

## **CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO'S ADDRESS AT THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*The study aims to present an analysis of Z.A Bhutto's historic address delivered at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) on December 15, 1971. The study attempts to focus on analyzing the persuasive strategies used in his speech. Critical Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis have been used to evaluate the importance of his discursive and socio-political views in his speech. The study is also focused on the analysis of ideology, power relations and socio-political aspects of Bhutto's address at UNSC.*

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**Keywords:** Ideology, address, strategies, persuasive, discursive, socio-political, multi-methods, critical discourse analysis

### **INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND**

**Language as a social practice:** Language exists in a society as a medium of communication. It is a vehicle for information and exchange of ideas between people and a set of symbols for conveying information. According to (Wodak *et.al.*, 2001) language is a social practice, it is learned through social interactions that take place in society. For example classroom, clubs, parliament, family gathering provide an opportunities for social interactions. There are many socio-cultural factors that affect language and influence the way we speak in the social world. These factors include: gender, environment, age, race, class, region and politics. The context is very important in order to understand and convey powerful message to the audience by choosing influential language. Meyer (2001) suggested that politics is an important tool to understand the phenomenon. Language has also a relation with social power. Hence, this issue comes under the study of Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter referred as CDA). The fundamental role of CDA in this regard has been

thoroughly given by Wodak and his colleagues. Authors suggested that CDA helps to understand underlying relationship between language and power (Wodak *et.al.*, 2001).

Language plays a decisive role in preparing, promoting and influencing the socio-political ideologies. Language and politics have become intertwined to an extent that language is an indispensable tool in politics. Therefore, we can say that political discourse is ideological in nature. As language serves the medium for presenting and promoting ideology that play a role in shaping and influencing linguistic structures and speech forms. Consequently, there is a great influence of ideologies on political discourse, in terms of form, content and style. Taiwo (2009) observes that CDA helps to understand the study of language of politics within the framework of political rhetoric, linguistic-stylistic and pragmatics. This suggests that CDA would certainly help us to understand ideological orientation in the political rhetoric, linguistic style and discursive techniques used by Z.A. Bhutto in his address at Security Council.

**Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and the historical importance of his address:** Mr.Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was the ninth Prime Minister (1973–77) and fourth President (1971–73) of Pakistan. He founded the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and served as its chairman until his execution in 1979. He delivered the speech under study at the UN Security Council as a foreign minister of Pakistan. This address has special significance owing to the predicament of East Pakistan's separation in 1971. During the separation of East Pakistan, Z.A.Bhutto represented Pakistan in United Nation where he delivered historical speech in Security Council in 1971. From 1957 and onwards Bhutto led several delegations to the UN and visited many countries such as China, Britain, Egypt and Ireland to resolve Kashmir problem. He held position of Foreign Minister from 1963 to 1966 until his resignation. Bhutto has been outspokenly rhetoric, eloquent and brilliant orator in delivering public speeches.

**The United Nations Security Council (UNSC):** The United Nations' Security Council is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations Organization (UNO) with mandate to maintain

peace and stability amongst member states. It has 15 members of which 5 members are permanent. These permanent members include China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom (UK), and the United States of America (USA). They have veto power in Security Council. UNSC plays significant role in the resolution of disputes between member states.

On the issue of separation of East Pakistan, UNSC member's proposed new resolution and recommended a ceasefire, withdrawal of troops and power handed over to East Pakistan. Hence Pakistani's position was critical. Bhutto requested the UNSC to summon a session where he made this speech.

#### **OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH**

The study seeks to identify and analyze the underlying ideologies that manifest in the address of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, that are opaque and far from explicit in the discourse by a close reading, understanding and systematic analysis. This study will critically examine the discursive, rhetoric and linguistic strategies used by Z.A. Bhutto in the discourse in order to discover the socio-political ideologies, which are below the level of conscious, awareness, and are embedded in all forms of language use. The current research employed various analytical tools of Critical Discourse Analysis to focus on discourse from a functionalist perspective aiming to discover how language works to reproduce or restructure social/power relations and convey particular ideological views and values. The current research aims at analyzing the political discourse of Z.A. Bhutto as a social practice, discovering the obscure ideologies through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) techniques. Hence the analysis is meant in general terms to show how the language of the political discourse is organized to communicate the intentions and ideologies of the speaker. As supported by Gergen (1994) with the argument that, 'academic work should aim to criticize existing conditions of social life in the hope of transcending these conditions.'

#### **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH**

The research aims to contribute to the critical understanding of public/political discourse which is generally perceived in

different ways. The underlying concern motivating this research is how the socio-political discourse manipulates, propagates, persuades and presents the power relation in the society. The current study intends to study the obscure ideological traits in the discourse and for that purpose CDA is a particular research tool that has been chosen as powerful source for the critical analysis of the linguistic and cognitive strategies in discourse of Z.A. Bhutto's speech. In our context the study will bring forth the underlying strategic analysis of the political discourse, the concealed ideologies and the understanding of how it manipulates the readers and listeners in the society.

#### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

**Discourse:** In order to understand the basic assumptions underlying CDA, this research investigates the concepts of both discourse and ideology. Discourse is defined variously, which integrates a whole range of meanings covering a large area from linguistics, through sociology, philosophy and other disciplines (Titscher, 2000). According to Fairclough, the term refers to "the whole process of interaction of which a text is just a part" (Fairclough, 1989). More broadly the term discourse has been define by Bloomeart (2005) as "meaningful symbolic behaviour." Hence, it is a communicative action and process which uses language as a medium of communication. Discourse is basically a social practice and can be used for asserting power and knowledge, and for resistance and critique. It plays significant role in persuasive communication of ideological propositions. As a result, the analysis of discourse helps researchers to find out the role of language in human cognition, art and social life. Political discourse is considered to be a sub-category of discourse in general based on two criteria e.g. functional and thematic. Thematic discourse is related to politics such as political activities, political ideas and political relations. This study attempts to analyze the discourse as text in socio-political context as its data for the empiric and critical analysis. It is, therefore, seen as the whole process of social interaction of which text is just a part (Fairclough, 1989).

**Ideologies:** The study aims to analyze the ideological traits in the political discourse. Therefore, it is imperative to briefly define

ideology. It means 'system of ideas' and shared representations of the social group. In multidisciplinary framework, it combines as social, cognitive and discursive components. Sears, (1984) defines it as systems of the socio-political cognitions of groups. Thus, ideology is a kind of self-schema nation-state of and individual to get identified with that school of thought. There is a process of social identification that ultimately take place on the shared social representations we call ideologies.

### **CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) needs to be understood as both a theory and a method (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999:16). It is an interdisciplinary approach to study language use as a social practice. Since language is a social and psychological phenomenon, it functions as a system of psychological, cultural, and social communication. CDA takes the discourse seriously. Therefore, it aims at exploring how certain particular textual structures, discourse features are used in a specific social context, particularly the ones that produce, maintain, project and create the difference in power relations. CDA aims to have a critical approach to discourse analysis augmented by the linguistic and social analysis. It focuses on power relations as major issues and, hence, is an interdisciplinary approach. 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. There are certain vague as well as obvious structural links of dominance and power in language and according to (Wodak *et.al.*, 2001:2), CDA is fundamentally concerned with these relationships. Particular interest of CDA is the relation of language and power. CDA crucially concentrates on the three dimensional model of text, discursive practice and social practice (Fairclough, 1995) elaborates it further by mentioning these three elements: social practice, discursal practice (text production, distribution, consumption) and text. Significant connections exist between features of the texts, ways in which texts are put together and interpreted, and the nature of the social practice.

According to Teun Dijk CDA is not a method but a committed research, a perspective that can be a useful way to

better analyze how discourses come to be ideological or can be interpreted through studying its effects on discourse forms and meanings, and how discursive structures may in turn contribute to the formation and transformation of ideologies. In order to understand full impact of discourse, there is a need to analyze the three dimensions of it, i.e., Structure of discourse, structure of mind and structure of society. CDA, therefore can be seen as a specific type of socio-political analysis of ideological discourse, as it relates the structure of discourse to the structure of society. It is a complicated and contradictory approach of linking the 'surface' of talk and text to 'underlying' ideologies, as (Teun Van Dijk, 1984; 1987) puts its ideologies cannot simply be read off actual text and talk. Hence, it is the task of CDA to systematically link structures of discourse with the structures of ideologies, which also require the cognitive dimension that is the actual comprehension and production of discourse under the influence of mental models of the situation. In order to relate power and discourse, explicitly, the 'cognitive interface' of models is required. Everyone in the society has different perspectives, contexts, and mental models of communicative situation; therefore, the discourse is produced and comprehended according to the mental-model of the participants. The framework of CDA is to make a systematic analysis of how ideologies are organized, produced and comprehended in the minds of participants. There is great involvement of mental factors in the process of discourse production or comprehension; these factors are discovered through critical discourse analysis' systematic strategies of linking the structures of both discourse and ideologies. As expounded by Dijk various cognitive components are involved in the relations between underlying ideologies in social cognition, mental models in personal cognition and the actual comprehension or production of text or talk.

Hence, CDA aims to critically analyze and discover the socio-political assumptions and ideologies that are inherent in the discourse. The elements of CDA that differentiate it from other forms of discourse analysis are its aspects of 'critical'. There are certain opaque ideologies that are hidden in the discourse, but, through CDA, they are discovered and made visible to the individuals involved. According to Fairclough (1992:9) term "critical" indicates connections and causes which are hidden in the

discourse for example a speech or text. The pioneers of CDA research are Ruth Wodak, Teun Van Dijk and Norman Fairclough, to name just a few. They have made major contributions in defining the theoretical and methodological approaches in CDA, however, there are a variety of approaches towards the social analysis of discourse, which differ in theory, methodology, and the type of research issues which they tend to give prominence. The foundational principles of CDA, therefore, according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997:271-280) are:

- CDA addresses social problems
- Power relations are discursive
- Discourse constitute society and culture, and is constituted by them
- Discourse does ideological work – representing, constructing society reproducing unequal relations of power.
- Discourse is historical – connected to previous, contemporary and subsequent discourses.
- Relations between text and society are mediated and a socio-cognitive approach is needed to understand these links.
- Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory and implies a systematic methodology and an investigation of context
- Discourse is a form of social action

Hence, CDA views text as artefacts that do not occur in isolation – socio-political, socio-historic contexts contribute to production and interpretation of text and are crucial aspects of the analysis. It operates on three levels of analysis – engaging with the text, the discursive practices (processes of production, reception, interpretation) and the wider socio-political and socio-historic context (Fairclough, 1992).

#### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Extant literature published on the subject of critical discourse analysis of ideological discourse, political power, linguistics and discursive analysis was reviewed in peer-reviewed journals in the fields Arts, Linguistics, social sciences and sociology. Authors searched through online sources e.g. <http://www.jstor.org/> and <http://scholar.google.co.uk> and downloaded a large number of papers, books and book chapters. Literature review was carefully

made and only the most relevant research studies were selected for further review and reported in the study. In most recent studies of Parker (2010) and Jonson (2009) same method for literature review has been used. Further, the study was undertaken by adopting CDA to identify ideological features, power relations and socio cognitive interface by applying various analytical approaches for example ideological and content analysis. The words from the discourse were selected and then counted in order to analyze their frequency in the text. The language, choice of particular words and discursive devices investigated which were presented in detail in data analysis section. Content analysis enabled researcher to understand the most frequent words and phrases used with their intended meaning.

**Qualitative Data:** The data for the analysis consists of actual instances from the political discourse of Z.A. Bhutto. The material under analysis is sometimes referred as ‘text’, that is the data for CDA (Johnstone, 2008). The data for current research is a political speech of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the parliament, at UN in 1971. The speech transcription has been downloaded from internet in PDF format. The speech will be analyzed critically in ideological and socio-political context through the textual, discursive and ideological perspective.

**Conceptual Frameworks:** In the critical paradigm of CDA, the major issues are ideology, power, dominance and social relations, therefore, in order to decipher the ideological components in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s political speech and to analyze different strategies used by him, a multiple approaches in CDA have been adopted in order to get a clearer understanding from different angles, since power is not just the matter of language but there is an aspect of social context (Teun, 1998). By applying Teun Van Dijk’s conceptual framework current study attempts to make a systematic analysis of how ideologies are organized and produced in discourse structures and power structures of Z.A. Bhutto’s address. Similarly, another conceptual model of Fairclough (1989) has been applied in the study to find out the relationship of power and discourse in the Bhutto’s speech. Fairclough’s model helps to link socio-linguistic practices as well as micro and macro analysis of discourse. The framework also helps to identify connection between the textual properties and



power relations, the discursive features and the ideologies in the speech.

#### **DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

**Bhutto's Introduction of The Sole Cause Of His Attending The Security Council:** Bhutto suggested the UNSC the very reason of his being there in the Security Council at the very outset. The address began by introducing his grave concern. He said:

We have met here today at a grave moment in the history of my country and I would request the Council kindly to bear with me and to hear the truth, the bitter truth. I came here for this reason. I was needed by the people of Pakistan, and when I was leaving Pakistan was in two minds whether members of the Council like it or not. However, I felt that it was imperative for me to come here and seek justice from the Security Council.

Addressing UN as unjust to his nation and accusing it of aggression, cynicism, filibustering and dilatory tactics. Throughout the address Bhutto kept on condemning and criticizing the UN with utter aggression and accusation, Bhutto's referring to the role of *Veto* as a source of frustration for the nations as it was a monument to the impotence and incapacity of UNSC. Bhutto's anger reached to the peak in the end when he ripped off the papers and left with the staff of Pakistan's representatives at UNSC.

#### **Excerpts From His Speech**

We were hoping that the Security Council, mindful of its responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace and justice, would act according to principles and bring an end to a naked, brutal aggression against my people.....But I must say, whether the members like it or not, that the Security Council has denied my country that justice....., has excelled in the art of filibustering.....failed miserably, shamefully.

#### **Acknowledging the Crisis His Nation Was Going Through**

Bhutto stressed upon the troubles and crisis, which Pakistan, despite being an independent nation, was going through according to him, his people were suffering because of UN policies and

brutal aggression, however UN, Security Council is highly ignorant and non serious about it. He reveals his high concern for his countrymen in time of war.

#### **Excerpts From His Speech**

My countrymen, my people, are dying.....when my country is decimated, sought to be destroyed, wiped out.

#### **The Fall of Dhaka as a Major Issue in the Deliberation**

Bhutto insisted upon the fall of Dhaka-East Pakistan as a severe matter and he mentioned UN to be non serious and unconcerned about that but to him, the fall of Dhaka meant to be the fall of Pakistan. What Bhutto intended to say that the council let Dhaka fall and this will let the whole Pakistan fall as a consequence.

#### **Excerpts From His Speech**

For four days we have been deliberating here.....SC has procrastinated.....Dacca to fall. So what if Dacca falls? So what if the whole of East Pakistan falls? .....We will build a new Pakistan. We will build a better Pakistan. We will build a greater Pakistan...

#### **Emphasizing the India-Pakistan Relation**

Bhutto criticized India's lack of farsightedness, and its failure in keeping the relation. India made some blunders in the history that have caused their separation and the present turmoil and problems. Bhutto referred to the Indo-Pak relation as a war more than a relation, he summed up the issue of past, present and the future of Indo-Pak relation with an example of Carthage that he quoted from history, it was a reference with a compelling affect and implication which referred to the continuity of wars until the opponent is not destroyed completely. Carthage, in history, is an icon of danger preserved in Latin scare quote by Cato the Elder, a Roman statesman; in every speech he would repeat it.

#### **Excerpts From His Speech**

I go back to the Roman Empire and I say what Cato said to the Romans, "Carthage must be destroyed." If India thinks that it is

going to subjugate Pakistan, Eastern Pakistan as well as Western Pakistan—We shall tell our children and they will tell their children that Carthage must be destroyed.

### **Using Undiplomatic Language**

Bhutto in his speech broke almost all the conventions of diplomatic oratory, in his speech he was decidedly angry, aggressive, rude, blunt, belligerent, offensive and highly personal. He showed his absolute disregard disappointment with the proceedings. He blamed UN and India, and because of the severity of the situation he was forced to speak offensive truths and use harsh language.

### **Excerpts From His Speech**

The Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union talked about realities. Mr. Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, look at this reality. I know that you are the representative of a great country. You behave like one. The way you throw out your chest, the way you thump the table. You do not talk like Comrade Malik; you talk like Tsar Malik.

### **Depicting India and Russia as Warlike Nations**

Bhutto showed his deep contempt for the Indian-Russian alliance that had facilitated the current disaster. He condemned the Indian aggression over the issue and depicted it as a war like nation that does not believe in peace and pledge, rather prefer to be ruthless opponents of each other forever.

### **Excerpts From His Speech**

We have been subjected to attack by a militarily powerful neighbor..... I said that in 1967 to their Permanent Representative who was then the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan. I said that to the Foreign Minister of India when we were negotiating on Kashmir, "Let us settle this problem on the basis of equity and justice, so that we can live as good neighbors."

### **Bhutto's Intense Subjective and Assertive Approach in His Speech**

In the public oratory and diplomatic discourse, the speaker speaks more of his party's and nation's cause, in order to show the

his sympathy and support for them, that is quite there in his speech, but, Bhutto goes rather too personal and subjective, he focused on the cause while projecting more of his desperation and determination, disgust and dissatisfaction from the UN policies. The address was quite persuasive in nature presenting himself as a strong leader of the nation, desperate for his cause. Bhutto's reaction to the hegemonic role of UNSC is not to accept its imposition and his denial to surrender and to resist it, reflects him as a brave and bold leader.

### **Excerpts From His Speech**

My people must know. I have not come here to accept abject surrender.....Yesterday my eleven year old son telephoned me from Karachi and said "Do not come back with a document of surrender. We do not want to see you back in Pakistan if you do that." I will not take back a document of surrender from the Security Council. I will not be a party to the legalization of aggression.

Finally, I am not a rat. I have never ratted in my life. I have faced assassination attempts, I have faced imprisonments. I have always confronted crises. Today I am not ratting, but I am leaving your Security Council. I find it disgraceful to my person and to my country to remain here a moment longer than is necessary.....I will not be a party to it. We will fight; we will go back and fight. My country beckons me. Why should I waste my time here in the Security Council? I will not be a party to the ignominious surrender of a part of my country. You can take your Security Council. Here you are. (Ripping papers) I am going.

### **Portraying the World as Dysfunctional Because of the Hegemonic Role of UNSC**

Bhutto consistently condemns UN policies as a failure in maintaining world peace; Bhutto calls the whole world as suffering from the hegemonic governance of UN, pointing at the limitations faced by smaller countries, calling the role of policy makers as against the law of international morality and justice. Quite convincingly Bhutto uses discursive devices that draw attention of SC members about the sufferings the nations experienced. According to him, the history bears witness to the power abuse by

UNSC he gives certain historical references to support his argument.

### Content Analysis of the Frequently Used Words

Content analysis strategy was applied to keywords or high frequency words used by the speaker. The speech consists of about 4605 words wherein the word 'I' was the most frequently used that occurred about 77 times. The absolute occurrence of this word reflects Bhutto's powerful, determined and persuasive personality, as a capable leader as well as an assertive individual who aimed to present the case of his nation at the very grave moment of time.

**TABLE: 1**  
**CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MOST REPEATED WORD, THEIR**  
**FREQUENCY AND INTENDED MEANING**

S #	Word	Freq uency	Intended meaning
1	I	77	A personality trait which shows his personal capability to remain assertive in speech, debate and dialogue.
2	Me	63	It reveals his concern for his countrymen in time of war and the pain he goes through while his speech
3	My (e.g. country, people)	62	A convincing word drawing attention of SC members about the sufferings the nation experienced
4	We (e.g. both Pakistanis and SC members)	48	Bhutto people of Pakistan as one with him, more likely, he is trying to allege all SC about being failed to resolve the situation amicably.
5	Us (e.g. Pakistani nation)	42	He addresses SC that you want us to obey your rule and silently
6	You(r) (UNSC President)	34	Very undiplomatic usage of the term for SC and its president for their decisions
7	United Nations	33	He addressed UN for its illogical decisions so far.
8	Security Council	26	He criticized SC for its dilatory tactics and its failure to bring peace to world and finding out reasonable settlement for Indo-Pak crises of 1971.

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9	Filibustering	26	Accusing SC of procrastination of the Indo-Pak crises.
10	Dilatory/ delaying	25	Deliberately avoiding to conclude at amicable settlement
11	But	23	Contrasting the decisions and debates of SC on resolving disputed problems of the third world countries
12	Pakistan (West)	22	Several times he mentioned his country in his speech which shows his grave concern for its settlement.
13	India	18	He mentioned India for its illegal aggression and infiltration on Pakistani soil and capturing land and people.
14	East Pakistan	16	Several times he mentioned his country in his speech which shows his grave concern for its settlement.
16	Peace	13	Term indicates that Bhutto seemed eager to settle issue between East and West Pakistan in peaceful manner where India's involvement as persona non grata.
17	War	13	He used term variously nevertheless he suggested that in case war is being imposed on his country then they will fight for centuries and he will build new future and new Pakistan.
18	Occupation	13	He termed India's involvement in East Pakistan as foreign occupation.
19	Aggression	13	He termed India's involvement in East Pakistan as aggression and unlawful in international law which SC must condemn rather appreciate.
20	Reality(ies)	13	Bhutto tried to convince the SC about the other side of the coin which was the reality that East and West Pakistan could have settled their political disagreement if not today then tomorrow but India's aggression in East Pakistan changed the landscape.
21	Principle	12	He attempted to realize SC their responsibility and according to its Charter and Principles.
22	Worse	10	He suggested that it could get worse if India's aggression legalized and SC heard

- only one-sided truth.
- 23 If 9 He contrasted the SC attitude and SC one-sidedness to approve India stance.
- 24 Britain/UK 9 He repeatedly called for Britons, American, French, Soviets to not to recognize Indian side of truth. He cited numerous examples from past history to convince SC to reconsider their point of view.
- 25 United States/American 8 He repeatedly called for Britons, American, French, Soviets to not to recognize Indian side of truth. He cited numerous examples from past history to convince SC to reconsider their point of view.
- 26 France 7 He repeatedly called for Britons, American, French, Soviets to not to recognize Indian side of truth. He cited numerous examples from past history to convince SC to reconsider their point of view.
- 27 Soviet Union 7 He repeatedly called for Britons, American, French, Soviets to not to recognize Indian side of truth. He cited numerous examples from past history to convince SC to reconsider their point of view.
- 28 China 7 He appreciated China for her support for Pakistan in the hour of need. Bhutto termed Chinese friendship as true and long-term.
- 29 Legalise 7 Bhutto suggested SC that it is going to legalize illegal occupation of India in East Pakistan and it could have far reaching implications in the future relations of two neighboring nations.
- 30 Impose 6 He understood SC's solution of East and West Pakistan its choice influenced by India being imposed on Pakistan. For which did not agree.
- 31 Side (Indian side) 6 He pointed out SC and super powers e.g. US, USSR, Britain and France being on the side of India and only China as taking side of Pakistan.
- 32 Because 22 He argued strongly to convince SC and cited plenty of historical examples from Africa, Europe and Asia where such

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			disputes were settled amicably and then why it's this time that SC is falling short of resolving East and West Pakistan issue.
33	Cause	5	Bhutto explicitly several time suggested SC that he has come to UNSC to represent the cause of his nation and the cause was to remain East and West Pakistan as one, united and SC needs to find out peaceful settlement.
34	Relation(s)	4	He intentionally used the term by explaining the impact of present crises on regional and international levels.
35	Mistake	4	He presented his honest and frank admission of mistakes on his part which are all human and he repent on them but he also suggested that his mistakes are not that ignorable that India's aggression be made legal and East Pakistan to break away.

The content analysis presented in table above suggested that Bhutto under the pressure of war declared on his people by India, saw East Pakistan to break and UNSC to away agitated and perturbed him as a consequence, he used the terms 'I' for 77 and 'me' for 63, 'my' 62 and 'us' 42 times in his speech. Putting all together he addressed himself in his speech for about 244 times. Because, it was his extemporaneous speech and he did not have enough time to prepare his formal speech which appears from his speech, style, body language, and the notes prepared to talk about which he tore out while leaving his seat/SC meeting, he found the discussion of SC as filibustering and using dilatory tactics to delay the settlement between East and West Pakistan. He cited many historical examples of UNSC's mismanagement of disputed cases wherein SC could not reach timely settlements and world saw horrifying consequences. Bhutto directly addressed super powers of that time US, USSR, France, Britain being on the side of India legalizing its aggression and occupation of East Pakistan paving the way for it to emerge as Bangladesh.



### **Analysis of Major Historical References**

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was deliberate and ready to speak to the Security Council and he intentionally cited numerous country crises that UNSC failed to resolve in due time as consequences those societies suffered from unbearable loss to human life and long-term hatred. For example, he suggested Middle East Crises, Kashmir unsettled dispute to name a few. He blamed the UN for the failure of their role in maintaining peace at world level and their misjudgment. Being extremely disappointed and aggravated he elaborated the sensitivity of the national unity and coherence and he wished UNSC to propose viable solution to the Indo-Pak tension. On the contrary, delaying tactics and one-sidedness of UNSC frustrated him and let his emotions outburst at that moment.

### **CONCLUSION**

Study attempted to discover the ideological traits that are opaque in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's political address at UNSC. The study revealed the ideological features by applying various analytical approaches e.g. CDA and content analysis. CDA strategies employed include Norman Fairclough's model of Language as a social practice and Teun A Van Dijk's socio cognitive interface and the ideological analysis, power relations, socio-political and socio-cognitive interface models as theoretical frameworks on Bhutto's speech at UNSC. The language, choice of particular words and discursive devices investigated which were presented in detail in data analysis section. Content analysis enabled researcher to understand the most frequently used words and phrases used with their intended meaning. Various conclusions have been drawn from the study which includes:

- Key ideological components of Z.A. Bhutto's speech can be briefly defined as, persuasive in manner, denial of surrender, resisting power and no acceptance of imposition of UNSC's decision which goes against the peace and safety of his nation.
- The result of key word analysis have showed that the high frequency words used by Bhutto revealed his agitation and state of being under pressure, accusing UNSC using harsh words. It reflected the aggressive side of his social and political status at that time.
- The research findings of his historical reference analysis have shown how Bhutto strengthened his very notion and ideology by quoting

various country crises that UNSC failed to resolve in due time as consequences those societies suffered from unbearable loss to human life and long-term hatred.

- The overall underlying theme of the speech have been analyzed using Teun Van Dijk's socio-cognitive interface model, as what Bhutto talked in that particular situation represents the ideologies that existed in his mind which can be viewed as a major premise in CDA. The analysis through various approaches represented the relationship between language, power, ideology, society and the influential role that language plays in power production, legitimization and acceptance.

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