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PERSUASION AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE
ANALYSIS OF IMRAN KHAN'S UNGA SPEECH (74TH SESSION: 2019)

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at exploring the ideologies and vision of political leaders through the power of language. They employ diplomatic usage of language to broadcast their ideologies. The current study critically investigates the speech of Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan at UNGA 74th session. He delivered his speech in 74th session of UNGA. The speech focused on national and international issues like climate change, money laundering, Islamophobia, and Kashmir dispute. The researchers have made an effort to reveal and uncover the ideologies and visions which functioned behind that speech. In this study, it has been observed that how different linguistic tools (rhetorical devices) have been used to gain political goals and objectives. The speech of Imran Khan at UNGA has been qualitatively analyzed by using the Fairclough model. In the light of this modal many key points like words repetition, building relationships with the audience, words choices, the implication of words, context, and impact of speech are discussed.

Besides, politicians utilize certain linguistic strategies to convince the audience to follow their ideologies and visions.

INTRODUCTION

All languages are multi-layer modes of communication. Words are always loaded politically, racially, economically, and socially. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) offers the best analysis for understanding the hidden agenda that exists in the language. It also helps us to understand and analyze different forms of languages. This study motivates us to highlight the concealed meanings delivered through language (*Uzma Khalil, 2017*). This research article analyses and interprets Imran Khan's speech, which he delivered at the United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) in 74th session on September 27, 2019. This speech is based on four key points. Researchers analyzed these points one by one by using Fairclough model. Political leaders propagate their ideologies in front of the whole world. This study also examines how world leaders utilize persuasive strategies to teach their ideologies. Therefore, the current research paper shows the dimensions that will be a useful tool to bring social changes and a useful weapon for gaining achievements in relatively civilized nations of the world like Pakistan (Bayram, F., 2010). According to Fairclough there is a close relationship between power and discourse that can be examined in the political register. He discussed that power is distributed among different strata of society. A Study of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) discloses that the power distribution among the political class can be exercised to improve the living standards and economic growth of a nation. Imran Khan behaved similarly in front of whole world leaders (Iqbal, 2020). He gave the four points to the world which are Climate change (Anderson, Alison, 2009), money laundering (Thomson Reuters, 2015), Islamophobia (Erik Bleich, 2011), and disputed Kashmir Issue (Ashutosh Misra, 2005). Imran Khan presented all issues by using the weapon of language. Therefore, with the help of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), it can be analyzed that how politicians used tactful language for their specific purpose and ideologies.

Research Questions

1. How Imran Khan propagated his ideologies through his persuasive language?
2. What type of persuasive strategies are employed by the Pakistani Premier IK in the speeches of UNGA?

Purpose Of the Study

The objective of the present study will investigate the persuasive strategies employed by Pakistani Premier Imran Khan in speeches of UNGA 74th session. The purpose of the study is to identify the hidden socio-political ideologies and rhetorical devices employed by the Pakistani Primer to get his specific ideologies imprinted on the minds of the public utilizing the specific persuasive features. The study will work on understanding the implementation of persuasive devices and neuro-persuasive stimuli with the lens of Fairclough Modal and rhetorical devices.

Motivation/Rationale of The Study

The objective or motivation of the present study will investigate the persuasive strategies employed by the popular leader of Pakistan speech at the UNGA session. The specific purpose of the study is to identify the hidden socio-political ideologies, rhetorical devices employed by the Pakistani primer to get his specific ideology(ies) imprinted on the minds of the public utilizing the specific persuasive features. This study would be beneficial for CDA researchers in the line of further researches.

LITERATURE REVIEW

What is Discourse?

Discourse is any type of utterance which is written or spoken. It's a segment of speech that may be simple or complicated than the sentence that it gives the meaning which is always beyond the sentence. This term Discourse can be applied to both written and spoken language (Johnstone, B., 2018), (Kinneavy, J. L. 1971), (Schiffrin, D., 1987) and (Mumby, D. K., & Clair, R. P., 1997). There are a lot of examples of discourse as a teacher discusses a lecture with students, these particular discussions will be discourse (Kirvalidze, 2016).

What is Discourse Analysis (DA)?

Discourse analysis means to analyze the written, spoken, or gestures in a critical way. It is a method for studying spoken and written language in reference to social context. It also aims that how discourse is used in a real situation. Researchers can analyze any type of data by applying the technique, it can be identified that what is beyond the sentence and what it means. There are two types of discourse and these are written and spoken language. The researcher discussed that written form is more complex than spoken discourse (McCarthy, M., 1991), (Van Dijk, T. A. 1985), (Potter, J., & Edwards, D. 1996).

What is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)?

According to Van Dijk (Van Dijk, T. A. 1998) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was considered as a tool for analyzing the written as well as spoken material. He used it in his research to discover the issues regarding biasedness, differences, power, and other agendas. He purposed this study in 1998. According to Fairclough (Fairclough, N. 1992) & (Fairclough, N., & Fairclough, I. 2018) critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a tool for analyzing any type of discourse critically. He said that by using this model we can analyze any sort of discourse, spoken or written. Usually, it is applied to political speeches and all types of dialogues. Many research studies have been conducted on speeches of political leaders and well-known personalities. By using the Fairclough model power, identification, as well as hidden agenda of a particular person, can be identified (Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. 1997).

Maturity of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Some literary theorists and linguists (University of the East Anglia) (Fowler, 1979; Kress, G., & Hodge, R. 1979) proposed critical linguistics in the late 1970s. Critical Linguistics (CL) was built on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics and its goal was "Isolating ideology in discourse" and how ideology process. The development of Systemic Functional Linguistics was based on Critical Linguistics 'analytical tool (Fowler, 1979; Fowler, 1991) and (Rogers, 2016) was only for the sake of pursuing this agenda. Under the supervision of Holliday's Critical Linguistics (CL) experts find that language serves its three functions as textual, interpersonal, and ideational. The specific "ideational capacity", as per Fairclough, 1995) and (Fowler, 1991) purposed for the speakers, comprehension of the world and its marvels; the relational capacity includes the expansion of speakers' perspectives and mentalities in the wonders, alongside setting connection among speakers and audience members; literary capacity is somewhat instrumental to the ideational and relational ones in light of the fact that the speakers can deliver understandable talk owing just to the printed word. This capacity was extremely normal since its association distinguishes its specific situation. According to Halliday concept, Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a social act and central to their practice (Hodge & Kress, 1979; Fowler, 1979; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1995; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fowler, 1991). Flower said in his research that critical linguistics (CL) is much close to sociolinguistics. According to him, there is a strong connection between social structure and linguistic structure (Fowler, 1979).

A Brief Introduction on Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Fairclough (1989), language is a form of social practice. It focuses on social, political, and media-related discourses and it also investigates that type of speech critically. This particular sort of Fairclough model investigates the political leader's speeches. In this particular study, I will also evaluate Imran Khan's speech critically (Poole, B. & Fairclough, 2010) and (Henderson, R., 2005). Social aims focused on the talk and text semiotically (the study of signs and symbols). This study is also focused on the meaning and study of signs. The researcher can identify the hidden meaning of any type of speech (Fairclough, N., Jessop, B., & Sayer, A. (2004), (Fairclough, N., Jessop, B., & Sayer, A. 2002) and (Fairclough, N. 2006) According to Fairclough and Wodak, it means language is both socially representative, constitutive as well as socially shaped and shaping, and CDA has a keen emancipatory objective (Fairclough & Wodak, 2002). There is another study about CDA, according to researchers' politics is a struggle for power, and language is the most powerful tool for gaining power (Van Dijk, 2004). Politically this is a very important tool for getting power and exercises it accordingly. It is the strategy of understanding political discourse. This study investigates the power of language which is used by the political leaders (Fairclough, N. 2000) & (Emanuel, L. L. 2000). It also studies how political leaders formulated their power of language by using suitable choices of words (Neale, B. M. 2014). By using discourse practice politicians show their power of government as well as status. According to the researcher, he completed his research all over the world and was given the name

political discourse analysis (PDA). According to this he checked the status of PDA all over the world (Bhatia, A. 2006) and analyzed these speeches accordingly. It is checked the discourse by the researchers at the local, national and international level (Basaria, S, 2010).

METHODOLOGY

This is qualitative research in technique, procedures, and nature and also based on the model of critical discourse analysis (CDA). There are three features of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as Description, Interpretation and Explanation, and other rhetorical devices with the help of other tools offered by Critical Discourse Analysis. This method critically evaluates Imran Khan's speech, which he presented in UNGA (September 27, 2019).

Framework

In this research Fairclough model with three dimensions (Description, Interpretation, and Explanation) and other discursive strategies as “persuasive strategies”, “word choice”, “repetition”, “positive self-presentation”, “negative other-presentation”, and “referential strategies” have been used by researchers. By using Fairclough model and other strategies, the researchers have observed that how politicians imposed their agendas through tactful language. It may play a very important role in determining the opinions of audience.

Data Analysis and Discussion

In this study, researchers have applied Fairclough model and different discursive strategies for analyzing the speech (discourse).

Background And Description of The Text Pakistani PM Imran Khan Delivered a Speech at The UNGA On September 27, 2019.

Basically, PM Khan addressed four significant topics in his speech at UNGA: Climate change, Money laundering, Islamophobia, and Kashmir. He started his speech, first let me talk about climate change; I have seen a ton of pioneers talk about this. Be that as it may, I don't see world pioneers truly understanding the criticalness of the circumstance. We have a lot of thoughts; yet as is commonly said, thoughts without financing are a simple pipedream. Pakistan is among the best 10 countries on the planet influenced by environmental change. We rely upon or waterways, we are primarily an agrarian nation. Eighty percent of our water originates from the glaciers and these are softening at a disturbing pace. In KPK, province of Pakistan, we planted a billion trees in 5 years. Presently we are focusing on 10 billion trees. Be that as it may, one nation can do nothing. This must be a joined effort of the world.

Secondly, he said, every year billions of dollars transfer helpless nations and go to rich nations. It is overwhelming to the creating scene. In my nation, when I assumed responsibility for our administration a year back, in the 10 years going before that our all-out obligation went up multiple times. Subsequently; the all-out income we gather in one year, half of it strayed into the red overhauling. In what capacity will we spend on our 220 million populace when our cash was

pillaged by the decision world class? What's more, when we found properties of these degenerate heads in western capitals, we discover it so hard to recover it. The rich nations must show political will; they cannot permit this trip of capital from helpless nations through debasement. In what manner can helpless nations meet the United Nations SDG's when cash for human improvement can without much of a stretch leave our nations?

My third point is Islamophobia; there are 1.3 billion Muslims on the planet. Islamophobia has developed since 9/11 and it is disturbing. What is radical Islam? There is just a single Islam and that is the Islam of Prophet (PBUH). For what reason is there Islamophobia? By what method will a normal American separate between a moderate Muslim and an extreme Muslim? This has nothing to do with our religion. We have confronted Islamophobia while voyaging abroad; and in European nations it is underestimating Muslim people group. Sadly, the Muslim heads couldn't clarify. We fizzled as the Muslim world to clarify that there is nothing of the sort as radical Islam. At the point when a Muslim people group is shameful to a Minority, it is conflicting with the lessons of our religion. Our Prophet (PBUH) lives in our heart, and when he is defamed, it harms us. I generally envisioned what I would state and instruct the world about Islam in the event that I at any point remained on this gathering. Presently I need to proceed onward to discuss Kashmir. At the point when we came into power; my primary goal was that Pakistan would be that nation that would attempt its best to bring harmony.

What sort of a mentality locks up 8 million individuals? Ladies, youngsters, debilitated individuals. What I am aware of the west, they wouldn't represent 8 million creatures to be bolted up. These are people. Egotism has blinded PM Modi and BJP. This racial prevalence; what does he believe will happen when he lifts the time limit? What will happen when the check in time is lifted? Modi says this is accomplished for the thriving of Kashmir. In any case, what will happen when 8 million Kashmiris come out of a lockdown and face 900,000 soldiers? I dread there will be a bloodbath. The manner in which Kashmiris are confined like creatures in homes. Their political initiative captured, even master India ones. We dread another Pulwama episode. What's more, for that, India will again accuse Pakistan. The expression Islamic psychological oppression permits India to excuse human rights and further increment mercilessness on the individuals of Kashmir. On the off chance that an ordinary war begins between 2 nations, atomic nations anything could occur. Assuming a nation multiple times littler than its neighbor; confronted with an inquiry. It is possible that you give up, or you battle till the end. I pose myself this inquiry. What's more, my conviction is 'La ilaha illAllah', there is no God however one. We will FIGHT! I am not compromising here about an atomic war; it is a concern. It is a test for the United Nations. You are simply the person who said Kashmir right to self-assurance. This isn't the ideal opportunity for settlement like that in 1939 in Munich. This is the point at which you, the United Nations, must urge India to lift the time limitation; to free the 13,000 Kashmiris who have vanished in the meantime and this is the point at which the UN must demand Kashmir's entitlement to self-assurance!

Interpretation and Explanation

The particular speech of Imran Khan at UNGA platform is developed with different persuasive techniques and strategies which showed and proved Imran Khan as world leader and true ambassador of Kashmiris. He also proved himself as real representative of Muslims. He identified and gave the solution for climate change. He presents his ideology regarding money laundering, corruption and most importantly on Islamophobia. He identified the main issues regarding why west considered Muslims as terrorists. He also gave the solution to overcome this critical issue. This speech has following linguistics tools:

Tone

He used aggressive, persuasive and appealing tone in his speech especially at the end when he explained Kashmir issue in front of powerful leaders of world. He warned the whole world if there started a war between India and Pakistan then we will fight for until our martyrdom (Shahadat), we believe in one God (La Ila Ha Illallah). He demanded from world leaders and especially from India to left the curfew otherwise it would have irreversible consequences for both India and Pakistan and world would also go through its consequences.

Register

Imran Khan used the political and religious register in this speech. By using political register, he presented issues of climate change, money laundering and Kashmir issue in front of whole world. By using religious register, he proved himself as Muslims' leader. He presented the issue of Islamophobia like a great religious scholar.

Power

Imran Khan showed power of politically and religious during his speech by using different types of language. Politically he raised voice of Kashmiris and uncover the agenda of Prime Minister Modi when he said that he is a life time member of RSS which is deeply inspired from German Nazi party of Hitler. He also used the power of religious discourse as he presented himself as Muslims' leader and defended the Islam and its teachings in front of whole world.

Dominance

Imran Khan used dominance in his speech as he distinguished himself from other Muslim leaders as he identified that its fault of Muslim leaders who did not explain the real picture of Islam in front of world that's why we the Muslims are considered as terrorists as a whole. We should present the real Islam in front of whole world. He said, there is only one Islam and we are follower of Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

Inequality

He also used the tool of inequality when he said, in Pakistan all minorities are free and have equal rights, there is no discrimination. But in India all minorities like Muslims, Christians and Sikhs etc. have no equal rights. India wants to build a country just for Hindus where there is no space for minorities. Whole Kashmir (IOK) is under curfew and you see (world leaders) these are the rights of minorities in India.

Predictional Strategy

Imran Khan gave predictions by using tactful language. He started his speech with climate change and showed his concern on this recent burning issue. He said we have launched billion trees campaign in Pakistan. If we don't overcome climate change, there will be very risky situation for all of us in future. He declared money launders as overwhelming to the developing countries. The developing countries must make it sure that the political leaders of third world countries should be banned to transfer their money. They should make highly strict laws to eradicate the corruption and money laundering done by stake holders of poor countries. If this activity will not be stopped poor countries becomes poorest and rich countries becomes richest. Regarding Islamophobia, he said that there is only one Islam which is Hazarat Muhammad (SAW) Islam. If anybody do blasphemy Muslims will react because Hazarat Muhammad (SAW) live in our heart. At the end his speech he warned the world and especially India if you don't leave the curfew there will be another Pulwama also there will be bloodshed in Kashmir after lifting the curfew. He also argued to world leaders that take action otherwise may be there will be World War III start. If it happened the whole world will suffer a lot.

Positive Self-Presentation and Negative Other-Presentation

In the beginning Imran Khan talked about climate change, he gave reference that Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf government has grown more than ten billion trees int one of its provinces, KPK during its provincial five years (2013-2018) tenure. Now Pakistani government have launched campaign of plantation all over the Pakistan. He said Pakistan should focus on climate change and think collectively. By planting trees, we can overcome this climate change crisis in future. Imran Khan claimed that other countries did not focus on this problem. This is common issue for whole the world.

Imran Khan pointed out the money laundering issue and blamed to previous government (PML (N) and PPP. He clearly declared that previous leaders as money launders and himself as against this. He said I have introduced the laws against money laundering. He also blamed and requested to developed countries that they must their part to stop this unfair practice. This is very risky for developing countries.

In his third point he raised the voice against Islamophobia and justified Islam and Muslims as peaceful instead of terrorist. He presented the complete history of Muslims and circumstances of why they are labeled as terrorists. He also

blamed the Muslim Leaders who failed to present the real picture of Islam in front of the world.

In his last part of the speech, he uncovered the agendas of Indian Government and especially PM Moodi. He explained the positive steps taken by Pakistani Government in favor of minorities rights but on the other hand in India they spoiled and destroyed all the rights of minorities like Kashmiris. In Pakistan we are empowering and giving all rights to minorities but in India they violated all the rules and put Kashmiris into curfew. These all points of Imran Khan's speech showed positive self-presentation and negative other presentation.

Use of Personal Pronoun

Imran Khan's speech of positive self-image is also understandable from his extreme use of the personal pronoun "I." For instance, he said "I have seen a lot of leaders talk about this. But I don't see world leaders really realizing the urgency of the situation". Here he is talking about climate change. His choice of wordings clearly showed that he has a plan for this and others are not clear on it. "In my country, when I took charge of our government a year back, in the 10 years preceding that our total debt went up 4 times". Here he used personal pronoun "I" and showed his concerns regarding corruption and money laundering. "I always imagined what I would say and educate the world about Islam if I ever stood on this forum". By using personal pronoun "I" he taught to world about Islamophobia.

Building a Relationship with the Audience

Imran Khan tried to build a relationship with his address using special words like "My Kashmiris", "I am here especially for you (Kashmiris)". Here he used the possessive pronoun for building a relationship with Kashmiris.

He claimed himself as a true representative and ambassador of Kashmiris. He spoke word, "My Muslims", for whole Muslim world. He strongly rejected the idea of "radical Islam" and explained that there is only one Islam and that is the Islam of Prophet (SAW). Here he built a relationship with Muslims and gave impression that he is representatives of Muslims and true follower of Hazarat Muhammad (SAW).

Word Choice

Imran Khan used typical vocabulary as well as local semantics in his speech. He used typical vocabulary for world leader and local for his nation and Kashmiris. His speech was divided into four steps and he used different vocabulary in his every step.

In his first step 'Climate Change' he used "hallucination, glacier, alarming pace, billion trees etc. In money laundering portion he used devastating, debt servicing, developing countries, developed countries etc. In his third step of speech (Islamophobia) he used, radical Islam, radical Muslims etc. In his last part of the speech (Kashmir issues) he used words like lockdown in Kashmir,

curfew, racial superiority, bloodbath, fascist, convectional war, self-determinism etc. Imran Khan also used a lot of pronouns like “I, We, They, Them, You” etc. Imran Khan used collocation and lexicon in his speech, it showed Khan’s positive self-image and political ideology. This approach of Van Dijk helps us in understanding Imran Khan’s discrimination of ‘Us’ and ‘them’.

Repetition of Words

Highly repeated word is “Muslim” and this word has been spoken twenty-two (22) times throughout his presentation. Imran Khan repeated this word various no of time in his speech because he belongs to Muslim community as well as representation of Muslims and Kashmiris. The word “India” is also repeated 22 times. He repeated this word a lot because Kashmiris are under curfew and Imran Khan representation of Kashmiris over there. He uncovers the Indian policies in front of the world. After that the word “Kashmir” is repeated 17 times throughout the speech. This word “Kashmir” has also significance because of curfew and brutality from Indian army. After that the word is repeated the most (15 times) is “Pakistan” because Imran Khan is belonging from Pakistan. The word “radical” is repeated 12 times. He used radical Islam and radical Muslim. He said, there is only one Islam which is Muhamad (SAW) Islam and we are the follower of Muhammad (SAW). The word “war” is repeated 8 times because there is conflict between Pakistan and India because of Kashmir issue. The word “Islamophobia” is repeated 6 times throughout the speech. Imran Khan presented the case of Muslims and Islam in UNGA during his speech. Lastly the word “lockdown/curfew” is repeated 6 times because Kashmir is under curfew from 2019 to till now.

This repetition of words shows that Imran Khan is convincing, persuading and urging to world leaders for playing their role for uplifting the curfew from Kashmir.

The Significance of the Words “Radical Islam” and “Curfew in Kashmir”

The significance of the word “Radical Islam” is repeated almost 12 times during his speech. It showed that how much focused is on this word. Imran Khan said that there on no concept of radical Islam and radical Muslims. There is only one Islam of Prophet Mohammad (SAW) and we all Muslims are follower of that particular Islam.

The importance of the word “curfew in Kashmir” is showed that Imran Khan said “I am an ambassador of Kashmir and I am here just for Kashmiris because they are in curfew from august 2019”. He appealed to the world that left the curfew from Kashmiris’ people. He said we are facing very dangerous situation in border between Pakistan and India. If there is conventional war start there will be World War III. He said we Muslims fight for martyrdom and we will fight till end (Shahadat). I accepted that India is seven time greater for us but we believe in Allah and martyrdom (Shahadat).

Context

As researchers have discussed Imran Khan has four pointed agendas in his speech. These all points are very crucial in Pakistani point of view. As Pakistanis are facing environment crises right now. Imran Khan showed his concerns in UNGA about climate change. Pakistan also facing trouble due to money laundering that's why he raised this point over there. Islamophobia is spreading all over the world and Muslims are facing tag of terrorism all over the world. That's why Imran Khan showed the world that Muslims are not terrorist and we (Muslims) don't accept any sort of blasphemy against our Holy Prophet (PBUH). At the end of his speech, he said why I am here, I am here for Kashmiri's people who are under curfew. He showed the real picture of PM Modi and Indian Government in front of whole world. He appealed to the world to take step otherwise there will be conventional war and ultimately whole of the world will suffer a lot.

CONCLUSIONS

The study has uncovered the hidden ideologies and points of views of politicians which they propagate in their speeches. The examination of Imran Khan's speech explains that he communicates logically to divert the mind of world leaders and propagates his ideology. He discussed his four-point agenda and expressed to the world about burning issues facing the whole world using discursive strategies. He presented himself as an ambassador of Kashmiris and a brave leader of Muslims. He revealed the issues of Kashmir (Indian occupied Kashmir) and the Muslim community all over the world. Through the model of Fairclough and different linguistic strategies he openly presented positive self-presentation and negative presentation to others. He used different strategies as tone, register, predictional strategies for motivating and persuading his ideology. He used tactful language for gaining the attention of different world leaders. He uncovered the unfair agenda of Prime Minister Modi that he is a lifetime member of RSS. He proved that RSS is a certified terrorist organization that was banned thrice in India. This study can be helpful for researchers who will analyze speeches of world leaders in the future. As Imran Khan gave his ideology by using persuasive language at UNGA and exposed Indian government in front of the world and threw the ball in world's court that how they react to this. According to this research, Imran Khan discussed the burning issue of climate change and how we can secure our generation by growing plants and cleaning rivers. This study can be helpful for environmental sciences students as well. Imran Khan very smartly presented the case of developing countries that how money laundering is creating economic and governance problems and openly disclosed the negative role of developed countries as a beneficiary of this money laundering. He reinforced that the money laundering can be minimized by making extremely strict laws domestically and globally otherwise poor countries will become poorer and rich countries will become richer. Prime Minister Imran Khan explained the impacts of Islamophobia on the world and especially on Muslim community and strongly condemned this hidden agenda.

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