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Critical Discourse Analysis of PM N. Sharif's UNOGA Discourse Deciphering Covert Rhetoric—Dialectical Perspective

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Abstract: This rigorous research attempts to decipher the covert rhetoric —ideology of peace and justice—reflected in Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's UNOGA address, 2015. This paper examines the relationship between text and elements of power and ideology reflected in PM's political discourse from dialectical perspective. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) bases on "social critique and transformative action for change on a critique of discourse" (Fairclough, 2015) and it advances from endoxa (opinion) to praxis (action) to reflect change in existing reality. The researcher employs Fairclough's (1989, 1995) three dimensions model that includes text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation) and social analysis (explanation). This study also assesses Faircloughian conjecture that "ideologies embed in texts" and "texts are open to diverse interpretations" (Fairclough, 1995). The selected speech of the PM in term of corpus' power and ideological components are critiqued and assessed. It is also attempted to decode how clandestine elements of power and ideology underpin the leaders' discourses and how their linguistic strategies and discourses exercise power and ideologies to shape opinion of the readers or listeners to understand realities better as "using of language involves something that goes beyond the acquisition of structures" (Yalden, 1987).

Keywords: Dialectics, Rhetoric, Political Discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis, Deciphering Covert Power and Ideology, Overt Reality

1. Introduction

Politics is power pedestal one intends to put foot on. Power conundrum proffers way out only to those who clasp substantial ideology, political vision, social sagacity and unyielding fervor to serve masses. Political leaders of such demeanor succeed to transform their ideas into definite shapes. Language is an apposite medium, apt trajectory and launching pad for them to air their clandestine political notions. This paper is an attempt to examine the PM's UNOGA discourse that is substantially of enormous global significance in times of international security turmoil. It is inevitable and exclusively crucial to decipher ideological and power tilting ideas contained in speech delivered in 70th session of General Assembly held on 30th September, 2015. The gargantuan importance of PM rhetoric gets multiplied in

an attempt by the PM to bring closer to two extremely hostile countries—Pakistan and India. The study intends to unfurl all that is aspired by PM in his official speech pertaining to united international responsibilities, alleviation of poverty, Kashmir issue, peace keeping missions in terrorism-shaken states, fight against terrorism, social injustice, to undermine the monopoly of privileged and powerful, and authoritative and justice based role of UNO, etc. by examining and interpreting dialectically the ideological and power elements contained in the text. This paper also examines the success of persuasive strategies adopted by PM and ensuing dialectical exposure of the contained ideological components and realities. As CDA invites reader or listener's own interpretation, researcher intends to decipher "ideologies

[that] reside in texts" (Fairclough, 1995) so the readers in general could sense the reality better—the chief end of CDA.

There are a number of remarkable research studies on CDA aiming to dissect political or other discourses in various veins and genres as follows. In their studies, Kazemian and Hashemi (2014, 2017) have introduced an integrated approach by analyzing political discourses in light of three disciplines and frameworks. In their first study (2014), they argue that CDA can be practiced for portraying, interpreting, inquiring, and critiquing social context and ideologies reflected in texts. CDA aims to systematically look into relationships between discursive practices, the structural form of language and the external social world. In data analysis, they have mentioned that Passivization and nominalization go hand in hand in most clauses and complement each other well. Through Passivization, information about agents at the sentence level are omitted and this agentlessness in clauses is most often achieved by metaphoricity and the use of passive verbs. The passive voices are impressively applied in the context illuminating the serious repercussions of worldwide and nationwide challenges, Mr. Obama's political opponents' actions, his Administration's and people's rights and responsibilities, his office's international diplomacy, terrorism etc. In some sentences, the orator has used by-passive voices (the use of the agent at the end of the clause) to de-emphasize the agent and underscore the event and action. However, in most cases the agent is totally removed and left implicit due to several reasons such as to avoid giving or taking blame or responsibility, to emphasize the effect or action, to make events seem more abstract, or to conceal responsibilities of certain individuals.

In their second study, Kazemian & Hashemi (2017) have analyzed ideological components embedded in three addresses of Mr. Barack Obama; the analysis is grounded in Fairclough's notions of ideology and importance of observing the grammatical aspects of discourse, Hallidayan Grammatical Metaphor (GM) in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and some rhetorical devices. In their article, they have investigated fifteen devices and sought to perceive how they function in political texts and how the speeches, as powerful and dynamic mediums, marshal thoughts and notions as a form of action. The exemplified and dominant featured tropes and strategies of their study are *Ideational GMs* (nominalization and process types), *modality metaphor* in interpersonal GM, *modal verbs*, *politeness theory*, *passivization*, *unification strategy* (we-groups), the use of *quotations* in CDA and some *rhetorical devices* such as *parallelism*, *three-part lists*, *antitheses*, and *lexical* and *textual analysis*. These devices are pinpointed and analyzed in three speeches to illuminate practicality, adeptness and efficiency of the *proposed integrated approach* in the discourse of politics which is generalizable to other discourses as well.

In some other veins, Ali and Kazemian (2015) have probed a speech by Liaquat Ali Khan titled 'Pakistan and the Modern World' in light of van Dijk's socio-cognitive model to highlight the important aspects of discourse production and comprehension. It was mainly pursued to discover how the language of a politician pursues people in the enactment of power dominance, inequality, and the imposition of an ideology. In another study, Ali, Kazemian & Bughio (2015) have probed a reading text '*Pakistan Zindabad*' to identify problems showing the gap and unawareness on the part of teachers and students regarding the critical discourse of the text in classroom reading context. In surveying the recent annals of literature, some other considerable studies have also inspected various political, advertisement etc. discourses in light of CDA to discern multiple strategies exploited by orators and political pundits and to show how politicians make the text/talk persuasive, significant, appealing and obscure, as well as how they convey their intended objectives to the audience (Zhou & Kazemian, 2015; Hussein, 2016; Amoli, 2016; Skarp, 2016; Carreon, & Svetanant, 2017; Gill & Kausar, 2017; etc.). Prior studies have tended to concentrate on some other genres and discourses. This study is unique in the sense that it attempts to bridge the gap among previous studies by examining the relationship between text and elements of power and ideology reflected in PM's political discourse from dialectical perspective.

2. Theoretical Fortification

2.1. Discourse and its Varied Interpretations

The term "discourse" constitutes varied interpretations and accepts many a definition. It, "integrates a whole palette of meanings" (Titscher et. at. 1998) encompassing multi variety of disciplines. Discourse is "language" viewed [rationally] in a certain way, as a part of the social process (Fairclough, 2015, P.7) and is dialectically viewed as "a form of power, a mode of forming beliefs/values, an institution, a mode of social relating, and a material practice" (Harvey, 1996 cited in Fairclough, 2015). Discourse, is a language stitched with other aspects of process understanding socialization. This inter-connectivity of language and discourse does not restrict discourse as just language but it includes multi-semiotic text, facial expression, bodily positions, movement and gestures (Fairclough, 2015, P.8). Discourses are also viewed by Willgenstein as "forms of life" and "ubiquitous ways of knowing and valuing and experiencing the world" (Luke, 2016). Discourse reflects power and knowledge through text in varied social contexts, sociology, linguistics and philosophy. It follows that discourse is a broad term, open for wider interpretation, and reflects wilder implication than "text". This study applies (Fairclough, 1989; P.24) definition of discourse that refers to "the process of social interaction of which text is just a part" and includes concept of discourse as "text in context" (Van Dijk, 1997, P.3) that contains covert notion of power and ideology. The social order of discourse contains a "hidden effect of power" that is not easily deduced/perceived from the "interactions and text" (Fairclough, 2015, P.73) that is what this paper aims to elucidate through the selected text.

2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis—Endoxa to Praxis

Critical Discourse Analysis is not, as a body of research identifies, a monolithic research paradigm, or a field of research investigation but an agglomeration of varied interdependent approaches for a meticulous understanding of the socially ordered discourse. Before embarking on to investigate the traces of maturity stages of CDA, it is pretty reasonable to define what CDA stand for. CDA theorists and critics have been attempting inexhaustibly to encircle multi-angled perspectives to connect it to its locus. The varied endeavors take their inception from a variety of disciplines including, philosophy, language, sociology and psychology etc.

CDA critiques discourse and itself is but discourse. It interprets, evaluates and explains discourse (Fairclough, 2015. P.9). Fairclough views CDA as tool that critiques discourse but at the same time the critiqued discourse is again a discourse that can be further critiqued. The primary and focused concern of CDA is to critique contradictions between what is claimed and what is expected to be, and what is actually it meant for objectively. CDA deciphers contradiction caused by wider social reality which they exist within. This view is augmented further when critical linguistics lays it emphasizes on "recovering the social meanings expressed in discourse by analyzing the linguistics structures in the light of their interest and wider social context" (Fairclough, et, al., 1979, P.195-196). CDA, from the theoretical underpinning encompasses a variety of conceptual ranges and is summarized as:

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), critique discourse and expedite evaluative or explanatory operation discourse by (1) interpreting text written as spokes in social context, (2) re-contextualizing the discourse for critical analysis, (3) relocating it in the context, (4) deciphering contradictions and, (5) unearthing wider social relations. It is also viewed as a form of "meta-critique" as it acknowledges discourse participant's own interpretation of the discourse that is concrete action (praxis) within particular context for a good understanding of the existing reality (Fairclough, 2015, p-21).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) employs ensemble of techniques for textual practice and language use a social and cultural practices (Fairclough, 1992). CDA rests upon certain theoretical discourse works/across institutive sites and texts, shape human identities and action, by playing constructive function. It takes inception/or/in/from Bourdieu's sociological assumption that textual practices assume forms of cultural capital. Furthermore, it draws its inspiration from neomarxist cultural theory that assumes discourses are stormed and used/utilize for political economics (Heill, 1990, as cited in Luke, 2016). In addition, drawing from textual practices, further CDA includes multi-semiotic texts which combine and have always combined language with other semiotic form including facial expression bodily positions and movements gestures (body language) (Fairclough, 2015). This idea is further strengthened:

"Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is obviously not a homogeneous model, nor a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotics or discourse analysis" (Van Dijk, 1993, P.131)

Deduced form body of literature, CDA function under interdisciplinary techniques of textual analysis and opinions, and look at how texts reflects social identities, and social relationships across a variety of spoken and written texts, classroom talk, forms, political speeches, talk shows, newspaper, articles and commentaries of varied forms.

Referring back to CDA as agglomeration of approaches, its development stages stem from Frankfort School (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Its strength lies in its augmentation of variety of approaches that give rise to complexity ensuing from its interdisciplinary dependent nature and its employment of varied "theoretical models, research methods and agenda" (Fairclough. et. al. 2011, P.357). Its early traces are found back in 1980 in UK and Western Europe, and since that it has burgeoned into a widely applied "set of approach that explores the connections between language use and, its producers and consumers, and the social and political context, structures, and practices in which it occurs" (Waugh. et. al. 2015). It reflects language implications as issues such as how power and ideologies are determined by the language used, what impact it has, and how it reflects, how it serves the interests, how it identifies positions, opens perspectives and determines values of the discourse producers who are in power. CDA discriminately exposes exploitations, reaps "commonsense, and taking social action ensues social change or helps in deliverance of justice." CDA is normally termed as "normative" as it discriminates between what is right and wrong and addresses social evils or at least attempts to mitigate impacts of social wrongs. (Fairclough, 2010, P.11)

It is evident, from the body of research literature that highly contested statements from both the camps, practicing CDA and critiquing CDA, are found in the critical underpinnings of CDA. The scholars and analysts advocating CDA do not find any element of affinity among themselves, nor do the warring camp. Some theorists and analysts prefer to term it as critical discourse studies (CDP) and other discourse studies (DS). PDA (Positive Discourse Analysis) is termed by another group. Yet another group of researchers, scholars and analysts who favour semiotic and multimodality and object centrality of language (Discourse, text) in CDA, In short, CDA is employed for any type, for any kind of discourse, in any medium by the use of varied methodology.

Conventionally, it is believed by the conservation analysts like Widdowson (2004) that scholarship should not be mixed with activism. Radical critics do not see CDA at the radical ambition. Some cast skeptic eyes for emancipating goals of CDA. This group claimed that CDA could not step forward from academicism and informs on a debilitating lack of knowledge of the politics of knowledge linked to its own discourse practices (Penycook, 2001). Inferring from this controversy, researchers feel inclined towards critics who object CDA scholars for keeping it limited to academic domain. Equally, the uncomfortability rests in agreeing with

conservative scholars. The growing popularity and practical use of CDA methodology in citation numerous fields of knowledge researchers view Faircloughian model as ballooned approach and its potentiality in 3 points model serves well to dig out relevant dialectical relation of power and ideology contained in socially ordered discourse. This model consists of three inter-related processes of analysis. These one are as under:

Step 1 – Text analysis – description of the formal properties spoken or written text

Step 2 – Processing analysis – interpretation of the relation between text and interaction, text's production process and as a resource in the process of interpretation.

Step 3 – Social Analysis – Explanation of relationship between social context and interaction/social determination of the process of production of interpretation, and then social impacts. (Fairclough, 1989, P.26)

Faircloughian three dimensional model is intensively useful as it renders multiple analytical enquiries of the socially regulated discourses which produced by the socially constrained processes. This is found to be the best suited approach for this paper that helps in analyzing dialectics delivered in UNO General Assembly and how is the spoken text positioned and what interest are best served by this positioning and discourse is implicated in relation of power and ideology to transform realities the better.

2.3. CDA – A Dialectical Perspective

CDA is labeled as somewhat having peripheral position in critical social science. Fairclough (2015) claims, "CDA belongs to critique and transformative action for change on a critique of discourse." This sense is termed as "dialectics" or dialectical reasoning or in more comprehensive term as dialectical argumentative (Bhasker, 1987-1993.)

Endoxa (opinion beliefs, what people say) of discourse upshots dialectical reasoning that seeks resolution of differences of opinion, and intends to attain a truth of some sort by inquiry (Karabbe, 2002, as cited in Fairclough, 2015).

CDA is considered as a form of dialectical practical reasoning that advances from normative critique of discourse (Endoxa) and moves along social elements towards transformation action (Praxis) to bring a change in existing reality. Recently, Aristotelian dialects gets transformed by Hegel and Marx, and is assumed that critique of language is an inherent part of Marx's dialectical Method that yields the explanatory understanding of the existing order for transformative Praxis to change the prevalent reality for better (Fairclough2015, P.18) that is also called as contingent social constructivism (Fairclough, Jessep and Sayer, 2004). This existing reality gets transformed by critiquing social practices that evolving power relation contained in spoken or written texts. This analysis and critiquing existing relation between power and discourse is the chief end of CDA. The idea is strengthen by Fairclough (2015) who asserts, "Powerful groups of people in business and government using their power to impose changes, including charges in discourse which eventually transformed the order of

discourse". And furthermore, the impact of power helps in bringing mutability as "People with economic power, on international as well as national levels, shape opinions attitudes, common sense assumption and action in all areas of social life." (Ibid, 2015, P.28)

The best suited paradigm to materialize this betterment in existing social on political relation is CDA that critiques language as discourse, which reflects "Language is conceived as one element of the social process dialectically interconnected with others" (Fairclough, Graham, 2002, P. 188). CDA is employed to analyze text to explore what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interactions or communicative events play a role in production or reproduction of unequal power relations (Van Dijk, 1993, P.250). Either CDA is taken as set of methods and theories for analyzing language used in social contexts. The two interconnected notion 'talks' and 'texts' are structured under the umbrella of CDA that emerges from critical school of linguistics (Kress and Hodge, 1979; Fowler et al., 1979). The inevitability of relation rests in discourse and context as "discourse is not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration" (Fairclough, and Wodak 1997; P.278). The chief end of CDA is the relationship between discourse and social power, and it focuses to "describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions" (Van Dijk, 2001). Undeniably, it is that modern approach which tries to critique power, ideologies by dialectical reasoning to arrive at better solution of the social realities involved."

3. Critical Analysis

3.1. Analysis of Ideological Underpinnings

This study rests its analysis and interpretations of the ideological reflections underlying the General Assembly speech delivered by PM Nawaz Sharif. This understudy discourse finds its traces in the social process and attempts to decipher covert ideological aspects of the selected text under dialectical perspective.

(1)- "We congratulate Mr. Mogens Lykkctoft for his election as President of the 70th Session of the UN General Assembly. It is acknowledgement of your distinguished career in public service. We share your commitment to action towards building a more just and stable world".

Before embarking on to resolve the disputed and burning issues, Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif acknowledges and eulogies President of the 10th session, Mr. Mogens Lykkctoft for his meritorious services. The unprejudiced and heart-felt appreciation reflects PM's intentions to develop and respect relationship with global community without considering race and creed. The style used is adjectival and dignified. In the end, his hint for "building a more just and stable world" marks the impetus set in the next portion of the discourse, and reflects his serious concern of ideology of peace and justice to be established for

the security of this little planet.

(2)- "Seventy years ago, the United Nations was created from the ruins of the most devastating war the world has witnessed. Its purpose was to build universal peace and prosperity on the basis of equitable principles, cooperation and collective action…But, we – the peoples of the United Nations – have not succeeded in beating our arms into ploughshares or promoting universal prosperity and larger freedoms".

Prime Minister, historically and in actuality underpins the necessity of the creation of UNO. The UNO took its birth from the ashes of badly burnt, devastated, calamitous, quagmirish and destroyed world. The elevated and esteemed objectives of its inception were to establish universal peace and prosperityon the basis of equality and justice. He recognizes, despite unspeakable havocs of wars, the United Nations attempted to serve global community. He recognizes and appreciates attempts by using metaphorical and symbolic language by drawing on metaphors, "beacon" and "vehicle" for UNO.

On the contrary PM is alarming the global community for its "collective failure" in promoting universal prosperity and freedom. This collective failure stems out of unscrupulous arms race, prejudiced and unjust "non-proliferation treaties", confrontation among the nuclear states turning deaf ears to poverty, violation of human right, dislocations, increased number of refugees and forced migration particularly the Muslim people. PM justifies his serious concerns and warns the world, if injustices and exploitations are not brought to a standstill this threatened planet would witness unimagined damage.

(3)-"Today, our interdependent world possesses the financial, scientific and organizational capabilities to address these diverse and interrelated challenges that pose a common threat to all member states… implementation of these goals and targets".

The sincerity and commitments could bear fruit only if this interdependent world collectively endeavoures to face said challenges, assures PM Nawaz to the world leaders. He further stresses the need of collective will for the just utilization of resources. This faith in "collectivity", endorses PM's concerns are not personal, self-oriented, rather showing sincere intent for international peace, security and prosperity.

The temporal deixis, "today" soothes and ensues refreshing start that ends in unflinching faith for far-reaching resolution.

3.2. The Failure and Ineffectiveness of UNO

(4)- "On the 70ᵗʰ anniversary of the UN, we should strive to adapt this world organization so as to respond effectively to the current and emerging challenges that confront us all. Pakistan supports a comprehensive reform of the United Nations, including that of the Security Council. We need a Security Council that is more democratic, representative, accountable and transparent. A Council that reflects the interests of all member states, in accordance with the principle of sovereign equality. Not a Council, which is an

expanded club of the powerful and privileged".

Prime Minister overtly objects the role of UNO in its failure in implementation of its resolutions [Kashmir resolution]. He demanded "comprehensive reformation" of the UNO including the Security Council as well. The power behind this discourse evidently is unearthing dissatisfactory and covert resentments of the member states that have been silent since its favours to 'big guns'. Ideological, PM sincerely wishes to keep peace and justifies his role of true reformer and well-wisher of humanity. He suggests principle of "sovereign equality" and role of UNO as "true democratic, accountable and transparent" institution that watches not the interests of the "powerful and the privileged" but safe-guarding the rights of the under-dogs and the down-trodden.

3.3. Peacekeeping and Global Threat of Terrorism

(5)- "Peacekeeping has been one of the key responsibilities of the United Nations… Pakistan is the primary victim of terrorism. We have lost thousands of lives including civilians and soldiers to terrorist violence…Our Operation, Zarb-e-Azb, is the largest anti-terrorism campaign against terrorists anywhere, involving over 180,000 of our security forces…But the narrative of the terrorists also has to be countered through the just resolution of the several instances of oppression and injustice against Muslims in various parts of the world".

Peacekeeping and encountering terrorism are the inevitabilities of the day. PM realizes the world that Pakistan has been an active promoter of international peace and security and playing its role as major troop contributor. The terrorist threats to Middle East, Palestine and the globe over, seek for unified agenda and collective will of all member states. He further lets the world realize that Pakistan is the "primary victim of terrorism". We have a list of thousand martyrs including 'civilians and soldiers" the largest deployment of security forces (180000) in Zarb-e-Azb is an ample proof of our struggles against terrorism. This scourge, intensively and intentionally, is being let to be inflicted on Muslims only. The discrimination and injustices are spotting emergent security threats and sprouting resentments among Islamic world. The world community is proffered awareness and dialectically persuaded for action for the security of member states. The dialectics of under analysis discourse unearth ideology of security element contained in PM speech. It is conceived, the selected discourse suggests prompt action for globe security, the better understanding of reality.

3.4. Kashmiris' Oppression and Indian Aggression

(6)-"Muslims are suffering across the world: Palestinians and Kashmiris oppressed by foreign occupation; persecuted minorities; and the discrimination against Muslim refugees fleeing persecution or war. The international community must redress these injustices against the Muslim people… Our peoples need peace to prosper. Peace can be achieved through dialogue, not disengagement…Since 1947; the

Kashmir dispute has remained unresolved. UN Security Council resolutions have remained unimplemented. Three generations of Kashmiris have only seen broken promises and brutal oppression. Over 100,000 have died in their struggle for self-determination. This is the most persistent failure of the United Nations".

Kashmir issue is an unattended chronic wound. Kashmiris have been the victim of untold oppression by unjust foreign occupation. The players involved displayed extreme aggression and distorted peace talks efforts. More than 100,000 Kashmiris have embraced martyrdom at the hands of Indian soldiers. Their generations have been lulled by "broken promises and brutal oppression", adds prime minister. Hevigorously laments and persistently stresses, "the most persistent failure of the United Nations". The violation of Line of control (LOC) and working Boundary (WB) are resulting incivilians' death of women and innocent children. The discourse justifies PM's personality as an ambassador of peace and security of the Asian region. The 4 points Peace Initiative proposal is truly a charter of peace and security proposed by PM, if implemented and acted upon in true letter and spirit. The peace proposal encloses:

1- Complete cease fire on LOC, and UNMOGIP's expansion to monitor the observance of cease fire.
2- Pakistan and India will not use or threat to use of force under any circumstances.
3- Steps be taken to demilitarize Kashmir.
4- Unconditional mutual withdrawal of forces from Siachen Glacier.

The peace keeping efforts and intentions reflected in GA discourse, undeniably uncover clandestine ideology of security and peace in the region. The power relation in discourse are emblem of surmounting resentments and dissatisfaction that could result in escalating tension further if issues are not addressed timely. He welcomes China's vision of "one belt, one road", and appreciates Russian cooperation in Asian cooperation. He visions all this could become success if multilateralism is objectively practiced.

3.5. Pakistan—A Responsible Nuclear State

(7)- "As a responsible nuclear weapon state, Pakistan will continue to support the objectives of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. We have maintained the highest standards of nuclear security and have established an effective regime to ensure the safety and security of our nuclear facilities and stocks".

Once again PM replicates his persistent intention to be a responsible actor in the peace-shaken era. He claims that they are responsible nation that maintained high level security of our nuclear assets. As a nuclear state they support and act on all security measures for the highest cause of peace keeping.

(8)- "We look forward to playing our part to build a brighter era of peace and prosperity in South Asia. We owe it to our people and to succeeding generations".

The speech ends on final note of sense of realization of peace and prosperity to be left as cherished gift for generations to come.

4. Textual Analysis

4.1. The Use of Linguistic Devices

The textual analysis is one of the main ingredients of procedure adopted for critical discourse analysis. The primary stage in text analysis according to Fairclough (1989) is description that identifies linguistic features (vocabulary, grammar items). Meyer (2001) argues that lexical meanings or "local meanings" are the product of speaker's selection. The researcher intends to rely on Faicloughian approach to examine the selected vocabulary to express rational and experiential meanings. The following section identifies dexterous employment of the linguistic devices listed as follows:

(1) Use of Formal words
(2) Use of Repetition Device
(3) The Use of Voice
(4) Declarative Mode

4.2. The use of Formal Vocabulary

The use of formal language is common in writing and speech. The speech delivered by PM Nawaz Shrif is an emblem of formal choice of words to show gesture of politeness and respect.

Salutations: At the very out set PM uses selected formal words as:

"...excellencies, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen..." (Salutation section)	
We congratulate Mr. Mogen for his election as president of the 70th Session of the UN General Assembly..."	*(Line, 01)*
"...We also pay tribute to Mr. Sam Kutesa..."	*(Line, 4)*
"...confrontation has returned to major powers..."	*(Para-3)*
"...we are witnessing human dislocation..."	*(Para, 3)*
"...we regard it as our obligation..."	*(Para, 4)*

4.3. The Use of Repetition Device

The targeted recipients are communicated by the use of repeated phrases either to stress on set objectives or to influence the minds of the audience. The repetition of any word or phrase draws attention in a short space of writing (Peter, 2004). The repetition of words identifies ideology of the prime Minister. Different repeated words with highest frequency reflect ideological implications. "…we welcome the…" (P-11), "…we look forward to…" (P-13) are clues of repeated phrases that show the ideology of willingness of speaker to expedite the peace struggles.

4.4. Constructive Self-impression

As representative of country, PM strives to impress upon the strength of his ideology. He being a down-to-earth leader shows his devotion for the solution of the problems identified, and realization of the responsibilities to achieve set goals. The use of phrases "we will fight terrorism in all its forms and manifestations", "…unless we address its

underlying causes" and "we look forward to playing our part to build a brighter era of peace and prosperity" demonstrate the determination, will and resolution of the PM Nawaz Shrif to bump into the issues posed. It also urges the World to realize their united responsibilities for the peace and security of all the states**.**

5. Grammatical Analysis

5.1. The Use of Voice

The use of passive voice in communicative chunks may deter perspicacity or pose haziness to understand speaker's stance. The mode of active vice helps clarity, lucidity and identifies pragmatic properties of the text or speech. PM's deliberate use of active voice in his speech is an attempt to minimize vagueness.

i-   "Pakistan is the primary victim of terrorism". (P-9)
ii- "We have lost thousands of live". (P-9)
iii- "The rise and spread of terrorism across the Middle East today poses unprecedented challenges". (P-9)
iv- "Muslims are suffering across the world". (P-11)
v-   "The international community must redress these injustices against the Muslim people".(P-12)

5.2. The Use of Declarative Mode

The UNO General Assembly speech identifies the use of declarative phrases and sentences by the PM who takes as subject position and imparts information to receiver. He gives information based on practical experience and stresses the inevitability to take action. He uses "the two countries should address and resolve…", "we propose that Pakistan India formalize and respect…" and "…steps be taken to demilitarize Kashmir" (Para, 18-19) in declarative mode to convince the world leaders to resolve disputed issue of Kashmir.

6. Connectivity and Cohesiveness

The linguistic devices which are used to connect previous and subsequent parts of a sentence are called cohesive devices. Cohesion in CDA is an apposite interconnectedness of the" properties of the text". A variety of cohesion devices is used in the written or spoken texts e.g. use of Collective Noun, Direct Action, Active Verb, Pre-modifier, Post-modifier, Substitution Devices, Anaphoric References, Cataphoric References, Opposition and Synonyms. CDA attempts to diagnose the textual beauties in relation associated with the use of different devices and how these devices are employed to make meanings clear. The enlisted devices contribute by explicating the importance of targets set and enhancing comprehensibility of the text implicated.

Use of Collective Noun
1. Direct Action
2. Active verb
3. Pre-modifier
4. Post- modifier
5. Substitution Devices
6. Anaphoric References
7. Cataphoric References
8. Opposition
9. Synonym

In the very outset of the speech the word "we" (Line, 1) is used to congratulate Mr. Mogens, later on the word "your" is used to substitute Mr. Mogens. This use of word "your" is called substitution. The speech is replete with such words that serve the purpose of cohesiveness and connectivity. The use of other device such as collective noun "we" instead of "I" by the PM Nawaz Sharif is an indication of convincing style and strategy that helps in creating attraction and ensues warm relation. The usage of the verb 'speak' in the phrase, "I speak the proud…" (Para-11) and "want" in "I want to use the opportunity" (Para-18) are the citations of direct action. There is another device called active verb. The use of word 'should' in the phrase "we should strive" is an illustration of active verb. To link some previous part with the subsequent part of a phrase or sentence with the help of a 'word' refers the use of Anaphoric relation e.g. "Pakistan supports a comprehensive reform…" and "we need a security council that is more democratic" (Para-7). The use of word "we" instead of "Pakistan" that refers back to previously mentioned things/objects (Pakistan) is anaphoric reference. This reference is meant to avoid repetition. Similarly, cataphoric reference refers forward object in discourse. It is opposite to anaphoric and presents more cohesiveness and unity to text. Mr. Nawaz Sharif employs this device in sentence "later this year in Paris, we will need..." PM uses this technique to mention his willingness and commitment to resolve concerned problems. The technique of synonym is quite frequent in debates and speeches. PM also employs this device in his address. He uses "Mr. President" in the first line and subsequent use of "we share your commitment" identifies the use of synonym device.

7. Analysis of Rhetoric Diction

7.1. The use of 'Tenet of Two'(words) Joined by Conjunction 'and'

The employed elocution—rhetoric language and aphoristic phraseology—verily adds to the beauties of text. The ordered collocations, the use of two adjectives connected with "and", the use of the 'Tenet of Two' or the 'Tenet of Three' etc. enrich the structural exquisiteness and contribute the rhetoric quality to the text in hand. The use of such techniques enhances beauty of expression, offers sonority, increases fluency, facilitates oratory and stresses the importance of the target pointed. The examples are listed here.

"…a more just and stable world…"   (Line-3)
"… universal peace and prosperity…"   (Para-1)
"…poverty and deprivation…"   (Para-3)
"…refugees and forced migrants…"   (Para-3)
"…the current and emerging challenges…" (Para-7)
"…club of the powerful and privileged…" (Para-7)
"…international peace and security…"   (Para-8)
"…civilians and soldiers …"   (Para-9)
"…forms and manifestations …"   (Para-9)

7.2. The 'Tenet of Three'

1- On the basis of equitable principles, cooperation and collective action.

7.3. The 'Tenet of Four'

1- The United Nations served the international community as the beacon of hope; the repository of freedom; an advocate of the oppressed; a vehicle for development and progress.

2- "We need a Security Council that is more democratic, representative, accountable and transparent."

8. Analysis of Recurring Words and Connotations

The qualitative analysis of the recurring words and connotations used in PM's General Assembly speech unfolds the following results.

The PM discourse consists of 1762 words. The article "the" recurs 140, "and" is repeated for 80, "our" for 22 and pronoun "we" for 22 times respectively. A detailed analysis of the recurred words and phrases is given in the following Table 1.

***Table 1.** Analysis of the Data of Recurred Words and Phrases.*

S.N	Recurred Words			Recurred Phrases		
	Words	Recurrence	% age	Phrases	Recurrence	% age
1	Pakistan	19	1.07	Mr. President	16	0.90
2	Peace	16	0.90	The United Nation	7	0.39
3	Security	13	0.73	The World	5	0.28
4	World/Terrorism	8	0.45	Of Terrorism	3	0.17
5	Challenge	7	0.39	The Threat	2	0.11
6	Threat/Cooperation	6	0.34	We Also	2	0.11
7	Prosperity/Action	5	0.28	That of	2	0.11
8	Poverty	4	0.22	Of Peace	1	0.56
9	Justice	2	0.11	We Need	1	0.56
19	Freedom	2	0.11	We Should	1	0.56

9. Conclusion

In CDA, the dialectical approach employed reflects that discourse analysis proffers readers the comprehensibility in adjudicating reality better, which is linked to power or ideological elements. Lukes (2005) suggests three version of power, the first works for decision-making, the second one helps in agenda setting and the third "refers to shaping norms, perceptions and established ideologies". Foucault (1995) refers strong "linkage between knowledge and power" as knowledge is an indicator of reaching reality straightforwardly. This power is relational which is structured by discourse. Politicians' language involves the process of control. According to CDA the analysis of PM speech involves the elements of power and ideologies that are revealed through textual and contextual features. The current discourse indubitably opines PM's pragmatic vision which is uncovered by his rhetoric of peace and security maintenance. Through this discourse according to Luke, he attempts to reshape existing established ideologies by his argumentative ideology of peace keeping. The world perception and Indian blames about Pakistan's involvement in terrorism is exclusively reshaped by PM 4 point agenda of peace proposal.

The power behind discourse is reflected as he manipulates his language imposingly to persuade the audience exclusively. This covert power of the GA discourse of PM resulted in a furious uproar by the Indian media, social scientist, journalist, TV anchors, columnist and politicians. He rises, through this discourse, as an emissary of peace and security. He pleaded Kashmir case and advocated for peace and security for the country. By this elevated image over opposition leaders, he ultimately succeeds in winning power in socio-political set up in Pakistan and turns out to be an insignia of power in the region. The discourse results in affective strategy to make the audience understand that our silence was not our weakness rather it was a gesture not to ensue aggression. If imprudent or unfussy steps had been taken, there would have been caused appalling mayhem to this region particularly, and the world over generally. All arguments, practical steps taken and suggested collective measures, if not taken into consideration, could result otherwise. This power deciphers covert power – is well received by the member states.

Secondly, linguistic analysis reveals, his use of formal words render his language selective or choosy that captivates the mind of audience. The vocabulary used is lofty, exalted and helps in achieving ideological goals. The grammatical features—the use of personal pronouns, pronouns, "I", "We" and "our", the use of repetition devices, action verb, anaphoric references, cataphoric references, substitute devices, synonyms, collocations and metaphoric devices adds to the beauty of cohesiveness and results in comprehendible connectivity. The use of exalted diction makes effective self-representation of the speaker which he did.

In brief, the findings in this study have served as a further support to CDA theories theoretically and practically.

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