RJSSER
Research Journal of Social Sciences & Economics Review

_____

Imran Khan's Speech at UNGA: A Reflection on Us vs. Them Divide Using Fairclough's 3D Model in CDA

* Kinza Tariq

** Shawal Muhammad Nawaz

*** Dr. Aisha Farid, Assistant Professor (Corresponding Author)

_____

Abstract

Critical Discourse Analysis views language in use as a kind of social practice, it is often applied to political language (discourse— text, talk, and/or visual), including public speeches. This paper critically analyzes the speech by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, delivered at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on September 28, 2019. The study uses Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model, to reflect upon "Us" and "Them" in the context of four major themes of the speech: climate change, money laundering, Islamophobia, and Kashmir. The study uses a mixed-method approach for a thorough review of the speech and discusses power within the discourse and power behind discourse. The findings reveal how language reflects the ideology of the political leaders, and how discourse can form and be formed by social practices. The Prime Minister used language effectively to present the ideological dichotomies between "Us" and "Them" in the context of developing countries-developed countries (powerful politically and economically), Muslims - anti-Muslims, and Pakistan/Kashmir - India. He urged the world-leaders at UNGA's highest political forum, after drawing the line of demarcation, to take steps to resolve the differences to achieve harmony and peace in the world. This research enables the common public of Pakistan to understand their leader in terms of the concept of power by comprehending the profounder meaning that language conveys.
Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, UNGA, Address, Power, Islamophobia, Kashmir, Money Laundering, Climate Change.

Introduction

Language, a communication tool, reflects not only a person's present ideas and thoughts to others but also his/her cultural, political, and religious identity. Discourse is the language in use in a specific context. Discourse is an important research area since it is tangible data to work on and find multitudes of meaning in sociological and psycholinguistic concepts.

Discourse and discourse analysis are usually commonly used in linguistic terms with fuzzy boundaries. Discourse is a term in linguistics that may refer to any formal or informal talk having the potential of being studied in a structured way. It may manifest itself in the spoken or written mode. Titscher (2000) in Bayram (2010) considers discourse as an umbrella with different dimensions and layers of meanings as it covers all aspects of meaning in linguistics through sociology and philosophy. Cook (1992) explains discourse as language use in communication. Thus, discourse analysis is the process of inquiry that investigates how bits of language in their complete-textual, social, and psychological contexts turn out as meaningful and cohesive for their users. A step ahead and more analytical is critical discourse analysis that interlinks discourse analysis with other areas for comprehensive analysis to reach valid conclusions.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) covers not only language studies, but many others like media discourse, public discourse, organizational studies, and political discourse. Various researchers have proposed models and theories to carry out the CDA. In this regard, Fairclough has done great work: He gave us a 3D Model (three-dimensional model).

Fairclough's (1989) Three-Dimensional Model the most influential one to carry on studies in CDA. The model considers language as a social practice (Fairclough, 1989). It helps analyze the

_____

*   Department of English, GC Women University, Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan Email: tariqkinza90@gmail.com
**   Department of English, GC Women University, Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan Email: nawazshawal@gmail.com
***   Department of English, GC Women University, Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan Email: aisha.farid@gcwus.edu.pk

ways text and talk reflect the play of social and political dominance in discourse with an interdisciplinary approach. As shown in the following figure, the model highlights the production and reception processes of a discourse fragment in a politico-social context. (1) Linguistic Description where we describe the text's formal linguistic traits. (2) Interpretation where we interpret the relationship between the text and the discursive interaction. Text as the final output of the text production process is considered helpful in the process of text interpretation. (3) Explanation where we discuss discourse and its relationship with the external social and cultural reality.
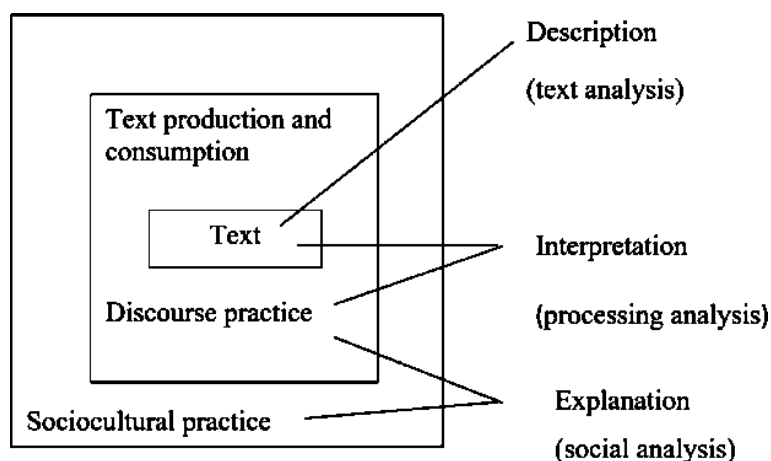

Figure 1: **Three-dimensional model Fairclough (1989)**

The CDA model helps analyze discourse in various contexts like society, religion, profession, and politics. Political discourse is a multidimensional term covering different kinds of political talks that occur at various political forums. Schaffner (1996) finds political discourse a sub-class of discourse based on two levels, namely functional and thematic. Political discourse studies the text and talk of various politicians or political institutions at different levels and on different forums.

This paper aims to analyze the speech of Imran Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) session on Friday (September 28, 2019) in the framework of CDA. The study attempts to explain the features of the speech that the Prime Minister uses to manifest the dichotomy between "Us" and "Them" on the specific critical issues the world is facing. We also analyze how the distinction between "Us" and "Them" helps clarify the misconceptions and misunderstandings between the two to suggest the pathway to the politically and economically strong countries and their leadership to bridge the gap and achieve the dream of a global world with peace and harmony.

Background of the Study

Discourse analysts attempt to analyze and interpret the messages conveyed by the political figures in diverse linguistic forms. The research studies conducted in political discourse analysis reveal that political leaders like Nelson Mandela, Barak Obama, Tayyip Erdogan, Donald Trump, Manmohan Singh, and Nawaz Sharif have been considered for investigation. These studies explored that political leaders across the world relied upon discursive practices in the form of linguistic devices to convey ideological concepts, and as a result, they developed a discourse that suited their agenda. The choice of devices they opted for was mainly dependent on the context and social and political aspects.

Imran Khan's impactful address delivered at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) session on Friday (September 28, 2019) won the hearts of millions across the globe. The present study analyzes his speech by considering Textual, Discursive, and Societal levels of discourse provided by the Fairclough 3D Model. The study discusses power within discourse and power behind discourse by considering the mechanism of communication, inculcation, and universal acceptance. The variety of discourse can form and be formed by social practices. The essential function in the case of power within discourse is the pronoun "I" by the speaker to show his power, and by using the pronoun "we," he gains the support of the audience to win their hearts. This research would enable the common public of Pakistan to understand their leader in terms of the concept of power.

In his address, PM Imran Khan expounded on four major themes that are climate change, money laundering, Islamophobia, and the Kashmir issue. Imran Khan's stance on each of these themes reflects a division of "Us" and "them," urging all-powerful, politically, and economically, to the

resolution to bridge the gap between the two. The present research attempts to analyze the distinction between "us" and "them" in Imran Khan's speech in the present worldwide socio-political context.

Purpose of the Study

The present study intends to explore the linguistic devices employed by PM Imran Khan in his speech delivered at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) to differentiate between "Us" and "Them" considering the role of language in the dimension of political discourse.

Implications

Parker (1994) considers discourse to be such statements that indicate objects with a varying number of subject positions. Austin (1962) opines that speech is a kind of action, and words are exploited to perform specific actions. In this way, discourse is a social practice performed so often in everyday life at different social levels by different social groups for different social outcomes. Chilton (2004) argues that there is a strong link between language and politics. The development of comprehension skills regarding the political discourses at the international level is crucial in interpreting diplomatic conflicts at the international level. The present study provides an opportunity to the research scholars to analyze the discursive practices employed by Prime Minister Imran Khan in his address delivered at the United Nations General Assembly in the dimension of the Us vs. The dichotomy.

Aims/Objectives

To explore implicit/explicit power show in Imran Khan's UNGA address.

To find out the display of power at textual, discursive, and societal levels.

Research Questions

The paper addresses the Basic Research Question: "How is power displayed at textual, discursive, and societal levels in Imran Khan's speech?" with the help of the following subsidiary ones:

a.   How is power displayed and practiced at the textual level in terms of the development of cohesion; Grammar (Transitivity; Modality), lexical items, and pronoun?

b.   How is power displayed and practiced at the discursive level in terms of inter-discursivity and inter-textuality?

c.   How is power displayed and represented at the societal level?

Literature Review

The political domain remains dominant in Discourse Studies. The speech of a political leader like Imran Khan comes directly under this domain. In this regard, we reviewed various researches carried out in the domain of CDA, some previous works in political discourse, and some other researches that explored the dichotomy of Us vs. Them, especially in the CDA perspective.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an advanced form of discourse studies that helps know how language exercises its power and plays a significant role in society. It is a theoretical perspective of seeing discourse structures to reflect the relation between power and domination in society (Dijk, 2001). There are many prominent proponents in the CDA, but Fairclough is probably the most significant.

Fairclough (1989) provided a three-dimensional framework for discourse analysis. The first step takes text as the object. It is the description stage, and the text's formal properties, which are its linguistic features including lexeme, syntax, and text-structure, are studied. The second stage is interpretation, the relationship between the discourse, its production, and use are interpreted. Here we study and interpret the relationship between the discursive interface and the text. The text is considered the end-product of the process of text production for final interpretation. The third stage explains how discourse is related to social and cultural reality. Fairclough (1989) asserted that "explanation" must make explicit how interaction is related to social context. It must aim at analyzing the role of society in the process of discourse production and its interpretation, and what social effects it may generate. 3D Model helps explore ideology, power and identity reflected and expressed in political text and talk.

There is a strong connection between ideology, power, and identity. Van Dijk (2006) defines ideology with its four aspects: a system of belief, a constituent of a group's identity, its dominating force, and its stability. Ideology is usually imposed, constructed, and maintained by the powerful. Fairclough (1989) considers the connection between ideology and power in understanding discourse. He distinguishes between power in discourse and power behind discourse. Power in discourse means how power is exercised through discourse, whereas the power behind the discourse reflects how discursive relations of power help construct social structures. CDA investigates how one controls

_____

discourse to assert the power relations that lead to the distinction of identity and assert the imbalance of power in terms of "Us" and "Them" in discourse (Singh, 2004). Discourse-driven ideology and power have a significant role in constructing one's identity (Asensio, 2016). When one social group interferes or threatens another group in some ways, the groups turn against each other, and the difference in their ideology and power imbalance is prominent in their speech.

A lot of researchers have explored various discourses to unveil the underlying dichotomy of Us vs. Them. According to La Capra (1989), these binary categorizations and discriminations may reflect in overt or covert ways a power disbalance that is how one group's perspective dominates the others. Researches establish that various linguistic strategies are used to encode us vs. them dichotomies. These dichotomies are expressed either overtly or/and covertly. The overt linguistics strategies are overt denigration (O'Barr, 1994; Riggins, 1997) and distance markers (Fairclough, 1995). The covert linguistic strategies aim to disguise othering through the use of declarative to form overgeneralized semantic patterns through various syntactic categories (Karim, 1997; Riggins, 1997). These include the use of contrasts and comparisons mainly for a positive self-representation in opposition to the negative other presentation (Dijk, 1997). Another covert linguistic strategy in this regard is using passive voice (Dijk, 1997). The present research tries to focus on both kinds of linguistic strategies as used by the prime minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan in his speech in focus.

Among the overt linguistic strategies, the most obvious is the use of pronouns. Riggins (1997) points out that the most overt and often-used strategy for revealing the boundaries separating self and other are pronouns such as us and them, us and them, and ours and theirs. Sometimes, the strategy tends to get subtle when the pronouns are replaced by either the names or the other pronouns like I and you, etc. but the context reflects in them a clear dichotomy between the Us vs. Them. Discourse markers are also another overt way to manifest the dichotomy between Us vs. Them in discourse.

The discursive practices for asserting the opposition between the US and Them also include subtle ways in language too. The short declarative statements that lead to a semantic generalization about a group is, in rhetorical terms, called stereotypes. Riggins (1997) points out that stereotypes help express ambivalence toward others. Another covert way of asserting us vs. them is the use of linguistic contrasts and qualifications for positive self-representation. These strategies are used and studied not only in writings but also in speeches, more importantly, the political speeches delivered at some international forums, where they, sometimes, represent their nations and at other times, the world.

Politics and political speeches are always at the heart of every dynamic society. Many researchers have focused on political leaders' speeches to understand how their language influences the public and how their words serve the interests of the public they represent. Sharififar and Rahimi (2015) used Halliday's systematic functional linguistics and focused on the use of transitivity system and modality in the political speeches of Obama and Rouhani at UN in September 2013 and explored how their political speeches reflected both ideology and power. Political leaders, in their public speeches, tend to use various strategies to assert power and ideology to win their people's hearts, by identifying themselves with their people and othering the opposition. These strategies are mainly linguistics discursive practices.

Some researchers have focused on Pakistani politicians and their power to play with words to serve their purposes. Iqbal (2015) analyzed the rhetorical devices' use in the pre and post elections speeches of eminent political leaders to show how politicians exercise their power by exploiting rhetorical devices in their speeches. Naz (2012) carried out the transitivity analysis of Benazir Bhutto's speeches, discussed the corporal features of her language use, and concluded that Benazir's linguistic performance was very effective in convincing the Pakistani public towards her ideology. Ahmad (2014) used Van Dijk's framework of CDA to critically analyze the political speeches of the Pakistani ex-Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to unveil his hidden ideology. Applying Fairclough's model on Imran Khan's speech is a unique research idea.

Imran Khan was an International cricketer and the captain of the Pakistani cricket team; now, he is the 22nd PM of Pakistan and the chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. At the United Nations General Assembly session on Friday (September 28, 2019), the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan, delivered an emphatic address of almost 50 minutes long to the world's nations. In his address, he drew the worlds' attention to the following key issues:
- Climate change

_____

- Money laundering
- Terrorism and Islamophobia
- Kashmir issue

In the end, he highlighted the need for the United Nations to wake up and urged the world to take a step ahead to solve the issues to bring about peace and harmony in the world. The present study analyses to study how the speaker has asserted us vs them dichotomy to present different views on the issues concerning the whole world.

Methodology

To have a complete comprehensive analysis of the speech, we have used qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative research, exploratory research, is applied to understand underlying facts, opinions, and motives thoroughly. In contrast, quantitative research helps conduct discourse and narrative analysis using numerical terms, references, and allusions. The study combines qualitative and quantitative methods to serve the research purpose. The data is analyzed using Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model of CDA.

Data Analysis

Data (Imran Khan's Speech at the 74th UNGA Session) is analyzed thematically. The thematic analysis identifies patterns or themes. Braun & Clarke (2006) declare that thematic analysis is an essential qualitative method to capture the emerging themes and patterns. Figures 2 and 3 provide authentic information about the frequency of the use of the key terms and phrases in the speech. It is hoped that it helps establish solid ground for further analysis at both textual and discourse levels. Moreover, the analysis also focuses on and explains various overt and covert strategies used to assert us vs. them dichotomies in different contexts.

• Pakistan	• 12
• PBUH	• 8
• Government	• 2
• Country	• 11
• I	• 28
• We	• 50
• Us/our	• 34
• You	• 15
• They	• 15

Figure 2. **Frequency of Repeated Words**

• Let me	• 2
• We have	• 3

Figure 3: **Repeated Phrases**

It is interesting to notice that pronouns in the speech refer to different entities and throw light on the dichotomy between "Us" and "Them" in an overt way.

Following observations have been made about the use of the pronouns in the speech:

- The pronoun "I" is used for Imran Khan, the individual, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the leader of Muslims, and the world's developing countries' representatives as per the context.
- The pronouns "We, Us/our" are used for the Pakistani nation, the Muslims, the developing countries, and the world.
- The pronoun "You" is used to refer to the developed countries (powerful politically and economically), the non-Muslims, and the United Nations (the leaders of the world).
- The pronoun "They" is used for the world, the United States, the Muslims, the Indians.

Textual Analysis

Text Analysis is the first stage in Fairclough's model. It refers to the linguistic analysis in terms of vocabulary, meaning, and structure along with phonology, and cohesion above the sentence level.

PM Khan's speech comprised more than ***Two-thousand six hundred forty-two*** words. The sentence structure of speech is mainly declarative and argumentative. He made his speech authentic and convincing through facts and figures to impact his audience strongly. Following are instances where he has used facts and figures:

- "***We detected 5000 glacier lakes in our mountains***".

_____

- *"In KP, a province of Pakistan, we planted a billion trees in 5 years. Now we are targeting 10 billion trees".*
- *"There are 1.3 billion Muslims in the world".*
- *"We lost 70,000 people to the war, 150 billion dollars to our economy".*

He used allusions from The Holy Quran and The Holy Prophet PBUH that is an overt strategy used by him to identify himself as a part of the Muslim nation. He started his speech with "**BISMILLAH**", and then he recited the verse of the Holy Quran,

إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ

"Thee (alone) we worship; Thee (alone) we ask for help." *(Surah e Fateh: The Holy Quran)*
The recitation from the holy book of Muslims, clearly, states his association with Islam.

And then, he declared that he had come to the international platform when his own country was in "*a difficult time*". He made it clear that there was a more complicated issue for which he was at this forum, and these words caught the attention of the audience. His reference to a complex issue raises an element of interest; however, he did not start with the issue, and declared to, first, talk about some problems the world faced.

While talking about climate change, he used such discourse as *"Pakistan is among the top ten nations of the World"* and *"…we planted a billion trees in 5 years. Now we are targeting 10 billion trees."* Here covert syntactic and semantic strategies are used to highlight the positive self-representation.

Then coming toward the second issue of Money Laundering, he said that billions of dollars went to rich countries every year. *"How can poor countries meet the United Nations SDG's when money for human development can easily leave our countries?"* A clear line of demarcation has been drawn, here, between the poor and rich countries.

Then he talked about *Islamophobia*; he clearly said in his speech that there was no radical or moderate Muslim. There was only one Islam, and which was of Prophet Muhammad PBUH. Then he talked about Muslim Women wearing 'Hijab' that became a problem. He also showed his and all Muslims' love for their Prophet PBUH by pointing out that the Prophet PBUH lives in their hearts, and if anyone ever tries to malign him, it severely hurts them.

In the end, when he talked about *Kashmir*, he said, *"What will happen when the curfew is lifted? But what will happen when 8 million Kashmiris come out of lockdown and face 900,000 troops? I fear there will be a bloodbath." "If a conventional war starts between 2 countries, nuclear countries anything could happen."* He said that he was not threatening, but it should be a thing of worry for not only his nation but for the whole world.

Following is the descriptive linguistic analysis of his speech. The descriptive analysis includes the use of cohesion, pronouns, modality, and transitivity by the speaker to assert the demarcation between "Us" and "Them" in the context of the four themes of the speech.

a.   Cohesion

Imran Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, in his speech, used cohesive devices too to make it a comprehensive speech and persuasively present his arguments to convince the world of his point of view. The use of **anaphoric** references at various places in the speech makes it cohesive.

Example (1): "No one bothered researching the Tamil Tigers and the Japanese Kamikaze bombers. No one blamed religion when they carried out suicide attacks and rightly so because no religion teaches violence".

In the example mentioned above, Imran Khan used an *anaphoric* reference by using "No one" to stress that no one blamed Tamil Tigers, Japanese Kamikaze bombers, and their religion because no religion teaches violence. The pronoun "no one" is used in the context of the world that was not there to blame any religion when the people from other nations drew their daggers for their very individual reasons. However, the covert reference has been made here to highlight the opposite stance of the world when it came to the same atrocities carried out by the people who associated themselves with Islam. The assertion made here is on the discriminatory attitude of the world towards Islam.

Example (2): "What is radical Islam? Why is there Islamophobia? How will an average American differentiate between a moderate Muslim and a radical Muslim?"

In the second example, Imran Khan used a series of questions in a taunting way using *anaphoric* reference in question form. The successive use of interrogative structures is another covert syntactic strategy to highlight the line drawn between Islam and the bias against Muslims in the rest of

the world especially the west. Anaphoric references in the questions reflect the intense frustration and trouble the Muslims are experiencing due to this anti-Islamic bias.

b.   Pronouns

The frequent use of the first-person pronouns like "I", "We", "Our", "Us" and the second person like "You", and "Your| makes the speech a direct talk between two participants who are at two different ends.

Imran Khan used Pronoun "I," "Our," "We" in his speech frequently. Some examples are given below:

Example (1): "I have seen a lot of leaders talk about this. But I don't see world leaders realizing the urgency of the situation".

Here, the speaker used the pronoun "I" for himself to narrow down the audience's focus, and by using the first-person pronoun "I" asserted his dominance over world rulers.

Example (2): "Our Prophet (PBUH) was the witness of our Divine Book, the Holy Quran." "The Prophet (PBUH) is the ideal we want to live up to. He created the state of Medina, which was a welfare state".

Here, he used the pronoun "Our" to represent Muslims as one nation and declared that we (Muslims) are a peaceful nation. Our Prophet PBUH created the state of Medina as a welfare state. These lines intend to show the peaceful nature of Islam and the preaching of the Holy Prophet PBUH.

Example (3): "We even caught their spy Kulbhushan Yadav who admitted crimes."

Here, Imran Khan used the pronoun "we" to narrow down the audience's focus towards the dichotomy between two nations "we" the Pakistanis vs. "they are" the Indians. "We caught their (Indians) spy," is a covert semantic strategy to reflect the dominance of "we" (Pakistan) over 'them' (India).

c.   Modality

Imran Khan has used modal verbs in his speech to show his degree of affinity in some extracts in a subjective manner and others in an objective manner.

Example: "This is the time when you, the United Nations, must urge India to lift the curfew, to free the 13,000 Kashmiris who have disappeared meanwhile, and this is the time when the UN must insist on Kashmir's right to self-determination!"

The example shows the stress Imran Khan made on his point that "they" (the Kashmiri People) must be given their rights, and the United Nations must force India to lift the curfew that has bound 13,000 Kashmiris who are waiting for help from the United Nations. The use of "must" is a reflection of dominance. Imran Khan urges the United Nations to play its part as the most dominant and controlling power over others to resolve the issue. The issue referred to is again a dichotomy between Us (Kashmiris) and those (Indians).

d.   Transitivity

Example: "I stand here at this forum of world leaders where we have a chance to discuss the problems the world is facing."

In the above example, the doer of the material process is "I," who is doing an action, wants to tell, and shows the process (of doing). The speaker here shows his dominance and power to the world by saying he is there to highlight the world's problems.

Processing Analysis

In the processing analysis phase, the formal and contextual links are identified to see how cohesive the text is. The PM has ingeniously used transitional signals as "firstly" and "secondly." He has also used interrogative pronouns excessively that serve as discourse markers to attract the listeners' attention. Following are some examples of interrogatives used by him in his address:

●   "How can poor countries meet the United Nations SDG's when money for human development can easily leave our countries?"
●   "Arrogance has blinded PM Modi and BJP. This racial superiority; what does he think is going to happen when he lifts the curfew?"
●   "What will happen when 8 million Kashmiris come out of lockdown and face 900,000 troops?"

P.M Imran Khan has given his speech a beautiful sequence. He moved from one issue to another in an awe-inspiring way. The P.M delivered the speech using discourse marker and started it

_____

in this way: 'So, first of all, I start with' and then after discussing thoroughly one problem, moved to another one. He has used such words for which someone needs to have guts for saying that.

At UNGA, he recited the verse of the Holy Quran. '***Thee (alone) we worship; Thee (alone) we ask for help***,'

He used this verse to assert the first distinction of "Us" and "Them" and clearly defined that we Muslims only rely upon Allah Almighty. Muslims always start work or anything in the name of Allah; it shows that there is no God but Allah. The use of the Holy Quran's verse at the beginning shows the main idea of what he is going to say next. The first line of his speech catches the audience's attention that he has no spare time for gossip, but if he is there, it means that there is the most important and more significant issue that has to be addressed at the world level.

As a Muslim Nation representative at that forum, it was an excellent point in his speech that he started his speech with Allah's name. As a Muslim nation leader, he has used the name of Allah and his Prophet Muhammad PUBH in an imposing way, and his words have shown the love of the whole Muslim society toward Allah and Holy Prophet. The discourse he has chosen for his speech was a warning for the rest of the world "them" in a very smooth manner.

Continuing this distinction between "Us" (Muslims) and "them," he talked about Islamophobia. He made a very impressive move to bring the world to a realization that this difference should not be judged with hostility but merely a variety, not with biased spectacles of judgment but a neutral evaluation. He used the terms of Radical Muslims and Moderate Muslims and made it clear that there is only one "Us" (Muslims) and no division among them. There are no radical or moderate Muslims but just Muslims believing only in one religion, Islam, the last Prophet of Allah's religion. During his speech, he has indirectly warned the world to stop ridiculing Islam and directly told us that "we" (Muslims) love our Holy Prophet PBUH.

To proceed further in his argument, he used the term Holocaust and threw light on the effect of biased judgment. He is the only Muslim leader who has used this term at UNGA.

While talking about the issue of Kashmir, he not only distinguished between "our" approach towards the issue and "they are" (India's) approach but tried to draw the world's attention to resolve this long-awaited issue to ensure peace not only in the region but in the whole world. He pointed out that India had been blaming Pakistan for all the situations he was sure that India would do the same in the future. While saying that, his tone was very alarming. He said that no religion teaches terrorism. This is an attempt on his part to the world understand that when it comes to terrorism, there is no distinction between "Us" (Muslims) and "Them" (others), and all stand on one page. He did not talk about only Islam, or he did not take a side of his religion, but he talked in favor of all the religions in this matter that no religion wants war or bloodshed.

Bloodshed is again a word about which he has dared to talk about at such a high forum. He said, referring to Kashmir's burning issue, that if there were to be a conventional war between the two nuclear powers, then consequences would be there for the whole world. If the issue between "Us" and "Them"- the Kashmir issue- is not resolved and both the parties are not satisfied, the conflict will lead to a big explosion. It would involve not only these two parties but the whole world. Drawing the world's attention towards the amicable resolution of this long-standing issue, he urged them to play their part seriously, but at the same time, he made it a point to clarify that his statement should not be taken as a threat but a significant point of worry and concern to all. He warned the world about the bloodshed through his language use. Therefore, he reminded the United Nations of their duties in a very natural and impressive way.

Social Practices

In this final phase of Fairclough's model of CDA, the text is analyzed in the socio-cultural context of communicative events. The socio-cultural context circles around three communicative events that are the economic, political, and cultural.

The prime minister, Imran Khan started his speech with "Bismillah." Religion affects people. He cited numerous religious references to not only inspire his people, motivate everyone towards Islam, but also to present a positive picture of Islam to remove the negative images associated with the religion. He asserted with the Islamic point of view that our Prophet Muhammad (SAW) made Madinah a welfare state and reformed the world's history.

Imran Khan's speech's main topics were Climate change, Money Laundering, Islamophobia, and Kashmir. All the topics were related to Muslims, Pakistan, and developing countries. He was

there at an international forum to help resolve some current issues that would bring potential harm to Pakistan and the whole world. He emphatically represented all "Us" (the world, the developing countries, the Muslims, and the Kashmiris and Pakistanis). After marking "them" (the powerful, lusty, and corrupt who played tricks and made policies to benefit them only, the developed and financially stable countries, the anti-Muslims, and India), he presented one agenda to the United Nations, and that is the resolution of the differences by bridging the gap.

Talking about climate change, first, he referred to the individual efforts carried out by Pakistan, and he used the pronoun "We" to represent the whole nation of Pakistan. "We detected 5000 glacier lakes in our mountains…. In KP, a province of Pakistan, we planted a billion trees in 5 years. Now we are targeting 10 billion trees." He blamed "the rich countries" ("Them") for massive greenhouse gas emissions, and then, he referred to the need for the collective effort to resolve the issue and urged the United Nations to take a stand for the cause.

The next issue in his focus was money laundering. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan, drew a line between a developing country like Pakistan ("Us") and the rich countries (Them) and pointed out that the economic setback "We" face is due to the lack of political will on the part of "Them" who allow "the flight of capital from poor countries through corruption." Here, he urged the world bank, the IMF, and the Asian developing bank to find "a way to stop this plunder" and to help minimize the difference between "Us" and "Them."

The third important issue he discussed was Islamophobia. He, first, clearly announced it to be the primary cause of the division between "Us" (Muslims) and "Them" (anti-Muslims). He blamed the western leaders for causing Islamophobia. He rejected the Radical Muslims and the moderate Muslims' division and stood there as a representative of Islam. He refused to relate the radicalism and suicide attacks with Islam by referring to "the Tamil Tigers and the Japanese Kamikaze bombers" whose actions had never been associated with their religions. Here, he further elaborated the intolerance between "Us" (the Muslims) and "Them" (the anti-Muslims) and blamed "Them" for the ill propaganda against "our" Holy Prophet PBUH, and then highlighted the grace and dignity of the Prophet to make the world understand the real spirit of Islam. He used the word Holocaust in his speech, and he mentioned as Jews do not like this word in the same way when "our" Holy Prophet is maligned, it hurts "us". In Pakistan and the Muslims worldwide love the Holy Prophet PBUH and Islam, which teaches the lesson of tolerance, but Muslims cannot tolerate the Holy Prophet's PBUH insult. He used such expressions that reflected Muslims' emotions and feelings, especially when he talked about Islam and Kashmir; his words touched the Muslims' hearts.

Imran Khan started his speech with his stance on global issues and deliberately kept Kashmir the last. Imran Khan was there mainly for the sake of the Kashmir Issue. At the onset of his address, he said, "I especially came to this forum despite a difficult time in my country; facing challenges... I would not have come had there not been a very urgent problem that the world must address". This "very urgent problem," he referred to was mainly the Kashmir issue. For Imran Khan, the main hurdle to peace in the subcontinent is the unresolved Kashmir issue. Here, he used the pronoun "Us" for Pakistan and "Them" for India. With various shreds of evidence, he tried to prove that the distance between "Us" and "Them" was mainly caused by India's stubborn, arrogant, and ruthless policies, and the most significant disaster caused is Kashmir. When Imran Khan was addressing the General Assembly, it was the 55th day of an Awful Curfew in Kashmir. Imran Khan, the PM of Pakistan, was there to seek some resolution of this issue of Kashmiri people. Being a representative of Kashmiris, he played his part impressively, and with realistic examples and arguments, he concluded that if "we," the Kashmiris, the Muslims, were forced to the corner, the only answer would be (la ilaha illallah), there is no God but one. We will FIGHT!" These lines, he explained in the next part, were not meant to threaten but to present the case, which might end in a worldwide disaster if not taken care of. Through this warning, he has also served the purpose of clarifying the often-misread Islamic concept of 'Jihad.' Muslims do not feel afraid of death; they fight for ALLAH, fight for the sake of Islam, and fight for the sake of their rights as a Muslim. He pledges to the United Nations again to come forth, interfere, urge for the curfew's uplifting in Kashmir and give the Kashmiris the Right of Self-determination.

Imran Khan started his speech by declaring that he had been there to bring a grave issue to the light and ended it by impressively presenting the case of Kashmiris. The speech distinguished between "Us" and "Them" in different dimensions. The distinction was made more evident by the

_____

appearance of the Prime Minister too. On this occasion, he was wearing Shalwar Kameez, the national dress of Pakistan, and he had a rosary "tasbeeh" in his hand that gave him a look of a Muslim. He stood there in front of world leaders and addressed the world nations as a representative of Pakistan and Muslims in general.

Conclusion

The analysis shows the discourse chosen by a political leader when he was a representative of his country and religion at an international forum. The discourse of his speech, tone, style of delivering the message, and appearance represented Pakistan and Muslims.

The analysis has revealed an evident division of "Us" and "Them" in each part of the speech of the 22nd Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan, which he delivered in the 74th session of the United Nations General Assembly New York on September 28, 2019. The Prime Minister spoke about four major issues: climate change, money laundering, Islamophobia, and Kashmir. He discussed the line of difference between "Us" and "Them" in each issue, highlighted the need to resolve them, and pledged to the politically and economically powerful to play their role in bridging the gap between "Us" and "Them" to ensure world peace.

He warned of a looming catastrophe if the international community did not act urgently to stop Indian atrocities in Kashmir. He also spoke at length on rising Islamophobia in the West and the disastrous impact of climate change. He declared that the world's negative attitude towards Islam and Muslims' suppression had been a major cause of radicalization in the Islamic world. Imran Khan's speech at the UN reflects that he has presented himself as a strong, selfless, and stalwart leader of Pakistan and Muslims. He represented the weak, the victim, the sufferer, and the oppressed and presented his case against the cruel, the plunderer, the intolerant, and the oppressor in a forceful manner on an international forum.

The present study makes it evident that political leaders' speeches specially delivered at some international forums can be a subject of great interest to the researchers who aim at investigating the role of language in asserting power and identity. It also has far-reaching implications for the ones who are trying to be public speakers in academic, political, or social spheres. Future researchers may also consider the conversational styles and non-verbal features of the political leaders and analyze language use in context- discourse.

References

Ahmed, S. (2014). Critical Discourse Analysis of Prime Minister's Speeches on Harmful Aerial Vehicles (Drones). International Journal of Languages and Linguistics.

Austin, L. (1962). *How to do things with words: The William James lectures*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Asensio, J. L. (Ideology, Identity, and Power: The Linguistic Construction of the Voice of the Other in Two Immigration Short Stories. *Odisea, 17*. 119-138.

Bayram, F. (2010). Ideology and political discourse: A critical discourse analysis of Erdogan's political speech. *ARTICLE 7(1)*: 23-40.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101

Chilton, P. A. (2004). *Analyzing political discourse: Theory and practice*. New York: Routledge

Essed, P. (1997). Racial intimidation: Sociopolitical implications of the usage of racist slurs. In S. H. Riggins (Ed.), *the language and politics of exclusion* (pp. 131-152). London: Sage Publications.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

———— (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.

Iqbal, A. Discourse Analysis of Prominent Politicians' Public Speeches: Pre and Post-Election 2013, Pakistan.

Karim, H. K. (1997). The historical resilience of primary stereotypes: Core images of the Muslim other. In S. H. Riggins (Ed.), *the language and politics of exclusion* (pp. 153-182). London: Sage Publications.

Naz, S., Alvi, S. D., & Baseer, A. (2012). Political Language of Benazir Bhutto: A Transitivity Analysis of Her Speech 'Democratization in Pakistan.' Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business, 4(8), 125-141.

_____

O'Barr, W. (1994). *Culture and the ad: Exploring otherness in the world of advertising.* Boulder, CO: Westview

Parker, I. (1994). Reflexive research and the grounding of analysis: Social psychology and the psy-complex. Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 4(4), 239–252.

Riggins, S. H. (Ed.). (1997). *the language and politics of exclusion: Others in discourse*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Schaffner, C. (1996). Political Speeches and Discourse Analysis. *Current Issues in Language and Society, 3*(3). 201-204.

Sharififar, M., and Rahimi, E. (2015). Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches: A Case Study of Obama's and Rouhani's Speeches at the UN. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies 5(2):*343-349.

Singh, I. (2004). "Language and Ethnicity." In I. Singh & Jean Stilwell Peccei (Eds*.), Language, Society, and Power: An Introduction* (2nd ed., pp. 93–110). London: Routledge.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). Political discourse and racism: Describing others in western parliaments. In S. H. Riggins (Ed.), *the language and politics of exclusion* (pp. 31-64). London: Sage Publications.

Van Dijk, TA (2006). Ideology and discourse analysis. *Journal of Political Ideologies, 11 (2)*: 115–140.

-------------, (2001). Political Discourse and Ideology. *Doxa Communication, 1*, 207-225.