

PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt / Egyptology

POLITICAL RHETORIC JUSTIFYING EMERGENCY: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MUSHARRAF'S SPEECH

Shazia Aziz¹, Umara Shaheen², Samar Kamal Fazli³, Mudassar Mehmood Ahmad⁴

^{1,2,3}

Department of Humanities, COMSATS University Islamabad, Lahore Campus

⁴Royal Commission Yanbu Colleges and Institutes, Yanbu, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

E. mail: shazia.aziz@cuilahore.edu.pk

Shazia Aziz, Umara Shaheen, Samar Kamal Fazli, Mudassar Mehmood Ahmad. Political Rhetoric Justifying Emergency: A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Musharraf's Speech-- PalArch's Journal Of Archaeology Of Egypt/Egyptology 18(4), 4035-4062. ISSN 1567-214x

Key Words: Rhetoric, Critical Discourse Analysis, Rhetorical Tropes, Ethos, Pathos, Logos

ABSTRACT

The current study critically analyzes General Pervaiz Musharraf's speech delivered after the Proclamation of Emergency (PoE) in Pakistan in 2007. It attempts to uncover the ideology behind the speech and the persuasive strategies employed by the speaker in order to justify the declaration of emergency on grounds of the doctrine of necessity. The study applies a three-stage model (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 86) which draws upon critical discourse analysis of public communication. The study informs that President Musharraf arouses the nationalistic interests of the audience and identifies himself with them, justifying his decision on grounds of protecting the solidarity of the country. It further reveals that the emergency stemmed out of his fear of being declared ineligible for the presidential elections by the Supreme Court. He employs hyperbole¹, metonym², contrast³ and various other rhetorical devices to magnify and minimize different leading facts to suit his purpose. This paper will be of significance for linguists, discourse analysts, political scientists, and researchers in International Relations, History and South Asian Studies as it unveils persuasive rhetoric underpinning an important decision which engendered a marked change in the history of Pakistan.

INTRODUCTION

Political changes have long term consequences on nations' lives, their relations with the world around, and the economic and political conditions of the state as a

whole. Language plays the most pivotal role in establishing these changes and reflecting new power structures. Political speeches exemplify the influential role of language in controlling people's minds by using persuasive strategies (Wodak, 1989, p.143). Charteris-Black (2014) believes that oratory is an art of public speaking in which language choices are influenced and governed by the purpose of the speaker (p. xv). The field of Politics attaches great value to the art of persuasive communication by using various rhetorical devices because oratory is the application of rhetoric (p.3). For the analysis of political speeches, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is widely used as it examines the relation of power and language; it also exposes how an orator uses language to justify his/her actions and decisions.

The current study analyses President General Pervaiz Musharraf's speech delivered after the Proclamation of Emergency (PoE) in Pakistan on November 03, 2007 with an aim to unveil the persuasive strategies that the speaker used to justify his allegedly unlawful acts i.e., the declaration of emergency and promulgation of the Provisional Constitution Order (PCO).

Historical Milieu:

Musharraf, appointed in 1998 as the head of the armed forces by the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, is considered to have brought Pakistan and India on the brink of a war by leading the Kargil conflict in 1999, leaving strained relations between the neighbouring countries. After months of controversial relations between the Prime Minister Sharif and Musharraf, Sharif made an attempt to dethrone Musharraf from the leadership of the army but in vain. In 1999, the army staged a coup d'état that paved the way for Musharraf to take control and place the elected Prime Minister Sharif under a house-arrest leading to a trial against him (Pakistan. Background Notes. U.S. Department of State).

General Musharraf had always been accused of the illegitimacy of his leadership. He started to reign over the country as chief executive. Afterwards in 2002, he was elected through an allegedly rigged referendum. In January 2004, winning a vote of confidence by the electoral college, he was enabled to continue ruling the country as president till November 2007 (Constable 2007). During his presidential tenure, he promoted an amalgamation of left-wing ideas and conservatism, appointed Shaukat Aziz as prime minister and directed policies against terrorism (Morris 2008). Musharraf also survived a number attempts of assassination. He made numerous amendments in the constitution in 2002 with the Legal Framework Order. He also attempted to modernize several sections of society under his enlightened moderation program. Despite various positive changes such as liberalization of economic media and promotion of women empowerment in the first few years of presidency, in his last 18 months, he clearly overreached himself. Not tolerating any disagreement with himself, he dismissed the chief justice, imposed a state of emergency and planned his own re-election as president.

In spite of his easy victory in presidential election held on October 6, 2007, a boycott from opposition and pending hearings in the Supreme Court regarding his (in)eligibility to stand for election despite being in military service, left him with an incomplete victory (Library of Congress). Gall (2007) terms it “a one-man race” because the elections were boycotted by his opponents and the pending hearing regarding his ineligibility to be president rendered it questionable. Threatened by an impending impeachment movement led by the ruling Pakistan People's Party, Musharraf presented his resignation in 2007 (Morris 2008). Overall, his government was criticized for economic inequality and human rights abuse. Being the key player in the war on terror led by the USA after 9/11, he failed to convince the public that it was not just someone else's war (Morris 2008) which resulted in the increase in his unpopularity among the public.

After his self-imposed exile in London (Morris 2008), he returned to partake in election in 2013; however, he was disqualified by the High Court owing to the various charges including the assassination of Benazir and Bugti leveled against him. On March 31, 2014, Musharraf faced a charge of high treason for the implementation of emergency rule and suspension of the constitution in 2007. On August 31, 2017, Pakistan's anti-terrorism court declared him an "absconder" in verdict of Benazir Bhutto's murder case (Morris, 2008). His legacy is mixed; his era was marked by the emergence of a more confident middle class, but his indifference towards civilian institutions weakened the state as a whole (Gall, 2007; Chris, 2008; Morris, 2008)

Research Questions:

The study attempts to answer the following research questions:

What techniques does Pervaiz Musharraf employ to justify his stance (PoE) to national and international audience?

How does the speech under study resemble the structure of an epilogue?

Literature Review:

This section reviews the relevant literature pertaining to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), classical view of oratory and CDA of political speeches outlining Charters-Black's Model (2014) for the analysis of political speeches.

Critical Discourse Analysis:

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) refers to the use of language as a “form of social practice” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258) and regards the context of language use as highly crucial to discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 6). It particularly studies the relation between language and power.

Professionals from various disciplines such as history, business, law and politics have used the methods of discourse analysis to explore social problems related to their fields. Van Dijk (1997) defines Critical Discourse Studies as “A new cross-discipline” comprising the “analysis of text and talk in virtually all disciplines of the humanities and social sciences” (as cited in Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 2). Inspired by Halliday’s systemic functional grammar (1985), Fairclough (1989) contends that CDA aims at exploring the ways language and power are interconnected and studying the “connections between language use and unequal relations of power” (p. 1).

Fairclough (2006, para.1) asserts that the mediatisation of politics has increased the importance of struggles over language that plays an enormous role in justifying “changes in political strategies and ideologies, political leadership and ways of governing.” In this rapidly globalizing world of information technology and world politics, language acquires an all the more crucial role and serves as a tool in the hands of politicians to justify their acts to the outer world.

Classical View of Oratory and CDA of Political Speeches:

Rhetoric, being a counterpart of dialectic according to Aristotle (Brunschwig, 1996, p. 34), was considered an essential part of civic life because it provided an opportunity to debate options and thus, contributed to democracy. Rhetoric and democracy are closely related because for negotiation and distribution of power among people, there needs to be people “skilled in persuasion” (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 5).

As for persuasion in oratory, Aristotle differentiated between artistic and inartistic proofs. Inartistic proofs were sources of persuasion beyond language such as laws and evidences while the artistic proofs were termed ethos, logos and pathos which were created through speeches. Logos draws upon reasoning to support a conclusion; ethos is about making the audience believe one’s self by sounding to be more knowledgeable and trustworthy and pathos is the use of emotional themes and emotional language to make an audience more receptive to one’s conclusion. These modes of persuasion are still considered relevant in analyzing persuasive language and rhetoric (Charteris-Black 2014, pp. 8-15).

The history of studying political discourses is as old as the western classical tradition of rhetoric where political discourse was found in various forms (Chilton 2004; Kennedy, 2003). Classical rhetoricians term political speeches as deliberative speeches. Such speeches involve the orator seeking to recommend a particular argument by employing every possible means of persuasion “to win support for the action he or she is advocating” (Charteris-Black 2014, p. 6). Political speeches are highly accessible and suitable source of data for studying the “abuse” of language and power (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 9), because they discuss how an orator (mostly a representative of a political party) enforces his/her will

over his/her audience (mostly general public) and exploits language for his/her own purposes.

Social context is a significant feature of CDA whose analysis centers round the identity and social positions of speaker and addressees and the great role of language in establishing these relationships. Charteris- Black (2014, p. 86) uses the term “speech circumstances” to refer to a range of contexts to be considered to study political speeches. The approach he outlines to critically analyse political speeches has the following stages:

Stage 1 is about the *analysis of speech circumstances* that include situational circumstances, cognitive circumstances and process circumstances. Situational circumstances refer to speech setting—speaker, location, date, occasion and audience. Cognitive circumstances are related to the speaker’s and audience’s beliefs, assumptions and purpose and their interaction. Process circumstances study interaction between the speaker and speech writer as well as the norms of interaction between the speaker and audience.

Stage 2 highlights identification and analysis of features as smaller units such as lexical choices, larger units such as syntactic patterns of sentences and command of the modal system of English and stylistic features viz., metaphors, similes, metonyms, hyperbole, alliteration⁴, parallel structure, epistrophe⁵, juxtaposition⁶, repetition⁷, etc.

Stage 3 is about interpretation and explanation. It aims at understanding the social world through an interpretation of the persuasive impact and social purpose of the speech; it explains how the cognitive and situational circumstances interact with the performance and linguistic features and process circumstances to realize socially persuasive outcomes (Charteris- Black, 2014, p. 9).

The model mentioned above is used because it is a recently introduced model which includes a thorough analysis of social context including speech and cognitive circumstances as well as text analysis and interpretation.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The speech of the former President Musharraf under study is bilingual as he delivered more than half of the speech in the Urdu language, with a mixture of the English code at lexical and phrasal levels, and switches to English towards the end where he addressed the foreign audience. The entire speech is transcribed by the researchers because of the unavailability of its transcript especially the part of the speech delivered in Urdu (See Appendix). The speech is analysed by applying Charteris-Black’s (2014) three-stage model which is used as a theoretical framework in the current study while analysis of rhetorical devices, Aristotle’s logos, pathos and ethos, and the analysis of speech as an epilogue are used as methods while applying different dimensions of the model.

The first stage of Charteris-Black's model (2014) takes into account situational and cognitive circumstances which examine the speech setting and interaction between participants' states of knowledge. This stage also includes process circumstances which refer to the processes that take place between the production and speech delivery stages (p. 89). Politicians might deliver extemporaneous speeches instead of having them written by a speech writer because these politicians are very much conscious about their image and persona. Since the information about this process could not be found in memoirs and biographies, this element of the model is not discussed.

The second stage i.e., the analysis of features has been carried out by identifying various rhetorical tropes used by the speaker. The language of the speech is also examined in terms of Aristotle's three modes of persuasion viz. logos, ethos and pathos. The third stage i.e., interpretation and explanation analyses the speech as an epilogue which discusses how the speaker manufactures public consent by arousing their emotions and making them well disposed towards him.

Analysis

Analysis of Speech Circumstances

The analysis of speech circumstances includes the analysis of situational and cognitive circumstances.

Analysis of situational circumstances

The address under analysis was delivered by Pervaiz Musharraf, retired Chief of the Army Staff (COAS) and the former President of Pakistan when he proclaimed Emergency in Pakistan on November 3, 2007. The PoE was also followed by the promulgation of Provisional Constitution Order (PCO) and the Oath of Office (Judges) Order, 2007 (Khan & Wazir, 2011, p. 154). The basic purpose of declaring emergency was "to end judicial activism" (Haq, 2007, "Emergency to end judicial activism"). In 2007, before Musharraf completed his term as President, various petitions were filed by a former Supreme Court judge, Wajihuddin Ahmed and the Vice Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Makhdoom Amin Fahim in the Supreme Court of Pakistan questioning his eligibility as a candidate for the presidential election when he was the Chief of Army Staff also. A few days before the court decision on these petitions was to be pronounced, Musharraf precipitously issued a PoE with the resulting suspension of the Constitution and mass arrests of public figures, opposition leaders and human rights activists.

Analysis of cognitive circumstances:

In his speech, Musharraf reinforces the ideologies which were prevalent in his regime e.g., nationalism, extremism and enlightened moderation. Moreover, he

also discusses serious economic issues such as poverty and unemployment about which the nation was very much concerned. In his speech, Musharraf arouses the spirit of nationalism by repeating his favourite slogan “*sabse Pehle Pakistan*” (Pakistan first) several times as he believed that Pakistan should be our priority above “*zaati mafaad*” (personal gain) and “*zaati*” (personal) consideration (Para 2). The slogan “*sabse Pehle Pakistan*” was so popular at that time that the Urdu edition of Musharraf’s book was titled after it (2006).

Moreover, Paracha (2014) says that during his reign, Musharraf became a leading ally of the US in its “war against terror” after the 9/11 tragedy in 2001 (Musharraf fumbles...then falls, para 3) and always tried to instill hatred for extremism among Pakistanis. Musharraf reinforces his concern about extremists in this speech saying extremism and terrorism are at their peak (Para 3) and extremists and fundamentalists are moving around the country without any fear or interruption (Para 4).

Musharraf, considered to be a “liberal, moderate and ‘enlightened’ Muslim Pakistani” (Zaidi, 2008, p. 6), laid great emphasis on “moderate enlightenment” (Siddiqui, 2009, Ideology and education, para 7). He criticizes extremists for trying to spread “their own religious ideas, their fasooda” (orthodox) “view of Islam”, on moderate people (Para 4).

Keeping in view people’s concerns about economic issues, poverty and unemployment, he says that “*qaum tarraqi chahti hai; qaum aagey barhna chahti hai*” (the nation wants progress; the nation wants to move forward) as they have concerns about inflation, “*ghurbaat*” (poverty) and “*berozgari*” (unemployment) (Para 27) promising that “*mil kar iska muqabala karain ge aur Pakistan ko Insha’ Allah Ta’ala aagey le kar jaein ge*” (we shall combat it together and will take Pakistan forward, God Willing) (Para 27).

Identification and analysis of features:

The analysis of the speech reveals that Musharraf carefully employs words to win goodwill of the Pakistani nation and tries to soften the blow of the PoE. He starts his speech by addressing the people on a nationalistic note i.e., “*Mere azeez Pakistani behno aur bhaaiyo*” (My dear Pakistani Brothers and sisters), emphasizing a family-like identity.

He then starts the address by drawing a frightening picture of the conditions in Pakistan by saying that the country has reached a “*bohat khatarnaak morr*” (a very dangerous point) (Para 1) which is related with “*androoni bohran*” and “*androoni khalifishaar*” (internal crisis and turmoil) (Para 1).

In such circumstances, he says, there comes a time in the history of nations when they have to make “*ahem aur takleef deh*” (important and painful) decisions (Para 1). Here, he is trying to sound as if his decision is the nation’s decision and thus,

in his right, he is preparing them for the change. Pakistan, according to him, is also passing through such a time when a difficult decision has to be taken, and “mujhe shak hai ke yeh barwaqt action is waqt agar nahi liya gaya tau Khuda nakhwasta Pakistan ki saalimiyat ko khatra hai” (I think if this decision is not taken in time, God forbid, Pakistan’s security is at risk) (Para1). In this way, he is trying to prepare ground for his proposed action through the use of prediction, implying as if declaring emergency is the only solution and that the circumstances have necessitated it. He continues by saying that the decision he has made and the action he is going to take is on the basis of his ideology of “Sab se pehle Pakistan” (Pakistan First) (Para 2), a slogan introduced by him that became a catchphrase, and he adds that it would remain his guiding principle. He repeats the slogan saying “Pakistan first” above “zaati mafaad and zaati consideration”. Here he makes use of parallelism⁸.

Displaying subjectivism⁹, he points out, “kuch aapse baat karna chahun ga bohat frankly” (I would like to talk to you of something frankly) that “dehshat gardi aur inteha pasandi, meri nazar mein inteha pe pohanchi hui hai” (terrorism and fundamentalism have reached their peak in my view) (Para 3) using metonym, pointing towards the increasing number of suicide attacks in different cities. He then repeats the point referring to the social actors responsible for the act by saying that “inteha pasand” (terrorists) are roaming around the country fearlessly and uninterruptedly (Para 4).

Then he emphasizes that the terrorists are not afraid of law enforcement agencies rather, they are very confident (Para 4). “In fact, there is hardly any fear of the law enforcing agencies left” (Para 4) (Musharraff 2007). He goes on to say that it is sad that extremism has spread even in Islamabad “the heart of Pakistan, the capital of Pakistan” making use of repetition and metaphor. (Para 4) “These extremists,” he points out using epanalepsis¹⁰, are trying to establish and run a “government within a government” (Para 4), repeating twice (once in Urdu) and thus emphasizing their intentions.

In his view, these terrorists are throwing a “direct challenge” at the saalimiyat (solidarity) of Pakistan by trying to “foist their own religious ideas, their “farsooda khiyal” (backward view) of Islam, on moderate people” (Para 4). By using the words “challenge” and the “saalimiyat” (security) of Pakistan, he implies as if a war like situation has arisen which needs to be dealt with on a war footing.

He starts the next point by a rhetorical question¹¹ or erotema i.e., “Hukoomati nizam kaisa chal raha hai?” (How is the system of government functioning?) Answering it himself, using his point of view, he says, it stands “maflooj” (paralysed) today, using personification (Para 5). Referring to the legal cases going on against the senior officials of the government, he says, “Tamam senior uhdedaar hukoomat key, wo courts ke chakkar laga rahay hain, khas taur pe supreme court ke” (all senior government officials are paying visits to the courts,

especially the Supreme Court). He also adds that they are also being punished and insulted (Para 5). He continues by saying that around 100 suo moto cases are being processed in the Supreme Court and he has been told thousands of applications are waiting to be taken up. And all these suo moto cases are concerned with the executives, the government departments. Therefore, the system of governance “maflooj khara hua hai” (stands paralysed) (Para 5), using personification again, thus justifying his declaration of emergency and, most probably, previously issued National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO), too. Promulgated on October 5, 2007, the NRO aimed to create a positive political atmosphere and root out the politics of vendetta and victimization in the country by rescinding the corruption charges from public officials (Ghias 2010, p. 1012). The NRO encountered severe criticism by the public because it provided “blanket immunity for past corrupt actions” committed from 1986 to 1999 and protected several public officials and members of the government from prosecution (Chêne, 2008, p. 1). In this part of the speech, instead of emphasizing the supremacy of law and the courts, Musharraf is implying as if the senior officials are above law and that it is the court's fault if they are being unable to carry out their official responsibilities properly. Calling the law enforcement agencies ‘demoralized’ (para 6), he maximizes the demoralizing impact of legal cases run by courts on the officials resulting in paralyzed or paralyzing institutions.

Therefore, this “demoralized force” is feeling reluctant to take action with their low morale (Para 6). In a way, throughout the above part of the speech, he implies that the judiciary is to be blamed for demoralizing these two systems by putting their senior officials to task. Examining the democratic system, he says hurdles are being imposed in the path to a “three-stage transition” (Para 7). He reminds that he planned this transition in 1999 when, according to him, the country was in a “failed, defaulted state” and no government was able to complete its tenure and “jamhooriyat naam ki thi” (democracy was but nominal) (Para 7). In a way, he is making the audience believe as if his non democratic act would lead the nation to democracy. Till this part of the speech, the speaker has been using logos in his argument and drawing upon reasoning to support his act of declaring emergency.

Afterwards, he reverts to ethos to make the audience believe what he has to say. He starts by introducing his three stages of the transition starting from stage 1, from 1999 to 2002 when he had “total control” and stage 2, from 2002 to 2007, when democracy was running with an “elected government”, senate, national assembly and provincial assemblies functioning and Musharraf only “overseeing” as “President and the Chief of Army staff” (Para 8). Here, he tries to make people believe as if his taking over, called dictatorship by many, was a step towards paving a way to democracy though this logic of his is quite ironical, rather paradoxical¹³ and it is manipulative as well. He then passes a subjective judgment that both these stages have been completed successfully with a record of the assemblies completing their tenure for the first time.

His speech displays many instances of overlapping, repetition¹⁴ and sound bite¹⁵ typical of him. He uses all these to relate it to “political reconciliation,” a “fulldemocracy” which he calls “the third Stage” (Para 9). Then, he maintains that the transition has been introduced purposely for progression but “rukaawatein daali jaa rahi hain” (hurdles are being created). Here, he makes use of repetition and passive¹⁶ voice and does not point to the social actors explicitly when talking of political and personal gains (Para 9 and 10).

Then he uses presupposition¹⁷ and prediction to reinforce his argument by saying that economic system “aik down turn neechy ki taraf Khuda na khwasta chal raha hai, indications hain lekin abhi tak chala nahi hai, agar hum rok sakay isay tau wohi kaarwai chahiye” (the system is moving downwards, God forbid, and to stop this downturn, we need to take action) (Para 10) thereby trying to convince the public of the necessity of his remaining in power and declaring emergency.

Afterwards, he enumerates the development projects e.g., “sarkain (roads), bandargah (seaport), airport, railways, telecommunication, mobile telephone, landlines, gaauoon mein dehi elaqey mein telephones (telephones in villages and countryside), information technology, building and construction, and taameerati nizam” (construction system) (Para 11) having been carried out during the last seven years as his achievements. Here he is taking the whole credit for them though some of these cannot be considered as this government’s special achievement. Then using litotes¹⁸, he says, “Khuda na khwasta ye saat saal ki mehnat pe kahin paani na phir jaaye” (God forbid, lest this 7 year of hard work should go waste) (Para 11).

He makes use of paraphrasing¹⁹ in saying that the situation is going from “bad se badtar” (bad to worse) and “Pakistan tezi se aik negative side pe chal ra hai” (Pakistan is swiftly moving towards a negative side) (Para12). According to him, media, too, has enhanced this atmosphere of uncertainty through propagating “down slide,” “negativism,” negative thinking and negative projection. Here, he makes use of parallelism saying that he has often told them “ke negativism ko rokain, positivism ki taraf jaein” (to stop negativism and move towards positivism) (Para 13).

Using imagery from the domain of construction and architecture, he justifies his reference against the Chief Justice by reasoning that “it is “judicial activism” and interference of “adliya” (judiciary), which is a pillar of the state with the other two pillars, the “qanoon saaz idaray” (the law-making institutions) and the “executive pillar”. According to him, this activism has caused the government system to be paralysed (personification) in all aspects, all spheres (Para14). He further tries to declare that his personal interests were not involved in it by saying that “ye aik bilkul aa’inee aur qanooni taqaazon ke ain mutabiq tha” (this is very much in accordance with the legal and constitutional requirements). The situation got very “sangeen” (serious) (Para 14) because there were serious allegations, but “the situation that developed later got worse as there was breakdown of law and

order, and some political elements entered it, that further deteriorated the situation. He maintains his stance of opposing the Chief Justice using pathos and appealing to the nationalism of the audience by saying “agar koi law enforcement agency ke kisi fard se koi ghalti hui, iska ye matlab nai ha ke uske nateeje mein poorey mulk ko destabilize karna shru kiya jaey” (if someone from the law enforcement agency made a mistake, it doesn't mean that the whole country should be destabilized) (Para 14). Here he wants to make the audience believe that their movement to restore the judiciary was against the stability of the country.

Pointing to the Lal Masjid incident, he says it was also an attempt to create “hakoomat ke andar hakoomat” (government within the government) by the extremists in the capital city of Pakistan, “the heart of Pakistan” again using ethos (Para15). According to him, “hamara image mutassir hua, hamara rutba hamari standing mutassir hui” (our image was affected, our position and standing was affected) due to this incident (Para 15) which is a use of pathos and national brotherhood expressed through parallel structures and the repeated use of the pronoun “humara/humari” (our). Then he gives a list of examples of what the extremists have been doing e.g., martyring police personnel, setting shops on fire and abducting the Chinese, etc. concluding with the incident of their damaging the environment industry (Para 15). He further adds, the action was taken “as a last resort” (Para15) He mentions his apprehensions that if not killed, these terrorists could have created more destruction.

Talking of the presidential elections, he says, “Chief Election Commissioner ne nomination papers examine kiye (Para 18), but kuch references aa gaye khaas taur pe mere khilaaf” (The Chief Election Commissioner examined the papers, but some references were files especially against me). Here, he makes use of passive voice to avoid explicitly mentioning the social actors responsible for it. Making use of climax and metonym together, he says, “pehley 7member ka bench bana; phir wo utha kar usko kuch time baad 9-member ka bench bana diya; phir uskey baad usko 11 member ka bench bana diya” (Initially, a 7-member bench was formed; then it was turned to a 9 member bench after a while; then it was changed into an 11 member bench) (Para 18). The case was thus being prolonged, no decision was being taken and there was a situation of uncertainty implying as if his person is essential for assuring certainty. Climax and metonym are carried forward again after telling that despite his getting 57% votes, the case and hence uncertainty is lingering (Para 18). Then he refers to the situation that the Prime Minister wrote to him that the government's functioning in such circumstances was very difficult. Here, he is justifying the need for his taking control through declaring emergency.

He reinforces his stance by declaring “ye mulk, merey dil mein basta ha. Merey khoon mein basta hai aur merey rooh mein basta ha. Isko neechy jaatey huway mein dekh nahi sakta hoon” (This country dwells in my heart, in my blood and in my soul. I can't see it going downwards) (Para 20). He adds that he knows what to do by saying he has reviewed the entire situation and in the three pillars of

state: judiciary, executive and legislative – all need to work in harmony (Para 20) so that “achi governance kar sakain” (we can have good governance) (stock phrase²⁰) and can combat extremism and terrorism. Using the metaphor of railway, he says “yahi tareeqa hai ke government ko utri hui patri se wapis patri pe chla diya jaye beshtar iskey ke bilkul he hums lodhak na jaein” (This is the only way to put the government back on track before we make a mess of the affairs) (Para20). He then strengthens his stance and justifies his decision by saying “is soorat-e-haal ka jai’eza le kar mein ne, tamam fauji, hukoomati, siyaasi aur private auhdedaar, doston, beron-e-mulk Pakistani un tamam se discussion ke baad unke views le kar mein ne kuch faisla kiya hai” (reviewing this whole state of affairs, I have made some decision after a discussion with all military, governmental, political and private officails, frineds, and Pakistanis living abroad.” (Para21).

Ironically, he relates his declaring PoE to the third stage he had planned to pave the way to democracy, “ye faisla bunyaadi taur pe jamhooriyaati amal ka teesra marhala jis key baary mein main ne zikar kiya tha usko poora karna hai” (This decision is basically meant to accomplish the third stage of the democratic process I had mentioned earlier) (Para21). Further he says that there will be no change in the government, Prime Minister, Governors, Chief Ministers, and all will continue to function as they are working now (Para22). The statement sounds paradoxical since he, a military chief, is trying to remain in control as president through the declaration of emergency and is declaring this as a step towards paving the way to democracy.

Near the end of his speech, he switches to English language to “speak to the world in general, but particularly to our friends in the West, United States, European Union and the Commonwealth” (Para23). With this, a remarkable change of tone can be noticed with submissive expressions like “kindly,” (Para 24), “request to bear with us” (Para 24) and “please give us time” (Para 25) indicating the speaker is justifying his stance to a greater power group and also, attempting to get their approval for his act.

He invokes them to comprehend the gravity of the situation “inside Pakistan and around Pakistan” using epistrophe (Para24). He reinforces the urgency of the need of emergency using hyperbole in saying, “Pakistan is on the verge of destabilization” (Para24). He uses pathos in mentioning that “the saddest part of everything that saddens” him the most is “Pakistan’s upsurge taking a downward trend,” using contrast and thus highlighting or maximizing the gravity of the situation.

Using personification from the world associated to terrorism, he says “inaction” at the moment is “suicide for Pakistan.” Repeating the metaphor, he maintains, he “cannot allow this country to commit suicide” (Para 24). According to him, not taking action would result in an unknown “chaos and confusion,” (Para 24). Here, he uses alliteration to enhance the gravity of the situation.

He then addresses the idealists and critics against this view “requesting” them to “Please give us time and please do not expect or demand your level of democracy which you learned over a number of centuries” (Para 25) justifying the so-called democracy he is claiming would prevail in an emergency state and the crippled state of human and civil rights that the people were to experience in that emergency.

Addressing the people in the US, he refers to “Abraham Lincoln’s stance” (Para 25) in trying to “preserve the union” drawing a parallel with his stance of preserving democracy. He says, Abraham Lincoln “broke laws, he violated the Constitution; he usurped arbitrary power; he trampled individual liberties to preserve the Union during the time of supreme crisis” as “his jurisdiction was necessity” (Para 25). He is giving the same justification for declaring emergency. With this “example” from their history, Musharraf seeks to achieve a greater appeal to the American audience.

Making use of intertextuality²¹, he then quotes from a letter by Abraham Lincoln (Para 26) an analogy²² between the constitution and limb on the one hand and the nation and life on the other hand. In the form of a long-drawn metaphor, Musharraf makes the point that “life and limb” (alliteration and a stock phrase) “must be protected” but “a life is never wisely to be given to save a limb” (Para 26). He implies that the constitution can be sacrificed or violated to save the nation or democracy.

Drawing conclusion from this logic, the speaker maintains, “I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful, by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the constitution through the preservation of the nation” (Para 26). This statement is seemingly paradoxical but he emphasizes nationalism so that the public might have no objection to the violation of the constitution and so the Americans consider it as a lesson learned from them, a point that he emphasizes soon by saying, “We are also learning democracy” (Para 26). Towards the end of the English portion of his speech, he reiterates and repeats his nationalistic slogan “Pakistan comes first” (Para 26) and ends this portion by saying, “I am doing it with full conviction and my full heart and soul and mind in it,” (Para 26) proclaiming a sincerity of purpose.

In the end, he again addresses the people of Pakistan saying, “merey azeed bhaiyo aur behno, mujhe umeed ha ke aap sab is soorat-e-haal ki sangeen kaifiyaat ko samjhein ge” (My dear brothers and sisters, I am sure that you will understand the seriousness of the situation) (Para 27). Using pathos and anaphora²³ to tell what the public want, he says: “qaum tarraqi chahti hai; qaum aagey barhna chahti hai” (The nation wants progress, it wants to move forward). He says that the people are concerned about the prices of everyday commodities, unemployment and poverty and then establishes oneness of identity with the public saying, “iss se awaam tang pari huwi hai” (The public is sick of it) (Para

27) and “mein tamam apne bhaiyo aur behno ko kehna chahta hun, mil kar iska muqabala karain ge” (and I want to mention to all my brothers and sisters that we will fight against this together) (Para 27).

Interpretation and Explanation:

The persuasive elements of the speech can be examined by analysing President Musharraf’s declaration of emergency as an act in a play. This speech of his can be appropriately called an epilogue following the structure and sequence of an epilogue as suggested by Aristotle (2004) in his ‘Rhetoric.’

The epilogue has four parts. “You must (1) make the audience well-disposed towards yourself and ill-disposed towards your opponent (2) magnify or minimize the leading facts, (3) excite the required state of emotion in your hearers, and (4) refresh their memories.”

Musharraf achieves (1) above by arousing the nationalistic interests of the audience and identifying himself with them and justifying his decision on grounds of necessity to protect the solidarity of the country and trying to prove his opponents as a danger to this solidarity. Number (2) is achieved by enhancing his argument about the demoralization of all the leading institutions and their inability to take any decisions or actions to handle the situation and exaggerating the gravity of the situation. Number (3) is evident where he excites their nationalism and asks them rhetorical questions and remarks repeatedly that this state of affairs saddens him and for him, Pakistan comes first and lives in his heart and soul to assure that he cannot see it going downwards and tries to make them believe that his steps would lead the country to democracy. Musharraf achieves Number (4) by referring to his three stage transition again and referring to Abraham Lincoln’s breaking the constitution to save the nation on grounds of necessity, thus refreshing their memories, helping them to recall the grounds of necessity he has prepared in the beginning of this speech. He also repeats the railway line metaphor of taking the country back onto the line together which he started by saying in the beginning of his speech is on the verge of getting down the line.

CONCLUSION:

The critical analysis of the former President, Pervaiz Musharraf’s speech by applying Charteris-Black’s three-stage model reveals that the president proclaimed emergency apparently on the pretence of eradicating “judicial activism” but in reality, it stemmed out of his fear of being declared ineligible for the presidential elections as the emergency was declared a few days before the pronouncement of the court decision. In his speech, Musharraf repeats and emphasizes the ideologies which were prevalent during his reign e.g., extremism, nationalism and enlightened moderation. He prepares ground for POE by invoking the spirit of nationalism for trying to make people believe that it was a necessary step for the solidarity of Pakistan.

He also employs rhetorical devices excessively to exaggerate or play down important facts e.g., he uses the metaphor of “life and limb” to justify the sacrifice of the constitution to save the country and the metaphors from railway to portray the country’s upward and downward turns. The president identifies with the public time and again and assures that together, they will bring an end to unemployment, poverty and terrorism because they want progress and prosperity.

Notes

bold overstatement or the extravagant exaggeration of fact or of possibility

a figure of speech in which the name of an attribute of an entity is used in place of the entity itself

a comparison made to point out striking differences

the repetition of a speech sound (usually consonant) in a sequence of nearby words. The term is applied when a recurrent sound begins a word or a stressed syllable.

A rhetorical device in which the same expression (single word or phrase) is repeated at the end of two or more clauses, or sentences

The simultaneous presentation of two conflicting images or ideas, designed to make a point of the contrast

The duplication, exact or approximate, of any element of language, such as a sound, word, phrase, clause, sentence, or grammatical pattern

the placement of equal ideas in words, phrases, clauses, or sentences of similar types e. g., I came, I saw, I conquered. It can be achieved by using two or more words of the same part of speech, two or more phrases of the same type, two or more clauses of the same type, or two or more sentences with the same pattern

This theory says that all knowledge is limited to the experiences of the self and that transcendent knowledge is impossible.

the repetition of the beginning word of a clause or sentence at the end

a sentence in the grammatical form of a question which is not asked in order to request information or to invite a reply, but to achieve a greater expressive force than a direct assertion

a figure consisting of a series of related ideas so arranged that each surpasses the preceding in force or intensity

a statement that appears to be absurd but which actually may bear truth

if two subjects, ideas etc., overlap, they include some but not all of the same things

a very short part of a speech or statement, especially one made by a politician, which is broadcast on a radio or television news programme

a verb construction marked by be+ past participle and generally used to give less prominence to the agent of the clause

statement making an assumption for future

a type of understatement which makes the assertion of an affirmative by negating its contrary

restating an idea in different words that retain the meaning, tone and general length of the original

a phrase that people often say or use, especially when they cannot think of anything more interesting or original – used to show disapproval

a term used to signify the multiple ways in which any one literary text is made up of other texts

a comparison of two different things which are similar in some way

the recurrence of a word or phrase at the start of successive phrases, clauses or sentences

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Appendix Transcript of President Musharraf's Speech after PoE

Para 1

Mere azeez Pakistani behno aur bhaaiyo!
Asalam o aliekum.

Aaj jo mein aap logo se khitaab kar raha hun. Is waqt Pakistan aik bohat khatarnaak mor pe pohanch chukka hai. Androoni bohran ka shikaar hai, ye tamaam jo kuch bhi ho rha ha, iska androoni khalifishaat se taaluq hai. Is waqt bohat ahem, aur baaz waqt qoomon ki tareekh mein takleef deh faislon ka waqt aata ha. Pakistan ke liye bhi aisa he waqt hai ke kuch ahem aur takleef deh faisley lene parain ge. Aur agar mujhe shak hai keh yeh barwaqt action is waqt agar nahi liya gaya tau Khuda nakhwasta Pakistan ki saalimiyat ko khatra hai.

Para 2

Aur kuch qabl eske mein kuch aur boloon, mein sirf aik waada qaoum se karna chahta hun ke jo kuch bhi mein karun ga, jo kuch bhi faisal mein ne liya hai wo se pehle Pakistan ki bunyaad pe liya hai aur yahi mera aik guiding principle rahey ga. "Sab se pehle Pakistan". Zaati mafaad, zaati consideration se baalaatar ho kar Pakistan first, aur yahi mujhe umeed hai ke tamam qaoum isi lines pe soche gi.

Para 3

Mere bhaiyoo aur behno!

Peechley mahino mein Pakistan mein bohat tezi se soorat-e-hal badalti rahi hai. Iske barey mein kuch aapse baat karna chahun ga bohat frankly. Pehli cheez jo mein hamesha kehta raha hun dehshat gardi aur inteza pasandi, meri nazar mein inteza pe pohanchi hui hai. Is waqt khud kash hamley pooray Pakistan mein ho rahay hain. Karachi mein jo hua us ke baad Rawalpindi mein, Sargodha mein, pooray Pakistan mein inki shiddat barh gai hai.

Para 4

Extremist, inteza pasand, seena zori se dandanaatey huay pooray mulk mein ghoom rahay hain, balkey law enforcement agencies se darr hi nahi rahay hain, bohat confident hain. Frontier province mein, tau sab kuch ho he raha tha, aur us se hum nimat rahay they, us sa kuch phelaa settled areas mein bhi aaya. Aapko pata he hai, Swat mein kya ho raha hai aur southern districts mein bhi soorat-e-hal se nimatna pary ga lekin afsos ki baat ye hai ke ye Islamabad yani the heart of Pakistan, the capital of Pakistan, is mein bhi inteza pasandi phail gai hai aur logon ko bohat tashweesh hai. Ye inteza pasand, writ of government ko apney haath mein le rahey hain. Government within a government, hukoomat ke andar aik apni hukoomat chalaana chaa rahey hain. Aur sab se buri baat ye hai ke aik apne inteza pasand, farsooda, religious ideas, Islam ke baaray mein aik farsooda khayaal, aietedaal pasand logon ke ooper mussallat, zabardasti thoonsna chah rahay hain. Aur meri nazar mein ye Pakistan ki saalimiyat pe aik direct challenge phaink rahey hain. Ye bohat he sangeen soorat-e-hal hai dehshatgardi aur intezipasandi ki.

Para 5

Ab aaiey aur agae chalthey hain. Hukoomati nizam kaisa chal raha hai? Meri nazar mein ek semi-paralysis yaani maflooj hua khara huwa hai. Tamam senior uhdedaar hukoomat key, wo courts ke chakkar laga rahay hain, khas taur pe supreme court key. Unko sazaain di ja rahi hain. Unki be'izaati ki jaa rahi hai courts ke andar. Lehaaza wo koi faisala nahi dena chah rahey hain. Taqreeban aik sau, suomoto cases chal rahay hain supreme court mein aur mujhe bataya jaa raha hai key hazaraon applications aai wi hain. Aur ye tamam suo moto cases, government ke idaaaron key yaani executives se concerned hain. Tau lehaaza aik hukoomati nizaam is waqt maflooj hua wa hai.

Para 6

Law enforcement agencies ko dekhty hain, meri nazar mein demoralized hain. Khaas taur pe Islamabad mein na-umeedi ka shikaar hain, himmat haar chukey hain. Kyun? Kyun ke unkey officers ko sazaeen di jaa rahi hain, wohi supreme courts ke chakkar, courts ke chakkar lagaye jaa rahey hain. Unn mein se das

officers ko jin mein se do IG bhi hain, unko suspend kiya ya convict ho gaye hain wo. Tau lehaaza aik demoralized force, morale neechay, action lene se ghabra rahay hain. Kuch nahi karna chahtey, hath pe hath rakh ke bethna chahtey hain.

Para 7

Us ke ilaawa, jamhoriyaati nizaam ko dekhen, jamhoriyaat key amal ko dekhain, us mein rukawatein daali ja rahi hain. 1999 mein jab hamari hukoomat aai, tau mein ne us waqt aik hikmat-e-amali banai thi. Key aik three stage transition ki jaey, mulk ko le kar jayaa jaey jamhoriyat ki taraf. Kyunke ninety-nine mein tau aik failed defaulted state they, jamhooriyat ka nizam toota phoota tha, koi hukoomat apna tenure poora nahi kar rahi thi, jamhooriyat naam ka tha, tau lehaaza stage one mein jo 1999 se 2002 mein meri nazar mein us hikmat-e-amali ke tehat hum ne kiya, us mein mera aik total control raha mein ne hukoomat chalaai.

Para 8

Stage two phir aaya, doosra marhaala, jo 2002 se 2007 tak chala. Ye aik democratic system, governments, poori elected governments, senate, national assemblies, provincial assemblies, local government, ye aik elected government ka jamhoori nizaam jis mein main ne overseeing ki. Nigran..nigraani ki zuroor lekin hukoomat apni taraf se chal rahi thi. Mein president aur chief of army staff raha. Tau ye doosra marhaala hum ne guzaara, khush asloobi se guzaara, kuch problem rahi hain, lekin aik record qaim kiya ke pehli dafa senate, national assemblies, local governments, provincial assemblies ne apna poora poori muda'at apni muda'at poori ki.

Para 9

Ab hum akhri marhaly pe aa gaye hain, isi transition ke, teesra marhala, yaani mery mujhe umeed thi ke 2007 jabke assemblies 15 november ko apna tenure poora kar rahi hain, muda'at poori kar rahi hain, us mein aik khush asloobi se, presidential elections ho jaein, jo bhi candidates hain president ke liye aur phir general elections hon, aur aik elected government jo bhi jeet'ta hai, aik political reconciliation ke taur pe aik aagey naya daur, full democracy ka daur aagey chaly Pakistan mein, mujhe umeed thi iski. Jaisey mein ne kaha, ye pehli dafa Pakistan mein ye transition, aik daanista taur pe, aik hikmat-e-amali ke mutabiq ye transition hum ne agay Pakistan mein introduce ki aur aagey lejaana chah rahey they, lekin meri nazar mein baray afsoos se mujhe kehna chahta hai ke kuch anaasir is Pakistan ke nuqsan mein ye aik kha makha mein khalfishaar machayaa jaa raha hai aur rukaawatein daali jaa rahi hain.

Para 10

In tamam jo mein ne bataya hai ye terrorism, extremism, hukoomati nizaam, paralysis, demoralized law enforcement agencies jamhooriyat ke nizaam mein dakhla andaazi rukaawatein iski waja se sabse afsos se mujhe kehna par raha hai ke muaashi upsult muasshi halat jo hamari Pakistan ki ooper ki taraf ja rahi thi, khushaali ki taraf hum jaa rahy they, mein bohat afsos se mujhe, dil se dekh raha hun mein ke us mein rukawaat aa gai hai aur wo aik down turn neechy ki taraf Khuda na khwasta chal raha hai, indications hain lekin abhi tak chala nahi hai, agar hum rok sakay isay tau wohi kaarwai chahiye.

Para 11

Tamam investors, mein dekh raha hun ke investors aur jitna bhi sarmaaya itna ziyaada idhar aa raha tha Pakistan mein, unhon nein hath rok liya hai. Woh ruk rahey, dekh rahey hain kiya ho raha hai Pakistan mein, kiya Pakistan aik stable tareeqy se agay jaey ga taa key hum sarmaay yahan lagain ya rok lein aur kahi aur jaane lagain. Tamam economy hamari, maeshaat, hamari awaam ki muaashi halat, jo peechle saat saalon mein hum ne dekhi hai, improvement, maeshat mein, muaashi halat mein, infrastructure development, sarkain, bandargah, airport, railways, telecommunication, mobile telephone, landlines, gaauoon mein dehi elaqey mein telephones, information technology, building and construction, taameerati nizam, poorey Pakistan mein aik gehma gehmi hai. Buildingein ban rahi hain, sarkain ban rahi hain, flyovers ban rahaey hain. Phir industry, hazaaraon sana'atein lag rahi hain, aab paashi ka nizaam, dams banaain hain, canals ban re hain, paani ki brick lining ho rahi hai, water courses ki khaalon ki.

phir aik social sector taaleem aur sehat ke lehaaz se primary or secondary level ki sehat aur har level ke taaleemi idaary, inkey ooper jo aik aagey barhta hua Pakistan tha, in tamam shoobon mein, ubharta huwa, behtri ki taraf jaat huwa mujhe bohat afsos ho ra hai ke ye Khuda na khwasta ye saat saal ki mehnat pe kahin paani na phir jaaye. Aur is baat ka mujhe sakht afsos hai aur merey khyaal mein main involve raha hun is taraqiyaati mansoobon mein, main isko neechay jaatey huwey dekh nahi sakta hun.

Para 12

Tau majmooi taur pe in tamam wajoohat se ki bina pe, qoum poori qoum, aik mayoosi, ghair yaqeeni ka shikaar hui wi ha. Mujhe telephone aa rahey hain har taraf se, mery jan'ney waly apne private, bahar se beroon-e-pakistan, androon-e-pakistan pooch re hain kiya ho ra hai. Mujhe baaz waqt tanney bhi de rahain ke aap kar kiya raheh hain. Mujhe keh rahein ke aap tau bary decision maker they, ab aapko kiya ho gaya hai, ab decision kyon ni le saktey hain. Mein is sab taanon ko khamoshi se sunta ra hun... khamoshi se sunta ra hun, ghair yaqeeni dekhta ra

hun ke ho kiya ra Pakistan ke liye, Pakistan mein. Mujhe umeed thi ke adliyaa aur hakoomati idaary in sab soorat-e-hal se nimat lein ge. Is umeed se mein khaamoshi se betha raha aur dekhta raha key shayad woh is situation se deal kar lein aur soorat-e-hal ko behtar kar lein, lekin meri nazar mein ye nai huwa. Ye nai ho saka. Aur soorat-e-hal bad se badtar chali ja ri ha aur Pakistan tezi se aik negative side pe chal raha hai.

Para 13

Aur agar mein ye bhi kehna chahun ga mein media pe betha hun, television pe betha hun, mein ye kehna chahun ga, media ne bhi, kuch han mein ye kahun ga kuch channels ne aur un channels ke kuch programs mein is down slide, is negativism manfi soch, manfi projection ko rokney mein koi mad'ad nai di balkey isko is ghair yaqeeni ki fizaa mein kuch izaafa he unhon ne kiya. Ye bhi mujhe bohat afsoos, mujhe is liye afsoos ha ke ye wohi media ha jo Pakistan mein ninety-nine mein sirf PTV tha. Aur koi independence nahi thi, ye wohi media hai jis ko mein ne independence di ha aur hamari hukoomat ne independence di ha. Kyun ke mujhe yaqeen tha independent hi hona chahiye media ko, yahi raasta ha aagey jaany ka civilized societies ka. Iss liye mujhe afsoos hota ha aur mein ne kai dafa kaha hai ke negativism ko rokain, positivism ki taraf jaein.

Para 14

Iska matlab ye nai ha ke media... media ko independent bilkul hona chahiye, lekin responsibility, is qaum ke liye responsibility, us pe mujhe mein afsaus se kehna chahta... kehna chaahun ga ke ismein mujhe kuch channels pe jaisa mein ne pehly kaha, theek nahi soorat-e-haal nazar aai. Mein poochna chahoon ga poori qaum se, ye kyun ha? Ye soorat-e-haal kyun. Why? meri nazar mein ye judicial activism aur adliya ka jo aik pillar of state hai, doosrey dau pillars yaani legislative, qaanoon saaz idareey, aur executive pillars, hukoomat key nizaam jo ha us ke sath clash, us mein dakhla, ye iski waja se, ye dono idaary, qaanoon saaz idaarey bhi takleef mein unki writ challenge ho rahi ha. Qaanoon unhon ne banana ha lekin wo challenge ho re hain aur hakoomati nizaam maflooj hua hua ha har lehaaz se har shaubey mein, basic tau ye baat hai. Ye meri nazar mein 9 March isi saal, us waqt se ye silsila shuru huwa ha jabkey aik reference Prime Minister ki recommendation pe mein chief justice ke khilaaf supreme judicial council ko bheja. Ye aik bilkul aa'inee aur qaanooni taqaazon ke aein muq...mutabiq tha. Ye koi is mein mera personal zaat nai involved tha. Bohat sangeen is mein main ne dekha ke ilzaamat they uski waja se main ne bilkil aa'inee aik qadam uthaaya aur kuch mein ne nai kiya. However, isko chor detey hain lekin uski soorat-e-haal us se... uskey baad jo hui wo bohat bigri, law and order ka breakdown afsaus naak had tak aur is mein kuch siyaasi anaasir kuch ghus gaye tau soorat-e-haal aur ziyaada khraab hui. Mein iski detail mein nahi jaana chahta hun, sirf ye kehna chahta hunk e agar koi law enforcement agency ke

kisi fard se koi ghalti hui, iska ye matlab nai ha ke uske nateeje mein poorey mulk ko destabilize karna shru kiya jaey. Aur doosri cheez ye ha ke, ye reference ki ko... jaisa mein ne kaha aik sangeen shikayaat thein ki waja se ye huwa, isko supreme judicial council mein bheija gaya, jo kuch bhi huwa iski judgement jo ha wo nikli, ye judgment chahey mein us se agree karun ya na karun kyun ke meri nazar is mein us reference jo sangeen tha jo shikayaat thien usko tau examine he nahi kiya gaya aur faisla de diya gaya. Us faisley ko mein ne poori khush asloobi se, khush... achi niyaat se qabool kiya us faisley ko. Kyun ke supreme court ka faisla ha usko qabool kar liya. Naik niyyati se qabzoo.... Qabool kiya aur aik mafahimat ho reconciliation ho, larai jhagra band ho, Pakistan ke haq mein zaat se oopar hat ke idaron ki stability, uski taraf se kaam kiya jaye, uskay liye aur Pakistan ke haq mein kaam kiya jaey. Badqismati se silsilaa hal nai huwa. Halaankey poori koshish ki, poori cooperation dikhai, naik niyaati se lekin silsila hal nahi huwa. Ye tau tha reference aur judicial issue, qaanooni issue.

Para 15

Doosra phir Islamabad mein hum ne dekha ke aik Lal Masjid ka saniha hamary saamney aaya utha, jahan inteha pasando ne qaanoon ko apne hath mein liya. Ye Paki.... Heart of Pakistan, capital city of Islamabad mein huwa aur iski embarrassment mulk ko, bairon-e-mulk poori dunya mein itni ziyaada hui ha ke mein he jaanta hun kitni hamari be'izzati hui hai poori dunya mein ke hum aik itni bari taqat ho kar apni capital ko control mein nai hai hamary. Iskey ander he logon ne hakoomat ke andar hakoomat bana li ha. Bohat he hamara image mutassir hua, hamara rutba hamari standing mutassir hui. In logo ne kiya kuch nahi kiya, in intehapasando ne. inho ne police ke ehalkaron ko shaheed kiya. Inhon ne police ke logon ko hostage le liye pakar ke zabardasti. Inhon ne dukaane jaa kar jala dein. Inhon ne Chinese jo hamary itne barray dost hain unko logo ko parkar ke yagh...yar ghamaal bana kar unko maraa peeta, jiski waja se phir mujhe bazaat-e-khud embarrassment hui kyunke mujhe un Chinese leaders se apologize apologies karni parein k hum sharam aati ha humain ke aap log hamary itne bade dost hain aur logon ke sath ye hua hai. Aur phir inhon ne environment ministry jo ha udhar ghus ke usko jalaa diya, usko gariyon ko jalaa diya. Kiya karain is soorat-e-hal mein, be'izaati hoti rahi hamari kai maheeney aur log yahi kehtey rahey action nai le re hain lekin action nai le re they kyunke hum jaan bachaana chah rahey they ja'anein lena ni chah rahaey they. Tau lehaaza jab action liya, akhri marh.... Aik akhri harba tha, last resort as a last resort action liya, mein tamam law enforcement agencies ko khairaj-e-tehseen pesh karta hoon doobara k unhon ne aik action liya aur hamain jo ye hamary sath be'izzati aur embarrassment ho rhi thi usko khatam kiya. Un mein bohat se shaheed huway, mein un ke liye maghfirat ki dua'a karta hun, Allah ta'ala un sab jo Jannat naseeb karay. Unhon ne is qaum aur is mulk Pakistan ke liye action kiya koi apny liye nai kiya tha aur apni jaan nazraa, nazraana pesh kiya.

Para 16

Uskey baad badqismati se decision aaya, supreme court ka decision aaya, trial chalti rahi, abb soorat-e-hal ye ha ke un mein se 61 terrorist jo intelligence agencies ne black declare kiya tha yaani bilkul confirmed terrorist, dehshatgard unko rehaa kar diya gaya hai, wo dandanate phir rahy hain, koi pata ni ye Pindi ka bomb blast, Karachi ya Sargodha wala unhon ne hi kiya ho, ye wo abhi at large hain, pata nahi wo agay kiya actions kartey rahain ge aur kitna hamain nuqsaan phelaatey rahain ge.

Para 17

Phir wo maddaris jo inteha pasandi mein involved they, unko kholney ka hokum diya gaya hai, hum madrassaey banana chahtey hain, hukoomat ka plan ha ke model madrassaey banaien aur ye ghareeb tareen bachon ko udar rakhein, unka khood ka, rehne sehne ka bandobast karain aur behtareen standard ke banaein. Ye baat nahi ke koi yahan hukoomat mein madrasson ke khilaaf hai, behtreen jaga mein le kar jaein unhain, achi education dein, achey rehney sehney ka bandobast karain wo aik plan... jamia plan ban raha hai hukoomat bana rahi hai. Tau inko jo, jaisa mein ne kaha jahan inteha pasand bethey huway they unko kholney ka... ke barey mein faisla kiya gaya ha aur aur abb is waqt Lal Masjid mein security ka nizaam bhi kaha gaya ha ke udhar wohi ehalkaar jo pehley they un mein koi log security ka bhi khyaal rakhain. Jab key kisi masjid mein, masjid ko security ki koi zaroorat nahi hoti ha. Aur abb humain pata nahi ha key wo security ke log jo hain wo phir riflaim andar le kar chalna shuroo kar dain aur hum phir waheen aa jaein jahan hum they. Aur isi, abb wohi anaasir, jo pehley hakoomat ko challenge kar rahey they, unhi ke relatives abb bethey we hakoomat ko challenge kar ray hain. Law enforcement agencies jo bhi actions kar rahey hain chahey Swat mein unko bura bhalaa aur jo dehshat gard hain poorey Pakistan mein unke sath yak jehti khule-a-aam Islamabad se dikha re hain. Tau ye doosri soorat-e-haal ka samna ha.

Para 18

Phir ye presidential elections ka daur dauraa aaya abhi recently peechly aik maheena he guzra hai us. Is mein bilkul aik qaanooni, aai'eeni tareeqey se iska procedure adopt hua. Election commission ne schedule diya, iaa'nee lihaz se uskey timeframe mein iskey elections ka schedule aaya, chief election commissioner ne nomination papers examine kiye, sab ke jo bhi candidate they, mere bhi examine huway aur wo accept huway, lekin kuch references aa gaye khaas taur pe mere khilaaf wo supreme court mein consideration ke liye le liye gaye, koi problem ni ha, bilkul theek ha, ye qaanooni farz hai lekin uske baad pehley saat member ka bench bana phir wo utha kar usko kuch time baad nau member ka bench bana diya, phir uskey baad usko gyarra member ka bench bana diya aur case lehaaza latkey chala jaa raha ha aagey chalta chala jarah ha, uska faisla koi ni ho ra aur ghair yaqeeni jo aik political environment mein ha wo chalti chali ja ri ha. Phir elections huway, presidential elections, jidhar mujhe, mein bohat is waqt ye kehna chahta hun mein shukar guzaar hun ke meri assemblies ne mujhe 57% vote... vote de ke mujhe elect kiya, mein unka shukar

guzaar key tamam chaaron provincial assemblies, senate, national assembly se mujhe vote miley aur 57% vote miley. Lekin case phir bhi latka hua ha. Vote mil gaye, unofficial result announce ho gaya, lekin faisla ye ke notification nai kiya jaye ga tau lehaaza case ko agay aur latkaaya huwa hai. Abb wo case chal ra ha, faisla ho ni ra ha, khisakta chala jaa ra ha, abhi aik saab ne keh diya unhon ne beti ki shaadi pe jaana ha tau is liye aur aagay kar diya. Jaisay kay ye qaum jo poori aik na umeedi aik aik ajeeb si kaifiyaat mein ha, uncertainty ki kafiyat mein ha usko latkayaa huwa ha or agay le kar chaltey chaley jaa re hain.

Para 19

Is sangeen soorat-e-haal ka prime minister ne bhi jaa'eza liya, unhon ne is jaa'eza ko mujhe likh kar bhi bhaija ke hukoomat ka chalan is soorat-e-haal mein bada dushwaar huwaa wa ha.

Para 20

Mere bhaiyoo aur behnoo!

Ye ho kya ra ha Pakistan mein? Yahan hamary sath kya ho rha ha? Is mulk ke sath kya ho rha ha? Hum kis simat mein ja raha hain? Kis rukh pe ja rahay hain hum?

Ye mulk, merey dil mein basta ha. Merey khoon mein basta hai aur mery rooh mein basta ha. Isko neechy jaatey huway mein dekh nahi sakta hoon. So there... is liye aik action ka waqt aa gaya ha. Is action ki core kya hai...kya karna ha? Karna kya ha? Mein ne poora jai'eza liya ha. Poori situation ka. Isko rokna is downslide ko isko neechy jaane ko rokna kaisy ha. Meri nazar mein hum ne ye teen pillars of state: judiciary, executive, legislative in teeno mein hum ahangy laani ha. In teeno mein hum ahangy hum le aaein ge. Yak jehti laein ge tau phir hum poorey tareeqy se achi governance kar sakain ge aur inteha pasandi aur dehshat gardi ka poori taaqat se muqabla kar sakain ge. Yahi tareeqa ha ke government ko utri hui patri se wapis patri pe chla diya jaye beshtar iskey ke bilkul he hums lodhak na jaein.

Para 21

Is soorat-e-haal ka jai'eza le kar mein ne, tamam fauji, hukoomati, siyaasi aur private auhdedaar, dosto, beron-e-mulk Pakistani un tamam se discussion ke baad unke views le kar mein ne kuch faisla kiya hai. Aur ye faisla bunyaadi taur pe jamhooriyaati amal ka teesra marhala jis key baary mein main ne zikar kiya tha usko poora karna ha Insha' Allah. Jamhooriyat ke raastey mein jo rukawatein pari hain unko hatana ha. Aur jo mera poora irada hai, irada tha, irada ha, iss teesrey marhaley ko complete karne ka In Shaa Allah Ta'al isko poora kiya jaiy ga.

Para 22

Aur ye karney ke liye mein ne 'Emergency' declare ki hai. Mein ne aik provincial... provisional constitutional order issue kiya hai jo television pe a raha tha aapne dekha hoga. Mein ye batata chalu iss mein government mein koi tabdeeli nahi hogi. Prime minister, governors, chief ministers tamam apne apne ohdoon pe rahain ge. Tamam assemblies continue karain gi. Yaani senate, national assemblies, provincial assemblies ye tamam apni jagah pe waisi he chalti rahain gi jaisi chal rahi then. Wohi amal jaari rahay ga. Iska faisla mein ne kiya hai. Meri nazar mein yahi tareeqa sab se asaan tareeqa ha Pakistan ko jaldi se jaldi patri pe charhaaya jaey aur jo muaashi developmental aspects se hum aagey jaa rahey they usko..uska tasalsul jari rakha jaey aur jamhooriati nizaam ka last transition phase usko mukammal kiya jaey.

Para 23

Abb is mauqey se faida uthatey huway mein kuch Angraizee mein bhi bolna chahun ga. I would like to take this opportunity to speak to the world in general, but particularly to our friends in the West, United States, European Union and the Commonwealth.

Para 24

I would ask you to kindly understand the criticality of the environment inside Pakistan and around Pakistan. Pakistan is on the verge of destabilization, if not arrested in time now, without losing any further time, or delaying the issue. The saddest part of everything that saddens me the most, is that after all we have achieved in the past seven years, I see in front of my eyes, Pakistan's upsurge taking a downward trend. I personally, with all my conviction and with all the facts available to me, consider that inaction at this moment is suicide for Pakistan. And I cannot allow this country to commit suicide. Therefore, I had to take this action in order to preserve the democratic transition that I initiated eight years back. I would like to repeat that what I have already said in Urdu that I started with a three-staged transition. The first stage from 1999 to 2002 where I remained in control, the second stage from 2002 to 2007, five years of democratic rule, all assemblies functioning, local government functioning, I only oversaw it as the Chief of the Army Staff and the President combined. And now I was launching the third phase that was to be completed in a few months, with complete democracy, return to civil rule, myself being only a civilian president, if elected. It is this third stage that is being subverted today and it is this third stage, which I want to complete with all my conviction. And if we don't take action, I don't think we are going into this third stage, I don't know what chaos and confusion may follow- So, therefore, I request you all to bear with us .

Para 25

To the critics and idealists against this action, I would like to say, please do not expect or demand your level of democracy, which you learned over a number of

centuries. We are also trying to learn and we are doing well. Please give us time. Please also do not demand and expect your level of civil rights, human rights, civil liberties, which you learned over the centuries. We are trying to learn and we are doing very well also. Please give us time. I would at this time venture to read out an excerpt of President Abraham Lincoln especially to all my listeners in United States. As an idealist, Abraham Lincoln had one consuming passion during the time of supreme crisis and this was to preserve the Union because the Union was in danger. Towards that end, he broke laws, he violated the Constitution, he usurped arbitrary power, he trampled individual liberties. His jurisdiction was necessity and explaining his sweeping violation of constitutional limits, he wrote in a letter in 1864 and I quote:

Para 26

My oath to preserve the constitution imposed on me, the duty of preserving by every indispensable means that government, that nation of which the constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected. Yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life but a life is never wisely to be given to save a limb. I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful, by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assume this ground and now avow it. We are also learning democracy. We are going through a difficult stage. It is the nation, which is important, and for every Pakistani, and me Pakistan comes first and any one else's considerations come after that. I look at this from this point of view. So, whatever I do is for Pakistan and whatever anyone else thinks, comes after Pakistan with all my sincerity. Whatever I am doing is in the interest of Pakistan and therefore, I am doing it with full conviction and my full heart and soul and mind in it.

Para 27

Merey azeed bhaaiyo aur behno mujhe umeed ha key aap sab is soorat-e-haal ki sangeen kaifiyaat ko samjhein ge. Meri nazar mein is waqt jo kuch mein ne kiya iss ke elaawa koi chaara nahi ha. Is mulk ke liye agar jaan ka nazrana dena ha tau meri jaan hazir hai. Mein soora-e-haal ke samnay hathyaar dalna mein ne nahi seekha ha. Mein ne mein soorat-e-haal ka muqaabla karna jaanta hun mein hathyaar kabhi nahi daalta hun, mein muqaabla karta hun aur wohi mein muqaabla abhi karun ga.... Apney liye nahi is mulk ke liye.. is qaum ke awam ke liye unki khooshaali, unki tarraqi ke liye agar aapka sath huwa mujhe koi shak nahi ha ke aap agar mere sath chaltey rahay In Shaa Allah Taa'ala Pakistan ko oosi tarraqi oosi ubharte huway Pakistan ko aagey le kar jaein ge aur is utri huwi rail ko patri ke ooper In Shaa Allah Taa'ala hum sab mil kar wapis le aaien ge mujhe is mein koi shak nahi ha ke qaum tarraqi chahti ha, qaum aagey barhna chahti ha. Awaam ko qeemton se ta'aluq ha, awaam ko berozgari ghurbaat se ta'aluq ha, awaam tang pari hui ha ke hum jamhooriya ke naam pe ye aik ghair

yaqeeni ki jiza phelaatey rahain. Awaam tang pari huwi ha in inteha pasand aur dehshat gardon se jo aae din Islam ke naam pe Musalmaano ko qatal kar rahi ha. Iss se awaam tang pari huwi ha. Mein tamam apne bhaiyo aur behno ko kehna chahta hun, mil kar iska muqabala karain ge aur Pakistan ko In Shaa Allah Ta'ala aagey le kar jaein ge. Allah Ta'ala aap sab ka aur Pakistan ka haami-o-nasir ho, Pakistan hamesha Paaend-a-bad!