

# A Critical Discourse Analysis of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Speech in the General Assembly of United Nations

Malik Ajmal Gulzar<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad Mooneeb Ali<sup>2</sup>

Nazir Ahmad Malik<sup>3</sup>

Rashida Perveen<sup>4</sup>

Shumaila Zaman Kiyani<sup>5</sup>

## Abstract

*This paper applies critical discourse analysis to analyze the discourse of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's (hereafter Bhutto) speech which he made in the United Nations General Assembly in 1971. The study tries to determine the connotation of the ideology of his words for a country which was affected by the chaos of Indo-Pak war in 1971. Ultimately, this pandemonium resulted in the formation of a new state called Bangladesh. For the present study, qualitative methodology using Fairclough's model for critical discourse analysis has been employed. The outcomes of the present study revealed that Bhutto wanted to show the world that Pakistan is not a ship without a captain. He truly represented the emotion and feelings of a scrupulous nation. Bhutto tried to demonstrate himself as a real leader of the country in that particular span of time in the United Nations. In the history of Pakistani politics, there has been no Pakistani leader except him who could dare to use such oratory against and in front of these superpowers on their home turf. It's a vivid fact that Bhutto's speech had both practical and theoretical implications and through Fairclough's model both aforementioned implications through text analysis are surfaced.*

**Keywords:** political speech, critical discourse analysis, syntactic analysis, semantic analysis

## 1. Introduction

In speeches or interviews of political leaders, components like terminology, diction, also social and the judicature are always of great attention for applied linguists and also for critical discourse analysts. A lot of work is found regarding speeches of various political or non-political leaders of different countries worldwide. In 1971, Pakistan and India fought a war which ended in the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan as a new state of Bangladesh. In those days, all over the country, an atmosphere of fear, and uncertainty was prevailing. This war was complicated as it involved gross human rights violations and also a territorial conflict between two long-standing enemies. East Pakistan was not a colonial territory and was never a separate nation. However, the violations of human rights and the role of international political players were severe enough to be deemed it as an international crisis. (Abbas 2011).

---

<sup>1</sup> Department of English, Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

<sup>2</sup> Department of English, Government College of Science Wahdat Road, Lahore

<sup>3</sup> University of Lahore, Gujrat Campus

<sup>4</sup> Department of English, Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

<sup>5</sup> Foundation University, Rawalpindi

Bhutto was one of the great political leaders of Pakistan and he was known for his knowledge, insight, intellect and determination in the political set up of Pakistan. Especially with his oratory skills, he was quite famous amongst the general masses and his oratory was never devoid of structure and meaning. He was a man who fought Pakistan's point of view explicitly in the UN assembly. They hold such strong impact and identities on the minds of people (Wolpert 1993). For this reason, numerous resolutions were drafted and presented before the Security Council but they were rejected or suspended, vetoed or delayed deliberately. Due to lack of unity amongst the Security Council members, this draft was then referred to the General Assembly, but there, Pakistan only got Diplomatic victory with the "Uniting for Peace" resolution which recommended a ceasefire between India and Pakistan. Hussain (1994) is of the view that Bhutto's speech reflected the dual behavior of the superpowers on the stage of international politics. Bhutto expressed a deep derision and contempt for the alliance of India and Russia as he tore his papers on the floor of the Security Council. Abbas (2011) defines that it was the time when the sufferings and reversals of Pakistan army had begun and Russia and India had started appealing in front of the United Nations to hear from the representatives of Bangladesh. Bhutto presented and expressed Pakistani point of view in a vociferous manner on 13th and 14th December stating to the council to order cease fire with India condemning Indian aggression in the East Pakistan. Pakistan faced difficulty as there was a little diplomatic help from China and other allies. In short, a new resolution was proposed by Poland, Anglo French and Russia in which it was recommended that the troops should withdraw and the power should be handed over to East Pakistanis. Pakistan's situation was grim and choices were limited: Pakistan could either accept the resolution or on the other side could wait for the army's defeat and surrender. As a result, on December 15, 1971 Bhutto pleaded the President of Security Council to summon and arrange a session where, he "made the most emotional, though well-prepared, speech of his career." The next day was a day of sadness and defeat as the fall of Dhaka occurred which finished all the considerations. The present study aims to find out concealed ideological denotation from the present text of Bhutto's 15th December, 1971 Speech (see appendix) which was delivered in UN General Assembly. Though he has delivered several speeches which had strong socio-political impact and significance, but his 15th December speech has been picked for CDA because of its historical significance (Behuria, 1995).

Bhatia (2006) remarks that "political discourse enables politicians to achieve their desired communicative purposes". Chilton (2004) argues that politics depends greatly on language and there is a strong relation between language and political activity; so it is impossible to separate them.

## **2. Theoretical Underpinnings**

Discourse has wide horizons having a range of multiple layers of definitions. Van Dijk's (1977: 3) notion of discourse is to view the contextual scenario of the text. In one way, it could be taken like "data that is liable for empiric analysis" (Titcher et al. 1998, 42). With the main focus is on procedure and the action. Discourse, may be said as the verbal expression of self-being. Discourses are usually utilized for constructing knowledge and power, for instruction and usual, for the progression and succession of fresh knowledge

and power relationships. One can say that “discourse” is a more extensive term than *text*: “I shall use the term discourse to refer the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part” (Fairclough 1989, 24). CDA is influential for explaining, inferring, interpreting the social life’s reflection within the text (Luke 1997). Van Dijk (1988) is of the view that the CDA is related to the analysis of words spoken and text written to reveal the foundations of authority and power, supremacy, inequality and partiality, and these ways and sources are originated, sustained, repeated, reproduced and transformed as far as some explicit historical contexts are concerned. O’ Halloran (2003) visions CDA as that area of linguistics that exclusively explores and recognizes the meanings of spoken and written discourse in the cultural and ideological sense. For Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-280), CDA focuses upon the issues which are social. They say that the CDA observes: the discursiveness of the power relations; discourse as constructing the ideology of culture historically in which the connection of society and text is also interlinked. CDA is also explanatory and descriptive; and discourse as a form and variety of societal action. The theoretical structure and framework of Norman Fairclough can be found pertinent and suitable for the current study as it offers bases for the analysis of Lexis (vocabulary), features of grammar, social context and also discourse practice from Bhutto’s speech.

### **3. Methodology**

There are multiple methods and approaches used for studies such as Critical Discourse Analysis with Systemic Functional Linguistics (Kamalu and Agangan, 2011; Wang 2010) Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) (David & Dumanig 2011; Harvaith 2011; Adetunji 2006; Boyd 2009) Political Linguistics, Pu (2007) and also the check list model of Van Leeuwen (2009). The focus of all these studies was the problems of racism and identity and ideological clash. However, some studies also discussed the political issues. Quantitative and qualitative methods are generally used for conducting a research. The difference between both methods is actually the difference between numerical and non-numerical data. This study follows the qualitative research method. Strauss and Corbin (1990) are of the view that this approach offers prospects to recognize any concept and phenomenon about something which is less or the least known. This specific technique is also used to attain or gain new insights and meanings of already known information that is harder to examine and explore quantitatively.

#### **3.1 Data Collection**

Despite the fact, there are different versions of Bhutto’s speech available on the website [www.bhutto.org](http://www.bhutto.org), however, the data are collected from the government publications produced publicly in 1972 during Bhutto’s own regime and can be taken as most authentic source. It has its own historical implications and values. Considering it a government publication, the same script was picked for doing Critical Discourse Analysis.

#### **3.2 Data Analysis Procedure**

The current research used content analysis approach for qualitative analysis of data. This method is preferred because it permits “*subjective interpretation of the context of the text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes and patterns*” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, 1278). It is not about calculating the words and only

focusing and picking up content from text. It is helpful for researchers to realize, comprehend and understand social realism in the sciences but in a subjective way.

#### **4. Analysis and Discussion**

The CDA approach of Fairclough focuses upon analytical layers of any type of communicative events in the *text* i.e. any piece of discourse or a news report), *discourse practice* i.e. (the production and consumption process) and *socio-cultural practice* (i.e. social and cultural structures which give rise to communicative event) (Fairclough 1995, 57). They are strongly similar to Van Dijk's (1998) proportions of *ideology analysis of discourse, socio-cognition and social analysis*. A stern attempt for the analysis of Bhutto's speech has been made in accordance with Fairclough's model and levels as explained above.

##### **4.1 Textual Analysis**

The text is the primary logical and analytical focal point of Fairclough's model. The main components of text analysis are: Analysis of syntax, semantics and morphology, the system of sounds (linguistic analysis) and cohesion, coherence and organization which is higher than the level of sentence (Fairclough 1995, 57). Analysis of any sentence in the text considers the viewpoint of articulation of these specific functions, which he re-termed as relations, identities and representations (Fairclough 1995, 58). The text of Bhutto's 15<sup>th</sup> December speech has a variety of textual characteristics. In the present study, the researchers will place effort for the analysis of these characteristics. In any text, the most pivotal feature is vocabulary and the words meticulously carry the function of being ideational or representational. And they do have specific ideological functions.

In the text selected for the present study, there are few words which are contested in an ideological manner, e.g. *principles, justice and equity* etc. It shows that Bhutto desired and deeply wanted to tell the UN Security Council that India and Pakistan could only have relations which were ideologically based upon justice and equity, it was the top agenda when Pakistan got independence. Apart from these ideological words, there are a number of examples of re-wording i.e. *we shall say, I would have, nation, country, justice, principles*, etc. Such re-wording was used as Bhutto was intelligent enough to know that Pakistani society though is vertically divided in the language creed and caste system like, *Sindhis, Baluchs, Pathans, and Punjabis* etc. but integrally they are one nation. According to Bhutto's view point, it was indispensable to give this political message to India that the term should be at the level of principles, equity and justice and for any political stability amongst nations no one can deny the role of equity and justice. Unusual use of high degree of wording is known as over-wording, frequently consists of several words which are close synonyms i.e. *valiantly, bravely, independent, sovereign, lasting, permanent, countrymen, people, equity justice, aid and assistance, razzling-dazzling, decimated wiped out impotence and incapacity, integrity and unity* etc. Bhutto wanted to gain two purposes by using such high vocabulary i.e. to illustrate his preoccupation with different sides of reality and also to present and portray his standpoint in an emphatic manner. In the present selected text of Bhutto's speech, the major meaning relations are synonymy, hyponymy and antonymy. Synonymy refers to the scenario in which the words possess similar meanings. There are few examples of synonymy i.e. "razzling-dazzling impotence and incapacity, integrity and unity". In

Hyponymy the meaning of one word is included within the meaning of another word. The present text has some hyponyms and super-ordinates for example (Decca) East Pakistan, Cato (Roman warrior; Changiz Khan, Subutai Khan (Central Asia), Alexander (Greece), Caesar (Europe), coming down to the great Napoleon (France); Calcutta (India). The current text also has antonyms like “Anglo Saxon, meet today or tomorrow, New York and Moscow ugly and alluring, end of the road, beginning of the road, a new chapter has begun a new page, medium-sized and the small cities and countries, political victory is permanent while military defeat is temporary black and white, right or for wrong, justice or for injustice, aggression or for the victims. By using these words, the disparities and differences present in the culture and society are highlighted and Bhutto wants to eradicate and eliminate these issues by tackling them at any cost. There is no euphemism in the current text. The speech writer has used direct and clear-cut language to communicate his point without chopping and mincing words. For instance, when he talks about the sham attitude and behavior of the United Nations who failed to solve the issue effectively he uses clear words like *razzling-dazzling*, *impotence*, *incapacity*; and while talking about the relations with India, he said explicitly that India and Pakistan can only have relations based on *equity* and *justice*. Bhutto also gave historical references in his speech and the text of the speech is enriched with so many examples from history, like the Roman Empire and Cato; the Nazis were outside the gates of Moscow; China was under the occupation of Japan; President de Gaulle who left France and fought across the seas; Ethiopia was under Fascist domination; but the Ethiopians fought; the Emperor of Ethiopia left his country and sought asylum in Britain; Ethiopia is free today; Changiz Khan, Subutai Khan, Alexander, Caesar, coming down to the great Napoleon. This shows the knowledge and command not only with the current situation, but also that of the previous important events as it was a very pivotal address at a very crucial time of history. So for a Pakistani leader to give such ideological and historical references shows his confidence and sense of response according to the situation. His speech was written considering the decorum of the UN General Assembly and was formal in nature. So the words like: *I requested you*; *I thank you*; and *forgive me* show the formal nature of the text. However, on the contrary, in these formalities there is openness, bluntness and clarity to give expression of moral victory to the audience. The words clearly reflect the author’s stance and the words and lines clearly explain Pakistan’s position and stance and also it gives a reflection of the emotions of people of Pakistan in an explicit manner, i.e. when the author says like we want relations based upon *equity* and *justice*, and I will not take back a document of *surrender* from the Security Council, I will not be a party to the legalization of aggression. The Security Council has failed miserably, shamefully, so what if Dacca falls? We will build a new Pakistan. We will build a better Pakistan. We will build a greater Pakistan.

Metaphors are the comparisons or analogies which are between the two similar ideas and objects, state value judgment. Different metaphors are implied in the text to reflect the situation and view point differently e.g. “*My heart is bleeding*”, “*You will be turning the medium-sized and small countries into the harlots of the world*”, “*We are your guinea pigs*”, and finally “*I am not a rat.*” Metaphors are highly important whenever the author wants to stress, and highlight the density, seriousness, and importance of the problems or issues. The grammatical analysis of features present in the text assists to understand the identities of the participants. In the current text, there are many action sentences (SVO) which comprises two participants engagement, tagged as the agent and patient.

Occasionally, the agent and patient are animate and sometimes inanimate. Here are some examples found in the text, i.e.: "I requested you", "I thank you". There are present attributive sentences (SVC) also which consists of single participant, attribution and verb, i.e. "*I have not come here to accept abject surrender*" "*I will not be a party to the legalization of aggression*". "*I am not because my heart is bleeding*" In the present text, agency has a great part to play, but there is no concealment of agency deliberately in the current text. He is quite clear in his approach to make agents and patients responsible, which is unlike today's political leaders. The text also contains active and passive voice sentences. Nominalizations provide any speech an official, formal, slow and measured style. It is the conversion of verbs into nouns the chief examples from the current text are "dilatatory tactics" "legalization of aggression" "imprisonment". He balanced the formal language by a number of examples of colloquialism which provide balance to the speech and permit common man to comprehend and understand a complex geopolitical condition of Pakistan, Bangladesh and India, Some examples from the texts are "Let us face the stark truth". "I have got no stakes left for the moment" "Well, you will be sunk" "We will not lick the dust".

The three chief methods used comprising of declarative sentences, grammatical question, and imperative sentences. Sentences which are declarative in nature and sound bold and defiant due to the presence and use of action verbs i.e. must, will, do not. The function of the declarative sentences is to provide information related to some verb or a noun. In the present text, Bhutto built a powerful image despite usage of strong verbs like "do not" and "you cannot do that" Some examples of declarative sentences are like "*Do not* come back with a document of surrender." "*You will be* turning the medium-sized and small countries into the harlots of the world. *You cannot* do that." There are several grammatical question sentences and the questions which need detailed response by addressee i.e. "*So what if Dacca falls?*" "*So what if the whole of East Pakistan falls?*" "*So what if the whole of West Pakistan falls?*" "*So what if our state is obliterated?*" "*who will suffer?*" "*Why did he do it?*" "*What has the United Nations done?*" "*Who says that the new reality arose out of free will?*" "*Why can Texas not be free?* Which Government does not make mistakes? Why does India then not permit it to exercise its will? Why do the people of the United States not see that? The statement also uses several imperative sentences, which communicate a powerful difference by furnishing commands or order lines like, "*I have some home truths to tell the Security Council*". "*The world must know*". "*My people must know*". "*I go back to the Roman Empire and I say what Cato said to the Romans, "Carthage must be destroyed."* One may also see a number of cases in the current text which are related to the concept of modality. Modality is pivotal for expressive and relational values in grammar. It refers to the authority of the speaker or the writer, which is expressed and stated by modal auxiliary verbs, i.e. *may, might, can, could, should, ought to* etc. In this particular communicative modal event there are verbs like, *could, should, must* etc., which have been applied to gestured compulsion, permission and suggestion, etc. These modal verbs are extremely powerful and dominant as they assert the implicit level of the power and authoritative relations of the kind. Here in the text there are a lot of pronouns used like, *I, my, we,* and *you* which do have some particular relational value of diverse sort. The pronoun *we* used by Bhutto refers to the whole country Pakistan, "*My*" refers to the possessive case here he is talking about himself and refers you to the objective case here he talks about audience. *My people must know. I have not come here to accept abject surrender. If the Security Council wants me*

to be a party to the legalization of abject surrender, then *I* say that under no circumstances shall *I* be. Yesterday my 11-year-old son telephoned *me* from Karachi and said to *me*, "*Do not come back with a document of surrender. We do not want to see you back in Pakistan if you come like that.*" *I will not take back a document of surrender from the Security Council. I will not be a party to the legalization of aggression.*"

#### 4.2 Discourse Practice

Fairclough (1995, 59) says that Discourse Practice has two aspects: One is the method or process of institution (procedures of editorial) and the other is discourse method or process in consumption and production changes or alteration of the text goes through. According to Fairclough, "discourse practices treadle the division between society and culture on the one hand and discourse, language and text on the other" (1995, 60). This could be labeled as values of connectivity of the formal components of the text. Contrasted and compared with others, it has somewhat 'internal' character in binding the texts, connecting and managing the formal components in binding texts. It is also concerned with the correlation of contexts and the text. Several formal components or features relate to the context which is situational, which is not inside the text and is outside or "inter-textual" context, i.e. to preceding texts that are linked to it (Fairclough, 2001). For text cohesion in the duration of the editorial process, contextual and formal, both links have been used. Numerous cohesive devices have been used. The current study also identified that the text of speech also contains the demonstrative determiners i.e. *this*, *that* etc. which are used at different places throughout the text. Conjunctions have also been used in the current text like *but*, *and*, *because*, *so*, *however*, *or* etc. whereas the use of ellipses is not found in the text. All the sentences carry verb forms, grammatical aspect, and a tense is also there. In the majority of sentences rhyme and theme is present. Another thing that supports cohesion in any particular text is logical connectors. They explain consequential and causal relation between words and sentences. They are of two types: causal and consequential. The present text has both types of connectors, e.g. "*Therefore*" as causal while "*otherwise*" as consequential connectors have been used in the present text. There are a number of examples in the text which shows anaphora, according to Leech (1969) anaphora is a verbal repetition like "*to bear with me and to hear the truth*" "*I know the United Nations; I know the Security Council*"

*"And now in the Security Council we have been frustrated by a veto. Let us build a monument to the veto, a big monument to the veto. Let us build a monument to the impotence and incapacity of the Security Council and the General Assembly"*. There are examples of epistrophe which is also a verbal repetition according to Leech (1969) and example from the current text is i.e. "*As a pretext, an ugly, crude pretext, a shameful pretext to invade my country, to invade East Pakistan.*"

In this text there are numerous examples of linguistic parallelism which are classified as syntactic parallelism and lexical parallelism. Syntactic parallelism refers to 'the repetition of the same sentence structure but not the same wording (Khokhar 2015). "*To go to the Security Council to represent the cause of my country, to represent the cause of a people that had been subjected to aggression, or to remain with my people, by their side*" this is an example of syntactic parallelism that appears in recursion of infinitives. Lexical parallelism refers to the *repetition of a word, phrase, or a clause in a regular pattern* (Khokhar 2015) "*My countrymen, my people*" a vivid example of redundancy which

appears in lexical parallelism. “*Impose any decision, have a treaty worse than the Treaty of Versailles*”, are an example of syntactic parallelism which appears as the parallelism of the imperative mood.

The present text comprises of different types of sentences like simple, complex and compound sentences and this reflects that the writer wants to bring into light the true sense and the facts of the scenario. There are a number of pronouns in the current discourse, i.e. *we, I, they*, etc. They are used as the grammatical device to avoid repetition of the previously used material in the text. The definite article ‘*the*’ in the current text is of specific interest as it is frequently utilized to indicate referents present in the text. It also stresses upon the stance of the writer where he composes common action uncommon. There is a use of contextual link in the text at several places. The speaker has done it as the situation highly demanded contextual links to be used. Even the circumstances from independence and afterwards were discussed which were pertinent to the situation. Both these links in the text encourage “inter-textuality”. Constitutive inter-textuality is vivid as the current discourse is joined together, and paragraphs are interlinked with each other. The speech of Bhutto gained its separate identity and individuality. How the other texts are drawn within a text is known as inter-textuality which is also the part of the current text, where the message received is quoted by the writer.

#### **4.3 Social Analysis**

For Fairclough (1995:62), social analysis depends upon three components of the communicative event of any social and cultural context, they are economic (i.e. media economy), political (media ideology and power), and cultural (i.e. value issues). In this section an attempt has been made to establish those social factors that influenced Bhutto to deliver such speech. Bhutto’s 15<sup>th</sup> December speech is usually graded and considered as one of the best speeches done by any Pakistani politician at international forum on any issues. It can be taken as a landmark speech in Pakistan’s history as the moment of separation with East Pakistan was itself historical. It was a speech mixed with vigor, aggression, logic, authenticity, facts and excellent oratory. Though addressed formally Bhutto looked quiet candid in his speech, this may perhaps be because of the confidence of being the head of a political party who took a majority in the elections. He himself quoted in his speech, “*I am not talking as a puppet. I am talking as the authentic leader of the people of West Pakistan who elected me at the polls in a more impressive victory.*” His speech meant to serve one main purpose, but he purposely said thanks to the President of the UN general assembly understanding the sensitivity of the situation,

Mr. President, to convene a meeting of the Security Council immediately, I am thankful to you for having convened this meeting, because precious time is being lost. My countrymen, my people, are dying”

In the above lines, he has not only extended his gratitude to the president of UN assembly, but also told him the reason for his eagerness for the commencement of this meeting. The main aim however, was to tell the members of the UN assembly the stance of Pakistani government and Pakistani people on this critical situation where the whole state was in war and overall situation was dipped in brutality, murder, rape, Indian invasion, dismemberment of East Pakistan. So his style was extremely blunt and he



presented his point of view explicitly aggressively and vividly. He also expressed that he is not there to accept surrender and denied the Security Council not to think in this manner i.e.

I have not come here to accept abject surrender. If the Security Council wants me to be a party to the legalization of abject surrender, then I say that under no circumstances shall it be so. Yesterday my eleven year old son telephoned me from Karachi and said, "*Do not come back with a document of surrender. We do not want to see you back in Pakistan if you do that.*" I will not take back a document of surrender from the Security Council. I will not be a party to the legalization of aggression.

Bhutto was also aware of the facts about partition and post partition circumstances. Being a former foreign minister, he deeply understood India's mentality and shrewd attitude. During his speech there are glimpses of his thinking where he said,

The partition of India in 1947 took place because they did not have a vision. Now they are also lacking in vision. They talk about their ancient civilization and the mystique of India and all that. But they do not have a vision at all. If I had been in his place, I would have acted differently. I extended a hand of friendship to him the other day. He should have seen what I meant.

He also explained the history of the social context of subcontinent by saying,

The principle is that Pakistan is an independent, sovereign state which came into being because of the volition of its people. That is the basic reality which has existed for 24 years.

Then talking about relationship with India both economically and socially he said,

I told the Indian Permanent Representative in 1967 that we wanted good relations between the two countries, but based on principles, based on justice, based on equity, not based on exploitation and domination, because such relations cannot be lasting. What we want is a lasting, a permanent solution. I do not say this just today; I said that in 1967 to their Permanent Representative, who the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan was then. I said that to the Foreign Minister of India when we were negotiating on Kashmir, "Let us settle this problem on the basis of equity and justice, so that we can live as good neighbors." And I add today: we can still live as good neighbors, as friends.

Then talking about peace Bhutto clearly said,

If you want to subjugate Pakistan militarily, you will find it more difficult to bring peace. I say that the choice for us is either to accept living in the same subcontinent and co-operating for peace and progress or to be implacable enemies of each other forever. If India thinks that it is going to subjugate Pakistan, Eastern Pakistan as well as Western Pakistan because we are one

people, we are one state. If India talks about the will of the people of East Pakistan and claims that it had to attack Pakistan in order to impose the will of the people of East Pakistan, then what has it done about Kashmir? East Pakistan is an integral part of Pakistan. Kashmir is a disputed territory. Why does India then not permit it to exercise its will?

Bhutto was a brave leader on such high political and international forum. He destroyed Indian media, and its social propaganda. He was clear in his thoughts to accuse India for being the mastermind behind all this conspiracy, *“Pakistan would not have faced dismemberment like this if it had not been attacked by another country. This is not an internal movement. We have been subjected to attack by a militarily powerful neighbor.”* One positive in all this dark aspect of dismemberment of East Pakistan was that he in his speech explicitly and positively gave indications of the emotions, unity, ideology, brevity and mindset of Pakistani people by saying,

The Pakistani nation is a brave nation. One of the greatest British generals said that the best infantry fighters in the world are the Pakistanis. We will fight. We will fight for a thousand years”and also explained positive approach by saying. “So what if Dacca falls? So what if the whole of East Pakistan falls? So what if the whole of West Pakistan falls? So what if our state is obliterated? We will build a new Pakistan. We will build a better Pakistan. We will build a greater Pakistan. “Lastly, he also explained his point on a moral ground by giving a political point in front of the audience. “We might have suffered a military defeat, but a political victory is more important than a military defeat because political victory is permanent while military defeat is temporary.

## **5. Conclusion**

Dismemberment for any country is like death, which itself is practically difficult to narrate and explain. It was a similar situation with Pakistan when the incident of 1971 happened which was enveloped in war with India ultimately resulted in conversion of East Pakistan into a new state Bangladesh. Feeling the intensity and sensitivity of the occasion the speech performed by Bhutto was exactly up to the pain, suffering and importance Pakistan was facing. The way Bhutto performed in U.N general assembly showed his courage and determination and also the support of his people back home in Pakistan. Bhutto’s discourse, though theoretical in nature may be seen as an effort to show the world, the disregard of his appeals which were quite emotional, regarding the current political situation in front of the United Nations. The focal point of the current study was to investigate about the usage of these linguistic resources which were used in projecting Bhutto’s political ideology in speech.

Exploring the ideology of any political leader is a pivotal aspect as it correlates, translates and explains his/her actions, behaviors and performances. The results are supporting the arguments by the researchers included and discussed in the theoretical framework section.

Fairclough’s philosophies of ideology exist in the text and that is the investment of ideology in language is in different ways and different levels. According to him ideology

is the assets of events and structures. This speech of Bhutto is identical with Fairclough's philosophy which presents that interpretation is the tool to produce meanings. Furthermore, these meanings are tactfully manipulated by different politicians of the world and Pakistani politicians are also following the same footsteps. Importantly the exploitation of figurative aspect of speech to get emotional attachment presented by Al-Harashseh (2013) is less in Pakistani political leaders' speeches as compared to the other leaders of the world.

Van Dijk (1988) is of the view that the CDA is related to the analysis of words spoken and text written to reveal the foundations of authority and power, supremacy, inequality and partiality, and these ways and sources are originated, sustained, repeated, reproduced and transformed as far as some explicit historical contexts are concerned. O' Halloran (2003, 1) visions CDA as that area of linguistics that exclusively explores and recognizes the meanings of spoken and written discourse in the cultural and ideological sense. For Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-280), CDA focuses upon the issues which are social. CDA is influential for explaining, inferring, interpreting the social life's reflection within the text Luke (1997).

For any political leader holding a public office precisely as head of the State, it is important to understand the ideology as it helps to understand the personality and the reflections of his thinking related to his/her country. It also narrates how well he/she understands the circumstances, religious groundings, sociopolitical situation and the people of the country. In this study, Fairclough's (1995) concept and model of Critical Discourse Analysis was used and applied. Also, the concepts of Van Dijk 1988; O'Halloran 2003) provide us the major conceptual and theoretical underpinning in this specific study. The results of the present study reflect that this text is enriched as far as CDA is concerned. Analysis of the text reveals that the items of vocabulary (wording, rewording, antonymy, hyponymy etc.) show solid command over language of Bhutto. The rich use of vocabulary presents the fact that he was fully aware about the versatility of using English as a language. And by using these words he wanted to create an impression on the audience, so that his sincerity, loyalty and determination and the viewpoint of his nation to the world and also towards the veil mindset of Indian government can be expressed in a prolific manner. His rich vocabulary shows he wanted to explain the different sections of the issue differently to the whole world with an approach that even Pakistani leaders are not slaves of political discourse rather aware and masters of using political discourse. The grammatical analysis of speech features shows his loudness and vividness in his sentences. The use of such sentences where he fixes the responsibilities of the agents and patients is quite contrary to the current politicians who just play with the words and their words are devoid of meanings in the speeches. Here again this feature of his personality reflects that he was brave, well prepared and knowledgeable about the background of the problem he and his nation was facing at the time. Bhutto knows that his speech could provide a new roadmap for the people to come. Therefore, his speech was pregnant with meanings which were conducted exquisitely in a pragmatic style. The present study's implications can be viewed at both theoretical and practical levels. Theoretical points explain a pivotal role in influencing and even manipulating with the minds of readers and listeners. It was explained in the current study that the theoretical stance of politicians and the political discourses dipped in linguistic expression chosen intensively by the orators or speakers is performed to achieve and attain specific purpose

and intent. It is done to gather more public support and attention. By increasing sentiments of nationality it creates huge influence on readers and listeners. This finding is quite practical if one looks at Bhutto's speech which is still quoted, appreciated, related and correlated with political situations time and again even after 45 years. The use of words, vocabulary oratory, pragmatic meaning and his explicit performance is still imitated by current political leaders. His ideological stance was supported by his language which was backed up by pregnancy of rich wordings, emphasizing, comprehensiveness, coherence, concreteness, compactness, organization, clarity and logical referencing. One of the reason for all these features present in his speech may be that he was an educated man and was mature, visionary, well informed, knowledgeable, skillful and long-sighted of the problems and socio-political issues of not only Pakistan but also about South East Asia. His tenure as a foreign minister helped him to achieve command over Indo-Pak issue which helps him comprehensively in his speech. He used certain forms, expressions and words deliberately to explain the whole agenda smartly and perfectly.

Martinez (2012) also points out that politician are successful in creating the social reality through the use of language and this feature is present in Pakistani political speeches by the politicians. The artistic use of rhetoric for the purpose of establishing relationship with the audience is also present in the speech this feature was also explained by Schiler (2010). The analysis the speech also supports the viewpoint of Mehdi (2012) who satirized the extensive usage of rhetoric by the Pakistani political leader. The study, therefore, has implications for the theory of Political Discourse Analysis. The study has great implications for the researchers to research on political speeches of politicians and great leaders who influenced people while being alive but even after their death. The conclusion clearly suggests that political language has opened a new method of communication in the world. This mode of communication is primarily based upon manipulation of words to create stronger impact thus explaining the power of the words (Riesigl, 2003 as in Iqbal, 2015).

## References

- Abbas, S. S. (2011). Deliberative Oratory in the Darkest Hour: Style Analysis of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Speech at the Security Council. *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies*, 3(1), 25-52.
- Adetunji, A. (2006). Inclusion and exclusion in political discourse: Deixis in Olusegun Obasanjo's speeches. *Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 5(2), 177-191.
- Al-Harabsheh, A. M. (2013). The Translatability of Figures of Speech in Khalid Mashaal's Political Speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 23-34.
- Behuria, A. K. (1995). Ethnic and communal violence and international relations: a study of conflict linkage in India-Pakistan relations during the Eighties.
- Boyd, M. S. (2009). De-constructing race and identity in US presidential discourse: Barack Obama's speech on race. *Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies*, 75-94.

- David, M. K. & Dumanig, F.P. (2011). National unity in multi-ethnic Malaysia: A critical discourse analysis of Tun Dr. Mahathir's political speeches. *Language Discourse and Society*, 1(1), 11-31.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London: Longman Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language England*. Pearson Education Limited.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power*<sup>2nd</sup>( ed.). Malaysia: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997). *Critical discourse analysis*. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction*. 2, 258-284. London: Sage
- Horváth, J. (2009). Critical discourse analysis of Obama's political discourse. In *Proceedings of Language, literature and culture in a changing transatlantic world, International conference, University of Presov* (pp. 45-56).
- Hsieh H. F. & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*. 15(9), 1277-1288.
- Hussain, M. Z. (1994). Islam in Pakistan under Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq. In *Islam, Muslims and the Modern State* (pp. 47-79). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Iqbal. A. (2015). Discourse Analysis of Prominent Politicians' Public speeches: Pre and Post Election 2010 Pakistan. *Linguistics & Literature Review*, 1(1), 1-18.
- Khokhar, A. H., Khurshid, M. A., & Kassim, H. (2015). Stylistic Analysis of Invocation in Alexander Pope's The Rape of the Locke. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature*, 4(5), 21-28.
- Kamalu, I., & Agangan, R. (2011). A critical discourse analysis of Goodluck Jonathan's declaration of interest in the PDP presidential primaries. *Language, Discourse and Society*, 1(1), 32-54.
- Leech, G. N. (2014). *A linguistic guide to English poetry* (Vol. 4). Routledge.
- Luke, A. (1997). Theory and practice in critical discourse analysis. *International encyclopedia of the sociology of education*, 8, 50-57.
- Martinez, M. (2012). The relation of meaning to wording in Mandela's speech of inauguration as president: A systematic functional analysis of rhetorical devices, marked syntax and appraisal. *Journal of modern languages* 22
- Munawar, B (2016). Critical discourse analysis of Z.A. Bhutto's speech at Security Council (15 December, 1971) in perspective of transitivity and modality. *International Journal of Advanced Research*, 4(8), 1029-1045.
- O'halloran, K. (2003). *Critical discourse analysis and language cognition*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Pu, C. (2007). Discourse Analysis of President Bush's Speech at Tsinghua University, China. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, 16(1), 205-216.
- Sayeed. K. B. (1998) *Pakistan the Formative Phase 1857-1948*. Oxford University Press.
- Schiler, K. E. (2010). *A movable ethos: How ethics and rhetoric can imagine and invite new publics*. Purdue University.
- Wolpert, S. A. (1993). *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: his life and times*. Oxford University Press, USA
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1980). The semantics and pragmatics of functional coherence in discourse. *Speech act theory: Ten years later*, 49-66.

- Van Dijk, T. A. (1988). News as discourse. Hillside, NJ: Erlbaum. Van Dijk, TA (1999). "Critical Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis", in *Discourse and Society*, 10(4), 459-470.
- Van Leeuwen, M. (2009) 'Rhetorical style of political speeches: A linguistic approach', *Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup>.Rhetoric in Society Conference*, January 21-23 2009, Leiden University.
- Wang, J. (2010). A critical discourse analysis of Barack Obama's speeches. *Journal of language teaching and research*, 1(3), 254-261.