

Discursive Construction of Pakistani National Identity in Print Media

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Abstract

The paper looks into the discursivity construction of national identity in English language Pakistani newspapers. It examines how Pakistani national identity has been portrayed in the print media and what kind of strategies, themes, and linguistic means have been employed by the newspapers on a national day being celebrated on 14th August, 1999. Using DHA (Discourse-Historical-Approach) given by Wodak, as a framework for the paper two newspaper reports/stories have been selected for the analysis of the discursivity. This investigation also includes the Corpus Linguistics software Wordsmith 6.0 in order to elicit the keywords from the respective reports, which gives lexical difference of the text. It was revealed that various strategies used by the newspaper reports portrayed Pakistan as we-group and India as other group in the construction of sameness and difference. The national event of birthday of Pakistan was used as a political wagon to further the political and economic agenda of the government. The lexical difference between two newspaper reports projected three lexical items, Kashmir, nuclear, and peace as the same in both reports, whereas the rest of the keywords points to different sub-topics under the discursive construction of Pakistani national identity. The newspaper reports were observed quite instrumental in projecting discursivity in the form of headings, contents, themes discussed and lexical items included.

Keywords: DHA (Discourse-Historical-Approach), National Identity, Discursivity, Print Media, THE NEWS, The DAWN, Wordsmith, Keywords. Kargil, Kashmir, Peace.

1. Introduction

This research paper intends to investigate discursive construction of national identity in Pakistani newspapers. It examines the changing concept of Pakistani national identity and focuses on how it has been shaped through Pakistani media, especially newspapers. Considering the effectiveness of media discourse in opinion making process, and its influence on political decision making and the consequent effect it may have upon the communities living in Pakistan and their perception of 'self' and 'other', therefore, the main aim of this research is to evaluate media texts to determine which concept of Pakistani national identity is being articulated in newspapers and it also studies how identity is being constructed.

Anderson (1983) believed that nations are to be understood as mental constructs and as 'imagined political communities.' They are projected in the minds as well as memories of indigenous subjects in which they can think, act and at the same time react in a manner to a national event. National as well as international media such as newspapers play an effective role in dispersing national identity related dogmas. In this way, newspapers become a permanent and perpetual source of disseminating these mental models.

Such mental models are upheld in the form of national identities but conceived as a specific form of social identities through language and sometimes through symbols and semiotic systems, which

are constantly produced, reproduced transformed and destroyed. The ideological national communities become a reality in beliefs and convictions through discursive discourses unabatedly launched by politicians, writers, journalists, intellectuals, media persons and religious scholars and circulated by the well-established systems of press, schooling, education, enculturation, mass communication and militarization.

Pakistan is not a unique example; everywhere around the world media is examining all the events/incidents taking place at every moment. Twenty first century media is dynamic and virulent; it can only be monitored through studying with a critical gaze that what identity image is being entailed in newspapers. The present study therefore looks into the newspaper reports of speeches delivered by the prime minister of Pakistan at the eve of independence-Day, i.e. 14th August, 1999 to highlight the discursivity of national identity being portrayed on national day. Two Pakistani English newspapers have been selected for this purpose, THE NEWS, and the DAWN.

This study examines how Pakistani national identity has been portrayed through print media, what kinds of strategies have been employed to highlight social, political, and historical implications and lastly what types of major themes, contents and means of linguistic realisation have been employed in the discursive construction of Pakistani national identity?

As a social construct national identity responds to historically changing questions and gives answers that are only understandable in these contexts. According to Hall (1995), there is a close relationship between the national identity and cultural identity. Through projection of an individual's self in the cultural identities, the meaning and values that have become internalized the last. Identity as a sociological concept bridges the gap between the personal and the public and so aligns subjective feeling with the target sites occupied by persons in the social and cultural world (Ibid).

An understanding of national identity as a narrative that comes from a part of stories of self as developed by authors such as Ricoeur (1995) implies that identity can unfold dialectically. It also hosts notions of equality and difference that the core of the identity is discussed elsewhere. Such stories are told by the leaders of the nation to evoke collective memory of the audience and to push them into the rosy pictures of the past. The speeches are written in historical contexts and it reminds the nation of their past glory without mentioning the present state of affairs of the public. So, a nation, exists in stories are these stories are told in abundance, therefore it becomes an interesting site of study.

Conceiving a national identity as a narrative means different and contradictory treatises that can be explained as it implies remembrance conservation, consistency and a degree of selectivity. Narrative identity is not "an unchanging substance or a solid structure, but a mobile identity that forms the combination of the similarity of the story, in its totally structured, and discordance imposed by experienced events" (Ricoeur, 1995, p.6).

Memory according to Ricoeur (1995) is the core of cultural identity, because it is the story, thus preserving and remembering the past exercised. "Based on the position that individual memory is structured by an individual membership of a group", Halbwachs (1992, p.38), in his sociological

theory of memory, suggested that the social frameworks of memory were responsible for how the individuals and collectives were reminded of their identity. So, though certain events and experiences cannot be directly experienced by individuals but attached through their re-enactment and the symbolic value to them that they are “accessible” to the members of the collective and therefore functional in collective consciousness. Fentress and Wickham (1992) talk about “social memory” and they also establish the relationship between individual consciousness and social stress and memory. They suggest that memories are through social sharing or talking about them. Therefore, even though the people themselves have different and even contradictory memories, collective and public re-enactment of them means they acquire symbolic value. To a certain extent they do so or supplant the private and individual ones.

In his thesis, Sanem Sahin (2008) explored construction of Turkish Cypriot national identity in the newspaper of North Cyprus. Considering media’s efficacy in the opinion building process, its influence on political decision making and the effect that may have on the communities’ perception of ‘self’ and ‘others’, the main objective of the research was to examine the media texts to see which concept of Turkish Cypriot national identity is articulated by the media and how it has been constructed. In North Cyprus, the role of the media in conceptualizing a national belonging has not been questioned extensively and studies exploring the media’s relationship with national identity and nationalism have been minimal.

On the other hand, The Discursive Construction of National Identity (Wodak et al., 2009) analyses discourse of national identity in Europe with particular attention to Austria. In the tradition of critical discourse analysis, the authors analyse current and ongoing transformations in self and other definitions of national identities using an innovative interdisciplinary approach which combines discourse historical theory and methodology and political science perspective. Thus, the theoretical promotion of national identification and the discursive construction and reproduction of national difference on public, semi public and private levels within a nation state are analysed in much detail and illustrated with a huge amount of examples taken from many genres (speeches, focus groups, interviews, media and so forth).

2. Methodology

This paper presents both qualitative and quantitative approaches towards the analysis of the text. For the quantitative part I have relied on the Corpus Linguistics tool Wordsmith 6.0 and for the qualitative part the DHA (Discourse-historical-approach) has been used. With the help of Wordsmith tool keywords have been elicited from the text of the newspapers reports, which are considered unusually frequent in the text. Whereas DHA has been extensively used in the national discourse by various theorists like Wodak and others.

2.1 The Discourse-historical approach

The discourse-historical-approach is developed by the Vienna School of Critical Discourse Analysis, it is hermeneutic and interpretative way of examining discourse. Initially used to study anti-Semitism in the public debate, the approach was later applied to analyse new problems, such as the discursive construction of national identity and racism (Wodak 2001b; Wodak et al., 1999 & Reisigl Wodak, 2001). Under the influence of critical theory, Wodak (2001 b) describes how the discourse historical approach follows a complex understanding of social criticism, which consists of three interconnected aspects together: The first is the text or discourse immanent

critique focused on discovering inconsistencies, (self-) contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text. The second is the social-diagnostic critique, which relates to the exposure of the persuasive, manipulative or propagandistic nature of discursive practices. It analyses to discover a discursive event as part of a broader social context rather than just focusing on the text to the social and political objectives and functions of discursive practices. In this type of criticism, the researcher brings the background and contextual information, along with socio-political relationships and structures to the analysis (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). The third part is the prognostic criticism, which is related to the ethical and practical dimensions of discursive practice. The intention is to change and transform things by playing a role in finding solutions to social problems. An example of this was to contribute to the effort of researchers to transform and improve communication by reducing language barriers in public places as well as providing guidelines to avoid sexist language (Wodak 2001 b, Titscher et al., 2000 Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

The discourse historical approach is also based on a four-level contextual concept:

- a) The immediate linguistic text, the semantic environment of an expression.
- b) The intertextual and interdiscursive connections between utterances, texts, discourses and genres.
- c) The extra linguistic social variables and institutional setting of specific situation of an utterance
- d) The broader socio-political and historical context in which the discursive practices are embedded or linked to, as the history of the discursive event and the history in which the topic is related to discourse (Wodak 2001b, p.67, Titscher et al., 2000, p.157 & Wodak et al., 1999, p.9).

The usefulness of DHA according to Wodak:

DHA provides a vehicle for looking at latent power dynamics and the range of potentials in agents, because it integrates and triangulates knowledge about historical sources and the background of the social and political fields within which discursive events are embedded. (2009, p.38).

Therefore, the textual analysis should be done keeping in mind the above context and it needs to be divided into four different segments, and all the levels must be considered during the analysis: the institutional frames; the broader socio-political and historical context; intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between the text; genres and discourses and immediate text internal co-text.

The discourse historical approach possessed some fundamental features that makes it fully integrated methodology. First, the approach aligns with the integration of large quantities of “available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of social and political fields in which the discursive events are embedded” (Wodak, 2001, p.65). Second, the historical dimensions of discourse are analysed by “exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change” (ibid). Lastly, it is important the analyst must integrate related social theories to explain the wider context.

DHA proposed the four interrelated segment of analysis:

- Level 1: to identify the specific contents of topics of a specific discourse;
- Level 2: to investigate the discursive macro-strategies typical of discourses on nations and national identities;
- Level 3: to examine the discursive strategies of positive self-presentation and negative presentation of others;
- Level 4: and to examine linguistic means and specific context-dependent linguistics realisations.

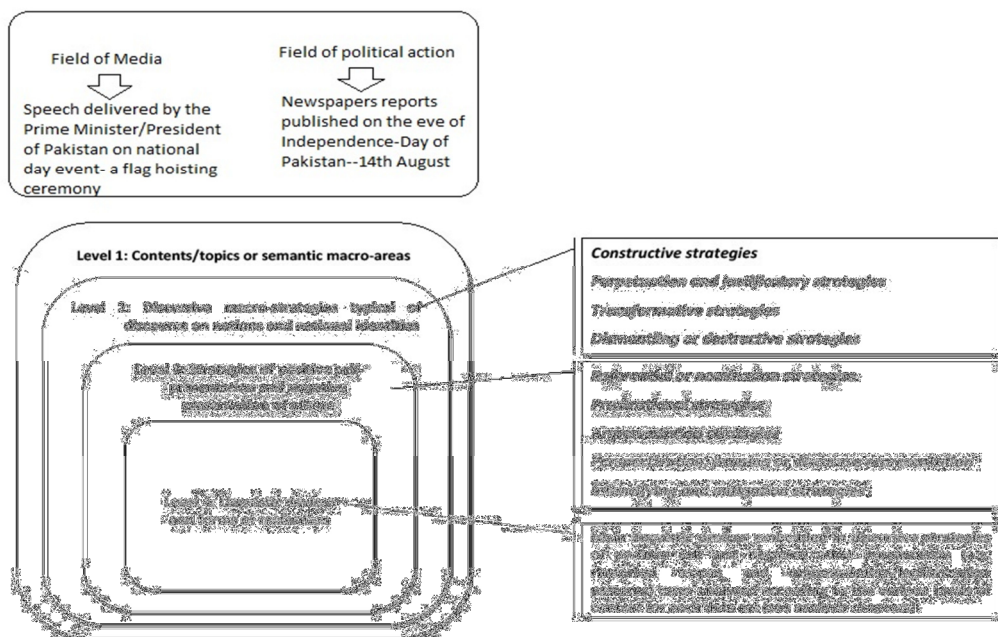


Figure 2.1: Dimension of analysis applied to the discursive construction of national identity

According to DHA theorists there are four discursive macro strategies embedded in the discursive construction of national identity. Wodak describes strategy as deliberate plan of action to achieve certain political, psychological or other types of objectives.

2.1.1 Construction strategies

Constructive Strategies construct and establish a specific national identity by promoting unity, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation, such as by establishing groups 'us' and 'them' (Wodak et al., 1999).

2.1.2 Perpetuation and Justification strategies

Justification Strategies are used to justify their own actions to identify them if and when requested, and also maintaining and defending an infected joint national self-image. These strategies are frequently used when the forces of status quo are under threat and needs to be justified in order to be preserved (Wodak et al., 1999).

2.1.3 Transformation strategies

Transformation strategies, as the name suggests, transforming an established national identity seeks to another. Unlike consolidation strategy attempts to reproduce or maintain, support or protect a threatened national identity.

2.1.4 Dismantling strategies

Finally, dismantling strategies are the ones that are used to dismantle parts of the national identity without a new model. They are also used to de-mythologise or demolish existing national identity or some elements of them.

In this study, I focused on a more detail on a few specific strategies and devices that are most salient to the textual data and to the particular news reports being examined keeping under consideration that the main objective of the study is to comprehend discursive construction of national identity.

I had also selected Wodak et al., (1999) matrix of thematic contents to apply them with the construction of Pakistani national identity, with a little adaptation. (a) discursive construction of Pakistani ways of being, (b) discursive construction of common political present and future, (c) discursive construction of collective political history, (d) discursive construction of historical uniqueness.

3. Data Analysis

3.1 Context of the speech

The present speech under discussion comes forth at 52nd Independence-Day of Pakistan and delivered by then Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on the eve of 14th August, 1999 at Islamabad during flag hoisting ceremony in front of parliament house.

3.2 Reporting in the national newspapers

The speech was reported in the mainstream national print media on the following day. I have taken the reports of two national English language newspaper The News and Dawn for the analysis of discursive construction of Pakistani national identity. The detailed analysis of the News report follows:

3.3 The News report

3.3.1 Macro-Strategies

3.3.1.1 Perpetuation strategies

Prime minister had shown great restraint:

The given text starts with the perpetuation strategies which maintain, support and preserve national identity. Pakistan had shown great restraint and patient, strategy of positive self-presentation has been portrayed in black and white. He warned India of a telling response—topos of threat and disaster—the position is defensive and aggressive at the same time. The border security forces may have failed in exercising proper response but on the diplomatic front the chief executive has won by defending his country and securing territorial integrity stating a soft stance and had proved himself a statesman among all the national leaders particularly within neighbouring region.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said on Saturday Pakistan had shown great restraint and patience despite sacrifices at Kargil and the downing of its unarmed plane and warned India with a "telling response" for any military aggression in future.

3.4 Constructive strategies

Relatives of the Kargil martyrs had been specialty invited:

Construction strategy has been employed in the above quoted line expressing solidarity and concern by calling the families of martyrs in his independence-day speech. THE NEWS has used unification strategy—uniting the families of martyrs with the families of officers of armed forces. This is a message of connectivity and national ‘we-group’ that suggests explicitly that there is no difference in treating martyrs and Pakistani armed forces are not going to forget them. This shows the clear manifestation on the part of the forces for in-group presentation for those who have been martyred.

3.5 Dismantling strategies

International community to give up neglect of the Kashmiris:

In dismantling strategies the focus is to de-mythologize the existing national identity which is linked in the under discussion report to the identity of Kashmiris, an integral part of Pakistan illegally occupied by Indian forces since decades. International community to give up neglect of the Kashmiris—discrediting the opponents using topos of comparison—the voice of Kashmiris is to be heard among international community which was oblivious of this cause before. It would help to dismantle the negative presentation of Pakistan that can further the agenda that Pakistan is a victim and suffering from injustice done by world powers and their agents.

He stressed that rapid socio-economic uplift of Pakistan must now be a top priority and vowed to fight against poverty, petty prejudices and injustices in the society.

3.6 Transformation strategies

Rapid socio-economic uplift of Pakistan must now be a top priority:

Before ending the report transformation strategy has been employed by THE NEWS, which is used to transform national identity by referring to the economic uplift, poverty reduction, equal distribution of wealth, dispensing justice in the society. This is the transition from the past to present, from darkness to light, and from distorted national identity to the real world class identity, which can give hope to every citizen of the country to live and go on in his life except the deteriorating situation in the country. It is exactly the point where national leaders do transform national identities in their speeches emphasizing between *now and then* using topos of history as a teacher and topos of a favourable time.

3.7 Major thematic areas

THE NEWS report highlighted a number of issues, which I would like to discuss in five major themes during this section in a brief manner. These themes include Kargil issue, Kashmir issue, Pakistani economy, birth of the nation, and defence of the country. ‘Nawaz warns India of telling response’, although the whole story remained focused on Pakistani response to Indian aggression

but there are instances of other major issues engulfing the country. Topos of history are used to highlight the **Kargil issue** that is strongly linked with **India**. Another major theme came under discussion was **economy**, as a developing country using topos of progress coupled with an appeal to the nation to be truthful in their taxes as this is the prime responsibility of any responsible citizen to pay regular tax—modes of instrumental rationalization. Another theme discussed was **defence of the country**, it was reiterated time and again that the country's defence has been made impeccable and no one can dare to cast an evil eye on us—topos of consequence. So, after May, 1998 explosions the country is safe to any imminent threat to its borders. Last, the theme of the **birth of Pakistan** was also prominent a paid tribute to the father of the nation who stood resilient in his commitment towards the separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent—legitimization practice. Prime Minister pointed out Muhammad Ali Jinnah's vision for the country which provides quick justice to its people, give proper self-respect to all citizens and ensure their safety and well-being. PM aligned himself with Muhammad Ali Jinnah using topos of similarity and hinted to worn out all social evils from the society and provide quick justice to those who are victims of poor judicial system of the country and fighting their legal cases since several decades.

3.8 Thematic contents in discursive construction of national identity

3.8.1 The discursive construction a 'Pakistani way' of being

To eliminate the worn-out and unjust system to put in place a just society:

'Pakistani way' and 'Pakistani mentality' are very much prominent in the report. The discourse about national way is linked to various factors: the situational context, the political implication of the event took place along the borders, the ideological positioning of the country in relation to freedom which is being conceptualized in territorial integrity and economic progression of the country that is ultimately connected with will of people i.e. translated into democracy. Examine the following lines from the speech:

For this purpose, he said, "We will have to create brisk economic activity, provide justice to the poor, ensure job opportunities and give up the destructive habits of violence, hostilities and conspiracies."

A list of 'Pakistani way' of being, the number of things a common man has to do in order to be a productive citizen of the country. Such kind of a narration from the head of the state is a clear indication of national-way of being. The broader socio political context has been highlighted here which got linked to economic uplift, social justice system, non-violent policy, deterrent on cross border fire etc. Such explicit narratives are the national discourse coming directly from the national leader. Ultimately it can develop into in-group and out-group representation of the nation.

3.9 The discursive construction of a collective political history

Government had been facing a tough situation since February 1997 but it had never deviated from its mission to make Pakistan prosperous:

The discursive construction of a collective political history has been woven among historical discourses particularly in an event that had happened on the cross border fire. It goes back to 1997—a moment in time, that goes even further back to 1947—a myth of genesis; when Pakistan came into being, with the inception of the country there comes a wholesome plethora of issues from the neighbouring side. Although there are plenty of problems in governing the country but

the present government had never deviated from its mission to make Pakistan prosperous—argumentative strategy and consensual discourse are highlighted side by side.

3.10 The discursive construction of common political present and future

Rapid socio-economic uplift of Pakistan must now be a top priority and vowed to fight against poverty, petty prejudices and injustices in the society:

The discursive construction of common political present and future have been pinned down in economic revival of the country and introducing social reforms agenda. Prime Minister wanted secure Pakistan not only politically, desired its territorial integrity, but also wished to revive it economically; the only way he can ensure prosperous country for the forth coming generations. For political stability the country has to be strong economically because the premises of the political foundation had always been on the economics and social reforms. THE NEWS report reflects the trajectory from the past to the future, employing present-past-future continuum.

3.11 The discursive construction of historical uniqueness

Paying tributes to the father of the nation, the Prime Minister said the Quaid-e-Azam wanted to establish in Pakistan a system based on justice and equality:

Pakistan is a unique example in the world—a country took its birth on ideological, religious, ethnic and political background. Quaid-e-Azam wanted to establish in Pakistan a system based on justice and equality—strategy of collective identity imaginary uniting the nation-making the country extraordinary and singular example in the whole world. ‘Justice’ and ‘equality’ both noun are used in abstract manner not specifying entailments both linguistically and socially—what kind of justice? What kind of equality? The devil lies in the detail and it goes missing in the statement. What exactly Muhammad Ali meant for the nation could not be realized and materialized yet but it always remained a discursive debate for the political intellectuals and scholars who never left a leaf unturned for political statements.

3.12 The discursive construction of national identity: strategies and linguistic realisations

Now, I have headed to the last stage of analysis to elicit linguistic realization and means in order to construct discursive construction of national identity. Primarily I am going to focus on lexical items and syntactical means which are used to express sameness, unity and difference along with singularity, change, continuity and autonomy etc. It will also include the use of personal pronoun ‘we’ in all its forms and other possessive pronouns; they are all of considerable importance in the discursive construction of national identities. ‘We’ can have multiple referents depending upon the context and respective position but in most of the instances, however, ‘we’ refers to ‘the Pakistanis’, as expressed by the PM in the following text:

For this purpose, he said, "We will have to create brisk economic activity, provide justice to the poor, ensure job opportunities and give up the destructive habits of violence, hostilities and conspiracies."

It referred to all the Pakistanis including himself—speaker inclusive ‘we’ calling upon them to work with the govt. to eradicate mentioned evils from the society, because the plethora of evils

could not be solved by the govt. or by one man only, so it becomes the mandatory responsibility of all of Pakistanis' to take active part in all kinds of social works just to help a hand to all others and common masses.

"We chose to exercise restraint and patience, not due to any weakness, but only to save the people of the sub-continent from a catastrophe, which would spare none to celebrate victories, if it should befall this region," the Prime Minister explained

In the above extract 'we' means the security forces, it does not mean all the Pakistanis' because a common citizen cannot hold the power to respond back to the aggression of the enemy. It always entails on the govt. and institution responsible for the defence of the country to come forward and play back the same role which the enemy had been performing on the borders. This is a clear example of addressee exclusive 'we', nominating the concerned departments and not valid for every citizen in the country.

3.13 Heading of the report

3.13.1 Nawaz warns India of 'telling response'

The News report published with the above heading nominalising 'Nawaz' as an agent of bringing threat to Indian nation. It could have been like 'Pakistan warns India' but the report has opted otherwise to show the thrust of a political figure behind the telling response.

3.14 The Dawn report

3.14.1 Macro-Strategies

3.14.1.1 Constructive strategy

There should be no doubt that if war is thrust on us, "Pakistan is fully capable of giving a telling response to the enemy," the premier said to applause from the gathered officials including the army, navy and air force chiefs:

Constructive strategies are used to build and establish a national 'we-group.' The emphasis in constructive strategies remain on intra-national sameness-topos of similarity. Pakistan is fully capable of giving a telling response to the enemy—emphasis on national autonomy and independence. National sameness and solidarity is evoked among all officers of the respective forces thereby arousing their sense of defending the motherland making them emotional towards the nation and country. On the other side this would give a clear message to all the citizens of the country to come to a common agenda shared by all the inhabitants to secure the country from any foreign aggression.

3.15 Perpetuation strategies

Pakistan had behaved in a "responsible manner" after becoming as nuclear power in May last year when Indian nuclear tests upset the strategic balance in the region, he said, adding that "we are still behaving responsibly:

Perpetuation strategies maintain, support and preserve national identity. Positive self-representation is portrayed in black and white in these strategies. Pakistan had behaved in a 'responsible manner'—became a nuclear power in May last year--positive self-presentation-topos of lovely place—meaning thereby that Pakistan has become an ideal country to live in and no one

can dare to cast an evil eye on the country after becoming a responsible and getting nuclear power. The said strategies and topos are used to defend and preserve the national identity of the country that give further justification to the leaders to stay in power and prolong their reign because they have made the defence of the country impeccable and inevitable.

3.16 Transformation strategies

He said his government wanted to accelerate economic activity, provide jobs and ensure justice. "The nation has to shun politics of violence and disturbance," he said in apparent reference to a hostile campaign to oust his government:

Transformation strategies in discursive construction of national identity are used to transform the meaning of a well-established national identity. The nation has to shut the politics of violence and disturbance—strategy of devaluation—negative connotation of political continuation. It is very surprising that on one side the lexeme ‘nation’ is employed while on the other side ‘government’ seems to be in danger, as if the whole nation is trying to pose threat to this govt. which is completely impossible. But the fact remains clear that one party government has been presented as national government so it becomes logical to appeal to the whole nation to save his government from such kind of politics. Government wanted to accelerate economic activity, provide job and ensure justice—topos of favourable time—the country is going to be transformed with the marvellous changes with the mentioned steps the present government has taken so there is every right that they should not be disturbed by bad politics.

3.17 Dismantling strategy

The cowardly act of shooting down by India of the unarmed maritime plane has amply proved to the international community as to who is promoting the cause of peace and who is shattering it:

Dismantling or destructive strategies are used to de-mythologize existing national identity or some elements of them by using nomination strategies. ‘The cowardly act of shooting down by India of the unarmed maritime plane has amply proved...’—topos of comparison—discrediting the opponents by giving a logical argument that Pakistan is a peace-loving country and it is only India who push us to such an extent where Pakistan has no choice to retaliate in some way. Topos of threat and negative presentation of India has been presented to sketch a bold stance that shows Pakistan as a longing for peace with India while Indians are persistently making efforts to destroy such actions by Pakistani govt.

3.18 Thematic contents in the discursive construction of national identity

3.18.1 Discursive construction of Pakistani ways of being

The prime minister said, he is glad that the people of Pakistan understood the objective behind the steps taken by him. He said the determination and objectives of the people and the government are the same. He said the bonds of trust between him and the people of Pakistan will be maintained and assured that every step he takes will be in the best national interest:

Pakistani way and Pakistani mentality is shown in the discursive construction of Pakistani ways of being. People of Pakistan understood the objective behind the steps taken by the prime minister—

the determination and objectives of the people and the government are the same—unification strategy has been used to project both the government and the nation on the same page and every step taken by the government has strengthened the bonds on both sides. A message of clear solidarity and cohesion is being sent to the readers that there is no conflict between the people and the government and the trust level is as high as it should have been. Discursive construction of Pakistani ways of being is projected in terms of government of the people and trust level remains high so if something happens to the government it would be likely to destabilize the nation.

3.19 The discursive construction of collective political history

He said Pakistan has always pleaded for peaceful settlement of Kashmir conundrum. He said it was with the spirit that Pakistan appealed to the mujahideen to withdraw from kargil so that tension could be defused and an environment for talks is created:

Pakistan has always pleaded for peaceful settlement of Kashmir conundrum—the strategy of myth of genesis-Kashmir is being presented as a long-standing issue whose origin and solution both are difficult to trace down. Pakistan appealed to mujahideen to withdraw from kargil—crucial collective and national accomplishment—peace has been restored because of Pakistani action and it should be considered a milestone, a step that should be applauded by the nation as a substantial achievement. Argumentative strategy is employed along temporal/historical contrast as far as peace and settlements of core issues are concerned between India and Pakistan. Discursive construction of collective political history is being drawn by voicing the demands of Pakistani nation to resolve all outstanding issues between India and Pakistan including Kashmir.

3.20 The discursive construction of common political and present future

No new front will be opened, but even it is done, we are ready only for it but for everything, he told reporters:

Direct discursive construction of future is portrayed in in the discursive construction of common political present and future. ‘Now new front will be opened’—the lexical similarity in the phrase gives an assurance of assimilation of political present as well as the future. But it is not specified who will not open new front either the government itself or the military or someone else from outside the country is referred to. The referent is absent and it can be attributed to anything the present regime wanted to achieve to gain its political advantage.

3.21 The discursive construction of historical uniqueness

He said on one hand there was tremendous international pressure and on the other hand some people in the country were opposing the idea of achieving nuclear parity with the neighbour to achieve political mileage:

Some people were opposing the idea of achieving nuclear parity—strategy of discontinuation giving emphasis on disruption in the political scene of the country. To achieve nuclear parity and not adhering to the other people presenting the country as a unique—singular and extraordinary strategy to achieve such a political and national achievement. This strategy shows not only linguistic means of uniting the people in a collective identity but also giving a clear message of a noticeable achievement to the whole nation. The moment was presented as an historical and

foundational corner stone as if birth of a new country has been laid down. A new Pakistan has emerged this day—nuclear Pakistan that could be undefeatable and unconquerable.

3.22 Major thematic areas

Major themes in the DAWN report include a warning to India, defence of the country, Kashmir, economic progress, Indian aggression, trust between the people and rulers, Kargil issue, Indian crimes in Kashmir, resolution of Kashmir and nuclear achievement of Pakistan. To sustain his arguments the author has employed various topos which include topos of threat issuing warning to India over shooting down unarmed plane of Pakistan. Defence of the country against any sort of external aggression using topos of external threat has been mentioned in the report as well, both the references to the external threat are intertextual complementing each other in textual space. Atrocities inside Kashmir have been outlined using referential strategies along with social actors mentioning Indian occupied forces doing inhumane crimes. Next, economic progress as desired by the prime minister using topos of progress in the forms of various sectors has been highlighted. Kashmir has been a recurrent theme in all over the report, its importance for Pakistan and its resolution that can bring peace in the Asian continent spread all along using topos of consequence. Lastly, the achievement of Pakistan in the arena of procuring nuclear arsenal got mentioned at the end of the report legitimizing and rationalizing the peaceful settlement of the issues mentioned beforehand.

3.23 Discursive construction of national identity: strategies and linguistic realizations

Pakistan had behaved in a “responsible manner” after becoming as nuclear power in May last year when Indian nuclear tests upset the strategic balance in the region, he said, adding that “we are still behaving responsibly.”

Pakistan is presented here as a metonymic expression—country’s name has been employed instead of some person; how could Pakistan behave in a ‘responsible manner’ it must be someone at the powerful position who had acted so instead of the country name it should be some person who had done this. ‘We are still behaving’ responsibly comes at the end of the sentence, it means that it was not a single person but a bunch of people who had acted so as a plural deictic used clearly refers towards more than one people.

No new front will be opened, but even it is done, we are ready only for it but for everything,” he told reporters.

The plural pronoun ‘we are ready’ is speaker-exclusive it means the forces of Pakistan are ready to handle any situation on the border or any untoward incident that may happen in the country.

He said Pakistan cannot remain a silent spectator to the heinous crimes against humanity being committed by Indian occupation troops in the held Kashmir, where those demanding their inherent right to self-determination are fired upon.

Pakistan is generalized in the above statement and it has been used as synecdoche—it is a specialized form of metonymy, it seems equally plausible to allocate the type of ‘controller for the controlled’. The whole for the part—Pakistan instead of the name of some referent.

3.24 Heading of the report**3.24.1 PM addresses independence-Day ceremony****3.24.1.1 New Delhi warned of ‘telling response’**

The DAWN reported with the above leading headline with a second lead included in the report too. The lead is according to the ceremony aptly describing it as happened but the second lead carrying the threat phrase towards New Delhi without a nomination that who has given a threat to the neighbouring country. The DAWN report did not mention India but instead used a synecdoche device to name the capital instead of the whole country.

3.25 Searching for the keywords

A total 766 words appeared in THE NEWS and the DAWN report contains 786 words whereas total words in actual speech/script amounts to 2000. I decided to compare actual speech script with the reports appeared in THE NEWS and the DAWN to elicit the pattern of keywords. A similar keywords analysis had been performed by Stubbs (1996), he conducted an analysis of two very short texts (330 and 550 words) and successfully showed how ideological positioning were performed not only by individual words but also by the patterns of grammar and vocabulary. In this case I am only concerned with the initial process of the corpus and before embarking upon the analysis it is really pivotal to introduce the theoretical concept of Keyness: “Keyness is defined as the statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clauses in the corpus under analysis in comparison to another corpus, either a general reference corpus or a comparable specialized corpus”. (Baker et al., 2008, p. 277)

The purpose of this concept and its attached analytical tool is to refer towards a text’s topic and the main features of its contents. Keywords analysis is usually based on the idea that there are couple of sides to the debate, which by comparing one side to the other, it is likely to get a keyword that can act like a signpost to the fundamental discourse in the discursive construction of national identity. A keyword lists is a handy tool for pushing researchers to important lexical differences between two texts. It is a way to discover the lexical salience between texts (Baker, 2006). I put the data into a corpus linguistic tool, Wordsmith 6.0.0 (Scott, 2011).

3.26 THE NEWS report vs. the DAWN report

After implementing a few corpus instructions, it is possible to get an empirical proof as well as a complete contour of the two newspapers reports of corpus in relation to over-all topic and difference between THE NEWS and the DAWN report. A quick look at the (SSSR) standardized type/token ratio depicts that all the report gives an apparently similar lexical discursivity. See Appendix. Tables 1 to 2.

Keywords item comparison was started between the two reports published in respective newspapers. Keyness value can be obtained by comparing the wordlists of both the reports which contain the frequencies of all the words that are used in the corpora. Using these wordlists a keyword comparison is carried out in order to know that which words are unusually frequent in one corpus as compared to another corpus that is based on the total number of entries of each text. Keywords process works in way that the frequencies of all lexical items are cross tabulated against one another and then against number of total words in the two data sets, after that each lexical item is presented to a log-likelihood test, in which value of p is set at 0.001. Therefore, a word is a key if it happens to appear unusually frequent in a text when it is compared to an opposite text.

Keywords are vital signs because they often show very significant lexical discursivity/differences and features within a particular text.

I used Pakistani News Corpus (PNC) prepared by Sajid Mahmood mentioned elsewhere as a reference corpus. Ten words in each report are found to be keywords, Figure 3.1 shows all the keywords appeared in THE NEWS report with their keyness and frequencies: (see Appendix B table no. 1&1)

REPORT	
The NEWS	Keywords
	<KARGIL>(47.06), <PRIME>(38.80), <KASHMIR>(33.60), <HE>(30.03), <SHARIF>(26.88), <HAD>(20.81), <PEACE>(20.16), <NUCLEAR>(20.16), <TELLING> (20.16), <AGGRESSION> (20.16)

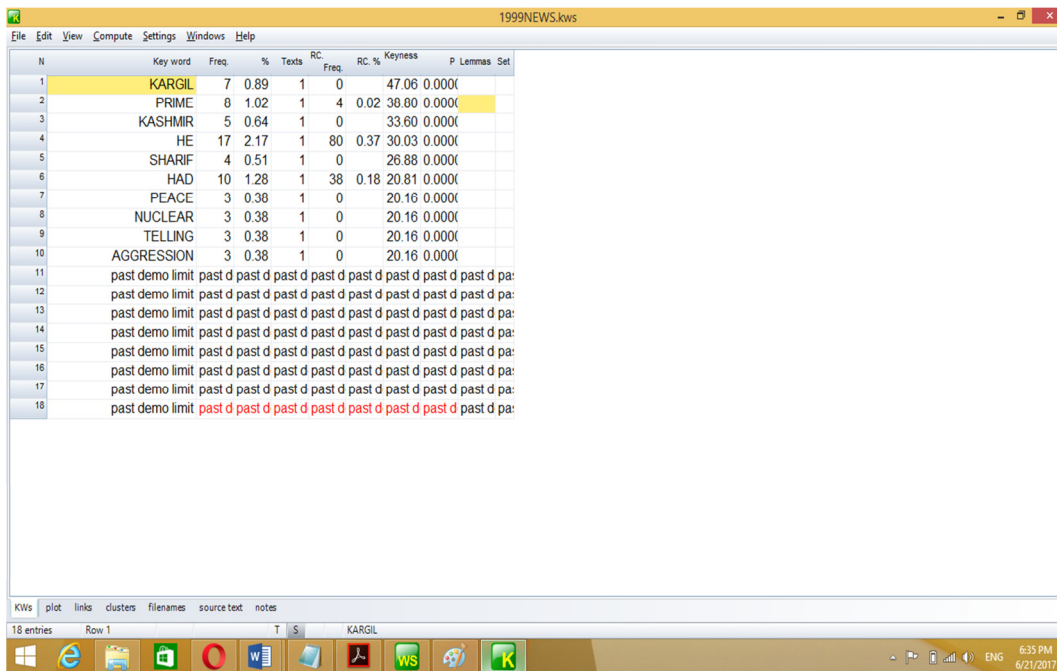


Figure 3.1: Keywords extracted from the report of THE NEWS published on 15th August, 1999.

REPORT	Keywords
DAWN	<HE>(46.97), <KASHMIR>(46.87), <PEACE>(46.87), <PAKISTAN>(30.93), <SHARIF>(26.77), <NUCLEAR>(26.77), <INDIAN>(22.73), <SAID>(22.68), <SETTLEMENT >(20.07), <UNARMED>(20.07)

N	Key word	Freq	%	Texts	RC	Freq	RC %	Keyness	P	Lemmas	Set
1	HE	22	2.77	1	80	0.37	46.97	0.0000			
2	KASHMIR	7	0.88	1	0		46.87	0.0000			
3	PEACE	7	0.88	1	0		46.87	0.0000			
4	PAKISTAN	13	1.64	1	40	0.10	30.93	0.0000			
5	SHARIF	4	0.50	1	0		26.77	0.0000			
6	NUCLEAR	4	0.50	1	0		26.77	0.0000			
7	INDIAN	6	0.76	1	7	0.03	22.73	0.0000			
8	SAID	24	3.02	1	200	0.92	22.68	0.0000			
9	SETTLEMENT	3	0.38	1	0		20.07	0.0000			
10	UNARMED	3	0.38	1	0		20.07	0.0000			
11	past demo limit	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d
12	past demo limit	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d
13	past demo limit	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d
14	past demo limit	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d	past d

Figure 3.2: Keywords extracted from the report of the DAWN published on the 15th August, 1999.

The minimum frequency was adjusted at three and log-likelihood method for obtaining keywords used to compare the results, the maximum value of p at a mid-point of 0.0001 which is considered a very high level value according to Baker, (2006). Now it can be seen clearly in the above tables that how much same or different both the news report keywords are from each other. The important keywords list in the News report include the following lexical items when it was compared with a reference corpus. <KARGIL>, <PRIME>, <KASHMIR>, <HE>, <SHARIF>, <HAD>, <PEACE>, <NUCLEAR>, <TELLING>, <AGGRESSION>. The lexical inclusion in this report is concerned with the issues like Kargil, Kashmir, Nuclear, and Peace. The prime minister emphasizing solution of Kashmir issues, tension at the Kargil, Nuclear explosion done by Pakistan last year in the wake of Indian nuclear attacks, last but not the least the aggressive and telling response in case of any adventure. Whereas Dawn report revealed keywords like <HE>, <KASHMIR>, <PEACE>, <PAKISTAN>, <SHARIF>, <NUCLEAR>, <INDIAN>, <SAID>, <SETTLEMENT >, <UNARMED>. Dawn report represents somewhat same scenario like the News report. The emphasis goes on Kashmir issues settlement, nuclear problems with India, Pakistan desire peace, and unarmed plane which was shot down by Indians. The lexical item, 'he' has been employed as a third person personal pronoun which is more related with the style of reporting in the newspaper that is usually done with this deictic expression.

It is interesting to note that only three lexical items are common in both the reports <KASHMIR>, <PEACE> and <NUCLEAR> and all these issues are directly concerned with the neighbouring country India, while remaining of the majority of lexical items are related to tensions between India and Pakistan spreading over various conflicts between the two countries. The lexical item <Sharif> and <Prime> are included in both reports owing to the style of reporting, when the concordance lines are examined they revealed a specific style like Prime Minister Sharif said.... in the Independence-Day speech within the inverted commas quoting the speaker.

4. Conclusion

Report	HEADING
Dawn	<i>PM addresses independence-Day ceremony</i>
The News	<i>Nawaz warns India of telling response</i>

Summarising all the analysis related to discursivity, the very first answer amounts to the total number of words appear in actual speech and in both newspapers reports. Let's have a quick look into it by counting that total 766 words appeared in The News and Dawn report contains 786 words whereas total words in actual speech/script amounts to 2000 words. Moreover, the above box contained both reports headlines and it seemed evident that both have different directions for the semantic realisation of the content. The DAWN reflects the ceremony held to celebrate the independence-day whereas, The NEWS resort opt to a strategic stance mentioning India of befitting response from Pakistan if there is any sort of aggression.

The newspapers texts show several major patterns relating to the positive self-presentation that is based on the collective historical imagery of Pakistani-the-nation that is common referent in the contemporary press narration. The following strategies were used for the discursive construction of Pakistani national identity in the newspapers report. Perpetuation strategy has been used for the prime minister to defend and preserve the national identity of Pakistan.

THE NEWS report used constructive strategy for the martyrs of Kargil and their families and The DAWN used constructive strategy as a topos of threat for the nation. In transformation strategy the DAWN highlighted the economic progress of the country while in THE NEWS transformation strategy has been employed for the rapid growth of Pakistani economy—transformation of economy a top priority of the present government.

The DAWN report in dismantling strategy, mentioned the shooting down an unarmed plane of Pakistan by Indians gave ample proof that it has been India who always destabilize the peace process between the two countries and The NEWS report for the lost identity of Kashmir and its people—for the neglect of the issue.

The DAWN while using perpetuation strategy said that Pakistan had behaved in a responsible manner after getting nuclear and THE NEWS report mentioned the restraint of Pakistani prime minister despite shooting of an unarmed plane by the Indian border forces.

Employing the discourse historical approach as the principle guideline, the macro discourse strategies employed in the newspapers reporting in the discursive construction of Pakistani national identity. Through the analysis of two reports some of the main topics are discussed on the eve of celebration of the independence-day. Second, the in-group/we-group and outgroup

construction are mainly concerned with opposite binaries in the text. For example Pakistani people, Kashmir and forces are labelled as we-group to gain the solidarity of the nation while Indian forces and India are dubbed as out-group construction as enemies—a threat for the existence of Pakistan and its nation.

It has been observed that the uses of metaphoric and metonymic expressions are found for the country Pakistan. Moreover, for the solidarity and we-group construction the personal pronoun 'we' is also found frequently. As it is suggested the deictic expression of 'we' has been proved quite handy while arousing national spirit and feelings for the nation. The Prime Minister Nawaz has used it for the same pertinent reason.

The analysis also indicates difference between THE NEWS report and DAWN report printed and published on the independence-day. THE NEWS report comparison with DAWN indicates lexical items that are concerned with *defence* and *security* of Pakistan and border related tensions between India & Pakistan. For example the issues of *Kashmir*, and recently erupted *Kargil* issue and nuclear parity between them. There is a reference of cross border shelling and Pakistani prime minister telling Indian of telling response if any aggression is taken again the country.

The DAWN report is somewhat the same outlining the very issues discussed above with the addition of two lexical keywords in them, i.e. *peace* and *settlement*. The report is more holistic and pragmatic in its nature that while mentioning hot and burning issues like Kashmir and nuclear it does mentioned the settlement of the issues and push the two countries through its discourse towards peace. It can be clearly observed that with addition of these two lexical items DAWN report seems to be more optimistic and balanced as compared to the News report that only listed fragile and volatile matters.

The number of themes included in THE NEWS report include Kargil issue, Kashmir issue, Pakistani economy, birth of the nation, and *defence* of the country-Pakistan. Whereas Major themes in the DAWN reports include warning to India, defence of the country, Kashmir, economic progress, Indian aggression, trust between the people and rulers, Kargil issue, Indian crimes in Kashmir, resolution of Kashmir and nuclear achievement of Pakistan.

The lexical keywords revealed in THE NEWS report are based on more nouns, like *Kargil*, *prime*, *Kashmir*, *peace*, *nuclear*, and *aggression*, there are couple of verbs 'telling' and 'had' and lastly only one pronoun found in the whole report which is a third person addressee, 'he'. Similarly, in the DAWN report the list of nouns outnumbered any other part of speech in the list of keywords, the nouns include, *Kashmir*, *Pakistan*, *peace*, *Sharif*, *nuclear*, *Indian*, *settlement*, there are two verbs, 'said' and 'unarmed', and lastly there is only one third person pronoun 'he' that is included to report the speech of the prime minister.

In a nut-shell it can be clearly seen that only three lexical items are similar between the two newspaper reports *Kashmir*, *peace* and *nuclear*, while the rest of the portion of the reports exhibits stark difference from each other. This seen difference from heading down towards the strategies, themes, and lexical items are clear indication of discursivity on the part of newspaper reports on a national event. So, the print media has been instrumental in its approach in portraying discursive identity of Pakistan on a national day.

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Appendix A:**Table 1: The ten most frequent lexical words in the Independence-Day report on 15th August, 1999 The DAWN**

N	Key word	Freq.	%	Texts	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness	P
1	HE	22	2.77	1	80	0.37	46.97	0.00
2	KASHMIR	7	0.88	1	0		46.87	0.00
3	PEACE	7	0.88	1	0		46.87	0.00
4	PAKISTAN	13	1.64	1	40	0.18	30.93	0.00
5	SHARIF	4	0.50	1	0		26.77	0.00
6	NUCLEAR	4	0.50	1	0		26.77	0.00
7	INDIAN	6	0.76	1	7	0.03	22.73	0.00
8	SAID	24	3.02	1	200	0.92	22.68	0.00
9	SETTLEMENT	3	0.38	1	0		20.07	0.00
10	UNARMED	3	0.38	1	0		20.07	0.00

Table 2: The ten most frequent lexical words in the Independence-Day report on 15th August, 1999 THE NEWS

N	Key word	Freq.	%	Texts	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness	P
1	KARGIL	7	0.89	1	0		47.06	0.00
2	PRIME	8	1.02	1	4	0.02	38.80	0.00
3	KASHMIR	5	0.64	1	0		33.60	0.00
4	HE	17	2.17	1	80	0.37	30.03	0.00
5	SHARIF	4	0.51	1	0		26.88	0.00
6	HAD	10	1.28	1	38	0.18	20.81	0.00
7	PEACE	3	0.38	1	0		20.16	0.00
8	NUCLEAR	3	0.38	1	0		20.16	0.00
9	TELLING	3	0.38	1	0		20.16	0.00
10	AGGRESSION	3	0.38	1	0		20.16	0.00

Appendix: B**PM addresses independence-Day ceremony****New Delhi warned of 'telling response'****DAWN 1999**

ISLAMABAD, Aug 15: Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on Saturday warned India any future military aggression would be met with "a telling response." Speaking at the flag-hosting-ceremony on the 53rd Independence Day, he said Pakistan had acted with restraint after an unarmed naval plane was shot down by Indian jets this week but "everything has a limit. "Pakistan's patience and restraint, despite provocations, should not be construed as a sign of weakness. "There should be no doubt that if war is thrust on us, Pakistan is fully capable of giving a telling response to the enemy," the premier said to applause from the gathered officials including the army, navy and air force chiefs.

Army Chief Gen Pervez Musharraf said his forces were ready to face any eventuality but ruled out the possibility of new front being opened by Indian along the border. "No new front will be opened, but even it is done, we are ready only for it but for everything," he told reporters.

The ceremony was also attended by the families of those killed m wounded in the recent conflict in Kashmir.

"The cowardly act of shooting down by India of the unarmed maritime plane has amply proved to the international community as to who is promoting the cause of peace and who is shattering it," Mr. Sharif said. He said the incident had jeopardized his efforts to restore peace between the two nations facing acute economic problems. He said his government wanted to accelerate economic activity, provide jobs and ensure justice. "The nation has to shun politics of violence and disturbance," he said in apparent reference to a hostile campaign to oust his government.

Mr. Sharif said Kashmir was the basic problem underlying the tensions. Unless India and Pakistan resolve the issue through "meaningful dialogue," peace and stability would continue to elude the region, he said.

Pakistan had behaved in a "responsible manner" after becoming as nuclear power in May last year when Indian nuclear tests upset the strategic balance in the region, he said, adding that "we are still behaving responsibly."

But he said, Pakistan would not remain silent spectator to the atrocities being pretreated by India against Kashmiris struggling for self-determination.

The prime minister said, he is glad that the people of Pakistan understood the objective behind the steps taken by him. He said the determination and objectives of the people and the government are the same. He said the bonds of trust between him and the people of Pakistan will be maintained and assured that every step he takes will be in the best national interest.

He said the happenings of kargil will run the annul of history in golden words. He paid rich tributes to the officers and jawans of Pakistan army who embraced martyrdom while

demonstrating valor in courage in the discharge of their duties and the mujahideen who sacrificed their lives during the liberation movement.

He said the kargil situation brought the Kashmir liberation movement under the world focus and the world forces and public opinion realized that peace will remain elusive in the sub-continent till the settlement of Kashmir dispute.

He said Pakistan cannot remain a silent spectator to the heinous crimes against humanity being committed by indian occupation troops in the held Kashmir, where those demanding their inherent right to self-determination are fired upon, houses of innocent citizens are set ablaze, women are being molested, and innocent children are taken to torture cells and subjected to inhuman atrocities. He said the dream of peace cannot come true till such activities are brought to halt.

He said Pakistan has always pleaded for peaceful settlement of Kashmir conundrum. He said it was with the spirit that Pakistan appealed to the mujahideen to withdraw from kargil so that tension could be defused and an environment for talks is created. He however said that shooting down of an unarmed training plane of Pakistan Navy has exposed Indian before the world and now it can better judge who has a quest for peace and who wants to spurn efforts in this direction. Nawaz Sharif said the Kashmir problem is the root cause of tension in South Asia and sustained peace in the region is not possible without settlement of the dispute in accordance to the UN resolution and aspiration of Kashmiri people.

He said it was a crucial time when the PML government was striving hard to put the country's economy back on the track and Indian conducted nuclear test posing a serious threat to Pakistan's security. He said on one hand there was tremendous international pressure and on the other hand some people in the country were opposing the idea of achieving nuclear parity with the neighbor, to achieve political mileage.

THE NEWS

1999

Nawaz warns India of 'telling response'

ISLAMABAD: Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said on Saturday Pakistan had shown great restraint and patience despite sacrifices at Kargil and the downing of its unarmed plane and warned India with a "telling response" for any military aggression in future. "The tragic loss of 16 people in the shooting down of Pakistan Navy aircraft on August 10 is a serious blow to our efforts to resolve the Kashmir dispute peacefully," Sharif said in his address on the 52nd Independence Day anniversary, minutes after the flag-hoisting ceremony in front of Parliament House. He said Islamabad's appeal to Mujahideen to withdraw from Kargil was an attempt to ease tension and Lake Situation conducive to a dialogue but an unarmed plane, which was on a training flight was downed 16 people on board.

"There is a limit to everything and let there be no doubts that Pakistan has the capability to give a telling response to any military aggression," the Prime Minister warned.

"We chose to exercise restraint and patience, not due to any weakness, but only to save the people of the sub-continent from a catastrophe, which would spare none to celebrate victories, if it should

befall this region," the Prime Minister explained. In his 16-minute speech, the Prime Minister paid glowing tributes to the martyrs of Kargil who, he said, wrote new histories with their blood.

Relatives of the Kargil martyrs had been specially invited to witness the flag-hoisting ceremony. He described Kargil as a symbol of valour and sacrifice. Top military brass of the country was present along with key political figures, a galaxy of diplomats, judges, the elite of the city and a crowd of people with Pakistani flags. After the ceremony, Army Chief General Pervez Musharraf introduced the Prime Minister to the relatives of those who laid down their lives in Kargil. The Prime Minister said in his address that unless the core issue of Kashmir was resolved, there could not be any peace in South Asia. He blamed India with gross human rights violation in the occupied Kashmir and noted that a repression this magnitude on innocent Kashmir could never lead to peace.

Sharif, however, said the Kargil episode had forced the international community to give up neglect of the Kashmiris freedom struggle and accept Pakistan's point of view that the resolution of the Kashmir issue alone, could establish lasting peace in the region.

He said that the entire nation had supported his recent decisions, exactly as they had supported him when Pakistan was forced to respond in kind to New Delhi's nuclear tests in May last year.

He clarified that his government had never accepted any pressures before its decision to go nuclear because in such a case, Pakistan would not have detonated its devices in the first place. Paying tributes to the father of the nation, the Prime Minister said the Quaid-i-Azam wanted to establish in Pakistan a system based on justice and equality. He expressed his determination to eliminate the worn-out and unjust system to put in place a just society as preached by the country's founder.

For this purpose, he said, "We will have to create brisk economic activity, provide justice to the poor, ensure job opportunities and give up the destructive habits of violence, hostilities and conspiracies."

He talked in detail about the steps he took soon after assuming power and referred to economic sanctions imposed on Pakistan after nuclear detonations, which also contributed to affecting economic conditions.

The Prime Minister said his government had been facing a tough situation since February 1997 but it had never deviated from its mission to make Pakistan prosperous. He said the country's defence had become impregnable and Pakistan could answer any aggression.

But he particularly mentioned that the most important front now to wage a war from was that of economy. He appealed to the tax payers to help the government and pay their taxes, which would contribute to expansion of the country. Sharif also referred to his government's various initiatives in improving the agriculture and industrial sectors.

He stressed that rapid socio-economic uplift of Pakistan must now be a top priority and vowed to fight against poverty, petty prejudices and injustices in the society. Efforts for the revival of sick

industries were under way and the government was bringing revolutionary changes everywhere, he said. He said the government had recently launched a mega project throughout the country, under which houses were being built for the low and middle income groups of the country. He said a network of motorways was also in place to add to the country's economic growth.