising parastatals N50billion. The budget also explicitly provides N75billion to cushion the impact of petroleum prices which we expect will be matched by the states and local governments for a total of N150 billion.

I have pledged that there shall be no further increase in the price of petroleum products for the year 2006 and this explicit and transparent provision in the budget is meant to reassure Nigerians that this pledge will be sustained.

Budget 2006 also tackles the problem of contractor and pension arrears two important social and financial issues that have plagued the country. I shall elaborate on this later. Budget 2006 commits all the gains from debt relief, that is, the federal government resources that would have gone for external debt service in 2006, amounting to N100billion, to poverty reducing expenditures in Health, Power, Education, Agriculture, Water Resources, Environment, Housing, and support for women and youth. All the expenditures are targeted at programmes and projects aimed at scaling up our effort to reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Distinguished and Honourable members of the National Assembly, with the features that I have just highlighted, it is clear that budget 2006 is about people, about speeding up the delivery of basic social and infrastructural services and cushioning the impact of difficult economic times on our people.

IMPLEMENTATION OF BUDGET 2005

Let me turn now to Budget 2005 and discuss briefly the main challenges and achievements of this budget, which continued the support for our economic reform program. The implementation of the 2005 budget was subject to significant challenges because it was almost mid year, specifically 12 April 2005, by the time the appropriations bill was passed. This situation made it difficult to adhere to spending plans particularly for the capital budget. The 2005 Appropriations Act was highly expansionary authorizing an aggregate spending level of N1.8 trillion - a 38% growth in expenditure level over the 2004 budget. Total projected revenue was N1.63 trillion. During the course of the year, revenue projections had to be revised downwards to N1.4 trillion due to two factors:

- (a) inability to bring back some existing fields into production as had been forecast which brought production down from 2.7 million barrels per day used in the budget to 2.4 million barrels per day and brought projected federal government revenues down by N184 billion and:
- (b) the implementation of petroleum subsidies, in deference to the demand of Nigerians to limit the price increases in petroleum products. This amounted to N292 billion of which N127 billion was the impact on the federal budget. By the end of the year, total projected aggregate expenditure would be about N1.5 trillion of which N250 billion would be for capital. With the proposed extension of the implementation timeline to March 31st 2006 for

projects with due process certificates obtained by Dec 31st 2005, capital budget implementation would exceed 85%; somewhat lower than the 90% implementation achieved for budget 2004, but still respectable when compared to previous capital budget implementation such as 36% in 2003.

Despite these challenges, there were several significant achievements in 2005 both from the budget and from the reform program. First, we maintained macroeconomic stability and achieved a good fiscal stance. On Monetary Policy, the Central Bank is designing an effective liquidity management system that will mop up excess liquidity and help maintain stability.

Foreign exchange reserves have grown to \$32 billion, and the exchange rate has been relatively stable with the Naira even experiencing some nominal appreciation from about N132 to \$1 in 2004, to N128 to \$1 by end 2005.

GDP growth has been robust at about the same level as last year - 6%. More interestingly preliminary figures indicate that, non-oil GDP growth is a promising 8% implying that measures to diversify our economy beyond oil are beginning to work such as agriculture, some segments of manufacturing, services, construction and retail business.

Second, looking now at specific sectoral achievements, agriculture has done well growing at 7%. Cassava production increased by 4 million metric tonnes from 35 million metric tonnes to 39 million metric tonnes, while rice production has gone up by 800,000 metric tonnes. In health, we have made progress in our HIV-AIDS, polio and guinea worm eradication programs. We have also transformed two of our premier teaching hospitals, ABUTH and UCH into modern facilities through the VAMED Programme of refurbishment, re-equipment and modernization. Six more will follow between now and the middle of next year.

In the area of petroleum, Bonga finally came on stream and should produce an additional 100,000 barrels a day though on the basis of profit sharing. With regard to Power, we have also made steady progress, even though enormous challenges remain. Peak generation power reached 3,500 Mw and since August peak daily generation has held steady at over 3,000Mw. We have tremendously improved revenue collection by the Power Holding Corporation of Nigeria (PHCN). Internally generated revenue is now at an all time high of N7billion a month compared to N1.9billion a month when I took office in 1999. We have continued to make very significant investments in our generation and transmission capacity by funding ongoing projects such as Papalanto, Geregu and

Alaoji and we initiated several new projects such as the seven Niger Delta Power Plants. We also commissioned the AGIP Independent Power Plant (IPP) in Kwale. These investments add to generation capacity such that by the end of 2006 generation should reach 5,198 Mw and by December 2007, 10,806 MW.

Another significant achievement of the 2005 Budget is the clearance of all our debts and arrears owed by foreign missions to the tune of N6billion. This has brought dignity back to our missions abroad. Budget 2005 contained significant expenditures on social safety net. To cushion the impact of high petroleum price, all tiers of government in the federation contributed N292 billion from the Federation Account of which N127billion was the federal government share. The Federal government also set aside N5billion for palliative measures to support improved transportation services in the states through counterpart funding for interested states. These are just a few examples of achievements of the 2005 Budget.

With regard to the reform program, 2005 was a year of remarkable achievement. Key among these was our successful negotiation to shed our \$30billion Paris Club debt burden through an unprecedented debt write-off of \$18billion by the Paris Club and our buy back of the balance of the debt affording us a complete exit from the Paris Club. As a result of this deal, our total external debt burden has come down from \$35billion to \$5billion. We have saved our youths the burden of a debt that would have continued to balloon unbearably. We have also liberated from the federal government budget, about N100billion slated for annual debt service and as I indicated earlier we have applied it towards the provision and improvement of key basic services that would better the lives of our peoples. Our struggle to recover our \$500million in looted funds lodged in Switzerland also paid off as \$470million of these funds have now been returned in total and because of our reforms about \$3 billion in foreign direct investment is coming into the non-oil sector of the economy.

Our anti-corruption fight is paying off despite recent set-backs. It is now becoming clear to Nigerians at home and abroad that corrupt behaviour when proven will not be allowed to go unpunished. The era of impunity is over. Independent assessments by the World Economic Forum, World Bank and Transparency International document our improvements. We are completely resolved to continue this fight. We are also resolved to continue with instilling greater transparency in government business. One of the achievements in that direction is the ongoing five year audit of our oil sector being carried out through the Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative working group. The results of this

work when it is ready by the end of December will be readily available to all Nigerians.

The year 2005 saw the exciting launch of a Home Mortgage Finance system to enable middle class and working Nigerians purchase or build their homes through a Federal Government guarantee of N100billion in bonds for the Federal Mortgage Bank (FMB). The FMB will in turn work with commercial banks. Over 50,000 Nigerian civil servants and others can use this financing to purchase the homes offered for sale by government in Abuja and Lagos.

Another important achievement in 2005 is the banking industry consolidation exercise, which initially met with resistance. Out of 88 banks, 25 strong banks have now emerged. \$500 million in foreign direct investment has flowed into the sector. A reform of the insurance sector has been launched along similar lines.

Finally, 2005 saw the much awaited acceleration of the privatization programme with some very successful sales such as Nicon Hilton Hotel, and the National Fertilizer Company of Nigeria (NAFCON) and the Petro Chemical, which is almost completed.

BUDGET 2006

Let me now turn to Budget 2006. Budget 2006 focuses on the provision of basic physical and human infrastructure. Simply put, the budget gives priority to investments in power, water, roads, security, education and health so that the basic elements needed to make life more comfortable for citizens and provide the essential building blocks for diversification of the economy can continue to be put in place. Priority sources of growth for the economy such as agriculture, manufacturing, solid minerals, construction, oil and gas and services can then have a basis for development. As such, these infrastructural sectors receive 48% of spending by Ministries Departments and Agencies and 57% of the capital budget. Budget 2006 also attaches importance to settling long standing financial and social issues such as pension and contractor arrears. Significant one-off provisions have also been made for important areas of national endeavour such as the Population Census, and preparation for the 2007 elections. Support is provided for continued reforms and restructuring of our public service including monetisation of restructured parastatals. Whilst giving adequate room for additional spending, budget 2006 continues our recent tradition of more careful and effective management of our financial resources paying due regard to the need to maintain macroeconomic stability and avoid unduly heating up the economy. Working in partnership with your Distinguished and Honourable members of the National Assembly, the

endeavour has again been to try and complete as many ongoing projects as possible before adding a plethora of new projects, which would only serve to disperse our resources. Let us now look at the key budget parameters

BUDGET 2006 PARAMETERS

The budget is based on the following assumptions and targets:

- (a) A prudent oil price of \$33 per barrel
- (b) crude oil production of 2.5 million barrels per day (including condensate)
- (c) NGL, upstream gas revenues and signature bonuses of N336billion
- (d) Joint Venture Cash Calls of \$4.2billion, that is, N542billion
- (e) GDP growth rate of 7%, inflation rate 9%
- (f) Exchange rate of N129 to \$1

These parameters are informed by our experience in 2005 where some basic assumptions were too optimistic and subsequently created challenges for budget implementation. The oil price of \$33 per barrel represents a manageable 10% growth over the 2005 budget price. The idea is to stick to price levels that can assure long term sustainability in the implementation of our budget and that avoid overheating the economy. Production level of 2.5 million barrels per day is lower than the projected 2.71 million barrels per day assumed for 2005, which never materialized, but higher than the actual production of 2.4 million barrels a day recorded in 2005. Given the investments in infrastructure, and the relative macroeconomic stability, we expect strong GDP growth of 7% getting closer to our medium term target of 10% per annum.

We expect the exchange rate to be relatively stable with some possibility of minor appreciation of the Naira. With regard to inflation, the objective is to maintain a prudent fiscal stance so that monetary policy will have a chance to work as it did under the 2004 budget to help bring inflation from the relatively high double digits now to about 9%.

REVENUE PROJECTIONS: FEDERATION ACCOUNT

Based on these parameters we project that N3.7 trillion will accrue to the Federation Account. This will consist of N2.8 trillion from crude oil sales, oil taxes and income from gas (76.1%), N230 billion from Companies Income Tax, (6.3%) N197 billion from Customs and Excise Duties; (5.4%) and N450 billion from Value Added Tax (12.2%) The larger receipts from Value Added Tax are based on an increase in the rate without prejudice to the outcome of VAT legislation, from 5% to 10% bringing us a little closer to rates in neighbouring countries.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REVENUE

The revenue accruable to the federal government from the Federation Account for 2006 is estimated at N1.57 trillion. After deducting amounts that go to the Ecology Fund (N30billion), Stabilization Fund (N15billion), Development of Natural Resources (N50billion), and the FCT (N30billion) and adding Federal Government Independent Revenue accruable from commercial and other enterprises the government has equity in, estimated at N75billion, total federal government disposable revenue is estimated at N1.52trillion. This is 25% higher than the 2005 level. Although the revenue contributed to the Federation Account from VAT is expected to increase significantly, the impact on federal government revenue is not material because only 15% is allocated to it from the VAT pool.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE

For 2006, we propose an aggregate expenditure level of N1.88trillion. This is close to the N1.8 trillion authorised in the 2005 Appropriation Act but 23% higher than the revised aggregate expenditure level for 2005. Given the total revenues accruable to the federal treasury and the proposed expenditure levels, there will be a fiscal deficit of N357 billion equivalent to 2.4% of GDP. This is within the level of 3% that we set as an unbreachable target in NEEDS. We expect to finance the deficit through (a) sale of Government properties, (b) privatisation proceeds, (c) domestic borrowing. The proposed level of aggregate expenditure is composed of Statutory Transfers N86billion, Domestic and External Debt Service N290billion, and Spending of Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) N1.5trillion.

STATUTORY TRANSFERS

In compliance with the obligations imposed on us by law, we shall transfer the sum of N35billion to the National Judicial Council (NJC), N21billion to the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), N30 billion for the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBE), that is, the statutory 2% of the federal government Consolidated Revenue Fund.

With regard to these entities I must single out the NJC for commendation because it is the only government institution in recent years, not only to live within its means, but also to return sizeable surpluses to the treasury. In 2005 for example, NJC returned as much as N5 billion to the treasury. This level of fiscal prudence and transparency is worthy of emulation and we are very grateful to them.

DEBT SERVICE

A total amount of N290billion will go for domestic and external debt service. Due to the deal, with regard to the external debt, due to the Paris Club debt deal, external debt service for 2006 is down by over 59% to N70billion compared to N170billion in 2005. Domestic debt service on the other hand is increasing somewhat by 18% from N186billion in 2005 to N220 billion in 2006. This is due mainly to two factors –

- (a) additional treasury bills that will have to be issued to mop up excess liquidity and curb inflation, and also a limited amount of bonds and treasury bills issued by the Debt Management Office to help finance the fiscal deficit; and
- (b) bonds to be issued to contractors and pensioners to take care of the outstanding arrears.

CONTRACTOR AND PENSION ARREARS

This administration is committed to cleaning up the fiscal chaos that has occurred over time in several areas of our finances. One problem the administration encountered on taking office was the existence of arrears of different categories: salaries, and pension arrears, contractor arrears, arrears in overseas missions, etc. The plan has been to tackle these systematically. As noted, last year, we cleared all arrears owed in our foreign missions to the tune of N6billion and we have asked our embassies abroad to ensure they remain current on their obligations given that budget is now released directly to them. We have been paying down our contractor arrears each year and have so far paid N30billion in 2004 and 2005 leaving arrears of about N300billion outstanding.

The plan is for a comprehensive treatment in 2006 comprising of the following:

- (a) for local contractors owed N100million and below we have included N25billion in the budget to clear those debts;
- (b) for contractors owed above N100million, we plan to issue them bonds (of 2-5 years duration) to settle our indebtedness. This will

be done in two phases. Phase 1 will cover 50% of our verified indebtedness in 2006 and Phase 2 the balance in 2007. Regarding pension arrears, this is a big problem due to the need to verify size and extent. We have commissioned the National Pensions Commission to complete and document the extent of arrears owed. They have already begun the exercise.

From 2005, we have stopped the build up of arrears so that pensions are paid as and when due. We are also paying 5% of the wage bill into a redemption fund to deal with the costs associated with the transition from PAYG to the new contributory Pension Scheme. A bill will soon be presented to deal with the arrears of pension up to December 2004.

SOCIAL SAFETY NET EXPENDITURES AND DEBT RELIEF GRANTS

We have provided transparently and upfront in the budget, N75billion for a Petroleum Support Fund to ensure that fuel prices do not go up next year. We hope this will be matched by the States and Local Governments to the tune of another N75billion so that the Petroleum Support Fund will have a total of N150billion.

The budget contains proposed spending of N100billion released from external debt service due to the Paris Club debt deal. This money has been allocated to MDG related activities in sectors with projects and programs that directly impact poor people. These allocations are additional to the normal ministry budgets, and will build and equip additional primary health care centres and provide extra care for pregnant mothers; they will help accelerate the immunization of our children, scale up care for HIV-AIDS patients, build additional classrooms, train teachers and add other incentives to get our female children to enrol in and complete primary school.

The resources will help build additional small dams for water supply and irrigation in villages, they will be used as grants to aid States and Local Governments build rural roads and improve rural infrastructure including rural electrification. The resources will help with empowering and training women, removing solid waste and improving sanitation in our poor rural and urban areas. The allocation is as follows;

Health N21billion, Education N21billion, Water Resources N20billion, Power N15billion, Works N10billion, Agriculture 10billion, Housing and Urban Development N0.5billion, Environment N1.5billion, Women Affairs N1billion, Youth N1billion.

To ensure that these resources are being properly directed to spending on MDG related activities and that results are being obtained on the

ground, we have developed a special tracking mechanism know as OPEN--Oversight of Public Expenditure under NEEDS, to follow the resources from the point of disbursement to the point of expenditure. It is our expectation that States will also channel their share of the debt service savings into pro-poor programmes and projects. We are working with the States and Local Governments on these issues and hope to be able to show Nigerians that the savings from debt relief have been put to good and concrete use.

MINISTRIES, DEPARTMENTS, AND AGENCIES (MDA) BUDGETS

Total proposed spending for Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDA) is N1, 5trillion. Of this, N648 billion is for payroll and pensions, with N193billion for overheads. Together these two items of recurrent spending constitute 56% of the MDA's budgets. Another N540billion or 36% is for capital spending. About 48% of expenditures to priority sectors e.g. Education (11.0%), Health (7.0%), and Power (5.0%) Water Resources (4.4%), Works (5.6%), Agriculture (2.0%) not including irrigation dams in Water Resources, Agriculture Universities in Education, Agricultural Research in Science & Technology, and roads in Works, and Security (12.1%) of which Police makes up (5.6%) and Defence (6.5%).

Ministries such as Solid Minerals (N7billion) are also receiving support to restructure and position the sector for private investment. A lot of progress has already been made and the solid minerals sector will from 2006 become a prime source of investment and diversification for the economy. Other sources of growth are the agriculture and manufacturing sectors. In addition to the regular budget allocations and the debt relief grant allocations agriculture is being supported through continued re-capitalization of the Nigeria Agricultural and Co-operative Bank Limited to the tune of N6billion.

The manufacturing sector, including small and medium enterprises, is equally being supported through continued re-capitalization of the Bank of Industry to the tune of N6billion. Small and medium enterprises will further benefit from the new policy on micro credit to be launched by CBN December 15th 2006. The idea is to make additional small credits accessible to our entrepreneurs to ensure that their projects can get off the ground and be sustained.

The emphasis this year continues to be on completing uncompleted capital projects prior to starting new ones. To that end, the detailed budget contains a list of the priority projects slated for completion this fiscal year in each sector. Let me now turn to some special issues.

USE OF EXCESS CRUDE

The implementation of an oil or commodity price based fiscal rule has enabled us for two years running to de-link the budget from the oil price and have a prudent fiscal approach - something we never managed during the previous years of oil boom. As a result of budgeting at prudent oil prices we were able to save from all tiers of government \$11billion in 2005. If you add to that the \$2.95billion that was saved from 2004 and not factored into the budget, we have a total of \$14billion excess crude savings at the end of 2005. We have submitted legislation to the National Assembly to enable the federal government use part of this money to exit from our Paris Club debt. A bill has also been submitted seeking approval to use a portion of the resources for multiple power projects such as the seven power plants being proposed for the Niger Delta for \$2.3billion with the associated gas investments for another \$1.6billion, Should these bills receive approval, the Federal Government would have used up its share of the proceeds for these worthy endeavours and therefore would not have excess crude receipts that would be added to revenues for budget 2006 as was the case for budget 2005.

FISCAL MEASURES

With regard to tax policy, nine pieces of legislation amending our existing Personal Incomes Tax, Value Added Tax, Company Incomes Tax laws and other taxes and levies are still with the National Assembly for enactment. There is also legislation designed to strengthen tax administration and better position the Federal Inland Revenue Service to be a modern revenue agency.

The National Assembly is now at the stage of public hearings and I would request that the process of passing these legislation, which are critical to our reform efforts, be accorded top priority. The thrust of the tax reform is to simplify our tax system, reduce the multiplicity of levies and get better compliance. I would also urge the National Assembly to rapidly pass all other bills designed to strengthen fiscal prudence such as the Fiscal Responsibility Bill, the Procurement Bill, and the EITI Bill. With regard to Customs Tariffs and the trade regime, I am pleased to announce especially for the benefit of our manufacturers and the private sector that the Federal Government began implementation of the ECOWAS Common External Tariff (CET) October 1 2005.

Any goods that arrive our ports or customs points from October 1st would be subject to the new tariffs. The CET helps simplify our trade regime by bringing our tariff bands down from 20 to 5 as follows; 0% for necessities such as anti-retroviral drugs and for machinery and equipment (this is being implemented for a year only in the first

instance); 5% for raw materials; 10% for intermediate goods; 20% for finished goods and 50% for goods in which the country has a comparative advantage for production, also for certain luxury goods. The CET has brought the weighted average tariff down from 25% to 17%. This is beneficial to both consumers and to our manufacturers. Some import prohibitions, for certain textiles and other articles remain in force till January 2007 and will be reviewed in line with ECOWAS requirements. The new CET will ensure a more level playing field for all and should reduce the incidence of request for all kinds of waivers. The federal government has also revamped several incentive schemes important to the private sector. The Export Expansion Grant (EEG) has been revamped and strengthened. The Bonafide Manufacturers scheme has been scrapped in light of implementation of the CET. The Manufacturers Export in Bond Scheme has also been revamped and strengthened. To improve and strengthen the work of the Customs Service, the Government proposes to continue Customs Reform and re-equipment. Already the Ayscuda plus, system along with scanners are in the process of being deployed readying the Customs service for destination inspection.

BUDGET MONITORING

In my 2004 budget speech I promised the National Assembly that we would improve monitoring of the budget and render account. This is still my objective. In 2004, we presented you with a mid-year budget implementation report, and despite the fact that it has taken much longer to do than I thought, we shall, within the next week, circulate the budget 2004 full year implementation report.

Given the delays in implementation of budget 2005, we expect to prepare only a full year report. For budget 2006, if passed on time, we would expect to have both a mid and full year budget monitoring and implementation report.

CONCLUSION

Distinguished and Honourable members of the National Assembly, Fellow Nigerians, the 2006 budget represents a real attempt to be responsive to the concerns of key sectors of the economy and society. The budget envelope is realistic bearing in mind our needs in the economy but also what the economy can readily absorb and still maintain a steady macroeconomic balance. It is a budget that gives priority to the requisite security, infrastructure and human development sectors. It is a budget that takes into account the concerns of the private sector. It is a budget that contains innovative features such as the Debt Relief Grants. This is a budget of accountability that also deals decisively with the problem of contractor arrears and begins the work to

take care of pension arrears. Most of all, it is a budget of sensitivity with upfront allocations to cushion the impact of difficult economic times on the population.

Your Excellencies, I commend this 2006 Budget and Appropriation Bill to your attention and request its timely passage. Thank you for listening and may God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Describe the content and style of President Obasanjo's 2006 budget speech above

4.0 CONCLUSION

The budget speech above was presented to a mixed audience made up of people from different backgrounds, including the president's party members as well as members of the opposition. Budgets are meant to address economic issues, but political factors must also be considered. So a budget speech turns out to be an admixture of both politics and economics. A good knowledge of these fields will make it possible for you to write a good budget speech at any level in which you may find yourself.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has reviewed the 2006 budget speech of the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, as presented to a joint session of the National Assembly. It was explained that the budget speech was presented to legislators from different academic, professional and social backgrounds. It was also explained that in drafting a budget speech, both economics and politics come into play, since the subject matter deals with the allocation of limited resources to a broad spectrum of competing interests.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

List and discuss ten characteristics of the content and style of the 2006 budget speech by President Olusegun Obasanjo as reviewed in this unit.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.nigeriafirst.org/speeches.html>

UNIT 3 NEW THREATS FOR OLD - MARGARET THATCHER

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 New Threats for Old
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

So far (in this module) we have reviewed the speeches of two Nigerians, namely Professor Wole Soyinka and President Olusegun Obasanjo. In this unit, we shall review a speech from the United Kingdom. The speech which we shall review in this unit is titled “New Threats for Old” and was made by the former British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher. As you read through the speech, focus your mind on the content and how it is presented.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the content and form of the speech
- comment on the peculiarities of the speech.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 New Threats for Old

John Findley Foundation Lecture by Former British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher on 9th March 1996 at Westminster College, Fulton MO

Mr. Chairman, Mr. President, Governor, ladies and gentlemen:

I am sensible of the honour you do me in inviting me to give this memorial lecture. May I thank you, Governor, for your kind and generous welcome.

When my distinguished predecessor delivered his Fulton speech, exactly fifty years ago, he journeyed hither by train in the company of the President of the United States. On the way, they played poker to pass the

time. And the President won 75 dollars -- quite a sum in those non-inflationary times for an unemployed former Prime Minister. But in view of the historic impact of his speech on American opinion and subsequently on United States foreign policy, Sir Winston Churchill later recorded that his loss was one of the best investments he had ever made. I did not travel here by train; nor in the company of the President of the United States; nor did I play poker. I don't have the right kind of face for it. But there is some similarity in the circumstances of fifty years ago and today.

Mr. Churchill spoke not long after the Second World War. Towards the end of that great conflict, the wartime allies had forged new international institutions for post-war co-operation. There was in those days great optimism, not least in the United States, about a world without conflict presided over benevolently by bodies like the United Nations, the IMF, the World Bank, and the GATT. But the high hopes reposed in them were increasingly disappointed as Stalin lowered the Iron Curtain over Eastern Europe, made no secret of his global ambitions and became an antagonist rather than ally. Churchill's speech here was the first serious warning of what was afoot, and it helped to wake up the entire West.

In due course, that speech bore rich fruit in the new institutions forged to strengthen the West against Stalin's assault. The Marshall Plan laid the foundations for Europe's post-war economic recovery. The Truman Doctrine made plain that America would resist communist subversion of democracy. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization mobilized America's allies for mutual defense against the Soviet steamroller. And the European Coal and Steel Community, devised to help reconcile the former European enemies, evolved over time into the European Community.

Stalin had overplayed his hand. By attempting to destroy international cooperation, he succeeded in stimulating it along more realistic lines -- and not just through Western "Cold War" institutions like NATO. As the West recovered and united, growing in prosperity and confidence, so it also breathed new life into some of the first set of post-war institutions like the GATT and the IMF. Without the Russians to obstruct them, these bodies helped to usher in what the Marxist historian, Eric Hobsbawm, has ruefully christened the "Golden Age of Capitalism". The standard of living of ordinary people rose to levels that would have astonished our grandparents; there were regional wars, but no direct clash between the superpowers; and the economic, technological and military superiority of the West eventually reached such a peak that the communist system was forced into, first reform, then surrender, and finally liquidation.

None of this, however, was pre-ordained. It happened in large part because of what Churchill said here fifty years ago. He spoke at a watershed: one set of international institutions had shown themselves to be wanting; another had yet to be born. And it was his speech, not the "force" celebrated by Marx, which turned out to be the midwife of history.

Today we are at what could be a similar watershed. The long twilight struggle of the Cold War ended five years ago with complete victory for the West and for subject peoples of the communist empire -- and I very much include the Russian people in that description. It ended amid high hopes of a New World Order. But those hopes have been grievously disappointed. Bosnia, Somalia, and the rise of Islamic militancy all point to instability and conflict rather than co-operation and harmony.

The international bodies, in which our hopes were reposed anew after 1989 and 1991, have given us neither prosperity nor security. There is a pervasive anxiety about the drift of events. It remains to be seen whether this generation will respond to these threats with imagination and courage of Sir Winston, President Truman, and the wise men of those years.

But, first, how did we get to our present straits? Like the break-up of all empires, the break-up of the Soviet empire wrought enormous changes way beyond its borders. Many of these were indisputably for the good:

- a more co-operative superpower relationship between the United States and Russia;
- the spread of democracy and civil society in Eastern Europe and the Baltics;
- better prospects for resolving regional conflicts like those in South Africa and the Middle East, once Soviet mischief-making had been removed;
- the discrediting of socialist economic planning by the exposure of its disastrous consequences in Russia and Eastern Europe;
- and the removal of Soviet obstruction from the United Nations and its agencies.

These were -- and still are -- real benefits for which we should be grateful.

But in the euphoria which accompanied the Cold War's end -- just as in what Churchill's private secretary called "the fatal hiatus" of 1944 to 1946 -- we failed to notice other, less appealing, consequences of the

peace. Like a giant refrigerator that had finally broken down after years of poor maintenance, the Soviet empire in its collapse released all the ills of ethnic, social and political backwardness which it had frozen in suspended animation for so long.

- Suddenly, border disputes between the successor states erupted into small wars in, for instance, Armenia and Georgia.
- Within these new countries the ethnic divisions aggravated by Soviet policies of Russification and forced population transfer produced violence, instability, and quarrels over citizenship.
- The absence of the legal and customary foundations of a free economy led to a distorted "robber capitalism," one dominated by the combined forces of the mafia and the old communist nomenklatura with little appeal to ordinary people.
- The moral vacuum created by communism in everyday life was filled for some by a revived Orthodox Church, but for others by the rise in crime, corruption, gambling, and drug addiction -- all contributing to a spreading ethic of luck, a belief that economic life is a zero sum game and an irrational nostalgia for a totalitarian order without totalitarian methods.
- And, in these Hobbesian conditions, primitive political ideologies, which have been extinct in Western Europe and America for two generations, surfaced and flourished, all peddling fantasies of imperial glory to compensate for domestic squalor.

No one can forecast with confidence where this will lead. I believe that it will take long years of civic experience and patient institution-building for Russia to become a normal society. Neo-communists may well return to power in the immediate future, postponing normality; but whoever wins the forthcoming Russian elections will almost certainly institute a more assertive foreign policy, one less friendly to the United States.

A revival of Russian power will create new problems -- just when the world is struggling to cope with problems which the Soviet collapse has itself created outside the old borders of the USSR. When Soviet power broke down, so did the control it exercised, however fitfully and

irresponsibly, over rogue states like Syria, Iraq, and Gaddafi's Libya. They have in effect been released to commit whatever mischief they wish without bothering to check with their arms supplier and bank manager. Note that Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait took place after the USSR was gravely weakened and had ceased to be Iraq's protector.

The Soviet collapse has also aggravated the single most awesome threat of modern times: the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. These weapons, and the ability to develop and deliver them, are today acquired by middle-income countries with modest populations such as Iraq, Iran, Libya, and Syria -- acquired sometimes from other powers like China and North Korea, but most ominously from former Soviet arsenals, or unemployed scientists, or from organized criminal rings, all by way of a growing international black market.

According to Stephen Hadley, formerly President Bush's assistant secretary for international security policy (and I quote): "By the end of the decade, we could see over 20 countries with ballistic missiles, 9 with nuclear weapons, 10 with biological weapons, and up to 30 with chemical weapons."

According to other official United States sources, all of northeast Asia, southeast Asia, much of the Pacific and most of Russia could soon be threatened by the latest North Korean missiles. Once they are available in the Middle East and North Africa, all the capitals of Europe will be within target range; and on present trends a direct threat to American shores is likely to mature -- if that is the right word -- early in the next century. Add weapons of mass destruction to rogue states, and you have a highly toxic compound. As the CIA has pointed out: "Of the nations that have or are acquiring weapons of mass destruction, many are led by megalomaniacs and strongmen of proven inhumanity or by weak, unstable or illegitimate governments." In some instances, the potential capabilities at the command of these unpredictable figures is either equal to -- or even more destructive than -- the Soviet threat to the West in the 1960s. It is that serious.

Indeed, it is even more serious than that. We in the West may have to deal with a number of possible adversaries, each with different characteristics. In some cases their mentalities differ from ours even more than did those of our old Cold War enemy. So the potential for misunderstanding is great and we must therefore be very clear in our own minds about our strategic intentions, and just as clear in signalling these to potential aggressors. And that is only the gravest threat. There are others.

Within the Islamic world the Soviet collapse undermined the legitimacy of radical secular regimes and gave an impetus to the rise of radical Islam. Radical Islamist movements now constitute a major revolutionary threat not only to the Saddams and Assads but also to conservative Arab regimes, who are allies of the West. Indeed they challenge the very idea of Western economic presence. Hence, the random acts of violence designed to drive American companies and tourists out of the Islamic world.

In short my friends, the world remains a very dangerous place, indeed one menaced by more unstable and complex threats than a decade ago. But because the risk of total nuclear annihilation has been removed, we in the West have lapsed into an alarming complacency about the risks that remain. We have run down our defenses and relaxed our guard. And to comfort ourselves that we were doing the right thing, we have increasingly placed our trust in international institutions to safeguard our future. But international bodies have not generally performed well. Indeed, we have learned that they can't perform well unless we refrain from utopian aims, give them practical tasks, and provide them with the means and backing to carry them out.

Now let's have a look at some of these institutional bodies and their failure.

Perhaps the best example of utopian aims is what is called "multilateralism" This is the doctrine that international actions are most justified when they are untainted by the national interests of the countries which are called upon to carry them out. Multilateralism briefly became the doctrine of several Western powers in the early nineties, when the United Nations Security Council was no longer hamstrung by the Soviet veto. It seemed to promise a new age in which the United Nations would act as world policeman to settle regional conflicts. Of course, there was always a fair amount of hypocrisy embedded in the multilateralist doctrine. The Haiti intervention by United States forces acting under a United Nations mandate, for instance, was defended as an exercise in restoring a Haitian democracy that had really never existed; but it might be better described in the language of Clausewitz as the continuation of American immigration control by other means. But honest multilateralism without the spur of national interest has led to intervention without clear aims.

No one could criticize the humane impulse to step in and relieve the suffering created by the civil war in Somalia. But it soon became clear that the humanitarian effort could not enjoy long-term success without a return to civil order. And no internal force was available to supply this. Hence, the intervention created a painful choice: either the United

Nations would make Somalia into a colony and spend decades engaged in "nation-building," or the United Nations forces would eventually withdraw or Somalia revert to its prior anarchy. Since America and the United Nations were unwilling to govern Somalia for thirty years, it followed that the job of feeding the hungry and helping the sick must be left to civilian aid agencies and private charities.

Conclusion: Military intervention without an attainable purpose creates as many problems as it solves. This was further demonstrated in the former Yugoslavia, where early action to arm the victims of aggression, so that they could defend themselves, would have been far more effective than the United Nations' half-hearted, multilateral intervention. A neutral peacekeeping operation, lightly-armed, in an area where there was no peace to keep, served mainly to consolidate the gains from aggression. Eventually, the United Nations peacekeepers became hostages, used by the aggressor to deter more effective action against him. All in all, a sorry and tragic episode, ended by the Croatian army, NATO air power, and American diplomacy.

The combined effect of interventions in Bosnia, Somalia and, indeed, Rwanda has been to shake the self-confidence of key Western powers and to tarnish the reputation of the United Nations. And now a dangerous trend is evident: as the Haiti case shows, the Security Council seems increasingly prepared to widen the legal basis for intervention. We are seeing, in fact, that classically dangerous combination -- a growing disproportion between theoretical claims and practical means.

Compare this hubris with the failure to act effectively against the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, and the means to deliver them. As I have already argued, these are falling into dangerous hands. Given the intellectual climate in the West today, it's probably unrealistic to expect military intervention to remove the source of the threat, as for example against North Korea -- except perhaps when the offender invites us to do so by invading a small neighbouring country. Even then, as we now know, our success in destroying Saddam's nuclear and chemical weapons capability was limited. And we cannot be sure that the efforts by inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Authority to prevent Saddam putting civil nuclear power to military uses have been any more successful. We may reasonably suspect that they have not.

What then can we do? There is no mysterious diplomatic means to disarm a state which is not willing to be disarmed. As Frederick the Great mordantly observed: "Diplomacy without arms is like music without instruments." Arms control and non-proliferation measures have a role in restraining rogue states, but only when combined with other measures. If America and its allies can't deal with the problem directly

by pre-emptive military means, they must at least diminish the incentive for the Saddams, the Gaddafis, and others to acquire new weapons in the first place. That means, my friends, the West must install effective ballistic missile defense which would protect us and our armed forces, reduce or even nullify the rogue state's arsenal, and enable us to retaliate. So the potential contribution of ballistic missile defense to peace and stability seems to me to be very great. First, and most obviously, it promises the possibility of protection if deterrence fails; or if there is a limited and unauthorized use of nuclear missiles. Second, it would also preserve the capability of the West to project its power overseas. Third, it would diminish the dangers of one country overturning the regional balance of power by acquiring these weapons. Fourth, it would strengthen our existing deterrent against a hostile nuclear super-power by preserving the West's powers of retaliation. And fifth, it would enhance diplomacy's power to restrain proliferation by diminishing the utility of offensive systems. Acquiring an effective global defense against ballistic missiles is therefore a matter of the greatest importance and urgency. But the risk is that thousands of people may be killed by an attack which forethought and wise preparation might have prevented. It is, of course, often the case in foreign affairs that statesmen are dealing with problems for which there is no ready solution. They must manage them as best they can. That might be true of nuclear proliferation, but no such excuses can be made for the European Union's activities at the end of the Cold War. It faced a task so obvious and achievable as to count as an almost explicit duty laid down by History: namely, the speedy incorporation of the new Central European democracies -- Poland, Hungary, and what was then Czechoslovakia -- within the European Union's economic and political structures. Early entry into Europe was the wish of the new democracies; it would help to stabilize them politically and smooth their transition to market economies; it would ratify the post-Cold-War settlement in Europe. Given the stormy past of that region -- the inhabitants are said to produce more history than they can consume locally -- everyone should have wished to see it settled economically and politically inside a stable European structure.

Why was this not done? Why was every obstacle put in the way of the new market democracies? Why were their exports subject to the kind of absurd quotas that have until now been reserved for Japan? And why is there still no room at the Inn?

The answer is that the European Union was too busy contemplating its own navel. Both the commission and the majority of member-governments were committed to an early "deepening" of the European Union -- that is, centralizing more power in the European Union's supranational institutions; and they felt that a "widening" of it -- that is, admitting new members -- would complicate, obstruct, or even prevent

this process. So, while the "deepening" went ahead, they arranged to keep the Central Europeans out by the diplomats' favourite tactic: negotiations to admit them. In making this decision, the European Union put extravagant and abstract schemes ahead of practical necessities in the manner of doctrinaire "projectors" from Jonathan Swift down to the present -- and with the usual disastrous results. The "visionary" schemes of "deepening" either have failed or are failing.

The "fixed" exchange rates of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism have made the yo-yo seem like a symbol of rigidity; they crashed in and out of it in September 1992 and have shown no signs of obeying the diktats of Brussels since then.

The next stage of monetary union agreed at Maastricht -- the single currency -- is due in 1999 when member-states will have to achieve strict budgetary criteria. With three weeks -- three years to go, only Luxembourg fully meets these tests; the attempts by other countries to meet them on time have pushed up unemployment, hiked interest rates, depressed economic activity, and created civil unrest.

And for what? Across the continent businessmen and bankers increasingly question the economic need for a single currency at all. It is essentially a political symbol -- the currency of a European state and people which don't actually exist, except perhaps in the mind of a Brussels bureaucrat.

Yet these symbols were pursued at a real political cost in Central Europe. The early enthusiasm for the West and Western institutions began to wane. Facing tariff barriers and quotas in Western Europe, the Central Europeans began to erect their own. And those politicians there who had bravely pursued tough-minded policies of economic reform, believing that they were following the advice of European leaders, found themselves left in the lurch when the going got rough. Only the Czech Republic under the very able leadership of Vaclav Klaus has remained on course to a normal society.

In the last few years, the democratic reformers have fallen one by one in the former communist satellites, to be replaced by neo-communist governments promising the impossible: transition to a market economy without tears. This is a tragedy in itself, and an avoidable one. But with Russia lurching politically into a more authoritarian nationalist course, and the question of Central -- Central Europe's membership of NATO still unsettled, it has more than merely economic implications.

Which brings me to my last example of institutional failure, mercifully only a partial one counterbalanced by some successes, namely NATO.

NATO is a very fine military instrument; it won the Cold War when it had a clear military doctrine. But an instrument can't define its own purposes, and since the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact Western statesmen have found it difficult to give NATO a clear one.

Indeed, they have shilly-shallied on the four major questions facing the Alliance:

Should Russia be regarded as a potential threat or a partner? (Russia may be about to answer that in clearer fashion than we would like.)

Should NATO turn its attention to "out of area" where most of the post-Cold War threats, such as nuclear proliferation, now lie?

Should NATO admit the new democracies of Central Europe as full members with full responsibilities as quickly as prudently possible?

Should Europe develop its own "defense identity" in NATO, even though this is a concept driven entirely by politics and has damaging military implications?

Such questions tend to be decided not in the abstract, not at inter-governmental conferences convened to look into the crystal ball, but on the anvil of necessity and in the heat of crisis. And that is exactly what happened in the long-running crisis over Bosnia.

At first, the supporters of a European foreign policy and a European defense identity declared the former Yugoslavia "Europe's crisis" and asked the United States to keep out. The United States was glad to do so. But the European Union's farcical involvement only made matters worse and, after a while, was effectively abandoned. Then the United Nations became involved, and asked NATO to be its military agent in its peacekeeping operations. Finally, when the United Nations-NATO personnel were taken hostage, the United States intervened, employed NATO air-power with real effect, forced the combatants to the conference table, for better or worse imposed an agreement on them, and now heads a large NATO contingent that is enforcing it.

In the course of stamping its authority on events, the United States also stamped its authority on the European members of NATO. And since the logistical supply chain goes through Hungary, it drew the Central Europeans into NATO operations in a small way. Whether NATO will apply the logic of this crisis in future strategic planning remains to be seen; but for the armchair theorists of a closed, passive, and divided NATO, Bosnia has been no end of a lesson.

These various institutional failures are worrying enough in their own terms and in our own times. If we look ahead still further to the end of the twenty first century, however, an alarming and unstable future is on the cards.

Consider the number of medium-to-large states in the world that have now embarked on a free-market revolution: India, China, Brazil, possibly Russia. Add to these the present economic great powers: the United States and Japan, and, if the federalists get their way, a European superstate with its own independent foreign and defense policy separate from, and perhaps inimical to, the United States. What we see here in year 2096 is an unstable world in which there are more than half a dozen "great powers," all with their own clients, all vulnerable if they stand alone, all capable of increasing their power and influence if they form the right kind of alliance, and all engaged willy-nilly in perpetual diplomatic manoeuvres to ensure that their relative positions improve rather than deteriorate. In other words, 2096 might look like 1914 played on a somewhat larger stage.

This need not come to pass if the Atlantic Alliance remains as it is today: in essence, America as the dominant power surrounded by allies which generally follow her lead. Such are the realities of population, resources, technology and capital that if America remains the dominant partner in a united West, and militarily engaged in Europe, then the West can continue to be the dominant power in the world as a whole.

What is to be done? I believe that what is now required is a new and imaginative Atlantic initiative. Its purpose must be to redefine Atlanticism in the light of the challenges I have been describing. There are rare moments when history is open and its course changed by means such as these. We may be at just such a moment now.

First, security. As my discussion of the Bosnian crisis demonstrated, the key lies in two reforms: opening NATO membership to Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, and extending NATO's role so that it is able to operate out of area.

Both reforms will require a change in NATO's existing procedures. An attack on the territory of one member must, of course, continue to be regarded unambiguously as an attack on that of all; but that principle of universality need not apply to out-of-area activities. Indeed, it needs to be recognized that a wider role for NATO can't be achieved if every member-state has to participate in an out-of-area operation before it can go ahead. What is required are flexible arrangements which, to use a fashionable phrase; permit the creation of "coalitions of the willing."

Would NATO expansion mark a new division of Europe and give Russia the right to intervene in states outside the fold? Not in the least. Among other reasons, we could hold out the possibility of admitting those countries which subsequently demonstrate a commitment to democratic values and which have trained military forces up to an acceptable standard. That would be a powerful incentive for such states to pursue the path of democratic reform and defense preparedness.

NATO also provides the best available mechanism for co-coordinating the contribution of America's allies to a global system of ballistic -- ballistic missile defense: that is, one providing protection against missile attack from whatever source it comes. If, however, the United States is to build this global ballistic defense system with its allies, it needs the assurance that the Alliance is a permanent one resting on solid foundations of American leadership. That raises, in my view, very serious doubts about the currently fashionable idea of a separate European "defense identity" within the Alliance.

Essentially, this is another piece of political symbolism, associated among European federalists with long-term aspirations for a European state with its own foreign and defense policy. It would create the armed forces of a country which does not exist. But, like the single currency, it would have damaging practical consequences in the here and now. In the first place, it contains the germs of a major future Trans-Atlantic rift. And in the second, it has no military rationale or benefits. Indeed, it has potentially severe military drawbacks. Even a French general admitted that during the Gulf War the United States forces were "the eyes and ears" of the French troops. Without America, NATO is a political talking shop, not a military force.

Nor is that likely to be changed in any reasonably foreseeable circumstances. Defense expenditure has been falling sharply in almost all European states in recent years. Even if this process were now halted and reversed, it would take many years before Europe could hope to replace what America presently makes available to the Alliance by way of command and control facilities, airlift capacity, surveillance, and sheer fire-power. Defense policy can't be built upon political symbolism and utopian projects of nation-building which ignore or even defy military logic and fiscal prudence.

But even a vigorous and successful NATO would not survive indefinitely in a West divided along the lines of trade and economics. One of the great threats to Atlantic unity in recent years has been a succession of trade wars, ranging from steel to pasta, which have strained relations across the Atlantic. So the second element of a New Atlantic Initiative must take the form of a concerted program to liberalize trade, thereby stimulating growth and creating badly needed

new jobs. More specifically, we need to move towards a Trans-Atlantic Free Trade Area, uniting the North American Free Trade Area with a European Union enlarged to incorporate the Central European countries.

I realize this may not seem the most propitious moment in American politics to advocate a new trade agreement. But the arguments against free trade between advanced industrial countries and poor Third World ones -- even if I accepted them, which I do not -- certainly do not apply to a Trans-Atlantic Free Trade deal.

Such a trade bloc would unite countries with similar incomes and levels of regulation. It would therefore involve much less disruption and temporary job loss -- while still bringing significant gains in efficiency and prosperity. This has been recognized by American labour unions, notably by Mr. Lane Kirkland in a series of important speeches. And it would create a trade bloc of unparalleled wealth (and therefore influence) in world trade negotiations.

Of course, economic gains are only half of the argument for a Trans-Atlantic Free Trade area. It would also provide, my friends, solid economic underpinning to America's continued military commitment to Europe, while strengthening the still fragile economies and political countries of Central Europe. It would be, in effect, the economic equivalent of NATO and, as such, the second pillar of Atlantic unity -- the first, security; the second, trade -- under American leadership.

Yet, let us never forget that there is a third pillar -- the political one. The West is not just some Cold War construct, devoid of significance in today's freer, more fluid world. It rests upon distinctive values and virtues, ideas and ideals, and above all on a common experience of liberty. True, the Asia-Pacific may be fast becoming the new center of global economic power. Quite rightly, both the United States and Britain take an ever closer interest in developments there. But it is the West -- above all perhaps, the English-speaking peoples of the West -- that has formed that system of liberal democracy which is politically dominant and which we all know offers the best hope of global peace and prosperity. In order to uphold these things, the Atlantic political relationship must be constantly nurtured and renewed.

So we must breathe new life into the consultative political institutions of the West such as the Atlantic Council and the North Atlantic Assembly. All too often, my friends, they lack influence and presence in public debate. Above all, however -- loathe as I am to suggest another gathering of international leaders -- I would propose an annual summit of the heads of government of all the North Atlantic countries, under the chairmanship of the President of the United States.

What all this adds up to is not another supra-national entity. That would be unwieldy and unworkable. It is something more subtle, but I hope more durable: a form of Atlantic partnership which attempts to solve common problems while respecting the sovereignty of the member States. In the course of identifying those problems and co-operating to solve them, governments would gradually discover that they were shaping an Atlantic public opinion and political consciousness.

The reaction, fifty years ago, to that earlier Fulton speech was swift, dramatic and, at first, highly critical. Indeed, to judge from the critics you would have imagined that it was not Stalin but Churchill who had drawn down the Iron Curtain. But for all the immediate disharmony, it soon became evident that Fulton had struck a deeper chord. It resulted in a decisive shift in opinion: by May, the opinion polls recorded that 83 percent of Americans now favoured the idea of a permanent alliance between the United States and Britain, which was subsequently broadened into NATO.

By speaking as and when he did, Churchill guarded against a repetition of the withdrawal of America from Europe which, after 1919, allowed the instability to emerge that plunged the whole world -- including America -- into a second war.

Like my uniquely distinguished predecessor, I too may be accused of alarmism in pointing to new dangers to which present institutions -- and attitudes -- are proving unequal. But, also like him, I have every confidence in the resources and the values of the Western civilization we are defending.

In particular, I believe to use Churchill's words, for there are no better -- that: "If all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the highroads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come."

That, my friends, at least has not changed in fifty years.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Write a on-page summary of the main arguments contained in the speech by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher.

4.0 CONCLUSION

By now you would have noticed some differences in the speech of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, compared with the other speeches we earlier considered. You are still going to see more differences in the two speeches left to be reviewed in this module.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit we have reviewed a speech by former British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, with a view to bringing out the variety noticeable in speeches. It was also remarked that in the two speeches left to be reviewed in this module, more of the variety will be seen.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Write out ten noticeable characteristics in the above speech by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches>

UNIT 4 THE COMMONWEALTH: 'A PARTNERSHIP OF EQUALS'?

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- 2.0 Objectives

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

On Wednesday March 8, 2006, the Commonwealth Secretary General, the Rt. Hon Don McKinnon, made a speech titled “The Commonwealth: ‘A Partnership of Equals’?” at the International Students’ House, 229 Great Portland Street, London. This was a Mary Trevelyan Lecture. In this unit, we shall review that speech.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the variety of speeches that eminent people make
- apply skills from the reviewed speech in your own speech writing exercise.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 *The Commonwealth: ‘A Partnership of Equals’?*

Good evening ladies and gentlemen and thank you...

First, thanks to two Marys of International Students House. To Mary Mackie, who was Executive Assistant to my predecessor Chief Anyaoku, and who – in 1999 - stayed on at the Commonwealth Secretariat to tide me over on my arrival. And to Mary Trevelyan herself, a benefactress and a visionary, a woman who did so much to promote young people and give them opportunity. And thanks to all of you, too, for coming tonight.

If I think about who you all are and what you represent, various things strike me:

If I ever thought that a 53-nation Commonwealth was a handful.... I understand that there are no less than 107 nations represented here at International Students’ House... which makes you a *macrocosm* of the Commonwealth, if such a thing exists... There are over 191 member countries of the United Nations, and our subject tonight is nothing less than the world. I don’t want to look *inside out* from an

enclosed group of 53 nations – no, I want to look *outside in* at what matters for all 190-odd nations, and only then look at how the 53 nations are responding...

I appreciate that you are not all students of international affairs, and of ‘my’ twin subjects of Democracy and Development. You represent every colour of the academic rainbow – you’re as likely to be fashion students as political scientists – and it’s the more colourful for that. One of the subjects I’ll touch on tonight is education: and we live in a world in which 110 million people (that’s twice the population of the UK...) do not have so much as a primary education.

I also appreciate the chance to talk to a younger audience. There is a generation gap in the Commonwealth. We are having to look beyond the traditional, emotional, even family ties that bound us, particularly in our associations with this country, and see what’s left. For the Commonwealth’s future is in its young people, and we at the Commonwealth are doing everything we can to give young people the wherewithal, the confidence and the voice to make of life as much as they possibly can.

And for those of you who are 20, let me rewind the clock to the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group that visited Nelson Mandela on Robben Island exactly 20 years ago this month, breaking new ground in the dismantling of apartheid and indeed even leaving the UK government out in the cold as to whether it did or didn’t support economic sanctions against South Africa. So much has happened in 20 years, in 50 years and very often the Commonwealth has been at the very heart of it.

My brief tonight is *The Commonwealth: ‘A Partnership of Equals’?* and you’ll be glad to hear that I’ll try and stick to it. I can never presume total knowledge, so first I’ll introduce not just the Commonwealth to you, but perhaps just as importantly the world of which it’s a part. I’ll then deconstruct the second phrase to look at those two words – ‘Partnership’ and ‘Equals’. I’ll end by trying to look to the future, and ask where that partnership might be leading us. I’d then be delighted to take your questions

In essence I’m talking about trying to make our world a better and a fairer place, and about one of the groupings that is trying to do that: the Commonwealth.

I repeat: at the Commonwealth we're looking 'outside in' not 'inside out'. So what is the state of the world we live in? These are what you might call 'interesting times' ... 'painful times'. There are of course success stories everywhere, but the bad news is not just the stuff of headlines, it's the grim reality.

1 in 5 people on the planet are living on less than \$1 a day, 2 in 5 on less than \$2.

There are 115 million children who never go through primary school.

There are 40 million people living with AIDS and 3 million dying from it annually – the same amount as die annually from malaria.

There are 1.2 billion people without water, and 2.6 billion without basic sanitation – which, crudely, means the safe disposal of excreta.

There is the threat of climate change – a surfeit of water in places like Bangladesh, a lack of it in Africa – changing crop patterns, desertification, rising sea levels – we're 1.2 degrees centigrade away, or a generation away, from profound change.

In all this, women suffer disproportionately: two-thirds of those below the poverty line, and two-thirds of those who can't read or write, are women; half a million women die every year in childbirth (there is a 1 in 13 chance of doing so in Africa, a 1 in 500 chance in the UK); women are now suffering much more than men from AIDS.

There are the persistent problems of conflict – there were no less than 25 violent conflicts playing out in 2005. I often mention the forgotten war, the one that almost never reaches our screens, in which 4 million people (the population of New Zealand) have been killed in the Democratic Republic of Congo in the last 8 years.

There are the problems of chronically fragile states: we estimate that there are well over 50 of them, accounting for 1/7th of the world's population, and 1/3rd of its poverty.

There is terror in our midst, where people are as easily and casually blown up here in London as in Trinidad and Tobago – let alone higher profile hotspots like Iraq.

Add to that mix the reality of religious tension, the new nuclear capacities, and the fact that in a globalised and interdependent world - in which the bad things of violence and disease cross borders as easily as the good things of commerce and culture - we are *one*

world: inextricably linked with people far away whose faces we may not know, but whose humanity we share. There's really no such thing as 'the other side of the world' now. When my antecedents left these shores 170 years ago, it took them 6 weeks by boat to get to the Antipodes. And now of course we're there in 24 hours... That, ladies and gentlemen, is the world we live in. It may be an unfairly apocalyptic vision – but it's accurate enough. And it's the world in which the Commonwealth sits – a family of 53 nations uniting both governments and peoples, which stands above all for two things. We stand for Democracy – not just having a vote, but making a vote something worth having, with good governments and strong institutions to match. We stand for 'Development', and supporting poorer countries, above all letting them *trade* their way into the future.

The political arm of our work brings together heads of government every two years – the last meeting was in Malta, in November – and allows them to talk. It sets agendas and priorities; on occasions, it gets tough. At various times, South Africa, Nigeria, Fiji, Pakistan, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe - have all been suspended from the Commonwealth. All except Zimbabwe are now back in the fold. We can and will debate this issue of democracy: but by and large we are moving in the right direction.

But too much talk of democracy reminds me of the African leader who said to me: 'But Don, we can't *eat* democracy. Food, education, health – *these* are our issues'. So that's why the development arm of the Commonwealth's work sees £25 million a year spent on advising countries on government, the judiciary, public finances, education, health, trade, and more.

And there's a third arm, outside the Commonwealth Secretariat which is my particular domain, which you might call 'the People's Commonwealth'. It's the various associations of Commonwealth NGOs and increasingly Commonwealth business-people, who also act as one in the best interests of the citizens of this Commonwealth. No other international organisation has so many civil society partners – some 80 at the last count – affiliations of business-people, magistrates and judges, journalists, architects, teachers, nurses, and many more. Dentists, even. They are satellite organisations that take advantage of all the empathy of being part of the Commonwealth. The longest standing is the CTO, the Commonwealth Telecommunications Organisation, which - set up in 1901 - is older than the Commonwealth itself! I'm reminded of a meeting with Boutros Boutros Ghali when he was head of La Francophonie, and

he asked me how he could build a similar civil society network as strong as the Commonwealth's.

I remember replying that it doesn't just 'happen' – it takes time: we have been at it for a hundred years.

Let me say more about each as I begin to deconstruct this phrase you have given me – 'the partnership of equals.'

So are we 'equal' in the Commonwealth?

In some ways no, obviously not. Consider that

Canada is the 2nd largest land mass in the world, while Nauru in the South Pacific is just 21 square kilometres.

India has just over a billion people, while St Kitts and Nevis in the West Indies has just 39,000.

A country like Australia produces an annual \$31,000 per head, Sierra Leone just \$600.

Britain is the 4th largest economy in the world with one of the largest rates of Foreign Direct Investment, while a country like Mozambique or Guyana is crippled with debt, and barely able to invest in the basic provisions of health and education, let alone in trying to stimulate economic growth.

There are numbers of other juxtapositions that show just how disparate, heterogeneous – indeed, perhaps just how *unlikely* a family of nations we are....

We have five 'developed' countries – the UK, Canada, Australia, Singapore and my own country, New Zealand – and 48 'developing' countries, whether 'low' or 'middle income'.

Some of you might know the famous quote from the former Malaysian Prime Minister Mohamad Mahatir that we haven't got much in common in the Commonwealth, and there isn't much wealth to share around. And yet the answer is yes, we are of course equal.

We pledged to be so in the 1949 London Declaration, as 'free and equal members ... in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress'.

As you know, the Commonwealth grew out of a central relationship with Britain.

Just a few months ago, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of this country introduced me at a party as the Secretary General of the British Commonwealth.

“No, Gordon”, I said, very nicely.... “The British Commonwealth ended in 1949.....” when it incorporated a newly independent and republican India. The modern Commonwealth is an example of how the ties of colonialism have matured and been transcended into ties of friendship, cooperation, and shared values.

We have no written constitution – so we can work together as family. There’s no inner core, no fast-speed and slow-speed. The chairmanship rotates every two years. Our committees are made up of any and all of our member countries.

There is no equivalent of a UN Security Council – an inner sanctum which can declare war. Instead there are 9 countries on the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group, set up to deal with persistent and serious violations of our principles. Again, the Group’s members rotate.

In essence we are equal because we share much of the same heritage, and many of the same goals. The heritage transcends history and language: it is the legacy, above all, of the same understanding of parliamentary democracy, of an independent judiciary, of a transparent and efficient executive, of the rule of law, a lively civil society, and a free but responsible press. It helps professionals to move from one country to another. I sometimes think of the Commonwealth as the original world wide web of nations – interlinked for mutual benefit.

We know full well that even the most developed nations don’t always do those things properly, but these are the standards to which we all aspire, all 53 countries. We know that democracy is never a finished product: it’s an ongoing process. That’s why here in the UK we are still debating the role of the House of Lords; it’s why my own country New Zealand changed its voting system a decade ago. And where our members flout those standards, then we make a noise about it. In recent years we have stood by our principles on Zimbabwe to the point where it decided to leave; we took Pakistan to task over the continued military and governmental role of President Musharraf, and that debate continues; and in even more recent months we have stood up against Kenya for violating press freedom, while an independent Commonwealth Observer Group picked up on Uganda for deficiencies in its electoral playing field – saying that it has to keep government separate from its major political party. And President Museveni has said that he will address these issues.

So our concerns are the same, and they are set in stone – we first set them down in Singapore in 1971 and again (ironically....) in Harare in 1991. They were reaffirmed at Millbrook in NZ in 1995, when we responded to Ken Saro-Wira's execution in Nigeria's Ogoniland by setting up the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group. In the heat of the moment, we stood together and suspended Nigeria.

So I return to where I began – with our common concerns, and with the interconnectedness of things. Individually and collectively we are equal in our passion for freedom, health, education, responsible government, trade, and more.... So do we, then, act in 'partnership'?

Not always, no, and – apart from those instances where our principles are so obviously ignored – I think it's right and healthy that countries do indeed look to defend and promote their own interests in being part of the Commonwealth.

Take, for instance, the case of small states. 32 out of our 53 member states have populations of less than 1.5 million. For many such states, the Commonwealth is the only place where they will get a hearing for their issues.

Like Tuvalu, which - simply put - is sinking. Or the Caribbean countries, whose bananas and sugar are being squeezed out of EU markets. Small countries air their grievances in our fora, partly because these are the only places where they *can* do this, and partly because they know that we as a family will pick up these points, and run with them.

Or even look at the way Sri Lanka after the tsunami in December 2004 – or Grenada after Hurricane Ivan three months earlier – came straight to us asking for help. It's quite right that they did – and it's testimony to the spirit of Commonwealth partnership that fellow member countries rallied to help out. The Commonwealth didn't and can't act as a funding agency – but it can broker funding, it can provide volunteers, it can raise awareness.

The fact is that Commonwealth membership gives so many of its individual countries' international relations far greater reach and impact than they could ever have on their own, or in the UN. And the richer countries benefit, too. The Commonwealth Business Council has quantified the benefits of intra-Commonwealth trading, reaping the dividends of shared language, legal and judicial systems, etc., and put them at 16%. And all members benefit from stable neighbourhoods. We *all* stand to gain....

But again, the answer is ultimately yes, not only are we a partnership but indeed we are at our best when we are so. It was the Commonwealth which acted as one in order to help usher in the era of postcolonial and newly independent Africa, culminating in independence for Zimbabwe and the end of apartheid in South Africa.

It is the Commonwealth that sends representatives all round the world within its own family, on request, to observe elections. We were in Cameroon, The Gambia, Guyana, Swaziland, Sri Lanka, Malawi and Nauru last year – this year, we have Uganda, Fiji, The Solomon Islands, Bangladesh and Zambia and others on the books. It is the Commonwealth that is asked by its member states to help resolve sensitive domestic issues which threaten national stability and democratic functioning – the sign of a trusted and non-threatening partner. It's the Commonwealth which sends experts all over the world – again, from and within its own family – to offer technical advice....

From drafting anti-terrorism laws to counter money-laundering Remember, not everyone has the capacity to amend and implement new laws. UN Security Council Resolution 1373 on counter-terrorism isn't so easy to put into practice for many countries, which is why the draft laws which we in the Commonwealth have developed are so helpful to so many countries.

To training West African police forces in human rights issues

To helping countries comply with the preconditions for joining the WTO... I can assure you that trade lawyers are expensive people, and probably too expensive for the countries who need them most. So we run what we call a Hubs and Spokes project to put trade experts into regional trade groupings and individual countries....

To installing the Commonwealth's Debt Recording Management system not just in Commonwealth countries but beyond too: it has just been translated into Chinese. Not many know that debt relief for the poorest of the poor countries – one of the mantras of '2005' and 'Make Poverty History' – was originally the brainchild of the Commonwealth, in the late 1970s. 20 years and \$70 billion of debt relief later, 28 countries have benefited from a

Commonwealth initiative – better, more will do so in the next 10 years, to the tune of 100% debt cancellation.

We run youth entrepreneurship all round the world. I have seen them at work in places like Bangladesh, where women borrow from the Grameen Bank, and where just about every loan is paid back without difficulty.

Our Youth Ambassadors for Living are a powerful testimony to what peers can do in raising awareness and good practice about AIDS. Last week I met a young woman from Zambia who has been HIV Positive for 10 years, and who has risen above stigma and ostracisation to become an extraordinarily powerful witness and advocate. It's the power of young people talking to young people.... No one is going to listen to someone like *me* telling them about their sex life, but they will listen to someone like Grace. And we have a small network of people like her working across Africa, Asia and the Caribbean.

So all of the world's great issues are dealt with by the Commonwealth, and our strength is our solidarity.

Whether it's 'the People's Commonwealth' I mentioned at the outset or, at the other end of the scale, the power of governments acting in unison.

Take trade, for instance, where Commonwealth Trade ministers met on the eve of last December's WTO meeting in Hong Kong to agree on a powerful common stance – to break down trade barriers, to put an end to distorting trade subsidies, and to let poorer countries trade their way out of poverty. And believe me: that *is* powerful. And it means that when Commonwealth countries go off into their own regional trading blocs, be it APEC or the EU or whatever, they all sing from the same Commonwealth song sheet on what they want from trade negotiations. I met India's Trade minister Kamal Nath in New Delhi last month: he told me that the collective Commonwealth trade position is his point of reference, his sacred text.

I hope my point is clear. We may be diverse to the point of being disparate, and we may pursue our individual interests – but yes, we are 'a partnership of equals'.

So where does this 'partnership of equals' go from here? How does it improve its own performance, which is far from perfect? How does it relate to that all-embracing theatre of world debate and we hope world peace, the United Nations?

What are its own priorities five years into the 21st Century, and 57 years since its birth?

We can improve our performance by practising what we preach, above all in the realms of democracy. In particular we are working to raise the bar of human rights standards within the Commonwealth by getting our members to ratify core international human rights treaties. 17 haven't yet done so, and that's 17 too many. In all this, we have to stay relevant

to our membership, and ensure that they get value for money. (And let me tell you here that that money is peanuts. The UK, for instance, spends £52 per person per year on the EU... £10 on the UN ... £2 on NATO ... and 18 pence on the Commonwealth. Not even the price of a cup of coffee.)

We can make the UN a better place by supporting the new Human Rights Council, the Peace building Commission, and a stronger peace-keeping capacity.

We can sharpen our own focus by meeting the challenges laid down to us at November's Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Malta, above all in two ways.

.... First, in prompting the world to deal with the technological or 'digital' divide which separates the rich from the poor, and in which - for instance - there are more telephones in Tokyo than on the entire continent of Africa.

.... Second, in prompting the world to make mutual understanding and respect between faiths and cultures not just a product of political correctness, but an act of absolute sincerity and conviction. Those are two huge challenges, and I'm happy to say that both are underway.

In Valletta we also got the green light to consider how we might grow the membership further.

Already, our English-speaking Commonwealth includes 7 French-speaking states and Portuguese-speaking Mozambique. (All use English as their working language in the Commonwealth.)

Not many know that five of our members are former German colonies: Namibia, Tanzania, Cameroon, New Guinea and Samoa.

And we have a queue of countries which have expressed an interest in joining – including Rwanda, Algeria, Yemen, the Palestinian Authority and Somaliland.

It's like any club: people want to join, and they do so from a sense of belonging, of like-mindedness, and of perceived benefit. They know there are responsibilities. They will also do their utmost not to get offside with other members: moral persuasion has more impact in a voluntary association than any written constitution or rule book. That's why a member who leaves can be so painful for all. But it's also significant that every member that has been suspended or has left the organisation in the past has sought to return.

So it's a busy agenda for the partnership of equals. More, it's an *important* agenda. I began with a rather gloomy prognosis about the state of the world, which I have tempered a little with some Commonwealth success stories. Our agenda is important because the Commonwealth really does have a bearing on the state of the world – all of its problems, and all of its potential.

In ways, you could say we have no power – no budget, no army, no formal mandate. But therein, perhaps, lies the real power – the moral power – of a family of governments and peoples with common concerns.

Thank you.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Write a one- page summary of the speech by

Rt. Hon. Don McKinnon, Secretary- General of the Commonwealth.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The speech by Commonwealth Secretary General, the Rt. Hon. Don McKinnon has again brought out the variety of speeches available. As you study and reflect on this variety, it is hoped that you would be able to draw lessons that will help to improve your speech writing skills.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has focused on the speech of the Commonwealth Secretary General, the Rt. Hon Don McKinnon at the Mary Trevelyan Lecture of March 8, 2006. The speech brings out the uniqueness of the speaker, and reinforces the fact that in speech writing, variety indeed is the name of the game. As you make out time to review and reflect on the speech and its style, your speech writing skills will benefit tremendously.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss ten unique features of the speech by the Commonwealth Secretary General, the Rt. Hon Don McKinnon at the Mary Trevelyan Lecture.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

<http://www.thecommonwealth.org/shared>

UNIT 5 TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE FOR NIGERIA - CHIEF EMEKA ANYAOKU

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Towards a Sustainable Future for Nigeria
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

On March 1, 2005, former Commonwealth Secretary General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, was at the Oduduwa Hall, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile- Ife, to give the 2nd Oba Okunade Sijuwade Olubuse II distinguished lecture. In this unit, we shall focus on that lecture titled “Towards a Sustainable Future for Nigeria”.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

explain the variety offered by the lecture under review
apply skills from the reviewed lecture in your own speech
writing exercise.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Towards A Sustainable Future For Nigeria- Chief Emeka Anyaoku

Introduction

My first words must be to thank the University for inviting me here today. In particular, I would like to thank the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Professor Sola Akinrinade, for the invitation to come and give this lecture. Sola Akinrinade is not only a well-respected Commonwealth scholar, he also spent a year with me at the London School of Economics during my tenure there as a Distinguished Visiting Fellow. This occasion affords me an opportunity to reiterate what I said in my recent book namely, that I owe a great debt of gratitude to Sola Akinrinade for his help in my writing of my Memoirs.

My wife and I are especially pleased to be here at Ife, this ancient and renowned cradle of Yoruba civilization. We were privileged to spend last night at The Source as guests of HRM The Ooni of Ife. May I thank you Kabiyesi for your gracious hospitality. I must add here that my acceptance of this invitation was also influenced by my respect and affection for HRM in whose honour this lecture series has been established.

I am particularly delighted to visit this university, an institution at the frontline of higher learning in Nigeria and now a fitting memorial to the genius of one of the most distinguished Nigerians of our time, Chief Obafemi Awolowo of blessed memory.

Awo as he was fondly called by his admirers was an outstanding Nigerian patriot. A great visionary, his progressive social and economic policies laid the strong foundation, which, as we all know, provided the springboard for rapid development in the western states of Nigeria. A genuine federalist, he was an eloquent advocate of a strong Nigeria based on equitable relations amongst its federating entities and diverse

peoples. His place has long been assured as one of the foremost founding fathers of modern Nigeria.

I have chosen in this presentation, to go in search, as it were, of long-term peace, stability and development of Nigeria; and I do so for two main reasons. First, given Chief Awolowo's passion for a strong, federal and united Nigeria, this seems to me an eminently suitable occasion at which to reflect on this.

My second reason is the urgent national relevance of the theme. The question of the most suitable political structure for governing the diverse peoples of Nigeria is as old as the nation itself, and even predates the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates and the Colony of Lagos in 1914. Although various attempts have been made to settle this matter since the formalization of the federal structure in 1954, it has remained an active item on the agenda of national politics.

Setting the Scene

To set the scene of my presentation, I would like to ask two questions: Why has the issue of political structure and governance been so problematic in Nigeria in recent years, and secondly, how could we begin to address the matter in order to resolve it once and for all?

My brief answer to the first question is that the efforts made by the founding fathers of modern Nigeria to constructively address the issue of the country's pluralism was grievously undermined by the military regimes which, since their assumption of power in January 1966, have by and large determined the constitutions for the country ever since.

The answer to my second question will, I hope, be clear from my discourse; suffice it for me to say at this point that I believe we all want for ourselves and our children a stable, prosperous and united country whose standing in Africa and the wider world will command respect; a country whose citizens would enjoy universally acknowledged fundamental rights and liberties, are free to associate with one another as compatriots whatever their background, are actuated by a genuine sense of patriotism, enriched and inspired by their diversity, free and able to contribute their utmost for the good of their country, expect and be guaranteed justice and fairness anywhere within its borders without any discrimination against them on grounds of ethnic origin or religious adherence, and wholly free to enjoy their country in peace and security.

The architects of independent Nigeria were inspired in their endeavour by a vision of a united and prosperous nation and the strong hope that, through imaginative and tolerant politics, Nigeria would provide

leadership to emerging black Africa. They believed that through its success in managing its political plurality, and nurturing its national prosperity at home, it could lend new dignity and self-respect to the black man in the world, especially in Africa, which was just emerging from the long night of political servitude.

The Present Condition of Nigeria

After forty-four years of independence we can look back with pride at some of our achievements especially on the world stage. But we would readily admit that our politics at home, and the political structures that serve them, have continued to subvert our capacity to achieve more both at home and abroad.

By any measure Nigeria is a nation of considerable character, richly endowed with nature's blessings as well as a proud and dynamic people. Its vastness and variety, the diversity of its peoples and cultures, its rich natural resources, its hugely talented human resources, all these place it in a good stead to attain the highest levels of human achievement and development. As a people, we are resilient and have on many occasions demonstrated our ability to pull through considerable difficulty.

In recent years, we have shown our ability to face down tyranny, our readiness to defend our rights and our preference for the exercise of our political will. There is no doubt now that we prefer democracy to tyranny and that there is a collective will to seek the best for Nigeria on a new basis of relationship amongst the nation's diverse peoples.

And yet notwithstanding the creditable successes in our foreign policy, and advances with our macroeconomic reforms since the return of democracy in May 1999, our country is still perceived as a tragic example of one endowed with immense natural resources and human potential, but which appears incapable of coordinating its assets and attributes to highest utility and maximum value.

The proclamations of our national unity by the Federal Government are undermined by practical events on the ground. There are cries of marginalization from different sections of the population; communal and ethno-religious conflicts have continued to occur at intervals in various parts of the country; and aspects of the fundamentals of our constitution including the nature of our federalism, resource control, and the place of religion in our governmental structure have remained subjects of national controversies.

There are decreasing levels of national dignity and confidence. A diminishing enrolment in education; the growing nightmare of

HIV/AIDS which does not appear to be fully acknowledged, and some will say, not effectively being tackled – all these have a long term effect on our productive capacity.

Ill equipped as our institutions of higher learning are, we are hardly able to take advantage of strides in scientific and technological progress. It is a reality that will soon make nonsense of what we regard as our most prized attributes as a nation namely, our human resources.

The totality of our human resource is distorted. First, our population at home sees something of the world and the future out there, how other people are managing and living their lives, and see what they can become themselves but are not able to.

Our youth unemployment is overwhelming. The tendency is to resort to extreme measures to get what they want. The path to criminal violence is so short!

The scale of poverty, the weakness of infrastructure and the low level of our productivity in virtually every area is such that we could do with stronger inflow of foreign capital in the form of investment and of development assistance. But we do not attract much of that because foreign investors consider Nigeria as inadequately stable in the long term, and donors often argue that we have the resources to meet our needs and so limit themselves to simply assisting us to develop mechanisms to better utilize what we have.

To give some practical illustrations of the retrogression which our country has experienced especially since the early years of our independence, I recall the days when across the country, the agricultural landscape was marked by various types of pyramids. There were the groundnut and cotton pyramids in the North, the cocoa pyramids in the West and the palm kernel pyramids and stacks of palm oil barrels in the East. Today, all these have virtually disappeared leaving us with a crisis in our agricultural sector.

I recall the days when being a Nigerian and traveling on a Nigerian passport earned one tremendous respect from officials of other countries. Today, the mere mention of one's national identity induces suspicion on their part, while tendering the Nigerian passport at most ports of entry abroad could subject one to intolerable selective treatment. The root of this identity crisis lies in large part in the activities of the advanced fee fraudsters and other social deviants, but it does leave us with a public image problem as a people with attendant costs in our interactions with other members of the international community.

I recall the days when honour, truth, loyalty, integrity, honesty, dedication, good character and other similar values defined the basic aspirations of the Nigerian and determined his/her place in society, either in terms of respect or responsibility. Today, our people are driven by a pursuit for material things in which money, how much of it one has, irrespective of how it was or is acquired, invariably confers special status on people. We seem to have virtually lost our sense of values and decency as a result of the prevailing culture of materialism. We are therefore in the throes of a crisis of value systems.

I recall the days when as a student, at whichever tier of our educational system, discipline, hard work, the quest for excellence, basic comfort in living conditions, ready availability of dedicated teachers and essential teaching aids and materials for instructions, provided the framework within which students and teachers alike engage in intellectual pursuits and the acquisition of skills.

I am informed that in this university as with many across our land, teaching aids are in short supply or virtually nonexistent. Living conditions for teachers and students fall far below acceptable standards. Discipline is tethering on the verge of collapse. Excellence is suffering from severe strain. Many graduates of our educational system end up without employment partly because of inadequacy in the absorptive capacity of the labour market but essentially, in my view, because of the disjunction between the skills, which our society needs at this stage of its development and the quality of our graduates. In short, the signs are that Nigeria is facing a crisis in the educational sector.

I recall the days when our health care delivery system was truly responsive to the needs of our people. Medicines were available in hospitals and clinics. Doctors and nurses lived up to selflessness and the humanitarian principles enshrined in their vocation. Although few in number, centres of specialist medicine like the University Teaching Hospital Ibadan, were well equipped, clean and well staffed, while secondary and primary medical services were effective and consistent with acceptable international standards. But now, we have to contend with the crisis of mass exodus of doctors and nurses seeking greener pastures overseas; adulterated medicines; the lack of the requisite diagnostic equipment necessary for informed medical decisions and or interventions; and the virtual collapse of the primary health care delivery system.

I must acknowledge that in many ways Nigeria has had to contend with a complex array of challenges in her search for her destiny. It has had to contend with the profound challenges of its colonial experience as it

seeks to build a truly independent nation. With its size and complexity, its challenges are of the same magnitude. It is contending with the complex burdens of the global economy.

But in sum, our country remains unstable in spite of our brave efforts to work its exhausting political machinery and keep it afloat. Corruption remains rife and has become a national trademark. The underperformance is as clear as daylight. The scale of poverty continues on the increase, and the gap between the very rich and the very poor continues to widen. A scandalously weak infrastructure continues to weaken our capacity to develop, as we should. An equally weak social infrastructure continues to undermine our capacity to enhance our human resources and weaken our ability to breed the able and skilled workforce the nation needs. Our political structure and governance systems, at all the three tiers of government, remain top heavy and unsustainably costly.

Let me now address the question of where we should go from here

I believe that the initiative which President Olusegun Obasanjo has taken by convening the National Political Reforms Conference is very opportune and appropriate. The long campaign of recent years for a national conference, whether sovereign or non-sovereign was sustained on the part of its advocates, by a general desire for changes in the present structure of our polity and governance systems. I believe that the conference provides a historic opportunity for exhaustive discussion with a view to reaching national consensus on how to remodel our present constitution and governance systems in order to strengthen the unity of the Nigerian Federation and create a more conducive environment for our socio-economic development. It is my hope that the work of the conference will by itself be able to disabuse the minds of those whose cynicism and opposition to the initiative, has been based on a genuine doubt of the sincerity of the Federal Government.

As you may know, I am one of the President's nominees participating in the conference. You will therefore, I trust, understand if, in speaking about some of the areas where I believe that fundamental changes must be made to our existing political structure and governance system, if we are to achieve peace, stability and the quality of development that is commensurate with our human and material resources, I fail to include my detailed prescriptions of the new structures that I would like to see in place. This is because I believe that it would be more discreet and hopefully more productive for me to seek to promote the prescriptions first in the national conference.

One of the areas where fundamental change is to be desired is in the nature of our federalism. In my view the present structure of 36 states has resulted in undue centralization of powers in Abuja to the detriment of a true federation.

Before the military coup d'état of January 1966, the country under its federal constitution of 1960 had begun to take very promising tentative steps towards meaningful national development. To give a few examples, the success of the universal primary education programme and the booming cocoa produce of the Western Region; the impressive beginnings of industrial and agricultural enterprises including the booming produce of palm oil in the Eastern Region; and the fabled groundnut pyramids and booming hides and skin produce of the Northern Region were all evidence of Nigeria's great development potentials made possible by its then more viable and more empowered federating units of the Federation.

Besides, our present 812 governments (Federal plus 36 states governments and FCT plus 774 Local Governments) with all their paraphernalia involve an unsustainable level of expenditure on governance. As was stated by Prince Tony Momoh in his booklet titled "In Search of a Viable Nigeria",

"Our expenditure profile shows that as at May, 2002, we spent 92 per cent of our resources on recurrent expenditure. By the end of that year, we were borrowing to do so, and any vote for capital expenditure was at the expense of meeting recurrent demands like payment of salaries and allowances, and meeting our commitments to pensioners.

We have therefore had very little left for funding development. Which means that if we refuse to revisit the structures, it will be a question of time before we would be borrowing to sustain the system of government we have opted for".

We should therefore aim to return to a truer federation than what we have today, a federation of far less federating units than the existing 36, each with powers to deal with the essential aspects of development – health, education, infrastructure, industry, agriculture, water supply etc. – as well as powers that would generally be akin to those possessed by the Regions in the early years of our independence.

But in restructuring the federating units, we must take care to address the issue of revenue from the mineral resources with which God has blessed our country of Nigeria. It should be possible in the interest of all our peoples, to guarantee in our new constitution an arrangement that shares equally the national revenue from all minerals, both liquid and

solid, among the federating units after deductions for the considerably reduced federal functions and compensation to the derivative regions which bear the environmental burdens of the extraction of the minerals.

There is also the question of whether we should retain the Presidential, or return to the Parliamentary system of government which we had up to January 15, 1966. There are those who argue that the Parliamentary system would be less expensive to run and involve much less chance of facilitating the emergence of dictatorship by a President in whom all the executive and symbolic powers of the nation are invested. They point to the example of India, a comparable pluralistic and heavily populated country where the Parliamentary system has enabled the country's impressive economic development and sustained the Indian democracy for over 50 years now.

But those who canvass for the retention of the Presidential system maintain that democracy is more sustainable when it is in tune with the culture of the people concerned, and that the concept of a symbolic head of family or community, is alien to Nigerian, indeed African culture generally. And they buttress this point by pointing out that there is only one of the 53 independent African States (Lesotho with its constitutional Monarchy) where the experience of a Head of State without executive powers is working.

I believe that this matter should be carefully examined and resolved on the basis of our national experience so far.

Another area where I believe that far-reaching changes are called for, is in the organization and code of conduct of our politics. Ways must be found to check the role of money, and the level of violence and intimidation in our politics. So far, the mercenary rewards of politics have encouraged the emergence of politicians who are clearly not motivated by a desire to serve their people and nation, but rather, by acquisitive drive for wealth and personal fame. As a result, principles and ideology are sacrificed on the altar of political expediency and opportunism. Politics therefore, especially at election time, become a do or die affair, and competition for votes and popular support is seldom based, as it should be, on policies and political programmes.

We must also look at our electoral system recognizing that genuinely free and fair elections are a sine qua non of true democracy. Our experience of elections in this country has in many cases been embarrassing. Some of the revelations upheld by our elections tribunals have underscored the importance of finding ways to buttress the independence of the Independent National Election Commission, as well as to ensure the impartiality of our law enforcement officers in their supportive role to the electoral process.

To further strengthen our true federal structures on the basis of a sustainable democracy, we must seriously consider a fundamental review of the structure of our defence and security forces, particularly our military. We must think of innovative ways to ensure that the organization, structure and disposition of our armed forces and facilities are such that as a nation, we could never succumb to surprises from within or without; and to ensure that the military does not feel obliged to intervene in national politics again. There should be greater flexibility, which amongst other things would ensure that our men and women in the services enjoy more customary social support while they are serving their country.

In the past, its single centralized structure made it easier for the military, or those sections of it which were so minded, to be tempted all too easily to take matters into its own hands. The balance sheet of such interventions is very much a matter of public record. But in a decentralized structure, in which each commander is loyal directly to the commander-in-chief, it would be not so easy for all the commanders in the federating units to reach a decision to carry out a coup.

There are precedents from the experience of other countries, which confirm the usefulness of this approach.

In my view, only increased power to more viable federating units which confers on them a corresponding responsibility to be conscientious over their individual securities will stiffen the sinews of our national security. And here I mean an inclusive definition of security, which believes that the wellbeing of the individual redounds to patriotic zeal to defend national security.

In our multi ethnic country at the outset of the twenty-first century, we must update and refine our definitions of power and control to meet contemporary requirements. Our concept today must recognize that in this era, people are more conscious of god-given rights and are more prepared than in the past to seek to defend them, if possible through extremist means; that jackboot process of governance is irrelevant, precisely because it will not achieve the intended result, namely, the quiescent resignation and acceptance of unquestionable power.

We are in the era of participation and transparency, and these are not mere rhetoric. Today power has shifted from domination to participation and cooperation.

Our new constitutional structure should aim to be as inclusive as possible; and should eschew the winner-takes all tyranny, which is increasingly becoming out of date. It should also aim to stress The Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy emphasizing ways for strengthening the unity of the country.

In our society, that is the only way to give full expression to our plurality, and refocus our terms of political thinking and discourse from strategic objective of achieving narrow sectional interest to more encompassing ideas and values which should speak to the wellbeing of all in our one country.

Only in such a way can we come close to defining our national interest in the global context, and to mustering our citizens' will to defend them in every sphere in this rapidly changing world. We can also in this way guarantee consent, and ensure participation and compliance with international norms of modern democracy in our own country, not just because of the moral authority it lends our position abroad, but because of the strength it lends our governance at home.

In conclusion, from time immemorial, the state and the art of statecraft have been represented in various metaphors such as a living organism with interdependent functioning parts which fulfill their roles to ensure continuation of life; a house whose structures from the foundations through its walls to the roof-top will need to be conceived and skillfully executed to meet the need for which it is intended; a home in which the governance process or system and structures of power and authority are calculated to serve the interest of the family; or a ship braving the seas in its perennial voyage suitably built and under the direction of the master skipper to pilot it through the vicissitudes of the seas with the objective to dock safely at harbour at the end of its journey.

The Nigerian project has worked so far not because the experience has been most palatable, but because fortunately, there has been, and is still, the hope that the patience so far shown by its people will prove worthwhile; that the Nigerian idea will become a mere fulfilling and rewarding reality for all its citizens.

What I have sought to do is to suggest that the idea will indeed consolidate into a great reality if we learned the lessons of our past, and recognize, as a result, that we should grasp the nettle to forge sound structures on sound foundations fit for our national home.

I thank you all for your attention.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

In one page, summarise the key issues discussed by Chief Emeka Anyaoku in his lecture.

4.0 CONCLUSION

You have now seen the great variety of speeches and the divergent styles that may be used in writing such speeches. The challenge is now for you to utilise the lessons learnt from these speeches in your own speech writing exercises. You are also encouraged to form the habit of reading written speeches as often as possible. This is one sure way of progressively improving on your speech writing skills.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has focused on a lecture given by Chief Emeka Anyaoku, former Commonwealth Secretary General, on the occasion of the 2nd Oba Okunade Sijuwade Olubuse II distinguished lecture. By reviewing this and other such speeches, your speech writing skills are bound to improve continuously.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Write out ten unique features of the 2nd Oba Okunade Sijuwade Olubuse II distinguished lecture by Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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