



RESEARCH PAPER

**A Critical Discourse Analysis of Ex Pakistani Premier Imran Khan's
Speeches about Pulwama Incident**

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ABSTRACT

The current study examines the speeches of Prime Minister Imran Khan's positive image development of Pakistan against terrorism and cooperation with India against Pulwama incident. Language is the foundation of social construction in terms of individual or group relationship. A distinct discourse, spoken or written, can originate from different sources such as power, culture, social background, ethnicity and social status. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is influential for describing and interpreting social life reflected in the text. The present study is qualitative research is based on the concept of three levels of Fairclough's (1995) in critical discourse analysis. The overall findings reveal the fact that Pakistan is a peaceful country and firsts & cooperates for terrorism.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Pulwama Incident, War Hysteria

Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) explores the connection between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs. A critical discourse analysis is also an ideological postmortem of language and the process of unpacking the packed. It also investigates ways in which language constructs and is constructed by social relationships. A critical discourse analysis may include a detailed textual analysis and more from there to an explanation and interpretation of the analysis. It might proceed from there to deconstruct and challenge the text's being examined. Discourse is as old as human beings. A small piece of information is called discourse, it depend on written and spoken communications.

In any society, people are lucky to communicate among themselves through written and spoken medium. This medium is called source of communication and developed over the period of human history. Speech is a direct way of communication between the listener and the speaker. Spoken conversation is a main source of communication and the vocal organs in the mouth to produce a systematic form of meaning.

The phrase 'public speaking' can be divided into two words. One is 'public' meaning a mass of people, and 'speaking' is a method to communicate with the people or masses. Thus, when public speaking is said, it means to communicate something to the masses either in a direct or indirect way with an intention to deliver something to them.

So, a public speaking is usually done by a person of some political and religious standing and is named as public speaker. Some of the public speakers are want to deliver their business ideas to the people. In case of a political leader, what he delivers is named as speech which is a very powerful tool to gain repute and to benefit personal and national interests.

Speech

Speech is usually a kind of formal talk which intends to influence people on a large scale. Speech is a powerful medium of communication that the characteristic of convincing the masses, fusing one's ideas to their heads, or prepare them for processions.

Therefore, my present study is on the speeches of Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan, who is leading the nation of Pakistan in the time of crisis and the currently issue of Pak Indo war. The background is a pulwama attack in the Occupied Kashmir that killed nearly 40 Indian army personnel on 14th February. In such aspects, his speeches play an important role to represent Pakistan as a peaceful country of the world.

An Autobiography Imran Khan

Imran Ahmad Khan Niazi was born on 5th October 1952 to Ikramullah Khan Niazi in Lahore. His paternal family is of Pashtun ethnicity and belonged to the Niazi tribe. Firstly he was educated at the Aitchison College and Cathedral School in Lahore, and then the Royal Grammar School Worcester in England, where he excelled at cricket. In 1972, he enrolled in Keble College, Oxford where he studied Philosophy, politics and Economics, graduating with a third class degree in 1975.

Khan was offered political position few times during his as cricketer career. In 1987, then President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq offered him a political position in Pakistan Muslim League (PML) which he declined. He was also invited by Nawaz Sharif to join his political party. On 25th April 1996, Khan founded a political party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI). He ran for the seat of National Assembly of Pakistan in Pakistani general election, 1997 as a candidate of PTI from two constituencies –NA-53, Mianwali and NA-94, Lahore but was unsuccessful and lost both the seats to candidates of PML (N).

Khan supported General Pervez Musharraf's military coup in 1999, believing Musharraf would "end corruption, clear out the political mafias". According to Khan, he was Musharraf's choice for Prime minister in 2002 but turned down the offer. Khan participated in the October 2002 election and his party did not get a majority of the vote. He was elected from Mianwali. In the 2002 referendum, Khan supported military dictator General Musharraf, while all mainstream democratic parties declared that referendum as unconstitutional. He has also served as a part of the standing committees on Kashmir and Public Accounts. On 2nd October 2007, as part of the All Parties Democratic Movement, on 3rd November 2007, Khan was put under house arrest, after President Musharraf declared a state of emergency in Pakistan. Later Khan escaped and went into hiding. He eventually came out of hiding on 14th November to join a student protest at the University of the Punjab. At the rally Khan was captured by student activists from the Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba and roughly treated. He was arrested and was sent to the Dera Ghazi Khan jail in the Punjab province where he spent a few days before being released. On 30th October 2011, Khan addressed more than 100,000 supporters in Lahore, challenging the policies of the government, calling that new change a "tsunami" against the ruling parties. Since then Khan became a real threat to the ruling parties and a future political prospect in Pakistan. According to International Republican Institute's survey, Khan's PTI tops the list of popular parties in Pakistan both at the national and provincial level. On 29th March 2013, Khan introduced the Naya Pakistan Resolution (New Pakistan) at the start of his election campaign. On 29th April the observer termed Khan and his party PTI as the main opposition to the PML-N.

Pulwama Attack

On 14th February 2019, a convoy of vehicles carrying security personnel on the Jammu Srinagar National Highway was attacked by a vehicle borne suicide bomber at Lethpora in the Pulwama district, Jammu Kashmir, India. The attack resulted in the deaths

of 40 Police Force Personnel and the attacker. India has blamed Pakistan for the attack. Pakistan condemned the attack and denied any connection to it.

Literature Review

Discourse Analysis (DA)

Discourse is a broad term with many definitions, "integrates the whole palettes of meanings" (Titscher et.al.1998), ranging from linguistics, through sociology, philosophy, and other existing social sciences disciplines. For the purpose of this paper we are also applying the definition of discourse grounded Van Dijk's (1977), and his general concept about discourse is text in context, (Titscher et.al.1998) with focus on discourse as it is an action and whole process. It is linked to this statement that "discourse" is a wider term than "text" for whole process of social interaction I shall use the term discourse which a text is just a part. (Fairclough,1989). Text is the ground for interpretations and Discourse being the language beyond the sentences is with wider approach.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a easy manner, not a homogenous model, nor a school or a paradigm, but it is a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotics or discourse analysis. (Van Dijk 1993).

Critical discourse studies aim to make connections between social and cultural practices. That is, it is the process of unpacking the packed, that what people say and do in their use of discourse in relation to their views of the world and relationships with each other. Critical discourse analysis takes the view that the relationship between language and meaning is never arbitrary in that the choice of a particular genre or rhetorical strategy brings with it particular presuppositions, meanings, ideologies and intentions (Kress 1991).

Eggins (1994) argues that whatever genre we are involved in, and whatever the register of the situation, use of our language will be influenced by our ideological positions: the values we hold consciously or unconsciously.

The power of written and spoken texts, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is influential for describing and interpreting social life reflected in the text (Luke 1997).

The aim of critical discourse analysis is elaborate language use as social practice. Critical discourse analysis starts with the assumption that "no use of language is ideology free". Critical discourse analysis attempts to explore layers of meanings embedded in the text and might explore issues such as gender, ideology and identity and how these are reflected in particular texts. Analysis of language from multidimensional perspectives is critical discourse analysis. It is the process of unpacking the packed. Critical discourse analysis is also an ideological postmortem of language. One of the objectives of CDA is to create a paradigm for decreasing this said opacity. Fairclough (1993 in his definition perceives CDA as

"Discourse analysis aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practice, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practice, events, and texts arise out and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society as itself a factor securing power and hegemony."

The one element of CDA is differentiated from other forms of discourse analysis lies in its attribute of 'critical'. "Critical 'implies showing hidden connections and providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through changed. Fairclough (1992).

Van Dijk contributed "many articles and books that establish CDA as a direction of research and that focus on various dimensions of power", it is the work of Norman Fairclough (1989). It is for him CDA is perceived as a research tactic rather than a direction of thought or a model of analysis. Batsone (1995) summarized that what the followers of CDA try to achieve.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) seeks to reveal how text is constructed so that particular perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly, what Kress calls the "retreat into mystification and impersonality".(Batstone 1995).

The definitions, as proposed above, are quite enough but they would need further some description of how CDA is undertaken. Fairclough, in his work language and power (1989), wishes to "examine how the ways in which we communicate are constrained by the structures and forces of those social institutions within which we live and function."(Fairclough 1989). In the same publication, the possible procedure of analysis the texts are suggested. Fairclough gives the opinion in actual nature of discourse and text analysis. In his opinion, he mentioned three levels of discourse, firstly, text i.e. the social factor, which contributed or lead to the origination of a text, and, at the same time, how the same factors affect interpretation. Secondly, interpretation i.e. in what way the text was produced and how this effect interpretation. Thirdly, explanation i.e. the text is the product of first two stages, commented on above. Fairclough gives three stages of CDA which are according to the three above-mentioned levels of discourse:

- First level of discourse is totally concerned with the formal proprieties of the text.
- Second level of discourse is interpretation and concerned with the relationship between text and interaction. With seeing the text is the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation.
- Third level of discourse is explanation and concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context- with the social determinants of the process of the production and interpretation and their social effects. (Fairclough 1989).

Fairclough's model consists of the following components:

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| 1- Description | text |
| 2-Interpretation | discursive practices |
| 3-Explanation | social practices |

Political Discourse Analysis (PDA)

The present study involves the analysis of political speeches, we consider it important to define political discourse analysis or as called PDA. It aims to show how political speeches of texts can be analyzed by considering that political texts are in fact linguistic literature.

Political discourse analysis is purely about political texts which he calls the political enterprise. Hence, what is being told here is that the critical political discourse analysis is actually the analysis of power and the dominations that politicians exercise on the masses through their political discourses.(Van Dijk 1998).

Our conceptual is adopted from the Fairclough's ideas in discourse and power and discourse and hegemony. Our effort is to link social and linguistic practices as well as macro and micro level of discourse (Fairclough 1989). At the same time, analytical part of this paper analyzes the possible interrelatedness of textual traits and power relations, which is also discussed in Fairclough's conceptual work. Furthermore this paper attempts to deconstruct

covert ideology which is hidden in the text, stemming from the theoretical conceptualization of Batstone who claims "critical discourse analysis seeks to reveal how text is constructed so that particular perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly; because they are covert, they are elusive of direct challenge, facilitating what Kress calls the "retreat into mystification and impersonality". (Batstone 1995:198-199). The main analytical tool of our paper is the "three dimensional method of discourse analysis". Introduced by Norman Fairclough namely the "language text, written or spoken, discourse practice (text production and text interpretation) and the social culture practice" (CDA: 97). The conceptions of Fairclough transform into an analytical method including "linguistics description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and text, an explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and social and the social processes. (Fairclough 1989)

Media Discourse

Van Dijk (1988) states that media discourse analysis should be considered for general news statement and considered as particular in their rights, like specific kind of language employ as particular type of practice of social culture. Critical discourse analysis is dominant in both written and spoken forms of discourse analysis and the media discourse like print and visual media discourse analysis is particular part in this research. Van Dijk has given appropriate social cognitive structure for the investigation concerning media discourse in opinions to show the ideological hypothesis of news builder companies depending on political, social and their cultural history.

The script of Imran Khan's (19th,27th February 2019) speech was taken the from you tube.

These speeches were delivered on the incident of Pulwama and the critical situation of Pak Indo war. These speeches show an important role of Pakistan and show the positive image of Pakistan against terrorism and war hysteria.

Material and Methods

The present research is based on the qualitative research. It is to determine the direction of a research project, from the beginning to the last step of writing the research report. Qualitative research is used to understand the Prime Minister Imran Khan's discourse.

Analysis

My analysis and interpretations of Imran Khan's two speeches in the Islamabad are to link it with Pakistan's Democracy, current political situation, message of peace, cooperation, rejecting escalating violence and show Pakistan rule against war and terrorism as positive. Only the most relevant and important chunks of the speeches are given below but the idea and theme are elaborated with sincerity.

Imran Khan's speech is on the 19 February 2019

A few days ago an incident occurred in the occupied Kashmir valley district Pulwama. I had responded at that time because Pakistan was criticized having by others at that time, it was crucial to visit Saudi crown prince investment conference, which we had been preparing for a long time, so I did not decide to respond. Because all the attention was towards this conference, when crown prince returned, I am in front of you. And I am answering and responding to the Indian government. You have already blamed us to show is no evidence against Pakistan. Pakistan is facing now modern challenges on one hand we are defending ourselves on other hand we are busy in conference. Any rival agency do such an event to sabotage his conference.

We have been fight against terrorism since 17 years as result which 70 thousand Pakistanis were killed. And I also want to discuss question from the government of India that if you have to be trapped inside the past and Kashmir tragedy. Instead, of handling of Kashmir issue with any dialogue, India will be responsible for repeatedly taking Pakistan. I am clearly telling you that this is NAYA Pakistan and new thought development. We believe that it is not in our intention to hit our country neither terrorism nor any other out of comes terrorism in our country. We want stability, I offer to the government of India that we are ready if you want to investigate that was Pakistan involved in incident or not?

If you have any evidence that Pakistan involved, then let us give you the guarantee that we will take serious action according to our rules and not under pressures of others. If someone uses the land of Pakistan, it is a shameful act that will not be tolerated. Another thing when we talk to India, the precondition of India is that before conversation about terrorism. I say India government that, we are ready to talk about terrorism. Terrorism is a great matter of subcontinent and we are agree to talk about terrorism because we want to end this terrorism. Pakistan is the country which has suffered most of the terrorism effects 70 thousand Pakistani have been killed and our loose is exceeded 100\$ billion.

We are ready to talk about terrorism but at the end I tell you about two things. First, should be a new thought in India that an interception should come to know why Kashmir's youth have reached this extremist point of view. Do you think about the wrong dimensional operation to solve the problem through the military it is not successful today, in Afghanistan after all the world acknowledge that. There is no military solution, dialogues solve the problem. Another thing I have hearing and seeing through India median and politics that they want to take revenge to Pakistan. First of all, which law of the world allows any individual or country to be judges, jury and execution in other country. If you think about the some kind of attacks on Pakistan, then Pakistan not think about retaliate. Pakistan will retaliate. And Pakistan no other option without retaliate. And then nobody realize that war where go, it is easy to start and war begin in the human hands, but to eliminate the war is not in the human hands. I hope that "better sense should be prevail"

Textual level analysis

Prime Minister Imran Khan's speck at 19 February 2019 about the Pulwama incident in occupied Kashmir district Pulwama words used in the frequently in his speech

Data Presentation

No	word	parts of speech	frequency
1	I	Pronoun	16
2	We	Pronoun	15
3	You	Pronoun	11
4	Pakistan	Noun	16
5	India	Noun	9
6	Kashmir	Noun	4
7	Will	Verb	4
8	Was	Verb	4
9	Had	Verb	7

The above table shows that the highly frequently used entry in his speech at the Pulwama attack respond to the India and rejected the blame of incident. Prime Minister Imran Khan used word 'I and Pakistan' 16 times and then 'We' 15 times, 'You' 11 times, 'India' 9 times, verb 'Had' 7 times and 'Kashmir, Will and Was used 4 times. Since word "Pakistan and I" is the most frequent word used by Prime Minister Imran Kham in his speech,

the other words that accompany this certain word will provide us with the clause of social context.

Interpretation

Prime Minister Imran Khan on his speech 19 February 2019 respond the blame of Indian media, government and politics that in Pulwama incident that Pakistan involve in this incident and Pakistani land used for this purpose. How can object of Pakistan and what is the benefit of Pakistan in Pulwama attack. Prime Minister firstly says that we delaying the respond of Pulwama incident, because the visit of Princes of Crown. If Prime Minister give the response at that time what happen and why India media blamed on Pakistan rather in the world have a lot of other countries and why Indian government ask about the retaliate against Pakistan. We know that before some decodes the image of Pakistan is very low, reason is effects of terrorism and Pakistan fight against terrorism 17 years war and at that time Pakistan clarifying that Pakistan decay the concept of terrorism and at the present situation Pakistan want peace. But all the world known that the relationship between Pakistan and India is not good at the first day of independence. If India have any evidence against Pakistan, that Pakistan involve in the Pulwama incident then show, we ready for the investigation but why Indian government not give the evidence against Pakistan about Pulwama incident because they have no evidence against Pakistan. Prime Minister says that we are ready for the investigation because it's a shameful for Pakistan that any outer use the land of Pakistan. One more thing is according to the opinions of the researcher that current year is an election year of India and earning the election sport, high jacking the mind of voters and for the instance of votes Modi's government involve in the Pulwama incident.

Explanation

Prime Minister Imran Khan's speech is on the 19 February 2019 about the Pulwama attack in occupied Kashmir district Pulwama. In his speech firstly Prime Minister says that he delay the blame of Indian government and the media that Pakistan involve in the attack of occupied Kashmir at the National Highway in district of Pulwama. Prime Minister delay response because Princes Crown have visited in the Pakistan and the visit of Princes of Crown was very important for the interest of Pakistan. Prime Minister says that if India have any evidence against Pakistan that anyone of Pakistani involve in the Pulwama incident give us evidence we ready for investigation it's a shameful for Pakistan that any outer use the land of Pakistan. Pakistan is at the stage of stability because we fight war against terrorism and lost a lot of peoples and the money. Prime minister says that it is a NAYA PAKISTAN and new thought development. He argue that terrorism is a big issue of the subcontinent and we decay the concept of terrorism and we ready to talk about terrorism. Prime Minister says that issue of Occupied Kashmir is solve on table talk and more Prime Minister says that if India think about the revenge of Pulwama attack then Pakistan not think about the retaliate, Pakistan must retaliate. Prime Minister says that to Indian government that 'better sense should be prevail'

Imran speech 27 February 2019

My beloved county Pakistan is facing the critical situation since yesterday morning. I wish I would have present in confidence about Indian people, we offered a complete offer to India after pulwama incident that if some kind of investigation is needed but according to our rules and regulations we are ready for it. I feel the pain of pulwama fatalities because since last ten years in Pakistan. 70 thousand Pakistani have been killed.

So, we just offered to India that if you want to investigate that anyone form Pakistan is involved, then Pakistan is ready to cooperate with you completely. We did this because it was not in the interest of Pakistan, that anyone can use the land of Pakistan. We are ready to fully cooperate. But I was afraid that India still has to take any action. And that's why I said that our compulsion that you take action will be our compulsion to respond.

And I was afraid that India was on verge of election and I felt that action will be taken because of this, I told India that we have to take action. When the action was taken yesterday morning, army chef and I talk about happening and in the morning we did not take action because we do not know how much damage had occurred in Pakistan, if we took action and made India fatalities, it also had to be irresponsible for Pakistan, while we did not have any fatalities, our plan today was that no fatalities lose of India. Only we had told India that the capability in ours is that if you can come to our country, we can also go and do action in your country. Two Indian warplanes crossed the border in Pakistan's retaliation, they were shutdown, and I also want to say that the pilots are with us. Now the problem is that we go from where.

Now I say to India, here it is very important that we use little wisdom. How many wars have occurred in the world, there has been miscalculation in large wars. The 1st world war over in months but over in 6 years, as in the 2nd world war that Hitler thought that I conquer Russia, did not think that the war would be delayed in the winter of Russia and its destruction happened, as well as what American thought in the war of terrorism, he would be trapped in Afghanistan for 17 years, so it tells us the history of the world that there are miscalculation in wars.

My question is that the government of India should have the option to have miscalculation with us and we have to think that a present, if war starts from here, it will return or not in my control. It will be not the control of the Modi, that's why I invite you again that we are ready to dialogue. We are ready to talk about the pluwama incident but I will tell you again that better sense should be prevail, as that time we solve our problems with dialogue.

Textual level analysis

In the second speech of Prime Minister of Imran Khan at the scenario of Pakistan retaliate and confidence of nation.

No	Word	Parts of speech	Frequency
1	I	Pronoun	16
2	We	Pronoun	20
3	You	Pronoun	7
4	Pakistan	Noun	10
5	India	Noun	12
6	Will	Verb	5
7	Was	Verb	6
9	Had	Verb	3

Above table shows that the highly frequently used entry in the speeches is word 'We' which is 20 times, and then 'I' 16 times, 'Pakistan' 10 times, 'You' 7 times, verb 'Was' 6 times, 'Will' 5 times and 'Had' 3 times, since 'We' word is the frequently use in the speech of Prime Minister of Imran Khan and we easily analysis that Imran khan wants peace and invite for dialogue on table talk and the word 'I' show that Prime Minister Imran Khan give the guaranty for investigation and solve the problems with dialogue.

Interpretation

Prime Minister Imran Khan deliver his speech at the scenario of retaliate of Pakistan against Indian attack. The relationship between Pakistan and India is increased at the level of harmful and the Prime Minister Khan invite India for table talk at the time of Pulwama incident. Again Pakistan invite to India for any investigation about the pulwama incident in occupied Kashmir. Pakistan retaliate against the action of Indian Air Force and shutdown

two Indian Jets they entered in the tertiary of Pakistan without permission. Every one known that it's age of nuclear weapons, the effects of nuclear weapons are harmful and destroy the whole world. According to the war hysteria war is easy to start but the end of the war is not in the human hand. Prime Minister Imran Khan argue to Nirander Modi that use the mind and better sense should be prevail.

Explanation

In this speech the Prime Minister Imran Khan inform the nation about the situation of scenario. Prime Minister says that we firstly inform the India that if you take any action then we must retaliate against your action. Last night Indian jets inter the tertiary of Pakistan. But at the day time Pakistani Air Forces shutdown the two Indian jets, Prime Minister again invite the Indian government for dialogue and solve the issue of Kashmir by table talk. We know that terrorism is a great matter of subcontinent. Pakistan is at the stage of stability and we rejected the concept of terrorism. At the end of his speech Imran Khan give the advice to the Modi government that use your mind and better sense should be prevail.

Conclusion

The findings of the first part our analysis have shown that the key ideological components of PM Khan's speech can be summarized into following concepts: Loyalty, patriotism, responsible, peaceful mind, religious attraction, visionary and revolutionary. The result of keyword analysis has shown that the most prominent words used by PM Khan's are Pakistan, India, stability, terrorism, miscalculation, retaliate, evidence, dialogue, justice and effects of war and overall most utterances of the personal pronoun 'we' is showing the inclusiveness of PM Khan. The other most uttered words are most valuable in the matter of defiance. Words like Pakistan and dialogue are the first priority of his speeches show that Pakistan wants peace in the subcontinent. Another word which is also part of his repeated words is terrorism, because he is the permanent figure in the Pakistan politics and he know that impact of Pakistan front of the world is very low and Pakistan fight against the terrorism 10 years or loss 70 thousand patriots and more than 10\$ billion while we want know peace and stability or we ready to talk on the matter of terrorism. The analysis of phrases he used in his speech is shown his willingness and enthusiasm for solving the critical issues and he openly invited for dialogue and say "should better sense well prevail" is better for India. Result of 1st & 2nd world war references analysis shown that we both have nuclear powers and war beginning in human hand but control of this war is not in human's hand. The overall findings of his speeches are that Pakistan is a peaceful country and decay the concept of terrorism, because know it's a NAYA PAKISTAN and we are at the stage of stability.

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