



## Language of Resistance: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Manzoor Pashteen Speech at Asma Jahangir Conference 2022

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### ABSTRACT

*This research examines Manzoor Pashteen's speech delivered at the Asma Jahangir Conference 2022, Lahore. The main objective of the study is to critically analyze the speech with particular focus on the use of language of resistance. The study is qualitative and the primary data collection source for this study was a fifteen minutes and 58 second speech of Manzoor Pashteen delivered at the Asma Jahangir Conference on October 25, 2022 <https://youtu.be/r5g3x4LBpgo>. The data was analyzed through Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model which as per Fairclough involve—language text, spoken or written, discourse practice (text production and text consumption), and the socio-cultural practice. The research concludes that Pashteen's speech serves as a powerful tool to foster social change and bring attention to the struggles faced by the people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. By encouraging peaceful resistance, the speech empowers the audience to take charge of their destiny and advocate for a more inclusive and compassionate society.*



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## INTRODUCTION

Language is a fundamental aspect of human culture and communication, shaping how individuals perceive and interpret the world (Sapir, 1929; Whorf, 1956). Language also plays a vital role in conveying ideas and framing ideologies. It acts as a powerful tool for framing ideas and ideological constructs (Entman, 1993). Furthermore, language plays a crucial role in shaping human cognition and ideology. It acts as a powerful tool for communication, facilitating the transfer of ideas, beliefs, and values between individuals and communities (Boroditsky, 2001). Through language, individuals not only express their thoughts but also contribute to the collective construction of meaning within a given cultural and social

context. The power of language lies not only in its ability to communicate but also in its role as a dynamic force shaping the very fabric of human cognition and societal ideologies.

Language is a powerful tool for forming and framing ideas helps us to see that these ingrained hidden ideologies are frequently taken out and subjected to critical analysis by academic fields such as Critical Discourse Studies. This academic approach examines the complex interrelationships between language, ideology, and power, revealing the nuanced ways in which language may mold social institutions and affect people's thoughts.

### **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

According to Fairclough (1995), critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach that investigates language use as a form of social practice, aiming to uncover underlying power structures and ideological positions. Fairclough argues that language is not only a means of communication but also a social practice that reflects and reproduces power relations within society. In his book, "Language and Power" (1989), Fairclough emphasizes the role of language in constructing and maintaining social inequality.

Language use is examined at various levels, including textual, discursive, and social, as part of the CDA analytical process. In order to identify underlying biases and ideological stances, it examines language choices made in the areas of vocabulary, grammar, and discourse structure. CDA seeks to expose the hidden ideologies that influence and shape social practices and relationships by critically analyzing these linguistic aspects. Numerous disciplines, including media studies, political science, education, and the social sciences, have extensively used CDA to study a variety of social issues, including racism, terrorism, political ideology, and resistance towards power or government.

### **Language of Resistance**

The concept of the "language of resistance" is given by Michel Foucault, a French philosopher and social theorist. While Foucault did not explicitly coin the term "language of resistance," his ideas on power, discourse, and how language can be used as a tool of resistance have influenced scholars who explore the ways in which marginalized or oppressed groups use language to resist dominant power structures. Fairclough, in his book *Discourse and Social Change* (1992), highlights the importance of analyzing the language used by social movements, activists, and marginalized communities to articulate their grievances, mobilize support, and advocate for social justice. CDA, as developed by Fairclough, involves a detailed analysis of texts, examining the ways in which language is used to reproduce or contest social inequalities. It considers linguistic features such as vocabulary, grammar, metaphors, and narrative structures, as well as the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts within which discourse operates. Fairclough's CDA framework provides researchers with a critical lens through which they can explore how language contributes to the construction and maintenance of power relations, as well as how it can be harnessed for resistance and social change. CDA has been used in analyzing Language Based material like text, speeches etc. To find out linguistic pattern that denotes language of resistance and possible ways to resistance.

The present study specifically focuses on analyzing the speech of Manzoor Pashteen, leading figure of Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement (PTM), which he delivered in Asma Jahangir Conference 2022, Lahore. The following is a brief introduction of PTM, Manzoor Pashteen and Asma Jahangir Conference.

### **Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement (PTM)**

Pashtuns are an ethnic group predominantly living in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of

Pakistan and the border regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Following the 9/11 attacks, the region witnessed an influx of violence and military operations, impacting Pashtun communities on both sides of the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. The military operations in the region led to significant displacement and human rights issues among Pashtun communities. Resultantly, Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement (PTM) emerged in 2014 in response to alleged human rights violations and enforced disappearances of Pashtuns in the conflict-ridden areas.

Born in January 1993, Manzoor Pashteen became a prominent figure and one of the leaders of PTM. Through his continuous efforts PTM gained momentum through social media to highlight the issues faced by Pashtuns. The extrajudicial killing of Naqeebullah Mehsud in Karachi in 2018 became a focal point for PTM's demand for justice and accountability. PTM called for an end to extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, and the removal of landmines in Pashtun areas. They also demanded the right to peaceful assembly and freedom of expression. In this regard, PTM organized numerous protests and rallies across Pakistan, attracting both national and international attention to their cause. In response, Pakistani government expressed concerns about PTM's activities, accusing the movement of being manipulated by foreign powers. There were also reports of restrictions on PTM's activities. Several leaders, including Manzoor Pashteen, faced arrests and legal challenges, further intensifying the movement's struggle for its objectives. But despite all the challenges, PTM continued its advocacy for the rights of Pashtuns, using legal and peaceful means to address grievances. It was through the continuous efforts of Manzoor Pashteen, among others, that PTM's cause gained international attention, with human rights organizations expressing concerns about the treatment of Pashtuns and advocating for a resolution to the issues raised by the movement.

Manzoor Pashteen, the leading figure of PTM, advocating for Pashtun rights, justice and accountability have become a prominent activist (Al Jazeera, 2018). His persuasive language skills are instrumental in mobilizing support. He has talked about Pashtun rights on every platform and in the same vein, he delivered a speech at the Asma Jahangir Conference 2022. The theme of the conference was *Crisis of Constitutionalism in South Asia*. The conference provided a great platform for all human rights activists across South Asia including Manzoor Pashteen. Pashteen's speech at the conference called for resistance against the oppressive state policies and the marginalization of Pashtun communities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Pakistan.

The present study aims to critically analyze the language of resistance in Manzoor Pashteen's speech at the Asma Jahangir Conference 2022. It will explore linguistic strategies, rhetorical devices, and discourse patterns used by Pashteen to challenge power structures and advocate for marginalized communities' rights. The critical discourse analysis methodology will be employed to understand the linguistic strategies, socio-political contexts, and potential impacts of Pashteen's discourse on public opinion and political landscape of Pakistan.

### **Research Objective**

The main objective of this research is as follow:

1. To critically analyze the use of language of resistance by Manzoor Pashteen in his speech at the Asma Jahangir conference 2022.

## **Research Question**

The research will focus on answering the following question:

1. How does Manzoor Pashteen employ the language of resistance in his speech at the Asma Jahangir Conference 2022?

## **Statement of the Problem**

In recent years, the phenomenon of resistance movements has gained significant attention in various socio-political contexts (Fairclough, 2001; van Dijk, 2009). Among these movements, the Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement (PTM), led by Manzoor Pashteen, has emerged as a prominent force advocating for the rights and dignity of Pashtun communities in Pakistan. One pivotal event in this movement was Manzoor Pashteen's speech at the Asma Jahangir Conference, a platform known for its commitment to human rights and justice.

In the realm of social and political activism, Manzoor Pashteen's speech at Asma Jahangir Conference, 2022 has emerged as powerful tools of resistance, challenging oppressive power structures and advocating for the rights of marginalized Pashtun communities in Pakistan (DAWN, 24 Oct, 2022). This research aims to delve deep into the language of resistance employed by Pashteen, unlocking the secrets of his discourse to empower marginalized communities, inspire social and political mobilization, and provoke change. By unmasking the persuasive techniques within Pashteen's speech, this study seeks to shed light on the language of resistance and offer crucial insights for redefining power structures, shaping public opinion, and informing inclusive policymaking processes.

## **Significance of the Study**

The present study is significant in several ways. First and foremost, the research delves into the linguistic strategies employed by Manzoor Pashteen during his speech, providing insights into how language is used as a tool for resistance against perceived injustices. This understanding contributes to the broader discourse on linguistic resistance in the context of social and political activism. In addition to this, this study also analyzes power dynamics. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) allows for an examination of power dynamics inherent in language use. Studying Pashteen's speech helps uncover power relations, highlighting how linguistic choices can challenge or reinforce existing power structures, particularly in the context of Pashtun activism. Moreover, the study contributes to the academic field of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) by applying its methodologies to a specific instance of resistance discourse. It showcases how CDA can be a powerful tool for dissecting language in socio-political contexts, shedding light on the intricate interplay between language, power, and resistance. Furthermore, by focusing on a specific event, the Asma Jahangir Conference 2022, the study contextualizes Pashteen's speech within the broader landscape of Pashtun activism. This context is crucial for understanding the evolving dynamics of the PTM and its efforts to address human rights issues and advocate for justice. Lastly, the findings from the research may have implications for policymakers, human rights advocates, and organizations involved in conflict resolution. Understanding the language of resistance can inform more effective communication strategies in addressing the concerns raised by Pashtun activists.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a growing interdisciplinary field that encompasses several different theoretical and methodological approaches to study language (Van Dijk,

1993). It takes linguistic and psychosocial approaches a step further by analyzing data from an uncompromising critical position. According to Wodak (1995), the goal of CDA is to examine "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language. CDA offers an explanation of why and how discourses function in addition to a description and interpretation of discourse in context (Rogers, 2004). In this context, the subsequent discussion provides a comprehensive review of distinct research articles that engage in critical analyses of diverse discourses, employing various models within the CDA framework.

Bayram (2010) asserted that politicians use language to influence their audience and assert authority, while Taiwo (2010) examined the use of metaphors in Nigerian political discourses for persuasive and rhetorical purposes. Khalil et al. (2013) employed Fairclough's 3-dimensional model to interpret Imran Khan's speech, revealing the strategic use of language for conveying covert ideologies. In a chronological exploration of political discourse, Sipra and Rashid (2013) analyzed Martin Luther King's speech, followed by Kazemian and Hashemi's (2014) interdisciplinary examination of CDA, Ehineni's (2014) evaluation of Nigerian politicians' ideologies using CDA, and Michira's (2014) use of CDA for exposing linguistic tactics in Kenyan political rhetoric. Sajjad (2015) emphasized Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) in revealing how language is manipulated for political dominance, followed by Sharififar and Rahimi's (2015) critical analysis of Obama and Rouhani's speeches using systemic functional linguistics. Ghilzai et al. (2017) focused on analyzing Imran Khan's speech, Ali al-Ubaidy and Kareem al-Utbi (2015) studied Hitler's speeches, Ehineni (2018) investigated modals in political plans, and Kareem al-Utbi (2018) explored expressions on Facebook regarding Islam. Ahmad and Shah (2019) analyzed gender representation in an English language textbook, and finally, Ali, Mahmoud, Ahmad (2023) examined Ahmadinejad's resistance rhetoric, highlighting the importance of political rhetoric in international diplomacy.

The "Language of Resistance" is a widely studied topic within academic circles, often employing critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine speeches in various contexts. However, a notable research gap exists in the critical analysis of Manzoor Pashteen's speech at the Asma Jahangir Conference. Despite Pashteen's prominence in the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) and his influential advocacy for Pashtun rights in Pakistan, his discourse at the Asma Jahangir Conference has been overlooked in scholarly research. This study aims to address this gap by conducting a comprehensive critical discourse analysis of Pashteen's speech at the mentioned conference.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This research is qualitative in nature analyzing the speech of Pashteen at Asma Jahangir Conference 2022, Lahore using Fairclough 3D model for analysis. Qualitative research allows the researcher for an in-depth exploration of the language used by Manzoor Pashteen in his speech.

### **Theoretical framework**

Fairclough's 3D model of critical discourse analysis examines language as discourse and social practice, emphasizing the relationship between language, ideology, and identity. The model includes three dimensions: linguistic text, discourse practice (production and interpretation), and sociocultural practice at various levels (individual, institutional, and societal).

### **Text analysis (Description)**

This dimension focuses on analyzing the linguistic aspects of text, including vocabulary, grammar, cohesion etc. Text refers to any understandable sample of language, spoken or written, and its meaning is context-based.

### **Processing Analysis (Interpretation)**

This step explores the connection between discourse processes and the text. It emphasizes that interpretation results from the interaction between text properties and the interpretative resources and practices of the interpreter. Situational and intertextual contexts play a crucial role in interpretation.

### **Social Analysis (Explanation)**

This stage connects discourse with social and cultural realities. It emphasizes that the immediate conditions in which a text emerges are essential for authentic interpretation. The analysis considers the language and individual words in the text, with the understanding that discourse is integral to social life.

### **Data Collection**

The primary data collection source for this study was a fifteen minutes and 58 second speech of Manzoor Pashteen delivered at the Asma Jahangir Conference on October 25, 2022 (<https://youtu.be/r5g3x4LBpgo>). The analysis of the speech captures the exact words and language used by Pashteen during his speech.

### **Data Analysis**

In this study, the data is analyzed through Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model which as per Fairclough involve—language text, spoken or written, discourse practice (text production and text consumption), and the socio-cultural practice.

### **Textual Analysis**

The text of Manzoor Pashteen's speech reveals several key aspects:

#### **a. "War on Terror" and "State of Exception"**

Pashteen highlights the imposition of a "state of exception" in KPK following the "war on terror." This term refers to a suspension of normal legal and civil rights during exceptional circumstances, as seen during the Nazi regime in Italy.

*"State of exception means those normal rules are changed; even the uniform of Pakistan Army has been changed."*

Pashteen explains the implications of a "state of exception," highlighting how it results in a suspension of normal rules and just to make the condition critical. This exemplifies the language of resistance by pointing out the abnormality of the situation.

*"Consequently, every journalist who talked about common people and every political leader who supported common people and opposed their policies was targeted."*

Pashteen discusses how journalists and political leaders who opposed Pakistan army changes, and stood up for the rights of Pashtun community, were targeted. This illustrates the need for resistance against such actions.

### **Narrative Creation**

Pashteen discusses how a narrative was constructed to pose a threat to national security, resulting in restrictions on the media and political leaders who opposing the government's policies. This narrative creation is portrayed as a means of controlling disagreement and perpetuating injustice.

He further says that *"in our area, a narrative was created that posed a threat to national security, and then business started based on this narrative."*

Pashteen reveals the creation of a narrative that portrays the region as a threat to national security, implying that this narrative was instrumental in justifying oppressive actions and policies. This narrative was created to suppress resistance and dissent.

### **Mass Detention and Extrajudicial Killings**

Pashteen points out the use of "mass detention" and "extrajudicial killings" in the area, indicating a lack of rule of law and accountability. He uses specific examples such as Rao Anwar's freedom despite numerous killings, contrasting it with the unjust imprisonment of Ali Wazir.

Pashteen further revealed that *"To justify this mass detention, they established rules like 'action in need of civil power,' which allows killing a person based on their intentions."*

Here Pashteen criticizes the establishment of rules like "action in need of civil power," which provides the authorities with the power to kill individuals based on mere suspicions or intentions. This highlights the potential for extrajudicial killings. In other words, *"if someone merely thinks about committing a crime, they can be killed."*

While discussing the consequences of the prevailing system, Pashteen highlights how people's lives, symbolized by their blood, and are taken without due process or justice, indicating potential extrajudicial killings.

Pashteen also revealed that a young *"Pashtun generation who need jobs and health facilities are received by their mothers and wives as dead bodies"* which indicate extrajudicial killings.

### **Exploitation of Basic Rights**

Pashteen describes how the suppressed people in the area suffer from joblessness, lack of education, and healthcare facilities. He blames the state for failing to provide these basic rights to its citizens.

### **Discourse Practice**

The discourse practices in the speech involve the linguistic choices and strategies employed by Pashteen to convey his message effectively.

#### **a. Language of resistance**

Manzoor Ahmad Pashteen employs the language of resistance in his speech through various strategies, such as directly call for resistance against the system the use of metaphorical language, rhetorical questions asking from the audience, and through personalization.

### **b. Call for Resistance**

Throughout the speech, Pashteen urges the people to resist against the unjust system and demand their rights. He emphasizes the need to pressure the state through peaceful resistance to bring about change as *"By pressurizing the state with resistance, they can change their destiny."*

This statement exemplifies the call for resistance in Manzoor Pashteen's speech. He urges the people to unite and challenge the prevailing system through peaceful resistance. The phrase "pressurizing the state with resistance" suggests that the people should use nonviolent means to assert their demands, rights, and grievances. Pashteen empowers the audience by implying that through collective action and determination, they have the power to shape their own destiny.

In his speech he says that *"who should be their hope - the Parliament? He states that no Parliament can hold a meeting for their peace without the permission of the generals, and neither can the media play a clip without their consent, nor the courts take any action on the 500 dead bodies in 'Nishtar Hospital.'*" In this example, Manzoor Pashteen calls for resistance by questioning the effectiveness of the existing institutions, such as the Parliament, media, and courts, in addressing the grievances and seeking justice for the people in KPK. By asking "who should be their hope," Pashteen challenges the audience to question the legitimacy and credibility of these institutions in representing their interests.

Another example is he mentioned that *"Explosions occurred wherever common people assembled, intending to ban such gatherings so that people do not protest against the cruelty and wrongdoings that were being hidden in darkness."* In this example, Manzoor Pashteen highlights the use of explosions at places where common people gathered to protest against the injustices and wrongdoings in the region. The mention of "explosions" suggests a deliberate attempt to suppress dissent and prevent people from voicing their grievances peacefully. The phrase "intending to ban such gatherings" indicates that the explosions were used as a tactic to discourage public gatherings and demonstrations. This underscores the oppressive measures employed by the authorities to maintain control and silence opposition.

### **c. Rhetorical Questions**

Pashteen uses rhetorical questions to engage the audience and make them reflect on the injustices and lack of accountability in the system. For example, *"He questions whether this is justice in Pakistan."* In this example, Manzoor Pashteen uses a rhetorical question to challenge the notion of justice in Pakistan. By asking "whether this is justice," Pashteen invites the audience to critically reflect on the prevailing state of affairs and the extent to which justice is truly being served in the country.

In the last minute, when he concluded his speech he talked about the supreme authority that who can solve our problem *"Who should be their hope - the Parliament?"* This rhetorical question challenges the audience to question the effectiveness and role of the Parliament in addressing the grievances and seeking justice for the people in KP. It represent that parliament of Pakistan is not free to decide but Pak army has the authorities to decide anything.



He talked about the parliament that they should serve the common people but they are not serving them but serving generals *"Are they serving the people or the generals?"* This rhetorical question highlights the power dynamics and the role of the military in the governance of KP. It prompts the audience to question the government's allegiance and whether it is genuinely serving the interests of the people or prioritizing the demands and interests of the military generals.

When he talked about the system of oppression in KP in asks the people a question that *"Is this the system that should continue?"* or we should resist against this system.

This rhetorical question challenges the audience to question the sustainability and legitimacy of the prevailing system in KP. It prompts the listeners to consider whether the existing system, characterized by mass detention, denial of rights, and extrajudicial killings, should persist or whether it demands resistance and change.

#### **d. Metaphorical Language**

Pashteen employs metaphors like "Vigo Dali" to illustrate the arbitrary and oppressive nature of the system. The use of such metaphors helps in creating vivid imagery and evoking emotions. He used metaphorical language in his speech in many places. For example; he comes to the current situation in his area in KPK, stating *that people are getting disappeared in our area* "In this example, the phrase "people are getting disappeared" is an instance of metaphorical language used by Manzoor Pashteen to describe the alarming and disturbing phenomenon of forced disappearances. The use of the word "disappeared" as a verb in this context is metaphorical because it goes beyond its literal meaning of merely vanishing or going missing. This term represent force disappearance.

In his speech he talked about the mass disappearance in Vigo *"There is no system, only 'Vigo Dali,' where if you say something, you will be disappeared in black Vigo. This system is not run by courts, but rather by the rules of Vigo."* In this example, Manzoor Pashteen uses the metaphor of "Vigo Dali" to symbolize a system of oppression and fear in the region. The phrase "Vigo Dali" is metaphorical because it does not have a literal meaning but rather represents an abstract concept that stands for an arbitrary and oppressive system.

In his speech he mentioned the business of Army in foreign and says that *"Papa Johns and Australian I Island, stating that nothing is free, but their blood is taken."* In this example, the phrase "nothing is free, but their blood is taken" uses a metaphorical language to depict the exploitation of the region's resources and the people's suffering. By referring to Papa Johns and Australian I Island, Pashteen implies that it was purchased with the money taken from foreign for war.

#### **e. Personalization**

In his speech Manzoor Pashteen includes specific examples of individuals like Rao Anwar and Ali Wazir (MNA of Waziristan KPK) to personalize the impact of the injustices faced by the Pashtun community. This technique makes the issues relatable and emotionally charged. He critiqued the system which is not equal for every citizen. He said that *"dear sir, Rao Anwar is the person who killed 440 people is roaming free while Ali wazir whose 18 family members were killed is in jail"* Manzoor Pashteen here intended that there are different rules for Pashtuns and for other. Manzoor Pashteen talked about "us and them" concept.

"He further talks about that *'mass detention' that took place in the complete area which was sieged. To justify this mass detention, they established rules like 'action in need of civil*

*power, which allows killing a person based on their intentions.*"In this example, Manzoor Pashteen personalizes the impact of "mass detention" by using inclusive language such as "in the complete area which was sieged, Pashteen includes himself as part of the conversation, making it more personal and emotionally engaging for the audience. He always used "our area"" to include himself in the conversation.

### **Sociocultural Practice**

The sociocultural practice refers to the broader social and political context within which the discourse takes place. In the context of Manzoor Pashteen's speech, the sociocultural practice involves the political landscape of KP, the region's history of conflict and oppression, the role of the military and government institutions, the struggles of the Pashtun community, and the prevailing system of governance that has led to human rights abuses and denial of basic rights in KP.

#### **a. Peace March**

Pashteen mentions the ongoing peace march in KP, indicating a collective effort by the people to demand peace and justice. The peace march is an example of a sociocultural practice that reflects resistance against the prevailing system.

#### **b. Silence Dissent**

Pashteen's speech shows that he is speaking in a situation where a harsh dictator controls people who criticize him. This means that speaking out against the government is difficult and can lead to punishment. He in his speech clearly mentioned that there is not democracy but here is kingdom where general become the king and control all the bodies, *"here is not democracy but here is kingdom and chief of army staff is the king. We all accept the courts and constituent of Pakistan but only generals of Pakistan army violate the constitution ion as they do not present any single missing person in the court"*.

The phrase "intending to ban such gatherings" indicates that the explosions were used as a tactic to discourage public gatherings and demonstrations. This underscores the oppressive measures employed by the authorities to maintain control and silence opposition. He always mentions the suppression of people from the slogan of their basic rights. In his speech he mentioned that control media and the control government that" *"The military controls the Parliament's meetings for peace, and the media can't show anything without the military's approval"*. In this example, Pashteen points out that the military has a lot of control over the Parliament's discussions about peace, and the media can't show anything without the military's permission. This control restricts people from expressing their different opinions and ideas openly. In this example, Manzoor Pashteen makes a direct call for resistance against the prevailing system. He encourages the people to take action and stand up against the injustices and oppression they are facing. By using the term "resist," Pashteen urges the audience to actively challenge the status quo and work towards bringing about change.

Manzoor Pashteen's speech at the Asma Jahangir Conference exemplifies the language of resistance through his critical analysis of the prevailing sociopolitical practices and calls for collective action to bring about change. He used rhetorical strategies, metaphors, and specific examples to evoke emotions and mobilize people to resist the oppressive system in his area in KP.

## DISCUSSION

Manzoor Pashteen's speech at the Asma Jahangir Conference showcased the powerful use of language to express resistance against the oppressive policies and marginalization faced by the Pashtun community in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Pakistan at large. Through a critical discourse analysis of Pashteen's speech, it becomes evident how his strategic use of language has a profound socio-cultural impact on both the Pashtun community and the broader Pakistani society.

### Language of Resistance in Pashteen's Speech

In his speech, Pashteen employs various linguistic features to convey a strong sense of resistance. He challenges the dominant narratives propagated by the state and uses vivid metaphors and rhetorical devices to inspire his audience. For instance, Pashteen's reference to the "war on terror" as a new terminology that led to a state of exception in KP reflects his critique of the authority's actions. (Example: *"In 2001, when a new terminology came into the world, the 'war on terror,' the Pakistan Army established a 'state of exception' in our area, KP"*). Pashteen portrays the creation of a threatening narrative as a pretext for justifying oppressive measures (Example: *"A narrative was created that posed a threat to national security, and then business started based on this narrative"*). Pashteen talked about the business of dollars that "authorities take dollars for war on terror and killed our people just to provide legal proof of terrorism".

#### a) Sociocultural impact on Pashtun community

Manzoor Pashteen's speech at the Asma Jahangir Conference has significant sociocultural impact on the Pashtun community in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). Through his language, Pashteen empowers and mobilizes the Pashtun community, developing a sense of solidarity, identity, and action among its members. The speech serves as an agent for social and political awakening, prompting the community to challenge prevailing narratives, demand justice, and advocate for their rights.

Pashteen's language of resistance in the speech empowers the Pashtun community by providing them with a voice to articulate their grievances. By speaking out against injustices, Pashteen encourages the community to take pride in their identity and heritage, instilling a sense of unity and belonging (Example: *"Now Pashtun people won't allow any terrorism on the earth"*). This empowerment helps the Pashtuns shed the feeling of helplessness and mobilize collectively to address their concerns.

In Pashteen's speech, he wants to change the way people think about the Pashtun community in Pakistan. Many negative ideas and stereotypes exist about Pashtuns because of where they live and their history. For example, people might associate them with violence or dangerous situations (*"Explosions occurred wherever common people assembled"*). But Pashteen challenges these stereotypes by showing that their struggles are about resisting oppressive policies. He wants others to see them in a more understanding and fair way, beyond the negative labels. By framing their challenges as part of a broader fight for justice, Pashteen aims to overcome stigmatization and create a better understanding of the Pashtun community.

In short, Manzoor Pashteen's speech at the Asma Jahangir Conference has a strong impact on the Pashtun community. His language of resistance empowers and unites the community, making them more aware of political issues and reviving their culture. The speech helps overcome negative beliefs about Pashtuns by showing their struggle is for justice, not

violence. It inspires people to peacefully fight for their rights and equality. Pashteen's message deeply touches the Pashtun community, motivating them to stand up for their rights and bring about positive changes in society.

#### **b) Sociocultural impact on Pakistan community**

The sociocultural impact of Manzoor Pashteen's speech at the Asma Jahangir Conference extends beyond the Pashtun community and has implications for the broader Pakistani society. Through his language of resistance, Pashteen's speech challenges prevailing narratives, encourages non-violent advocacy, and promotes a more inclusive and just society. By reframing the narrative from one of violence and terrorism to a fight for justice and equality, Pashteen prompts the broader Pakistani community to question their defined notions and biases about Pashtuns (*Example: "Explosions occurred wherever common people assembled"*).

He inspires people in Pakistan to think about using non-violent methods for their activism and political involvement. For instance, when he says, *"The solution is that people should resist against this system,"* Pashteen urging others to peacefully protest and resist instead of resorting to violence. This message has influenced civil society groups and activists to adopt non-violent approaches in their own efforts to bring about positive change in society. Pashteen use the words "Peaceful March" and "Aman march" which can create a great impact on those non Pashtun communities that Pashtun are peaceful people not terrorists.

Pashteen in his speech at Asma Jahangir conference never ever used the word Punjabi as he always use the word Punjabi in his speeches that we are two different nations. It indicates that Pashteen want to impact and engage the whole Pakistani communities in the resistance.

In Pashteen speech, Pashteen refers to the Italian writer Agamben and his book "State of Exception" to support his argument about the concept of a "state of exception" being applied in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) (*Example: "He further explained the phrase 'state of exception' with a reference to the Italian writer 'Agamben' and his book 'State of Exception,' which explains the state of exception during the Nazi regime in Italy"*). This reference serves to validate his claim that the normal rules and rights have been changed in KP due to the "war on terror," leading to a state of exception and impacting the lives of the Pashtun community. The impact of pashteen reference to Agamben's book, Pashteen encourages the broader Pakistani community to engage in critical thinking and explore the complexities of the situation in KP. This reference prompts Pakistani people to question and reflect on the state's actions and policies, fostering a more informed and discerning public. Pashteen's use of a reputable academic source adds credibility and legitimacy to his arguments. It demonstrates that his message is grounded in research and analysis, rather than merely emotional or biased claims. This can influence a broader audience to take his concerns seriously and consider the validity of his call for non-violent resistance and social change.

Manzoor Ahmad Pashteen mentioned the Pakistani constitution that Pashteen is a person who follow the constitution and live under the constitution of Pakistan but generals are not following *"we all follow the constitution but our generals are not following because generals do not present a single person in the court"* the term constitution can create a great impact on Pakistan community. It indicates that pashteen is not against Pakistan as the notion against pashteen is prevailing rather pashteen is following Pakistan's constitution which shows solidarity.

Hence, Manzoor Pashteen's speech has a profound impact on the Pakistani community in general. It raises awareness, fosters empathy, promotes social justice advocacy, encourages non-violent means of change, and prompts critical thinking and political engagement. The speech contributes to a more informed, compassionate, and united society that strives for justice, equality, and a pluralistic national identity.

## **CONCLUSION**

It is cleared from examining that Manzoor Pashteen's speech at the Asma Jahangir Conference presents a powerful call for resistance against the prevailing socio-political system in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa KP. Through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Fairclough 3D model this research has delved into the language, rhetoric, and sociocultural context of the speech of Manzoor Pashteen to extract the language of resistance. In the speech, Pashteen highlights the concept of "state of exception," where normal rules are suspended, leading to changes in military operations and governance. This state of exception has been imposed upon the people of KP, resulting in mass detention and extrajudicial killings, which denies the people their basic rights and freedoms. The use of emotionally loaded expressions, metaphors, and rhetorical questions in the speech plays a pivotal role in evoking empathy and motivating the audience to stand up against oppression.

One of the major themes of the speech is the stifling of opposing views, where journalists and political leaders who support the common people and criticize authority's policies are targeted. This suppression of dissent hinders the open exchange of ideas and compromises the principles of freedom of speech and expression. The call for resistance becomes a recurring motif throughout the speech. Pashteen emphasizes that the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, KP need to come together and peacefully challenge the injustices they face. By resisting collectively, they can pressurize the state to address their grievances and work towards a more just and equitable society.

The research has revealed how Pashteen's speech serves as a powerful tool to foster social change and bring attention to the struggles faced by the people of KPK. By raising awareness about the issues and encouraging peaceful resistance, the speech empowers the audience to take charge of their destiny and advocate for positive change. The speech not only sheds light on the challenges in KPK but also critiques broader socio-political practices that impact the Pashtun community. Pashteen's use of historical parallels, such as the comparison with the Nazi regime, underscores the severity of the situation and the urgency for resistance against oppressive practices.

In conclusion, Manzoor Pashteen's speech delivers a strong message that resonates with the audience. The call for resistance against injustices, the emphasis on peace and justice, and the demand for basic rights and freedoms reflect the collective aspirations of the people of KP. Through his speech, Pashteen challenges the existing power dynamics and advocates for a more inclusive and compassionate society. This research highlights the importance of critically analyzing discourse to understand the underlying power relations, ideologies, and social context. The analysis of Pashteen's speech provides valuable insights into the struggles faced by marginalized communities and their quest for justice and freedom. By listening to voices like Pashteen's and engaging in critical discourse analysis, we can work towards building a more equitable and empathetic society for all.

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