ESSAYS

Decarbonisation

Bladzijde 2 t/m 7.

Politics & Rhetoric

Bladzijde 8 t/m 13.

Decolonisation

Bladzijde 14 t/m 18.

Decarbonisation, switching from the use of fossil fuels such as coal, natural gas or oil to carbon-free and renewable energy sources as quickly as possible (myclimate 2022).

This is required because, according to the 2023 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Report, "only swift and drastic action" on climate change can prevent irreversible damage to the globe (2023). According to Fiona Harvey, Environment Correspondent for The Guardian, such a shift "will necessitate a massive effort by governments, businesses, and individuals." (2022) This article will showcase that electrification is an effective and viable strategy to reduce carbon emissions and combat climate change, and that involvement is required at three levels: local, national, and international. The remainder of this paper will describe electrification and explain how the economy has to change before delving into three electrification initiatives: Electrify 2515, Rewiring Australia, and EDFI ElectriFI. What their decarbonization will look like, the efforts required to make them a reality, the other initiatives involved, and the problems they will face.

The process of replacing systems that use fossil fuels (coal, oil, and natural gas) with technology that uses electricity as a source of energy is referred to as electrification (Cleary 2019). Decarbonizing the economy does not happen naturally. It requires more than just social connections. You need to establish ties between investors, politicians and technicians and find ways to beat or incorporate the opposition who want everything to stay the same (Mitchell 2008). To achieve this as fast as possible it is of utmost importance to electrify on a local, national and international level.

Locally, Electrify 2515 campaigns for 2515 (an Australian suburb) to be the location of a two-year Rewiring Australia pilot electrification project, which will aid families and businesses in transitioning from dirty fossil fuels to renewable energy. It is a devoted organisation of community members that work together on a volunteer basis. The objective is to establish Australia's first zero-emissions community and to lead a world-first pilot programme to demonstrate how to accelerate the transition to an electric future. They advocate a three-step procedure. 1: Electrify houses and businesses by installing solar panels and maybe a battery, replacing their gasoline or diesel automobile with an electric vehicle, adding electric heat pumps to heat our water and homes and switching from gas to induction cooktops. 2: Create Smart Energy users with a combination of technology, smart devices, and economics. Lobbying for solar pricing and influencing behaviours, such as charging electric vehicles throughout the day. 3: Build community connections by approaching energy sustainably and collaborating with stakeholders such as the energy distributor. Creating additional community assets, such as EV charging facilities, and analysing and directing community behaviour to decrease grid impact and hence related costs. The average home would save over $3000 per year on energy expenditures and reduce their annual CO2 emissions from 9,550 kg CO2e to zero (Electrify 2515 2023).

To make their efforts a reality, they require two things: participation from households and companies, as well as funding from the government. To apply for an electrification pilot, they must demonstrate that homes linked to their local grid are eager to participate. The minimum number of households for consideration is 500, but the aim is 2000 to demonstrate the program's extensive technical and social viability. To attract these people, Electrify 215 communicates through the website and local events. They are pushing for financing from government agencies such as the Australian Renewable Energy Agency and the Clean Energy Finance Corporation, as well as state governments and industries such as automobile and appliance manufacturers, in collaboration with Rewire Australia (Electrify 2515 2023).

On a national scale, Rewiring Australia claims "Australia has the opportunity to lead the world." Since it is the first country in the world where fully electric zero-emission appliances and automobiles, will save every household money. Because of rooftop solar, the country has access to the world's cheapest provided electricity. Over the 10-year lifetime of appliances, average expenses per family will go from $5,300 per year to $1,850 per year, and energy emissions will fall from 9,550 kg CO2e per year to 'ZERO'. "This abundant energy can electrify our industries and generate a prosperous future." On a local level, they propose the Electrify 2515 plan (Electrify Households and Businesses, Create Smart Energy Users, and Build Community Connections). Over the previous 30 years, the cost of fossil fuels has risen while the cost of solar, batteries, and electric cars has fallen. "It's a story of community economic abundance, and it's a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for Australia.” (Australia Rewired 2023). The information on the Rewiring Australia website is directed towards the Australian people and speaks to their sense of national pride.

The objective is to achieve clean electricity by eliminating all pollutants, cutting living costs, and enhancing the health of all Australians. They intend to electrify the domestic economy to achieve their aim. To do this Australia needs to build 100 hydroelectric facilities (mostly pumped hydro for storage), geothermal plants (maybe), 2500 big solar farms, 50.000 turbines, 5000 offshore turbines, 2500 community batteries, 2000 km of transmission, 2000 distribution substations, 918.000km of distribution, 7.000.000 power poles and 25.000 distribution transformers for electrical infrastructure. A 12-billion-dollar annual investment in the Australian economy would result in 40-billion-dollar annual savings by the end of the decade (TEDx Talks 2022). The data comes from a computer model, so even if the project costs twice as much, a $24 billion investment saves $200 billion over the next decade (Griffith, Cass, & Rewiring Australia 2023).

Electrify 2515 and Rewiring Australia are eco-modernization initiatives that combine the economy with ecology by helping households and businesses save money by going green. It also believes that it can manufacture itself out of problems via renewable energy technologies. (Mathews 2017) Both are also examples of the decoupling discussed by Cato: "Detaching economic growth from increased use of resources, particularly energy." (2011) Rewiring Australia states: "We can have the same comfort at a fraction of the running costs and no energy emissions." (2023) Claiming Australians can have their cake and eat it too. Furthermore, the efforts are a hybrid of Keynesian and innovative economics. Keynesian economics is defensive in the face of the short-term troubles that climate change might produce (Atkinson & Audretsch 2008). So they prioritise efficiency and carbon reductions in the short term through electrification (Griffith, Cass, & Rewiring Australia 2023). Innovation economics because Rewiring Australia wants to buy time for the 25-year energy strategy plan they recommend, so RD&D can create the industrial solutions for a new export economy and other innovations (Griffith, Cass, & Rewiring Australia 2023). Believing innovation will save the nation in the long run (Atkinson & Audretsch 2008). The communication on the Rewiring Australia website is aimed at the Australian nation and its citizens and it speaks to its national pride.

However, the initiatives face challenges. The 'rebound effect' may be a concern on a local level. “The response to increased energy efficiency is to use more of the good or service that is now produced more efﬁciently.” (Cato 2011) Electrify 2515 and Rewire Australia, on the other hand, want to combat this with strategies to Create Smart Energy Users and Build Community Connections. On a national scale, the construction of costly new energy and industrial systems will reduce the profit and value of present fossil fuel assets and operations. This will elicit opposition from the fossil fuel network. They will begin lobbying efforts and utilise their present resources to employ the greatest engineers to extract fossil energy from more difficult-to-reach regions. Finally, their efforts are not enough to battle climate change globally, because only if all act will the actions be effective (Zenghelis, 2015).

On an international level, the Electrification Financing Initiative (ElectriFI) is an impact investment dedicated to increasing access to renewable energy in poor nations. The European Union funds it, and European Development Finance Institutions oversee it. It invests in early-stage private enterprises and projects in emerging economies, with an emphasis on new/improved power connections as well as generation capacity from sustainable energy sources. Their present portfolio consists of 46 investments totalling 105.6 million euros, with a yearly contribution of 701 tonnes of CO2 avoided, 23.000.000 beneficiaries, and 807 kWh of renewable energy. To fulfill their mandates ElectriFI has 4 business models. 1: Minigrids, small-scale electric networks that provide power to a rural group of clients while operating independently of national electricity transmission networks. 2: Solar Home Systems, stand-alone photovoltaic systems that provide a cost-effective technique of delivering power to remote off-grid households in rural locations that are not linked to the grid. 3: Independent Power Producers own facilities that generate electricity for sale to utilities and end consumers. Privately held businesses, cooperatives such as rural solar or wind energy producers, and non-energy corporations capable of feeding excess energy into the grid, as well as commercial energy users for their energy consumption, might be considered. They may run off-grid or be linked to the power grid to feed surplus energy (ElectriFI 2022).

EDFI ElectriFi is also an eco-modernization effort that supports green growth innovation by integrating renewable energy technology to promote economies by connecting them to the grid or constructing their grid (Mathews 2017). The initiative is additionally an example of innovation economics in that it creates new kinds of producing items and business models to increase wealth and living standards (Atkinson & Audretsch 2008). EDFI ElectriFi is already having an impact on underprivileged communities, but more projects' success would be beneficial in gaining greater popularity and funding. Increasing the ability to electrify additional towns and businesses. Because the initiative is aimed at attracting more investors, it communicates corporately.

Electrifying local communities, nations, and internationally large isn't the only thing the world must accomplish. More than 80% of the world's population now lives in nations that consume more resources than can be replenished and provided inside their boundaries. Even if the decoupling suggested by Electrify 2515 and Rewiring Australia is effective, the great majority of the world's population will have to forgo the objective of reaching for present wealthy standards of life. To avert catastrophic earth deterioration, some limited choices may be required (Frankel 2018).

In conclusion, electrification is a viable and efficient approach to combating climate change. Decarbonizing and changing the economy does not happen naturally. On a local level, initiatives like Electrify 2515 push for community electrification, to transition households and businesses away from polluting fossil fuels and towards renewable energy sources. Rewiring Australia outlines a vision for transforming the country's energy sector on a national scale. These projects meet obstacles. The possible rebound effect on a local level. Resistance from the current fossil fuel network is expected on a national scale since the transition to clean electrification threatens their profit and value. Combating climate change necessitates worldwide collaboration. Initiatives like ElectriFI help accelerate the worldwide transition to renewable energy by increasing access to power in underdeveloped nations. It is critical to recognise that solving climate change requires more than just electrification and that certain restricting decisions may still be required. Accepting electricity as a decarbonization strategy is a critical step in tackling climate change. The ideas mentioned at various levels show promise for considerable environmental and economic advantages. However, to accomplish the intended results, governments, organisations, and individuals must actively engage and interact on both a local and global scale. We can only achieve a sustainable future via joint effort.

**1898 words** (5,6% above the word limit. It is acceptable with the +- 10% University rule)

Atkinson, R & Audretsch, D 2008, *“The Neo-Keynesian Economics Doctrine” and “Innovation Economics – The Right Economic Doctrine for the New Economy”, excerpts from ‘Economic Doctrines and Policy Differences: Has the Washington Policy Debate Been Asking the Wrong Questions?*, *The Information Technology & Innovation Foundation*, 10–18.

Cato, MS 2011, *Environment and Economy*, Taylor & Francis.

Cleary, K 2019, *Electrification 101*, May 23, 2023, https://www.rff.org/publications/explainers/electrification-101/#:~:text=Electrification%20refers%20to%20the%20process,as%20a%20source%20of%20energy.

ElectriFI 2022, *ElectriFI*, https://www.electrifi.eu/.

*Electrify 2515* 2023, https://electrify2515.org/.

Frankel, B 2018, *Fictions of Sustainability: The Politics of Growth and Post Capitalist Futures*,.

Griffith, S, Cass, D, & Rewiring Australia 2023, *National Energy Performance Strategy Consultation Paper Submission*, Rewiring Australia, May 23, 2023, https://global-uploads.webflow.com/612b0b172765f9c62c1c20c9/641be0c2af27292df9975d0c\_Rewiring%20Australia%20Submission%20National%20Energy%20Performance%20Strategy%20February%202023.pdf.

Harvey, F 2022, *IPCC report: ‘now or never’ if world is to stave off climate disaster*, *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/apr/04/ipcc-report-now-or-never-if-world-stave-off-climate-disaster.

IPCC 2023, *AR6 Synthesis Report: Climate Change 2023 — IPCC*, May 23, 2023, https://www.ipcc.ch/report/sixth-assessment-report-cycle/.

Mathews, JA 2017, *China’s Green Shift, Global Green Shift: When Ceres Meets Gaia*, Anthem Other Canon Economics.

Mitchell, T 2008, “Rethinking economy,” in *Geoforum*, Oxford, pp. 1117–1118, https://rmit.leganto.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/delivery/61RMIT\_INST:RMITU/12235939810001341?lang=en&viewerServiceCode=AlmaViewer.

myclimate 2022, *What does Decarbonisation mean?*, May 23, 2023, https://www.myclimate.org/information/faq/faq-detail/what-does-decarbonisation-mean/.

TEDx Talks 2022, *101 million machines away from a zero emission Australia | Saul Griffith | TEDxSydney*, *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FQ8-uAhG-zs.

Zenghelis, D 2015, “10. Decarbonisation: Innovation and the Economics of Climate Change,” *The Political Quarterly*, 86172–190, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923x.12239.

Rhetoric is "the faculty of discovering in any particular case all of the available means of persuasion" (Aristotle). This essay will use the rhetorical approach to analyse two media texts related to two rhetoric’s to make sense of the relationship between communication, politics and governing. The essay will first define rhetoric, showcase the relationship between communication, politics and governing, plus explain the rhetorical approach. The rhetoric of 'enterprise', 'future and technology' and their related media texts will be covered next.

Rhetoric is defined as "the strategic use of linguistic and other materials to persuade particular audiences to some aimed-for social outcome.", by Dearman, Greenfield, and Williams (2018). Rhetoric is a type of performance. It performs because the purpose is to achieve the circumstances they promise to create. Hence, the communication strategies and resources used on that unique occasion to make a specific argument and influence a result, to convince a specific audience of a certain behaviour or disposition (Dearman, Greenfield & Williams 2018).

**Communication, politics, and governance**

Politics, governance, and communication are interconnected. Politics, as Ch'ng (2023) emphasises. It consists of complex interactions among people or social groups with varied ideologies. As Rose (2005) states, governing entails the effort of combining individuals of various ages, professions, and political ideas and organising them towards a shared goal. Communication is the critical link between politics and governance, acting as a perpetual process of negotiation between individual viewpoints and society's common norms and circumstances (Ch'ng & RMIT 2023). The main connection between these phenomena is their mutual reliance on humans. Individuals join the political arena when they communicate with one another, where their ideas, opinions, and interests alter the dynamics of power and government. As a result, effective communication becomes critical for bringing people together and supporting good government.

**Rhetorical approach**

Three key concepts underlie the rhetorical method suggested by Leith and Myerson (1989). For starters, the notion of address emphasises that language is always addressed from an audience towards a specific audience within a given situation. It recognises that communication is not a lonely effort, but rather entails connecting with people and considering their views, ideas, and values. Second, the argument principle emphasises that all statements are interrelated and should be understood as reactions or "replies" to earlier utterances within a specific context. This acknowledges the dialogic character of communication and the need of considering the wider discourse in which one's message is embedded. Finally, the concept of play emphasises that the meaning of a statement goes beyond the speaker's or writer's conscious control. Meaning is flexible or whimsical, allowing for creative interpretation and numerous layers of understanding. Furthermore, both the sender and the receiver can intentionally use the material properties of language to elicit certain feelings. The rhetorical method urges communicators to be aware of their audience, engage in discourse, and use language's inherent flexibility and expressive ability to persuade, engage, and form meaning within a specific context.

**Examples of Rhetoric across Media**

1. Rhetoric of Enterprise

Rhetoric of Enterprise assumes that economic, political, social, and personal vitality is best achieved by applying the enterprise form to all conduct (RMIT 2023). Enterprise emerged during a period of change, privatization, and deregulation, leading to shifts in terminology. For instance, from 'passenger' to 'customer.' Businesses in the 90s also began to view themselves differently, identifying as 'revolutionary,' 'democratic,' 'hip,' and 'cool' (Frank 2001). Business was seen as a truth device, a friend of humanity, a powerful warrior for global democracy, and an enemy of pretence and falsehood (Du Gay 2004). Bureaucracy, the old way, was paralyzing, rule-bound, and slow. Enterprise, on the other hand, was there to get things done.

[New Book – End Public Broadcasting: Why We Should Privatise The ABC And How To Do It](https://ipa.org.au/publications-ipa/media-releases/new-book-end-public-broadcasting-why-we-should-privatise-the-abc-and-how-to-do-it)

1.1 Address

Chris Berg and Sinclair Davidson wrote "End Public Broadcasting: Why We Should Privatise The ABC And How To Do It" for the Institute of Public Affairs to coincide with the introduction of their book of the same name at an event in Sydney (Berg & Davidson 2018). The Institute of Public Affairs is a non-profit public policy research organisation, committed to the preservation and enhancement of economic and political liberty. Individual memberships and corporate donations fund it, and it promotes free market ideas, efficient governance, evidence-based public policy, the rule of law, and representative democracy (Institute of Public Affairs 2022). Sinclair Davidson is an Adjunct Fellow at the Institute of Public Affairs and a professor of Institutional Economics at the RMIT Blockchain Innovation Hub (RMIT Blockchain Innovation Hub, n.d.). Chris Berg is a Principal Research Fellow and the Co-Director of the RMIT Blockchain Innovation Hub, and he uses his platform to advocate for free markets and individual liberty (Berg n.d.). The piece is *communicated* to readers and Institute of Public Affairs members, and is targeted to their context and common community, but it also tries to reach persons with diverse beliefs.

1.2 Argument

The article responds to the ongoing debate on the importance of public broadcasting. Berg and Davidson claim that public broadcasting should be left to the free market, with no government involvement, because markets, they believe, would self-correct. They join the *political arena* by pushing for free market economics, which invites counterarguments such as Sue Gardner's, a Canadian journalist who believes that public broadcasting is more important than ever, delivering hard news both locally and abroad. She claims that individuals who watch the news on public television are more informed, more likely to vote, and have more realistic views of society. Furthermore, countries that have well-funded public broadcasters have greater levels of social trust and are less likely to have radical political beliefs (CBC 2020).

1.3 Play

Chris Berg (2018) said, "The ABC is a 1-billion-dollar public policy initiative that is increasingly out of date." and "The economics and technology of broadcasting are vastly different now. Public broadcasting does not make sense in an age of media plenty." This rhetoric of enterprise that he implements makes the case that the old way of doing things is out of date, it does not work anymore and the "new way" should take over. Berg also stated that "While the ABC produces much high-quality content, our view is that it should be exposed to the market and be more responsive to the demands of media consumers." Hereby expressing the desire to see a customer-focused ABC that focuses on viewership and profit instead of being a cultural institute. Professor Sinclair Davidson said, "Given its potential value, the government shouldn't simply defund the ABC. The ABC should be given away to either the Australian public or a group of people." Signalling that the best way for ABC to change is going through transformational change and becoming more democratic and staple to the 21st century. (Berg & Davidson 2018) The objective of these arguments and persuasive tactics is to *govern* people together towards the common goal of privatizing the ABC.

1. Rhetoric of Future and Technology

The human obsession with the future may be traced back to astrological priests in ancient times (Carey 2009). Throughout history, several communication revolutions such as the printing press, the introduction of electricity, and machine integration have dramatically impacted the world and its future (Carey 2009). Futuristic and technological rhetoric contends that current information processing and decision-making technologies, such as computers and cybernetic gadgets, constitute an entirely new manifestation of the future. It restores hope and inspires people to believe (Quirk 2008). This discourse can be used to argue for immediate action to reap future rewards, for becoming a part of the future, or for investing in the future.

[Future of jobs 2023: These are the most in-demand skills now - and beyond](https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2023/05/future-of-jobs-2023-skills/#:~:text=The%20World%20Economic%20Forum's%20Future,expected%20to%20see%20growing%20demand.)

2.1 Address

The article was written by freelance journalist Victoria Masterson for an international organization called the World Economic Forum (WEF). The WEF promotes cooperation between the public and private sectors. The forum brings together CEOs, heads of state, ministers, policymakers, experts, academics, international organizations, youth, technology innovators, and representatives of civil society to drive positive change (World Economic Forum 2023). The article is aimed at businesses, institutions, workers, and students of the future, *communicated* in a way to cater to the globalist and profit-oriented values of the shared community.

2.2 Argument

The article responds to the World Economic Forum's estimate that by 2027, 44% of workers' fundamental skills would be disrupted as technology advances faster than corporations can design and scale up training programmes (Masterson 2023). Its goal is to educate readers about upcoming issues and how to prepare for them. Furthermore, it attempts to shape the future workforce based on the demands of the WEF participants. To achieve such aims, the WEF prioritises corporate success, profitability, and a globally competent workforce. They engage the *political arena* and invite different opinions by sharing their advice and vision for the future. Greenpeace (2023), for instance, portrays a future that values care, community, and environmental harmony over privatised profit.

2.3 Play

"In the future jobs market, it will pay to have skills that are in demand." (Masterson 2023) The rhetoric argues that acquiring these suggested skills now will yield long-term benefits. The WEF positions itself as modern-day astrological priests capable of predicting the desired future of their shared community. Like those priests, the WEF does their own research, and they present it themselves. Therefore, they control "factual" information or data, presenting a "monopoly of knowledge" (Carey 2009). Interestingly, the top two skills of the future (analytical thinking and creative thinking) are also the most important currently.

Creating a "futurean mirage," depicting the future as something tangible that can be grasped and suggesting it is already within reach (Carey 2009). This suggests that the future is already manifest and that the significance of these skills will only increase. The objective of these arguments and persuasive tactics is to *govern*, instil belief in the WEF's vision of the future, and encourage readers to follow their advice.

In conclusion, this essay has employed a rhetorical approach to analyse two media texts that illustrate the relationship between communication, politics, and governing. Rhetoric is performative, aiming to bring about the state of affairs it claims to achieve. Communication, politics, and governing are interconnected. The rhetorical approach, guided by principles of address, argument, and play, emphasizes the importance of the sending audience and receiving audience, dialogue, and the creative potential of language. The rhetoric of enterprise advocates for applying the enterprise form to all conduct, emphasizing the need for change, privatization, and efficiency. The media text argues for leaving public broadcasting to the open market and aims to govern people towards privatizing the ABC by presenting it as a necessity for economic efficiency. The rhetoric of future and technology, exemplified in the WEF media text focuses on the role of technology and the importance of acquiring in-demand skills for the future. The WEF argues for the need for preparation and the acquisition of analytical and creative thinking skills. Positioning themselves as predictors of the future, urging readers to trust their vision and follow their advice. These media texts display rhetoric's persuasive power in forming public conversation and affecting behaviour. We acquire insights into how communication, politics, and governance connect, as well as how diverse actors utilise persuasive approaches to affect public opinion and achieve their goals, by analysing their rhetorical strategies. Understanding rhetoric helps us to critically engage with media texts, analyse their arguments, and negotiate the complexity of political and governmental communication.

1907 words (is within the +-10% University guidelines)

Aristotle *American Rhetoric: Definitions of Rhetoric*, https://www.americanrhetoric.com/rhetoricdefinitions.htm.

Berg, C *About – Chris Berg*, May 27, 2023, http://chrisberg.org/about/.

Berg, C & Davidson, S 2018, *New Book – End Public Broadcasting: Why We Should Privatise The ABC And How To Do It*, https://ipa.org.au/publications-ipa/media-releases/new-book-end-public-broadcasting-why-we-should-privatise-the-abc-and-how-to-do-it.

Carey, JW 2009, “The History of the Future,” in *Communication As Culture, Revised Edition : Essays on Media and Society*, Taylor & Francis.

CBC 2020, *The Long Conversation: Why public broadcasting is more crucial than ever | CBC Radio*, https://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/the-long-conversation-why-public-broadcasting-is-more-crucial-than-ever-1.5789683.

Ch’ng, HY *Week 1 - What is politics?*, *Rhetorics & Politics of the Contemporary World (2310)*, https://rmit.instructure.com/courses/111634/pages/week-1-lecture-recording-slash-slides?module\_item\_id=4617352.

Ch’ng, HY & RMIT 2023, *Week 4 - A rhetorical approach to communication I: Introduction*, https://rmit.instructure.com/courses/111634/pages/week-4-lecture-recording-slash-slides?module\_item\_id=4617362.

Davidson, S 2023, *@SincDavidson*, May 27, 2023, https://twitter.com/SincDavidson.

Dearman, P, Greenfield, C & Williams, P 2018, *Media and the Government of Populations: Communication, Technology, Power*, Springer.

Du Gay, P 2004, “Against ‘Enterprise’ (but not against ‘enterprise’, for that would make no sense),” *Organization*, 11(1):37–57, https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508404039777.

Frank, T 2001, *One Market Under God: Extreme Capitalism, Market Populism, and the End of Economic Democracy*, https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA58156213.

Greenpeace International 2023, *Don’t get distracted by the WEF set: another world is possible - Greenpeace International*, https://www.greenpeace.org/international/story/57899/dont-get-distracted-by-world-economic-forum-wef-set-another-world-is-possible/.

Hallsby, A 2022, *Appendix: Definitions of Rhetoric*, https://open.lib.umn.edu/rhetoricaltheory/back-matter/definitions-of-rhetoric/#:~:text=Aristotle%3A%20Rhetoric%20is%20%E2%80%9Cthe%20faculty,%E2%80%9Cspeech%20designed%20to%20persuade.%E2%80%9D.

Institute of Public Affairs 2022, *About Us - IPA - The Voice For Freedom*, https://ipa.org.au/about.

Leith, D & Myerson, G 1989, *The Power of Address: Explorations in Rhetoric*,.

Masterson, V 2023, *Future of jobs: These are the most in-demand skills in 2023 - and beyond*, https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2023/05/future-of-jobs-2023-skills/#:~:text=The%20World%20Economic%20Forum's%20Future,expected%20to%20see%20growing%20demand.

Muck Rack *Victoria Masterson’s Biography | Muck Rack*, May 27, 2023, https://muckrack.com/victoria-masterson-1/bio.

Mussack, B & Dsouza, E 2021, *1.1 Understanding rhetoric*, https://pressbooks.umn.edu/techwriting/chapter/chapter-1/.

RMIT 2023, *Some definition of the rhetorics covered so far*, May 30, 2023, https://rmit.instructure.com/courses/111634/pages/some-definition-of-the-rhetorics-covered-so-far?module\_item\_id=4788273.

RMIT Blockchain Innovation Hub *Sinclair Davidson — RMIT Blockchain Innovation Hub*, May 27, 2023, https://rmitblockchain.io/sinclair-davidson.

Rose, N 2005, “Government,” in *New keywords : a revised vocabulary of culture and society*, Blackwell Pub, pp. 151–153, https://rmit.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/delivery/61RMIT\_INST:RMITU/12146462090001341?lang=en.

World Economic Forum 2023, *Our Mission*, https://www.weforum.org/about/world-economic-forum/.

“I still have hope because I believe in man. Maybe it's stupid. Man's way is to accomplish

humanity, to become self-aware.” (Césaire 2004) Aimé Césaire was the leader of anti-colonial movement called ‘Negritude’. (Tate n.d.) He incorporated this in his play ‘A Tempest’ by making Ariel a mulatto slave (mixed race) and Caliban a black slave. The relationship between Ariel and Caliban is one of “brotherhood in suffering and slavery” (Césaire 1969 2.1:12) This is a form of Nergitude. “There is an essential fact, that one is black and that that counts.” (Ojo-Ade 2010) In Aimé Césaire's 'A Tempest,' the characters of Ariel and Caliban exhibit distinct approaches to freedom, highlighting their complex relationship. By analysing their respective quests for liberation, this essay aims to explore the nuances of their approaches to freedom and compare Césaire's presentation of Ariel and Caliban with William Shakespeare's portrayal in 'The Tempest.' Through this comparison, we can examine how Césaire's adaptation challenges and subverts colonial narratives, offering a decolonial perspective on the characters' struggle for autonomy.

‘A Tempest’ is an adaptation of the original play ‘The Tempest’, which was written around 1611 and considered William Shakespeare's last sole playwright (Bell Shakespeare 2021). In the original play, Ariel is called a brave spirit’ (Shakespeare 1611 1.2:206) and Caliban is often called a ‘slave’. But in essence, “there is no real Ariel-Caliban polarity; both are slaves in the hands of Prospero.” (Cliff 1991) Both want to rit themselves from under the rule of their master. Shakespeare wrote his play just after the ‘Elizabethan Era’ which was “considered to be a time of English renaissance that inspired national pride through classical ideals, international expansion, and naval triumph.” (The Lost Colony 2019)

**ARIEL**

Ariel’s approach to freedom in ‘A Tempest’ is not one of physical conflict. He says, “I don’t believe in violence.” (Césaire 1969 2.1:36) He plans to work together with Prospero, not to fight him. He says to Caliban, “No violence, no submission either. Listen to me: Prospero is the one we’ve got to chance. Destroy his serenity so that he’s finally forced to acknowledge his own injustice and out an end to it.” (Césaire 1969 2.1:42)

However, he does negotiate with Prospero and presses him on his past promises. In Act 1, scene 2, sentence 85 (Césaire 1969), Ariel says: “You’ve promised me my freedom a thousand times and I’m still waiting.” Prospero responds: “Ingrate! And who freed you from Sycorax may I ask? Who rent the pine in which you had been imprisoned and brought you forth?” Ariel responds, “Sometimes I almost regret it... After all, I might have turned into a real tree in the end... Tree: That’s a word that really gives me a thrill! It often springs to mind: Palm tree— springing into the sky like a fountain ending in nonchalant squid-like elegance. The baobab — twisted like the soft entrails of some monster. Ask the calao bird that lives a cloistered season in its branches. Or the Ceiba tree— spread out beneath the proud sun. O Bird, o green mansions set in the living earth!”

Here it’s clear to see how Ariel’s understanding of freedom differs from his view in ‘The Tempest’. In Shakespeare’s (1611) play, Ariel says: “Pardon, master. I will be correspondent to command and do my spriting, gently.” (1.2:297) when in dialogue with Prospero about being a tree and the magician freeing him. Ariel is scared and falls right back in line. In ‘A Tempest’ Ariel understands that being a tree might be freer than being Prospero’s slave. If you are a tree, you are free, free to grow and to give life. When u only do Prospero’s bidding, one is obliged to hurt and commit violent acts. Something that Ariel despises.

**CALIBAN**

Caliban's approach to freedom in Césaire's (1969) play is proactive and confrontational. He says to Ariel: “What do you believe in, then? In cowardice? In giving up? In kneeling and grovelling? That’s it, someone strikes you on the right cheek and you offer the left. Someone kicks you on the left buttock and you turn the right... That way there is no jealousy. Well, that’s not Caliban’s way...” (2.1:61) Caliban takes on the role of a true revolutionary.

A key moment in Caliban’s quest for liberation is when he first encounters Stephano and Trinculo in Act 3 chapter 2. When Trinculo and Stephano are drinking and they offer Caliban a drink, he only takes one sip and the next offer he refuses and does not respond to. The shipwreckers keep talking about the king and duke being dead and the possibility of Stephano being the new monarch of this island when Caliban says in sentence 87, “Long live the king!” Where Stephano reacts: “It’s a scientific miracle! He can talk!” Caliban follows up with: “Yes Sire. My enthusiasm has restored my speech. Long live the King! But be aware of the usurper!” Caliban then tells them about how the island belonged to him, that Prospero cheated him out of it and that he would give his rights of the island to them... If they fight Prospero for it. Stephano utters he will beat the tyrant, and Caliban plays to his pride by saying: “Watch out, he’s powerful.” (Césaire 1969) Stephano claims he eats man like Prospero for breakfast, to say no more and he orders Trinculo to march forward. Caliban is actively and consciously using the two drunkards for his agenda. By carefully choosing his words and portraying political skills he makes allies in his fight against Prospero.

Caliban’s understanding of freedom is very different from Césaire’s portrayal. The first word he says in ‘A Tempest’ is: “Uhuru” (Césaire 1969 1.2:98) Which means freedom and independence in Swahili. The “savage” had freedom on his mind since moment one. In ‘The Tempest’ he does not demand freedom; he only wants to rid the island of Prospero. He gets drunk and submits to Prospero like he is a god. He says, “I’ll swear upon that bottle to be thy true subject, for the liquor is not earthly.” (Shakespeare 1611 2.2:108) During the same scene, he sings: “No more dams I’ll make for fish, Nor fetch in firing, At requiring, Nor scrape trenchering, nor wash dish,’Ban ’Ban, Ca-Caliban, Has a new master, get a new man. Freedom, high-day, high-day freedom, freedom, high-day, freedom!” (Shakespeare 1611 2.2:169) Shakespeare’s depiction of Caliban is an example of the M. Mannoni diagnosis, Césaire talks about in ‘A Discourse on Colonialism (1950): “Come on, you know how it is. These Negroes can't even imagine what freedom is. They don't want it; they don't demand it.” He wants someone else to be the boss of him, just not the current Tyrant.

**ARIEL VS CALIBAN**

Ariel and Caliban are different to a great extent in the way they go about attaining their freedom. Caliban is on a war path and believes he must defeat the enemy to be free: “Better death than humiliation and injustice. Anyhow, I’m going to have the last word. Unless nothingness has it. The day when I begin to feel that everything’s lost, just let me get a hold of a few barrels or your infernal powder and as you fly around up there in the blue skies you’ll see this island, my inheritance, my work, all blown to smithereens... and, I trust, Prospero and me with it. I hope you’ll like the fireworks display it’ll be signed Caliban.” (Césaire 1969 2.1:61)

Ariel wants to work together and advocates for peace and harmony, and dreams of a future together: “I’ve often had this inspiring, uplifting dream that one day Prospero, you, me, we would all three set out, like brothers, to build a wonderful world, each one contributing to his own special thing: patience, vitality, love will power too and rigour, not to mention the dreams without which mankind would perish.” (Césaire 1969 2.1:51)

Both want their freedom, but their beliefs and hopes are opposites. Their different experiences with Prospero might have shaped their views of liberation. Ariel was freed by Prospero, so, therefore, he believes there is good in Prospero and a potential ally. Caliban on the other hand, showed Prospero the island and all its riches but when Prospero did not need him anymore. He became “Caliban the animal, the slave!” (Césaire 1969 1.2:145) Therefore, he sees no good in Prospero and believes he is the enemy.

**SHAKESPEARE VS CESAIRE**

There are key differences in the presentation of Ariel and Caliban in Césaire’s ‘A Tempest’ and Shakespeare’s ‘The Tempest’. The endings of both plays demonstrate the biggest difference in Caliban. He is an unguided emotional man, who can’t think ahead in the original play. Prospero says he should trim his pardon carefully, and Caliban answers: “Ay that I will. And I’ll be wise hereafter and seek for grace. What a thrice-double ass Was I to take this drunkard for a god and worship this dull fool!” (Shakespeare 1611 5.1:297) Caliban acknowledges he was wrong. Caliban’s ending in ‘A Tempest’ is vastly different and showcases a man who does not falter. “Understand what I say, Prospero: For years I bowed my head for years I took it, all of it. Your insults, your ingratitude, and worst of all, more degrading than all the rest, your condescension. But now it’s over! Over, do you hear? Of course, at the moment you’re still stronger than I am but I don’t give a damn for your power or for your dogs or your police or your inventions! And do you know why? It’s because I know I’ll get you. I’ll impale you! And on a stake that you’ve sharpened yourself! You’ll have impaled yourself!” (Césaire 1969 3.5:111) In the original play, Caliban is a fool that loses, but in the adaptation, he is a revolutionist that eventually wins.

Ariel’s biggest difference between the two plays is noticeable when you look at his morals. In ‘The Tempest’ he shows no remorse after causing the tempest and he’s not interested in Caliban or anyone else. Only his freedom is what he wants. In ‘A Tempest’, Ariel is vastly different. He shows remorse about causing the tempest: “Not tired; Disgusted. I obeyed you but, well, why not come out with it? I did so most unwillingly. It was a real pity to see that great ship go down, so full of life.” (Césaire 1969 1.2:75) Ariel shows concern for his “brother” in negritude when Prospero orders to punish him: “Master let me intercept for him and beg your indulgence. You’ve got to understand, he’s a rebel” (Césaire 1969 3.3:75)

The cultural and political context of their times has influenced the characterization. William Shakespeare wrote 'The Tempest' around 1611 for high society when the British empire started to colonize other parts of the world. They justified their brutalism, by claiming they were civilizing a savage world. The ideology of that period about servants and slaves is incorporated in the work of Shakespeare with Ariel being a servant and Caliban being a “savage”. Aimé Césaire published his play in 1969, around the time of the American Civil Rights movement. Caliban changes his name to ‘X’, which is a direct link to Malcolm X. Ariel says he has an uplifting dream that one day... This is a link to the famous Dr Martin Luther King Jr. speech ‘I Have a Dream’ (1963).

In conclusion, Aimé Césaire's 'A Tempest' presents a decolonial viewpoint on the figures of

Ariel and Caliban, challenging and modifying colonial narratives. Ariel and Caliban exhibit their complex connection and emphasise the subtleties of their battle for independence via their different approaches to freedom. Ariel's fight for freedom is highlighted by a nonviolent attitude that advocates for peace. In 'A Tempest,' Ariel realises that genuine freedom comes from being loyal to oneself and nature, rather than being a slave to the will of others. Caliban's attitude towards freedom in 'A Tempest' is proactive and aggressive. In contrast to Shakespeare's characterisation of him as an emotional and naive guy, Caliban represents a revolutionary spirit and emerges as a triumphant figure in Césaire's representation. The opposing points of view of Ariel and Caliban show how individuals' conceptions of emancipation, influence their methods for achieving it. 'A Tempest' reflects its time's cultural and political background. Césaire combines references to notable personalities like Malcolm X and Dr Martin Luther King Jr., and their philosophies, to provide a decolonial viewpoint on the characters' battles for liberation. Their opposing perspectives, shaped by their experiences and the historical context, shed light on the intricacies of freedom and give a powerful critique of colonial misconceptions. Césaire challenges us to think about the legacy of colonialism and the search for liberty in a postcolonial society by challenging traditional power dynamics and providing alternative visions of freedom.

**2130 words**

Bell Shakespeare 2021, *Historical background*, https://www.bellshakespeare.com.au/the- tempest-historical-

background#:~:text=The%20Tempest%20was%20most%20likely,)%20in%201611%

2C%20at%20Whitehall.  
Césaire, A 1950, *Discourse on Colonialism*,.  
Césaire, A 1969, *A Tempest*,.  
Cliff, M 1991, “Caliban’s Daughter: The Tempest and the Teapot,” in *Frontiers: A Journal of*

*Women Studies*, University of Nebraska Press, pp. 36–51. *Definition of*

*uhuru www.dictionary.com*, https://www.dictionary.com/browse/uhuru#:~:text=Uhuru %20is%20often%20used%20in%20discussions%20about%20African%20pride%20an d,feel%20when%20you%20see%20it.

Eward-Mangione, A 2014, “Decolonizing Shakespeare: Race, Gender, and Colonialism in Three Adaptations of Three Plays by William Shakespeare,” *USF TAMPA GRADUATE THESES AND  
DISSERTATIONS*, https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6819& context=etd.

King, ML, Jr 1963, *I have a dream*, https://www.britannica.com/topic/I-Have-A-Dream. Ojo-Ade, F 2010, “Aimé Césaire’s African Theater,” *Africa World Press*.  
Shakespeare, W 1611, *The Tempest*,.  
TATE *POSTCOLONIAL ART*, June 2, 2023, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-

terms/p/postcolonial-art.  
Tate *Négritude | Tate*, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/n/negritude. The Lost Colony 2019, *Elizabethan Era - The Lost*

*Colony*, https://www.thelostcolony.org/the-lost-colony/bring-history-to-

life/elizabethan-era/.  
United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia *civilizing mission*, June 2,

2023, https://archive.unescwa.org/civilizing-mission.

Wynter, S 2003, “Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation--An Argument,” *Cr-the New Centennial Review*, 3(3):257–337, https://doi.org/10.1353/ncr.2004.0015.