

## Critical Discourse Analysis of Prime Minister's speeches on harmful aerial vehicles (Drones)

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### Abstract:

*The present study aims at finding the hidden ideologies behind words used in a language through CDA. The ongoing research consists of critical discourse analysis of some extracts of speech by prime minister of Pakistan on some key issues related to Pakistan and one most crucial matter, "drone attacks". Critical discourse analysis is a tool to unmask those inserted ideologies and put real intensions and ideas behind those utterances in front of people. The use of words is not mostly unbiased but, has a positive or negative colour on them. An effort has been done to find out the truth behind a whole speech on major issues of Pakistan generally and some chunks about drone attacks particularly of same speech, by Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Shrief. What are our national interests, what are views of major political parties and what are views of US? What are views of Amnesty international behind drone attacks? These chunks of PM's speech about drone attacks also elaborate the consequences of these strikes in Pakistan. Some audio speeches and some extracts of Pakistani newspaper "DAWN" has been used for the present analysis. On the basis of the analysis, discussions and conclusions has been given at the end of this paper.*

**Key words:** CDA, Socio cognitive model, social domination, ideology, power.

## **1. Introduction:**

Language is a tool used for decreasing gaps between people and it overcomes distances between minds of people because language is a source of attention and attraction. With the help of this gadget, one can exist in this world. Language is a communicative tool and a links through which we convey a message to the world and get connected to this universe. "The word is one of the smallest, completely satisfying bits of isolated "meaning" into which the sentence resolves itself" (Sapir, 1921, pg. 34). So language free of restricted and not so simple but grows more and more, and like a river in a pot, just few words give birth to a sea of words. This language is loaded with direct and indirect meanings (factual and contextual meaning). These are two perspectives behind a single utterance. "Language is not simply a neutral medium for generating subject knowledge, but a form of social practice that acts to constitute as much as to reflect social realities" (Silverman, 2000). As mentioned that language is not so, simple as one may think about it. We use it to convey our thinking. This may be simple or informal communication but language of political leaders is not a simple game of words but it convey a deep message through some words may be simple for us but they are loaded with contextual or deep message or ideology. Language itself is not powerful but it gains power by powerful people who by using it infuse a message to people and inculcate their ideology to whole state. So, one can assert that language itself is an ideology maker tool.

### **1.1 Objective of this study:**

Whenever some words emerge on public scene, there would be some message for others. Particularly in this study, the focus is that why the speech of Prime Minister is so important for this research and why specifically drone attacks issue is being

raised? Either this issue is included in his intensions or he wants to gain a name and fame by raising this issue. Former government has also raised voice but in vain. There are some objectives behind this research. First one is that what is prime minister's ideology behind this utterance? Secondly, what he actually wants to say through these particular selections of words? What are his intensions, hidden motifs and what would be the effect of his words? What would be the consequences and conclusion from his words? So this research paper is basically going to deal with these questions. At last it would be tried to find out the exact conclusions from his words.

## **1.2 Background to the Study:**

Some major insides of Prime Minister's speech have a longer historical background and this speech focuses on those issues.

Drone attacks are basically a pre planned program controlled by USA. They consider it a helpful tool to control terrorism and to target the combatants. Except Pakistan, this program is also had been launched in some other countries like Afghanistan etc. Drone attacks in Pakistan as the issue has got an attention of people now at international level, was the main focus point of PM's speech. As this issue has affected Pakistan a lot and for an atomic country and country of strongest security forces, this issue is a question mark at the name of that country so this issue was under stressed words of prime minister. This drone issue has a history of more than one decade. The second burning issue was terrorism and its consequences on country and it has created a bad image of Muslims generally and of Pakistanis particularly at international level. Matter of Dr. Afia was also a part of his speech but not equal to the level of drone attacks. Relations with India and matter of Kashmir were also under his considerations. These both issues are still unresolved and have also a longer historical background. Right after the

separation of Pakistan from India, there has been some rise and fall in relations of Pakistan and India.

All the five were the major issues which were the crux of his speech to parliament and speech while going to United States of America. Here there is a brief introduction of each issue particularly of drones. One who is foreign to Pakistan should know these issues below to understand this research properly.

Drone attacks have a very short history in Pakistan. The initiative of drone attacks was taken by the government of that time in reaction of 9/11. Exact date of this initiative was June 18, 2004 and location of these attacks was Northwest of Pakistan (FATA). On U.S side, these strikes got their start in George W. Bush's time, and continued till the government of Mr. Barak Obama.

Pakistani officials again and again raised their voices against this fatal lawless death game and put a stress to stop them because these strikes not only violate Pakistan's territorial integrity but also kill innocent and unarmed Pakistanis. But Obama administration has denied this fact all the time. These are strikes also violation of "UN charter of human rights".

There were two major groups which have some sub-groups. At one side, United States of America with collaboration of NATO and CIA were operational and on the other hand combatant's groups like TTP, Afghan Taliban, Haqqani Network, Al-Qaeda, Lashkar-e-Islam and some foreign activists were functional. Pakistan had provided "Shamsi air base" for these strikes till "21 April, 2011". If we take a bird eye view of whole programme, the highest strikes rate (122 strikes) was in 2010 and 849 people including 16 innocent people were killed and in 2006, 93 innocent people were being hit and only one terrorist was killed in 2006. If we do a comparison of administrations of Mr. George W Bush and Mr. Barak Obama's, we would observe that "During the Bush administration, there

was an American drone attack in Pakistan every 43 days: during the first two years of the Obama's administration, there was a drone strike there every *four* days". (Peter Bergen, April 2012). Total civilian unarmed people being killed by drone were more than 286. From the very start of these strikes, Pakistani courts and government raised their voices against these strikes. Majority of Pakistani public is also against these strikes. On the other hand, an American article says that "drones are legal and do not violate any rule but it is permissible under U.N charter and under Article 51 of United Nations. Under American laws these strikes are not illegal" Cong (2001).

Terrorism is also the result of U.S invasion in Afghanistan and a result of drone attacks. More than 50 thousand innocent people became the victim of terrorism and this death rate is rising upward gradually. Dr. Afia Siddique is a Pakistani citizen who was arrested in accusation of assaults on U.S forces and sent to U.S jail for 86 year. A number of protests movements started in her favour but in vain. Unfortunately, every government has raised this issue but not being dealt with serious intensions every time.

Pakistan has always faced ups and downs in relations with India. Open fire on borders has also weakened the relations. There are some issues regarding water treaty. There are some more issues regarding relations between two countries. Matter of Kashmir has been one of the burning issues between Pakistan and India which is still unresolved. Prime minister had said in his speech in Washington that Pakistan and India has a common destiny. They both have no option but to solve their issue peacefully. This issue has also a longer historical background.

### **1.3 Review of the related literature:**

The study at present has not a very long history except some issues, so there is not too much research about these issues. As

all these matters have got attention of almost all countries of the world before some years, particularly drone attacks, so there have been conducted researches on this matter and all researches tried to find out the realities behind these attacks. For instance, in a research paper, drone has been considered as right tool to tackle with terrorists and terrorism (CORNELL INT'L L.J. 729, 2011). Some other researchers from Pakistan (Quaid-I-Azam University, Islamabad) have conducted their research on some political talk shows about drone attacks to explore their findings about this crucial issue. There they have presented the ideological analysis of different political members. What are their ideologies behind drone attacks? However, everybody has tried to deal with his own views by sporting with solid reasons. There are some foreign researches regarding this issue particularly and they have given their views in favour of drone attacks as it is helpful against war on terrorism. As this matter is not historical or having a longer background, so there are not too much researches on this present issue.

## **2 Discourse:**

Discourse is a general term, a unit of language, a speech or orderly expression of thoughts in a text, not restricted to a single sentence but above the level of a sentence. Discourse analysis is used for analysing a language either spoken or written. Discourse could be any piece of material that conveys a message to others. It can also be seen as a tool and fro of exchanges in talk or talk that have some effect on society. So base of discourse is a language chained with words.

Michel Foucault gives views about discourse as:

- 1) The general domain to all statements.
- 2) An individualizable group of statements.

### **3. Critical discourse analysis:**

Whenever there come some words in public, there would be a direct message in indirect way. It is obvious that a single statement could be explained in number of ways. It can be in a way that one got furious at once and the same statement should be presented in a way that even a learned man cannot think it a furious statement. If we observe a whole scenario of a political system of a country, it could be observed that CDA has a major role in politics. CDA is a helpful tool for understanding the indirect messages in any statement generally and particular in politics that provides possibilities of any occurrences. Generally, it deals with social issues but particularly with political matters. It analyzes any piece of speech oral or written critically, not as it is. Then it tells us, what are intensions of speaker behind these particular selections of words? Whenever the term "critical" used, it means that there is an engagement of some unequal relations. CDA not only deals with the shrouded ideologies but also tells that how selection of words is utilized for grooming those ideologies. Context has a foremost role behind words. Actually the few words used by speakers in some way convey their message. Van Dijk defines CDA as: "Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context." (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 352)

Critical research on discourse needs to satisfy a number of requirements in order to effectively realize its aims. Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80) summarize these main tenets of CDA as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work

5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

If we explain these points by keeping in view the matters of this research, we can observe that drone attack is not a domestic matter but a social problem. Power relations are also rambling. Discourse also comprises of culture of a particular social setting. Ideologies are also being described behind words. All the matters of present research have a historical background also. There are some type of unities or connections between texts and society. Discourse analysis is also tool that interprets any text and provides us evidences about the link of word with the society.

### **Frame work:**

We would try to explore the hidden ideologies behind these discourses by following Van Dijk's frame work.

After viewing this particular model, we would:

- Examine the context of discourse, political and historical background of discourse.
- Examine group relations (Prime Minister Nawaz Shrief vs. Members of Parliaments) and (Prime Minister Nawaz Shrief vs. U.S president)
- Describe deeper level of meaning and semantic level of meanings.
- Examining the formal structures and strategy of group of positive self-representation and negative other-representations.
- Explore the hidden intensions behind discourses.

### **Data collection:**

Some news chunks from national English news paper "DAWN" (published on 20<sup>th</sup> of October, 2013) has taken for analysis and for whole speeches, prominent media channels (Geo news and Express news) were keenly observed to raise the core points from Prime Minister's speech. Some foreign papers were also being studied to learn about the view point of U.S and amnesty international.

### **Data analysis:**

#### **Chunk no. 1**

*"We respect the sovereignty of others and they should respect our sovereignty and independence. This campaign must come to an end,"* he told MPs. [2013-10-20 01:35:42]

#### **Analysis:**

This part of speech by Mr. Prime minister had been addressed to the members of parliament of Pakistan. In this first chunk, Prime minister's major focus was on "sovereignty". The word "sovereignty" was used by PM twice in a single statement. Once to show our policy about freedom and respect of other countries and secondly, when he is demanding the same respect from others.

This particular word of his speech has a greater significance because sovereignty means free from any kind of restrictions and self support. Pakistan is a sovereign and liberated country came into being in August14, 1947 have a strong defence system. It not only believes on the freedom of other countries but also demands the same respect for itself. If anyone who attacks in Pakistan's areas without any permission and agreement, this means that particular element is not admitting the freedom and independence of Pakistan. We

favour the independence of every one. Pakistan is also an Atomic country. If we talk about atomic power, the present prime minister is the one who had played a central role in making this country an atomic power during his former ruling duration. Pakistan is also a peaceful country and favours peace all the time. Pakistan has never used its war assets against any country's sovereignty without any solid reason throughout the history.

So all in a single phrase, we can assume that Pakistan is peaceful and independent country and favours the same respect and freedom for others so it demands an end of this death game.

## **Chunk no. 2**

***London: "Drone attacks violate the sovereignty of Pakistan and that the issue will be raised during his visit to the United States"*** (Dawn News reported)

### **Analysis:**

Here in these lines, the word "*violate*" is being focused in prime minister's speech. Violation means one considers nothing to other or either one country is so capable and powerful that there is no importance for her so that country crosses the limits of that particular country. Violation of anything is simply unacceptable for everyone. Pakistan is capable to defend its soil. Pakistan has geographically fixed boundary. Security forces are deployed at borders for security of people which shows Pakistan's dominance. Drone not only violates that domination but also targets innocent people, which is a question mark on our sovereignty. As globally acknowledged that drones are planted by USA so, prime minister said that this issue would be raised during his meeting with American President. America, who is the world power, plans these drones in war on terrorism. Here a question arises that why this issue would be raised during US visit? The answer could easily be

presented that because these strikes are lawful, legal and following UN charter according to US reports. So these strikes could be related with the strategies of US against terrorism.

### **Chunk no. 3**

***“All institutions are supporting me in the best interest of the country,” Mr Sharif said. (DAWN 22 Oct)***

All political parties of Pakistan almost have same view point about drone. Pakistan Army is one of the crucial institutions of Pakistan which has all the time supported democratic government from the previous years of former government. Political institution is also in favour of PM's views. All provincial governments have proved as supportive elements in issues regarding Pakistan's sovereignty. All political parties of Pakistan are against drone attacks and they have same views as the prime minister and his party have. So all institutions including his own party is supporting prime minister in the best interests of Pakistan.

### **View point of PTI:**

One of the emerging major party of Pakistan “PTI” also has raised its voice against drones. Even they had blocked the NATO supply for the stoppage of drone attacks in KPK and they had also moved marches against drones. Dr Shireen Mazarin of PTI had asked once that if there is not agreement between USA and Pakistan, then why government is not so much serious about the stoppage of drone. She and some other party leaders also have raised their voices against drones. But after the visit of PM to US, there is some change in their views as the drone strikes has also lessened.

### **PPP and PML (Q) on drones:**

PPP and PML-Q although have not took solid steps against drones in their reigns but they are also at the same platform with the present government. Pakistan people's party (PPP)

has ruled for five years but they have not raised this serious issue with serious intensions. Before PPP, PML (Q) has also spent more than five years in government, but they were part of dictatorship of that time and during their period, this program was started. But now at present time they are standing with the present government and supporting her in this matter of unmanned drone war.

### **MQM on drones:**

Chairman of Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), Altaf Hussain has demanded that “government should speak the truth about their inability to stop US drone attacks in the tribal areas of the country” (DAWN, August 17, 2013).

In a statement, the MQM chief said facts could not be hidden in the era of information technology. Altaf Hussain questioned the capability of those claiming to stop drone attacks when they could not even arrest an armed man in Islamabad.

Altaf Hussain said that country's defence would improve only by speaking truth in front of camera. Nation must be aware of the facts and realities about the issues of Pakistan. We should also learn a lesson from past.

“Nobody will dare to cast an evil eye on Pakistan if we jointly defend its borders,” he said and added that all the political parties should admit their mistakes and refrain from burying every issue. So in above quotations we can observe that he is also talking about the support for present government.

So here in this piece of statement, PM Nawaz Shrief actually wants to state that I am the one who has to decide about the future of drones in Pakistan.

### **Chunk no. 4**

- 1. “Drone attacks must stop. We have protested many a time. This is simply unacceptable,”( DAWN, June 9, 2013)***

There is stress on the words “*must stop*” and at last “*unacceptable*”. On the basis of these two phrases, it could be assumed that now conditions are totally changed because previous government was not too much serious about this matter and now nation is also much furious about this matter. Another assumption is that now with the innovations in the world of technology, nation of Pakistan particularly and whole world generally is much aware about fact and figures of this issue. There was more and more protest before this time to stop these attacks. So these strikes are simply intolerable. So it clear that there is a great stress on stoppage of drones.

### **Chunk no. 5**

#### **2. “*Government of Pakistan strongly condemns the drone strikes which are a violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty and territorial integrity*”.(DAWN)**

Again and at last, officially a rejection is stressed is declared that these are not supportive and helpful but they are the infringement of the boundaries of Pakistan. There are two violations behind these target killings. First one as mentioned above that violation of west borders of Pakistan. Then there is also violation of territorial areas. Though these strikes help US, but these are harmful and even fatal for the innocent people who have no clash even with US. They have to face these strikes without any reason. They even lose their beloved in these strikes. So the integrity of these territorial areas is more important. That is why government is condemning strongly these attacks.

### **Drone attacks and US officials:**

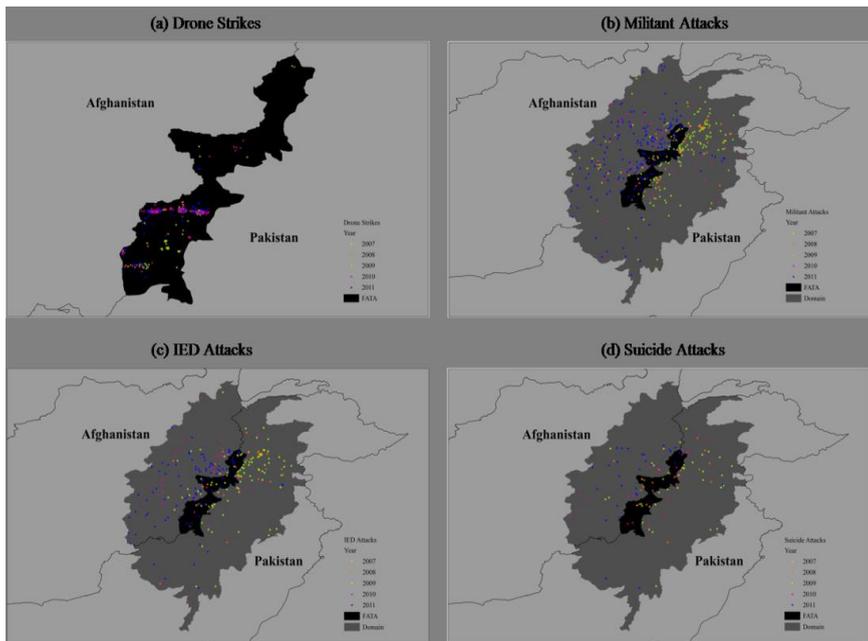
US officials are not involved in terrorism in Pakistan. CIA chief narrated that US is not crossing the boundary of Pakistan but only targeting the extremist and militants. According to US, “we are not violating any rule but these attacks are permissible under international law and US laws. United Nation Security

Council said that every country has a right to defend itself against any threat regarding sovereignty of state. So all in all, drone strikes fulfil article 51 and Jus ad Bellum. Self Moreover these strikes started by consent of Pakistan.

### **Report of Amnesty international on drones:**

Amnesty international reports have disclosed that drone strikes are against the international law and violating the sovereignty of Pakistan. They have stressed that Obama administration must reconsider the policy of drones in which a huge number of innocent children have being killed. A member of amnesty international has said that on September 2, 2012 when drone had hit a vehicle. The people in that motor vehicle were coming back from their jobs and they were civilians. Drone had to hit a militant and he found nowhere and that drone hit this van and killed 12 innocent unarmed people. So US are violating the international laws. A Pakistani researcher had also unfold a fact that US is blaming Pakistan and its intelligence institutions for permitting drone attacks but he has found no solid and true evidence against Pakistan in which these strikes were said to be permissible.





## Findings and discussions:

All those issues in this research are some basic issues and all are keenly analysed. At the same time, this research has been done to find out most accurate findings and realities behind P M's speeches. This is a fact that 'no analysis is accurate, and fully correct and exact (unfold everything about one matter)' (Fairclough, 2003:202). At one side Americans says that these strikes are helpful for eradicating terrorism and permissible by Pakistan. On the other side, during every government has raised this issue. But if one sees this issue in clear terms, it would be clear that during the reign of present government, a great stress has been laid on this issue. After viewing this analysis, we can assume that the strike rata would decrease after sometime. If government use a solid policy and discussions with USA and India, these all issues would be solved for future. Terrorism could also be controlled if present government use iron hand against this issue.

## **Conclusion:**

The present research after profound and unbiased analysis reaches at this point that drone attacks and all other issues have been under concern of everybody every time. Particularly the matter of drone has been highlighted again and again. This issue though has not too much longer historical background but this issue has become the most important issue regarding the sovereignty of Pakistan. In public and government, this issue has been raised and some initiatives have been taken to stop these attacks because these attacks not only cross the freedom limits of Pakistan but also become cause of number of innocent people. A 2012 poll by the Pew Research Centre's Global Attitude project found that 97% Pakistani people consider drone strikes bad policy. So, it could be observed that majority of Pakistan is against these drone strikes. PM Nawaz Shrief has cleared that in reality these strikes are against the sovereignty of an atomic power and a country of strong forces so these strikes must be stopped.

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