Linguistic Realization of Legitimation of Power by Zia ul Haq and Pervez Musharraf during the Afghanistan Wars

Waqasia Naeem and Dr. Muhammad Shaban Rafi

Abstract

This research aims at revealing the linguistic realization of legitimation in the discourses of Zia and Musharraf during the Afghanistan wars for the periods of 1979-1988 and 2001-2008. The data comprises of their official discourses on Afghanistan war during their respective regimes as head of the state. Using the Nomination strategies suggested by Discourse Historical Approach by Wodak and Meyer (2001) and Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Representation model (2008), this study reveals the linguistic realization of legitimation through the dichotomous construction of self and Other representation. Moreover, it is argued in the study that different social actors have been constructed in their discourses through the categorization of Inclusion/Exclusion and Activation/Passivation to rationalize the perspective of self/ in-group, in order to justify their respective policies on Afghanistan issue.

Keywords: Discourse Historical Analysis, Zia ul Haq, Pervez Musharraf, Political discourse, Language, Legitimation, Afghanistan war.

Introduction

Pakistan's troubled history is marked by its involvement in two major foreign conflicts/wars. The first was the 1979-1989 Soviet-Afghan war and the second was the American led War on Terror that started in the last quarter of 2001 after the alleged terrorist attacks in America on Sep 11, 2001. Since then, Pakistan has faced a variety of challenges both at national and international level. On national level, there is a huge economic and security crisis due to the terrorist attacks especially affecting the border provinces of Baluchistan and Khyber Pukhtunkha; along with the economic burden and safety concerns caused by Afghan refugees. According to a report published by the UNHCR in Sep 2018, Pakistan hosted a large number of refugees in the world, as many as 1.45 million Afghan refugees living in Pakistan, of whom 74 percent are second or third generation, that means they were either born in Pakistan or are the children of refugees born there (Lomax, 2018). While on the international level, constant 'Do more' rhetoric is extended by the successive governments of the United States pressurizing Pakistan to contribute more to Afghanistan conflict. The role of 'frontline state' given to Pakistan during the 1979-1989 and 2001- till date Afghan conflicts has brought this foreign conflict into Pakistan's social fabric. Not surprisingly, when both the wars began Pakistan was ruled by the military elite.

Pakistan has endured military rule for about half its existence (during the periods 1958 – 1971; 1979 – 1988; and 1999 – 2008). The two regimes that left irrefutable imprints on Pakistan's socio-political history, especially with reference to Pakistan's

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*Authors are PhD Scholar (Linguistics) and Associate Professor and Chairperson, Department of English Language and Literature, University of Management and Technology, Lahore

involvement in foreign conflicts, were General Zia's regime and General Musharraf's regime. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq enforced Martial Law on July 5, 1977, by carrying out a bloodless coup overthrowing Bhutto's government. He later became President of Pakistan in 1984 by the Referendum. The second was military take-over by General Pervez Musharraf in 1999. In 2002, he also held the Referendum that granted him an additional five years as president. Both the rulers ruled for nearly a decade. Interestingly, the main foreign conflict/event that took place during their tenure was Afghanistan War. During Zia's regime, it was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 that triggered the US-Pak alliance while the defining event during Musharraf's rule was the Sep 11, 2001 attack on World Trade Centre that led to Afghan war. Pakistan was involved in both the wars by forming an alliance with the US.

The military overthrow by the powerful military elites interferes with the democratically elected political governments and for that reason, lacks legitimacy. The consequence of this upheaval is social, political and economic isolation in world as is the case of Pakistan. In Zia's case, the lack of popular support and sanction of Bhutto's trial and execution caused the Carter administration to propose an arms and aid embargo on Pakistan (Fathers, 1998 August 18). Same situation occurred in 1999 after Musharraf's coup. Following the military take-over, there was an international economic isolation and besides that the US and the European Union showed their concern for the implications of coup on South Asian region (Haq, 1999, Oct 13). These repercussions during both the military regimes had considerable effect on their policies regarding foreign issues; especially the Afghanistan's and their main concern was to formulate policies that focused on establishing the legitimacy of their governments. Although they radically differ in their policy standpoints towards Afghanistan, both the rulers employed discursive strategies of Self and Other to construct Afghanistan issue to legitimate their particular perspectives in their discourses.

It was a tradition in Pakistan that the Heads of the State communicated with the public through 'Addresses to nation' regularly by explicitly mentioning the aim of their communication as information sharing and taking nation into confidence. Beside these, their interviews to local and foreign media outlets and speeches delivered at different national and international forums/gatherings were also made public through the state TV and radio channel in the shape of excerpts from the interviews/talks. It is pertinent to mention here that in Pakistan, the media was not independent until 2002. Before that there was only one state run television channel and radio channel as the sole source for the dissemination of information. Hence, under this strict media policy, the official disocurses were considered the main source of information for the public to get information about the policies of governments. These talks were legitimized because of source and formal institutional setting since the person who created these talks was approved by personal or institutional authority (Martín Rojo & Van Dijk, 1997). These attributes of the institutional political setting characterizes the authority

of this discourse. The context approves the authority of the speaker and that power enables the political actor to show his discourse as truth. Therefore, the institutional settings of the talk approve validity of the political message (which is the political actor's interpretation of the occurrences). The supposed truthfulness of the talk underpins the legitimization of the move made (Martín Rojo & Van Dijk, 1997: 560-1).

Cap (2007) considers legitimation as an important discourse objective of the political actors. It alludes to the procedure by which speakers certify or permit a kind of social conduct. The demonstration of legitimizing or defending is identified with an objective of interlocutor's endorsement. This search for endorsement can be influenced by various reasons: to acquire or look after power, to accomplish social acknowledgment, to enhance network connections, to achieve fame, and so on. Therefore, legitimation merits exceptional consideration in political discourse since it is from this speech event that political leaders legitimize their political agenda to maintain or change the direction of an entire country (Cap, 2007: 17-41).

Charteris-Black (2005) states that "within all types of political system, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic; leaders have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership" (Charteris-Black, 2005:1). Language is the major tool through which different ideologies and ideas of the ruling elite are constructed, contested and communicated to the audience. The rulers introduce their agendas in slight and subtle courses, once in a while by showing the situation as a straightforward narrator (Reyes, 2008).

After the 1979 Soviet Invasion, Zia advocated the cause of Afghanistan during public addresses and also on different world forums like Organization of Islamic Countries and United Nations Organization by putting the Afghanistan's Soviet Invasion of 1979 on the grounds of 'Islamic brotherhood' and 'humanitarian crisis' respectively. To persuade the public, he maneuvered the Afghanistan situation and labeled it as the problem of 'Muslim unity', 'Muslim Ummah' and Pakistan as 'the standard bearer of Islamic brotherhood'. The support for the cause of Afghanistan was called as an effort to 'safeguard Islam' and to help Islamic brothers.

After the incident of Sep 11, 2001, Musharraf issued statement assuring US of 'our (Pakistan) unstinted cooperation in the fight against terrorism'. Pakistan was represented as in a 'critical situation' akin to that in '1971' with the implications that the 'wrong decision' can harm our (Pakistan's) 'vital interests'. He represented Pakistan's standpoint as 'better serve Afghanistan's interest' by collaborating with the international community. The opposition to his decision of becoming 'frontline state' was categorized as promotion of their personal agendas. Pakistan was symbolically represented as the fort of Islam and saving Pakistan (and also saving Afghanistan from Taliban) was made equivalent to saving Islam.

This ideological discursive construction of the particular realities was employed to seek the legitimation of specific policies on Afghanistan wars. Both the rulers addressed the public regularly to discuss the circumstances and reasons for getting involved in the Afghan war to achieve legitimation of their actions by creating a version of reality that caused the involvement of Pakistan in both the wars whose repercussions Pakistan is still confronting in the form of terrorism and financial crisis.

The socio-political act of legitimation is usually accompanied by persuasive discourse and policies are described as beneficial for the group (Van Dijk, 1998). The legitimizing discourse works rhetorically to validate the policy actions and ideals of the in-group while on the same time delegitimizing the out-group. As communication primarily requires language to get the message across, language is used as the major tool to put forward ideological positions as utilized by Zia and Musharraf on Afghanistan issue. This research is concerned with exploring the discursive construction of Pakistan's role in Afghanistan wars as only rational and legitimate decision through the dichotomous language of Us vs Them. In other words: it focuses on the linguistic ways employed by both the rulers to construct Self and Other to substantiate their definitions of in- and out-groups, and other linguistic strategies to authorize their policies on Afghanistan issue.

Research Objectives

The main objectives of the study are:

- To appreciate the significance of language in construction of social reality and social relations of power

- To look at the role of language in politics of representation to understand the ways language is used for legitimation specific perspectives

- To unmask the ways dichotomy of Us vs Them is created in discourse

- To investigate the linguistic ways social actors are represented in the discourses to legitimize certain standpoints

Research Question

- How were the social actors represented by Zia Ul Haq and Pervez Musharraf to construct the legitimacy of the position (involvement in war) during the Afghanistan wars of 1979-1988 and 2001-2008?

Theoretical Framework and Research Design

In an attempt to address this issue of legitimation, Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA), as described by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (2001) in Discourse Historical Approach, in along with framework for analyzing construction of social actors developed by Theo van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation model (2008, 1999) is employed. Critical Discourse Analysis is primarily concerned with

addressing social problems through analyzing the discursive practices of the society. The theory of CDA rests on the assumption that the language is essentially a social practice and cannot be analyzed by isolating it from social phenomena. Linguistic phenomena are social as when people interact, they follow certain norms as determined by the society and have social effects. Thus they actually contribute in maintaining or changing the social relationships through language. Social phenomena are linguistic as they are not only the reflection or expression of social practices; it is part of those practices. CDA also focuses on determining the relation between power and dominance and how it is achieved by text and talk. It explores the manipulation of powerful groups to exploit and control the minds and subsequently, the actions of powerless/marginalized people.

The Discourse-Historical Approach (henceforth DHA) attempts, inter alia, to explain the cases where language and other semiotic practices are used by those in power to maintain domination and focuses on the importance of bringing together the textual and contextual levels of analysis (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). DHA has produced a series of analytical and descriptive tools, drawing on linguistic models and argumentation theory. In particular, DHA lists six strategies for identifying ideological positioning (i.e. nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, intensification and mitigation) which are analyzed as part of a larger process that includes also the characterization of the contents of a discourse, linguistic means of expression and context dependent linguistic realizations. This particular study highlights the use of Nomination strategies to construct the in-group and the out-group identities with the help of Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation Model (2008).

Social Actor Representation Model (2008) is concerned with the construction of different social actors in the discourse. According to van Leeuwen (2008), the discourse may include or exclude social actors to suit the interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. The "exclusion from'" or "inclusion in" the linguistic representations can serve many different psychological, social or political purposes or interests, hence, are ideologically used to achieve certain goals (Leeuwen, 2008: 29). Also, the social actors can be given active or passive roles in the discourse. This aspect of representation also plays a significant part in the work of many critical linguists (e.g., Fairclough, 1989a; Fowler, 1991; Fowler et al., 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979; Van Dijk, 1991; cf Leeuwen, 2008). It focuses on who is represented as "agent" ("actor"), and "patient" ("goal") with respect to a given action as there need not be congruence between the roles that social actors actually play in social practices and the grammatical roles they are given in texts. Representations can reallocate roles or rearrange the social relations between the participants thus ideologically foregrounding or backgrounding certain actors.

The social actors can be included (Inclusion) in the discourse with the help of generic or specific reference. The choice between generic and specific reference is an

important factor in the representation of social actors as they can be represented as classes, or as specific, identifiable individuals. The Generic reference (Genericization) is the one in which the social actors are included as groups or classes e.g. 'the extremists'. The specific reference (Specification) is the one in which the social actor is made prominent with the help of particular reference. It is further divided into two kinds A way of specifically referring to a social actor as an individual is through Individualization, for example, by using a person's name ('Mrs Smith') or by singling them out in some other way (e.g. through use of an indefinite article 'a 35-year-old woman'). The purpose is to foreground the social actor.

Assimilation is used to refer to the specific group of people. According to van Leeuwen (2008), assimilation is a way of representing social actors as groups. There are two main types of assimilation. One is Collectivization, a type of assimilation which involves collectively representing people (without using statistics). According to van Leeuwen (2008: 37), the word 'we' can be used to represent collectivization, or terms like 'this nation', 'the community', 'the Pushtoons' 'the religious extremists' or even the name of a country 'Pakistan' can represent a collective identity. Second is Aggregation, a type of assimilation which involves collectively representing people by referring to numbers or amounts. Van Leeuwen (2008) notes that 'aggregation is often used to regulate practice and to manufacture consensus opinion even though it presents itself as merely recording facts' (p. 38). Aggregation can involve actual statistics, 'just 15% people oppose…', but can also use less specific determiners like some or most e.g. "Some Ulema are trying to react on pure emotions".

Exclusion is an aspect of social actor representation where particular social actors do not appear in a text or as part of a discourse. Some exclusions (consciously or not) serve ideological purposes, for example, by obscuring or downplaying responsibility for various events. Exclusion is achieved through two techniques. First is Suppression, a form of social actor exclusion which according to van Leeuwen (2008: 29) is the lack of reference to a social actor anywhere in a particular text. A typical way of its realization is via passive agent deletion, e.g. 'thousands of lives were lost in a minute'. Second is Backgrounding, a form of exclusion less radical than suppression. He notes that 'the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given activity, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text, and we can infer with reasonable (but never total) certainty who they are. They are not so much excluded but are de-emphasized, pushed into the background' e.g. while demanding the financial support, General Musharraf said ' We need financial and commercial support on urgent basis …' without mention from whom this support is demanded.

Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity, Passivation when they are represented as undergoing the activity, or as being at the receiving end of it (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 33). This may be realized by grammatical participant roles, by transitivity structures in which activated social actors are coded as actor in material processes, behaver in behavioral processes,

senser in mental processes, sayer in verbal processes, or assigner in relational processes (Halliday, 1985).

Data Collection

The text is historically situated within the post-Soviet Invasion of 1979 and post-9/11 political global arena. The data comprised of the official discourse emanated from Zia and Musharraf during their rule as head of the state specifically from 1979-1988 and 2001-2008 respectively. Speeches at national and international forums, addresses to nation, interviews to local and foreign media and press briefings have been selected to study the employment of the legitimation strategies. Importantly, only the text pertaining to Afghanistan wars have been selected for this research. Keeping in mind the ethics of research, a special permission letter has been taken to use this data for the purpose of research.

Data Analysis

The data have been analyzed to develop the themes and sub-themes of the text through the coding process.

Dichotomous Construction of Us vs Them in Zia's Discourse

The following table shows the themes that were derived from the text and the corresponding social.

Table 1

Themes and Corresponding Social Actors in Zia's Discourse

Selected Text	Codes	Themes	Nominated Social Actor
The tragedy that has overtaken Afghanistan, our Muslim non-aligned neighbour, which has been subjected to massive military intervention, constitutes a grave threat to our national security and well-being of the region.(Zia, 1982c)	• Victimization • Muslim Brotherhood • Non-Aligned country • Threat	The victimization of a Muslim country has caused insecurity in the whole region	• Afghanistan • Soviet Russia • Region • Pakistan
The valiant people of Afghanistan have responded to this challenge to their sovereignty with unsurpassed courage and are engaged in an epic struggle against foreign domination. This grievous conflict has uprooted millions of Afghans from their ancestral homes, forcing almost three million of them to seek refuge in Pakistan.	• Victimization • Resistance • Refugee Crisis	The heroic struggle of Afghans needs to be applauded. Also the conflict has caused a huge refugee crisis.	• Common Afghanis • Afghan Freedom fighters • Soviet Russia • Pakistan
The new geo-political realities and the exigencies of the rapidly evolving situation have compelled us to pay greater attention to our security.	• Threat	Pakistan is under threat.	• Russia • Pakistan
The USSR's intervention has effectively eliminated Afghanistan as a buffer state between South Asia and the Soviet Union and brought its military might from across the Oxus right up to the gates of the Khyber Pass.(Zia, 1982a)	• Expansionism • Threat	Politically, Soviets are disturbing the balance of power in the region.	• Russia • Afghanistan • Pakistan • Region
The tragedy that has befallen the Islamic country of Afghanistan, as a result of foreign military intervention, has also been a matter of profound concern and anxiety to the Muslim Ummah.(Zia, 1984a)	• Muslim Brotherhood	Attack on Afghanistan is considered as attack on whole Muslim World.	• Afghanistan • Muslim Ummah
Small nations feel endangered as big powers lay claim to ever-widening sphere of influence	• Threat	Juxtaposition of small and big nations refers to imbalance of power in the region.	• Third World countries • Super powers

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It is a matter of regret that despite the resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly and the unanimous demand made by the Islamic Conference Russian troops still continue their occupation of Afghanistan. The unarmed Afghan people are still being subjected to untold atrocities. (Zia,1980c)	• Victimization • Aggression •	Soviet Russia has aggressive plans and do not comply to United Nation Organization or Organization of Islamic Countries	• UNO • OIC • Common Afghanis
An Islamic state never deviates from principles. So our endeavor is that if we could not render any practical help to Afghan Mujahideen in their liberation struggle, we must properly look after the refugees. (Zia, 1984c)	• Principled Stand • Freedom Fighting • Refugees • Muslim Brotherhood	Islamic principles are the guidelines for the actions and policies.	• Afghanistan • Pakistan • Freedom Fighters
Pakistan is affording shelter and succour to these unfortunate men, women and children in fulfillment of its humanitarian and Islamic obligation.	• Victimization • Humanitarianism • Muslim Brotherhood	Pakistan sticks to its Islamic and humanitarian obligations.	• Pakistan • Common Afghanis
Now can you accept this, not only as a neighbour but as a member of the Free World, as an independent sovereign state, as an Islamic state? ….. Pakistan cannot compromise on principles.	• Pro-West Inclinations • Muslim Brotherhood • Principled Stance	Afghan policy is a morally right stance and cannot be compromised.	• Pakistan
It has been our endeavour to seek a solution of this problem with the help and cooperation of every estimable and self-respecting nation; of every independent and freedom-loving country; and we support every such effort that may lead to a just solution irrespective of the fact whether this effort has been undertaken by one country, a bloc or the United Nations.	• Freedom • Free World	Pakistan believes in collaborating with other countries especially the capitalist countries known as Free-world.	• Western Capitalist countries • UNO • Entire World
Let America be the torch-bearer of peace, peace not only on the American continent; but peace of Afghanistan…	• Peace	America is the symbol of peace.	• United States • Afghanistan

The above mentioned Table 1 shows the themes that are derived from Zia's discourse (Appendix A). The extracted themes from the text show the major thematic concerns of the text and consequent representation of social actors. The main theme of the text is victimization of Afghanistan and Pakistan by the threat generated from Soviets aggressive expansionist plan. The sub-themes include Muslim brotherhood, morally right resistance to aggression, defending honor, peaceful world, humanitarianism and Islamic obligation of helping neighbouring Muslim country. The Social Actors were also constructed throughout the text through polarization of Self vs Other representation. In the first group the 'Self' or the in-group, there was Afghanistan, Pakistan, USA, Western world, Muslim world and the entire world community especially the United Nation Organization. The common Afghans were constructed as the victim of war. Pakistan was represented on the one hand, as the sympathizer of Afghanis (by the relation of Muslim brotherhood) who were being wronged by a super power and on the other hand, as a pro-west Muslim country which was threatened by the future Soviet aggression (Zia, 1980a). The US was referred as another super power which was 'doing nothing' to stop Russian aggression (Zia, 1979a). The Western capitalist countries and the Muslim world were constructed as the one who had the ability to save Afghanistan from the Soviet aggression because of their essential characteristic of being free world and Muslim Ummah respectively (Zia, 1986a). Lastly, the entire world especially the United Nation Organization was constituted as the rational body which has passed resolutions over this issue and urged by Pakistan to resolve the Afghanistan issue. In the second group i-e the 'Other' or the out-group, there was Russia which was distinguished as a big, mighty super power as well as a regional power who had jeopardized the peace of not only the region but also of the whole world by occupying a small neighboring country to fulfill its expansionist plans (Zia, 1981a). Also, the government of Afghanistan was constructed as the Other as it was supported by the Soviets.

Social Actors Representation in Zia's Discourse

These Social Actors were further delineated in the discourse with the help of Inclusion/Exclusion categorizations and through Activation/Passivation techniques.

Afghanistan was represented in discourse by 'Inclusion' categorization. Afghanistan had a pervasive presence in the discourse on Afghanistan-Soviet war. Both Generic and Specific references were used to highlight the Afghanistan issue. The representation focused on the group identity of Afghanis through Assimilation as well as the through Individualization to foreground it as a social actor. The Assimilation was expressed through plurality for instance, 'People of that country', 'they', 'Afghan brethren' and 'local Afghan population' (Zia, 1980a).

I.   The tragedy that has overtaken Afghanistan, our Muslim non-aligned neighbour, which has been subjected to massive military intervention, constitutes a grave threat to our national security and well-being of the region. The valiant people of Afghanistan have responded to this challenge

> to their sovereignty with unsurpassed courage and are engaged in an epic struggle against foreign domination. (Zia, 1982c)

In this example, the situation in Afghanistan was foregrounded by using nominalization through Inclusion categorization. The nominalized noun 'tragedy' emphasized the suffering and destruction caused by the 'military intervention' and supported the theme of victimization of Afghanis. The use of adjective 'valiant' for Afghanis and 'unsurpassed' courage (Afghan's courage) further represented them as bearing positive traits. The postmodification 'our Muslim non-aligned neighbor' emphasized the obligation on Pakistan to sympathize with Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan as a social actor have been activated as agent in the clause that is involved in heroic struggle to fight 'foreign domination'. The term 'foreign domination' is not clear without contextual clues that which actor has been mentioned here.

> II. The ill-equipped Afghan Mujahideen are engaged in a war of liberation. (Zia, 1984c)

Here, the word Mujahideen, the people involved in fighting off the Soviets were activated as actor in material process. The Inclusion is achieved through Individualized reference of Afghan Mujahideen, highlighting their identity. The premodification 'ill-equipped' described them as the victim who wanted to achieve the goal of liberation.

> III. We watch with admiration the courage, will-power and the spirit of patriotism of the Afghan Mujahideen who have been waging their war of liberation for the past two years almost with bare hands. (Zia, 1981c)

For the purpose of foregrounding, the Individualization was used and realized through singularity. The main purpose was to give prominent position to Afghanistan. Thus, Afghanistan was represented as 'the immediate neighbor', 'one muslim country', 'Muslim non-aligned neighbor', 'small non-aligned country', 'small neighbouring country', 'independent, Islamic , non aligned country', 'a buffer state, 'a satellite of Soviet Union, 'neighbor', 'West of Pakistan', 'Western borders', 'neighboring country', 'brother, neighbor non aligned country', 'free country Afghanistan' and 'Islamic non-aligned state' (Zia, 1986a ; Zia, 1980a). The representation relied on constructing a small Muslim and helpless non-aligned country to highlight the wrong action taken by the Soviets to occupy it. Mujahidin were represented as 'fighting the good fight,' (Zia, 1981c).

The refugees were represented in groups using Collectivization through plurals as 'the Afghan refugees', 'uprooted Afghans', 'men, women and children', 'children and the old and the helpless', 'unfortunate men, women and children', 'muslim brothers', 'Afghan brothers' and 'the helpless refugees' which indicated that they were defenseless, weak people of Afghanistan who were forced to 'leave their hearths and

homes' (Zia, 1982c; Zia, 1983a). Afghan refugees were represented through Aggregation also. This technique is used repeatedly in the discourse especially with reference to the Afghan refugees to highlight the number of people who were suffering because of Soviet occupation.

IV.   More than a fifth of the entire population of Afghanistan has been compelled to seek shelter in Pakistan as a result of the armed intervention in that country by a foreign power. (Zia, 1982d)

Aggregation is often used to regulate practice and to manufacture consensus opinion, even though it presents itself as merely recording facts (Leeuwen, 2008). The phrases like 'large number of Afghan citizen' (Zia, 1980a), 'hundreds of thousands of people' (Zia, 1980a), 'over 8 lac Afghan nationals' (Zia, 1980e), 'millions of refugees' (Zia, 1981c), 'three million Afghan nationals' (Zia, 1983c), and 'over 2.8 Afghan refugees' (Zia, 1982c) were also used repetitively to emphasize the victimization of Afghan population through statistics.

Another aspect of the Afghanistan crisis was the then-present regime of Babrak Kamal which was most of the time Suppressed in the discourse and when mentioned, Individualization was oftenly realized by singularity. There were few instances when it was explicitly mentioned to highlight its position as the 'Regime in Kabul' (Zia, 1982a) (indicating that this government is limited to the Capital), the 'Karmel regime' (Zia, 1980b), or called 'the puppet govt/the puppet regime' (Zia, 1980b). The purpose was to distance this social actor from the general Afghanis emphasizing the out-group nature of the Soviet sponsored regime.

V.   Mr. Babrak Karmal has been installed by the Soviet Union at their own behest, irrespective of the opinion or the conscience of the people of Afghanistan. (Zia, 1980b)

In this passive construction, Babrak Kamal is grammatically constructed as a beneficiary of Soviet Union action. The verb 'installed' indicated the Soviet Union's active involvement in setting him up as Afghanistan ruler.

While describing the ongoing resistance to the then-present regime in Afghanistan, Assimilation was used to emphasize the collective identity of people involved in the struggle. The representation heavily relied on the use of adjectives and mass nouns to highlight the positive 'Self' image. For instance, 'the unarmed Afghan people', 'Proud and brave people of Afghanistan', 'unarmed but valiant Afghans', 'the valiant people of Afghanistan', 'the freedom fighters', 'Afghans', 'Mujahedeen', 'Afghan nationals', 'Afghan Mujahedeen', 'Afghan army', 'Afghan freedom fighters', 'freedom loving people', 'Afghan militia' and 'Afghans, fiercely independent people' (Zia, 1980a; Zia, 1981b; Zia,1984a).

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As far as Russia was concerned, it was both represented through Inclusion and Exclusion depending upon the audience of the discourse as well as according to how the Afghanistan issue was being represented. Mainly, it was mentioned when the Afghanistan issue is discussed with reference to occupation and the ongoing resistance. Exclusion was primarily done through the Backgrounding of Soviet Union. Soviet troops were represented through the vague terms like 'foreign troops', 'alien troops', 'Foreign aggression', 'Foreign military aggression', 'foreign power', 'foreign domination', 'Super power' , 'foreign armed intervention', 'foreign forces', 'foreign interventionist forces', 'communist state', 'Large neighbor', 'Neighbor', 'communist and atheist coup' and 'foreign interference (Zia, 1979b; Zia, 1981b; Zia, 1980d; Zia, 1984c). The audience needed to infer from the context, the background or from other references elsewhere in the text to know this social actor. The purpose was to foreground Afghanistan and its sufferings while simultaneously back grounding Soviet Union. Another way of Suppression is to use the passive agent deletion technique. It's been used repeatedly especially with reference to the victimization of Afghanistan e.g. 'Thousands of people are leaving their hearth and homes' (Zia, 1980a).

VI.   The three million old men, women and children who have been uprooted from their hearths and homes as a result of the war in Afghanistan and taken shelter within our borders.(Zia, 1984c)

In this passive agent deletion construction, the agency is not clear or in other words it was not mentioned that who has made Afghanis leave their homes. Agent is excluded while the Circumstances and Goal has been foregrounded. The suppressed social actor can only be determined by looking for the clues in the context and the co-text of the text.

Inclusion was done through specific references. The Individualization was achieved through the use of terms like 'Soviet', 'Russian', 'USSR' while discussing the occupation of Afghanistan. Soviet Russia was usually mentioned during interviews to foreign media or during International briefings.

VII.   The Soviet military intervention in that country represented a forward move on the part of a superpower to seek a unilateral strategic advantage. (Zia, 1982c)

In this example, Soviet Russia is foregrounded and activated with reference to the material process of 'represented'. The Circumstances 'forward move' and the post-modification 'military intervention' highlighted the negative Other intentions of Russians.

VIII.   A Super Power has intervened in this small neighbouring country of ours, Afghanistan, with the help of one hundred thousand troops and physically occupied this independent, Islamic and non-aligned country. (Zia, 1981e)

As this example highlighted, Aggregation was used to highlight the gravity of crisis by mentioning the numbers like 'one hundred thousand troops'. In the first part of the sentence, 'Super power' and 'small neighboring country' had also been juxtaposed for the contrastive effect. The metonymical reference 'Super power' highlighted might of Soviet Russia while simultaneously 'small' emphasized the victimization of Afghanistan.

Pakistan was represented by both Inclusion and Exclusion categorizations. It was included in the discourse through Collectivization especially with reference to the issue of Afghan refugees and Pakistan's role in region was discussed e.g. 'People and govt of Pakistan', 'the People of Pakistan, 'We', 'our borders'.

IX.   We are bending our effort to resolve this tragic situation for a peaceful political settlement, in accordance with the principles enunciated by the international community. (Zia, 1982d)

Here, the personal plural noun was used as Agent in an active clause to focus the positive efforts of Pakistan. The pre-modification 'tragic' signifies the grim situation in Afghanistan. International community is also mentioned to show the unity and alignment of Pakistan's policies according to the world. Pakistan's role is activated to give prominence to Pakistan's stance.

X.   Pakistan is affording shelter and succor to these unfortunate men, women and children in fulfillment of its humanitarian and Islamic obligation.(Zia, 1982c)

As this extract shows, Individualization was achieved through singularity and mainly used when the Pakistan's standpoint was brought to forefront in a positive light. Pakistan's role is activated as a responsible Islamic state that was offering relief to war-stricken people. Mass noun had been used to show the collective identity of Afghan people. The adjective 'unfortunate' represented Afghans as the victims of situation. The other examples are 'Pakistan, a peace loving country', 'a good muslim neighbor', 'a non aligned state', 'Pakistan, next door neighbor', 'small developing country', and 'a frontline state'. The adjectives of 'non-aligned' and 'Muslim state' were used to emphasize the similarity between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Exclusion was achieved both through Suppression and Backgrounding of Pakistan in the discourse related to Afghanistan issue. The exclusion was a conscious strategy to mitigate the role of Pakistan in Afghanistan conflict. Parallel to this technique is the Inclusion of Afghanistan and the elaborated detail of its people to highlight the human crisis caused by Soviet invasion.

Another Social actor that was mentioned in the discourse is the United States of America. This actor was mainly represented in the discourse which was meant for foreign audience e.g. during the foreign visits, specifically, it was mentioned during the interviews given to foreign media. The USA was represented through Individualization to foreground its importance in the world politics e.g. as 'US',

'America', 'the United States', 'the Big power', 'Americans', 'the champion of free world'(Zia, 1981a) and 'the emblem of free world'(Zia, 1980j).

XI.   It is a matter of considerable satisfaction for us that Pakistan and the United States have a common perception of the latest events in our immediate neighbourhood. (Zia, 1982c)

In this example, the passivation is realized by 'possessivation' in the form of a prepositional phrase with 'of' postmodifying a nominalization or process noun, as with 'of considerable satisfaction'. The goal has brought to forefront while the actors and circumstances have been back-grounded.

The Western countries were also represented in the discourse through Assimilation. The 'Western world' as an actor in this crisis was mainly referred to during the foreign visits and in the interviews given to international media. These countries were represented collectively as 'free world', 'freedom loving countries' and 'European countries' (Zia, 1980b).

The Muslim world was represented in the discourse to highlight the similar Muslim identity of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Muslim world was collectively represented as 'the entire Muslim world', 'Muslim Ummah', 'the Islamic world' and 'the Muslim countries' (Zia, 1980a). Collectivization was realized by using proper nouns.

XII.   In my opinion their battle, their Jihad, is not for the independence of Afghanistan alone but for the whole of the Muslim world. (Zia, 1984a)

In this example, the post-modification Jihad, battle is referred as the battle of freedom for the whole Muslim world. The role of jihad/battle is activated to collectively represent it as a goal of the all Muslim countries.

While mentioning the impact of Afghanistan crisis on world politics, the USSR and USA were collectively included in the discourse and represented as 'Super powers', 'Big powers' and their power struggle as 'Super power rivalry'.

Another actor is the Third world countries which were included in the discourse collectively as 'smaller countries' and 'small nations'. All the countries of the world were also represented in the discourse especially while mentioning the solution of the Afghanistan crisis. The world was represented collectively as ' the entire world', 'entire international community', 'world community', 'Modern world', 'comity of nations, and individually as the 'United Nations Organization'.

The analysis shows that the Zia's discourse created the clear-cut boundaries between in-group 'Self' and the out-group 'Other'. The in-group members were mostly included in the discourse and foregrounded. Afghanistan was given prominence in the discourse through inclusion especially with reference to the refugee crisis and the resistance to Soviet forces. It was passivated most of the time in the discourse and

represented as a victim. Pakistan is represented through Inclusion and activated as a major actor with reference to its role in promoting peace and humanitarian efforts for refugees. Together, Afghanistan and Pakistan were represented as the two major countries who were suffering because of Soviet aggression. Afghanistan's position was the one who was directly affected (as it led to the displacement of millions of people and resistance to Soviets) and Pakistan as the one who was indirectly suffering because of Soviet invasion in terms of Afghan refugees and future threat from Russian aggression. United States is included to foreground its stature as a Super power but its role is passivated. The European countries, Muslim Ummah, small countries, and entire world were represented through Inclusion categorization but their role is passivated. The out-group member i-e Soviet Russia was included and excluded in the discourse according to the topic. It's specifically individualized with reference to its political aspirations but excluded when the Afghan refugees problem was discussed. Its role is activated only as having aggressive political plans. The voice of different social actors was absent in the discourse while the impetus was laid on Pakistan to construct its policy of involvement in Afghan conflict as legitimate.

Thus, Zia used the discourse of victimization to highlight the issue of Afghanistan on national and international level. Common Afghani people (the general public of Afghanistan) were constructed as the victim of Soviet's aggression. The goal of this representation strategy was to garner support for the involvement of Pakistan in the Afghanistan war on the national (Pakistan's general public support) and international level (the support of western countries especially the other Super power United States). Afghanistan was particularly characterized with the predicates like 'a non-aligned', 'Muslim', 'small country' which was occupied by the 'foreign forces' of Russia (the Super power at that time) which had the "expansionist plans" towards South (Zia, 1980a). Pakistan was also delineated with the help of predicates as a moral voice of the world which was 'shouting at its loudest' (Zia, 1982a) to lessen the miseries of "grief-stricken" (Zia,1982a) people of Afghanistan. The discourse also made repeated appeals to the western world which was constructed as a symbol of freedom i-e the 'free world' and the USA (another Super power at that time) as 'Champion of the Free world' (Zia, 1982b). A strong request was made to the Muslim world as well to take some action as 'Muslim Ummah' (Zia, 1984a) because one of the 'members of their fraternity' was being occupied by "the communist and atheist state". It also called for the 'entire world to resolve this issue by adopting the resolutions of United Nations Organization (Zia, 1984a). Hence, in this way Zia created the dichotomy of in-group and out-group to give prominence to the theme of legitimation.

Dichotomous Construction of Us vs Them by Musharraf

The following table shows the themes that have been emerged from the text.

Table 2

Themes and Corresponding Social Actors in Musharraf's Discourse

Selected Text	Codes	Themes	Nominated Social Actor
The extraordinary session of the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] Foreign Ministers held on the 10th of October has endorsed this position taken by Pakistan. It has also denounced the minority and fringe voices that tried to cause harm to Islam and the Muslims. (Musharraf, 2002b)	• Muslim Countries • Extremist minority	Pakistan's policies are in accordance with Muslim countries. The opposition does not has a support.	• Pakistan • Extremist Muslims • Muslim Ummah
After 11 September Pakistan had been trying its utmost with the Afghan government ever since Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaida became an international issue, till the last moment, to avert military action in Afghanistan. (Musharraf, 2001d)	• Victimization • Military operation • Terrorism	Taliban's stubbornness is the cause of attack on Afghanistan.	• Sep 11,2001 • Pakistan • Afghanistan • Taliban • Al Qaeda • Coalition
We are taking strong actions against al Qaeda, you know, against Taliban supporters, against religious extremism within the country, and we move very strongly. (Musharraf, 2003d)	• Action against extremism	Pakistan has taken stern decision to tackle Taliban.	• Afghanistan • Taliban • Al Qaeda • Pakistan • Extremist minority
We have to fend against all the turmoil that was coming from Afghanistan in form of Al-Qaeda, Taliban, etc. (Musharraf, 2005x)	• Victimization • Aggression • Terrorism	Pakistan's security is more important.	• Pakistan • Afghanistan • Al Qaeda • Taliban
Those who pay for the acts of these extremists are the majority of Muslims who are moderate and tolerant, as prescribed by Islam.	• Victimization • Aggression	True Islam is different from the extremist's Islam.	• Extremist Muslims • Moderate Muslims

And I certainly believe that Pakistan is a moderate, progressive, enlightened Islamic state. The vast majority of Pakistanis believe in an enlightened vision of Islam, they are not at all extremist in their views.	• Victimization • Moderate • Extremism	The real Islam is moderate Islam.	• Pakistan • Moderate Muslims • Extremists Muslims
You should help me out in dealing with extremists and terrorists and strengthen me against such elements. Don't get in the words of extremists. They are rendering damage to Pakistan and would have been rendering damage to Pakistan.	• Extremism • Terrorism • Victimization • Cooperation	Public should support government and its policies.	• Afghanistan • Pakistan • Extremist Muslims • Public of Pakistan
Terrorism, for obvious reasons, we have to confront it with force.	• Victimization • Humanitarianism • Military action	Terrorism is an evil thing.	• Pakistan • Terrorist
The coalition operation against terrorists in Afghanistan continues.	• Military Operation	Pakistan is part of the international community to fight terrorism not Afghans.	• Coalition • Terrorists • Afghanistan
I was trying to justify whatever we are doing to be a matter of, an issue of standing by principles and to be the most logical course to follow. From a national interest point of view, I was trying to justify that there is nothing un-Islamic in character in what we are doing.	• Principled Stand • Rational decision • National interest • Not Against Islam	The difference between the Real Islam and extremist's Islam is emphasized.	• Pakistan • Moderate Muslims
And then came the bombshell of Sept. 11, 2001, and the angry reaction of the United States against the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan.	• Justified reaction	The 9/11 act was a terrorist attack, hence Taliban have to pay the price.	• United States • Sep 11,2001 • Taliban • AlQaeda

The above mentioned Table 2 illustrates the themes derived from Musharraf's Discourse on Afghanistan war (Appendix B). The major theme that emerges from the text is the victimization of Pakistan due to 1979-1989 Afghan war, terrorism and extremism. The sub-themes include the difference between extremist and moderate Islam, global cooperation to curb terrorism, Taliban's stubbornness towards international demands and AlQaeda's terrorist activities. The table also shows the corresponding social actors that have been constructed through the dichotomy of Self vs other representation or Us/Them divide. The data expounds that M

usharraf's discourse on Afghanistan war did not draw precise boundaries between the 'Self' or in-group and 'Other' or out-group members. On national level, Musharraf represented Social actors in such a way that those who agreed with the government policies were put in the category of in-group as 'Us' and those who rejected the policies were termed as extremists or the one who were promoting their personal agendas (in comparison to government which took decision in the favor of national interest) (Musharraf, 2001b & 2002a), hence constituting 'Them' or the out-group. The in-group members mainly included Government of Pakistan who was saving national interest and Islam (Musharraf 2001b); people of Pakistan ('the vast majority of Pakistanis stood by this decision and supported us' (Musharraf,2002) also called 'moderate Muslims' (Musharraf, Oct 2001). Internationally, the Social actors included Common Afghan people, 'we (Pakistan) sympathize with the people of Afghanistan'(Musharraf, March 2002); international coalition against Terrorism (Musharraf, 2001a); United States of America, to which 'unstinted cooperation in the fight against terrorism' was offered (Musharraf, 2001b); Afghan government of Hamid Karzai, (Musharraf, 2002a); September 11 incident 'barbaric act of terrorism' (Musharraf, 2001b) ; Islamic Ummah, 'Islamic countries also support the coalition' (Musharraf, 2001b). The out-group members or the 'Other' included the Taliban, 'Pakistan has suffered because of supporting them' (Musharraf, 2001b); Al Qaeda, 'all of us must act to finish to Al-Qaida' (Musharraf, 2004a); terrorists and extremists (Musharraf, 2004a). At some instances, Hamid Karzai's government was represented as an out-group member (Musharraf, 2006a).

In his discourse, the pronoun 'we' had been used extensively for the in-group while 'they' had been used repeatedly for the out-group. Second person pronoun 'you' was also used pervasively in the discourse on Afghanistan to enact the receiver of the discourse as an important social actor and the part of in-group. It was fore grounded and directly addressed 'I will share with you the support that they expect from us' (Musharraf, 2001b).Wodak (2005) sees pronouns especially personal plurals as to induce interpreters or the audience to realize a concept of group identity, as an in-group member or an out-group member.

Social Actors Representation by Musharraf

Afghanistan was represented in the discourse with reference to two different time periods. The first was the historical reference to decade-long Soviet-Afghan war of 1979-1989 along with the post war period till September 11, 2001 incident. The discourse focused on the thirty years old problems that bedeviled the region (Khan, 2011). The main thrust of the argument rested on the destruction and problems faced by Afghanistan as well as Pakistan during and after the Soviet-Afghan war of 1979-1989, sense of betrayal felt by Pakistanis due to US policies and the 12 years of civil strife that went on till the Sep 11, 2001 incident, 'This is because of what has

happened for twenty six years that this place becomes a boiling pot' (Musharraf, 2006a). The second phase started after the September 9, 2001 incident.

For the first period, Afghanistan was represented in discourse by 'Inclusion' categorization. Inclusion was, for the most part, done by specific reference to Afghanistan and Mujahedeen who were also called Taliban at some instances. The main reference strategy used was Specification and Afghanistan was represented by its very name. At some other points, it was represented by the terms like 'four million refugees', 'Afghan jihad' and the people of Afghanistan were represented by the terms like 'Afghan warlords', 'jihadis', 'Taliban' and 'Mujahideen'. Here, the main purpose was to represent Afghanistan's history objectively and to remind the world at large about the Afghan-Soviet war of 1979-1989 and the role of the west in funding and supporting Taliban. The implication was to ward off the criticism that was often made on Pakistan as the supporter of Taliban. Musharraf (2004a) said, 'in the cold war period where everyone from the whole world was made to converge in Afghanistan'.

> XIII. We sympathize with the people of Afghanistan who for the last few decades have been victims of continuing turmoil and chaos.(Musharraf, 2002i)

In this example, Afghanistan has been passivated and mentioned as phenomenon of the mental process. Assimilation is used to represent people of Afghanistan. A general word 'people' has been used to refer to the public without mentioning of Taliban or the other social actors.

Within the post 9/11 era, a range of Social actors have been constructed within Afghanistan only. These multiple actors included the common Afghan people; the newly elected Afghan government; the ruling group known as Taliban and lastly, Osama Bin Laden headed organization, AlQaeda. During this phase, Afghanistan was referred both through Inclusion and Exclusion categorization depending on the social actors who were discussed. The newly elected Afghan government (the Bonn process and Karzai government), was represented through Inclusion (Individualization) while the common Afghanis were Excluded though Suppression and Backgrounding techniques. Backgrounding was the major strategy through which common Afghanis were represented in the discourse.

> XIV. A stable and peaceful Afghanistan is in the vital interest of the region and in particular of Pakistan. Conditions must be created for more than three million refugees in Pakistan to return to their country. (Musharraf, 2001d)

Afghanistan has been given the passive role and represented as undergoing an activity or at the receiving end of the action. The presupposition here indicated that there are few actors who do not want 'stable and peaceful' Afghanistan. It is not clear from the text that which actors are referred here. Premodifications have been used in form of adjectives to intensify Afghanistan as a passive object. In the second sentence,

nominalization was used to refer to the refugees return to Afghanistan. Aggregation is used to highlight the number of refugees in Pakistan.

XV. Let me say that I am concerned about Afghanistan and the Taliban. (Musharraf, 2001b)

In this example, a demarcation is created between Afghanistan and Taliban. Specification has been used to refer to Afghanistan and Taliban as separate entities and represented as phenomenon in the mental process of 'concern'. Their role has also been passivated and are mentioned as receivers of the given mental action i-e concern.

XVI. We support the Bonn process and its related clauses on formation of the Loya Jirga. We appreciate the participation of women in the same. This, we hope will lead to peace, Normalcy, national reconciliation and reconstruction in Afghanistan without any gender or ethnic discrimination. (Musharraf, 2002i)

The Bonn process was initiated to form new government in Afghanistan has been specified through the Individualized reference. It is represented as a goal in the material process of support. In the second sentence, Afghanistan is mentioned as phenomenon in the mental process of 'hope'. Afghanistan has been passivated. It is not clear that who has initiated Bonn process or who will be involved in the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Taliban activities like their very close alliance with Osama bin Laden, 'the alleged perpetrator of 9/11 incident' (Musharraf, 2001c) and 'the Taliban got involved in the terrorist act on September 11' (Musharraf, 2002c) were emphasized to legitimate government's position against Taliban and on the issue of terrorism. The discourse fore-grounded the Taliban and Al Qaeda while backgrounded Afghanistan as a social actor. At some points it was represented by the Suppression technique, thus, reader had to make sense according to the contextual cues that Afghanistan was being discussed. This representation technique was used to suppress the representation of destruction caused by the military airstrikes of U.S led coalition. The aftermaths of military operation on Afghanistan and its people were back-grounded to avoid the opposition of the general public. The fore-grounding of Taliban and Al-Qaida terrorist activities emphasized their negative image and hence highlighted their out-group nature.

The Coalition of the US and other countries of the world were foregrounded through the categories of Inclusion. The term 'international coalition' was used and Pakistan was represented as 'part' or 'member' of the coalition. America and coalition forces were also used interchangeably in the discourse. Especially when addressing the general public of Pakistan, the term 'coalition forces' was fore-grounded through Collectivization to highlight the international aspect of Afghanistan war. Collectivization has been realized through the use of plural as in 'coalition forces' or

the use of mass noun 'international community'. It was framed as a war by all the nations instead of marking it as an American waged war on Afghanistan. As the general people in Pakistan were not happy after the first proxy war that Pakistan fought in 1979-1989 and role of Americans in it (Riaz, 2011), this served the purpose of mitigating the agitation of public and minimize the resistance against government decisions.

On the other hand, during the interviews to foreign media, America and its role was emphasized through the Individualization of America and its actions/activities in Afghanistan. This was used as a discursive strategy to show the closeness and strong bilateral relations between the US and Pakistan.

XVII. Our two countries have many common bonds and linkages. Our relationship is of long-standing and in the interest of the people of our two countries. We have cooperated closely in the global fight against terrorism and we stand determined to rid the world of this menace. We abhor terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. … We are grateful to the United States for its constructive engagement in our region.

(Musharraf, 2003a)

Here in this example, the commonalities between Pakistan and United States have been emphasized through Inclusion. The use of plural 'our two countries' refer to the collective identity of the both allies. The relationship between the two countries has been activated in the clause by foregrounding it as an agent in the clause. The use of adjectives 'common', 'long-standing', 'closely', 'global' and 'constructive' also use as collective reference to the two countries. The role of United States as a social actor is activated in the clause and appreciated by using euphemistic expression 'constructive engagement'.

Pakistan was represented as a victim of Afghanistan wars of both 1979-1989 and then-current post 9/11 War on Terror through Inclusion. Pakistan's role as a 'frontline state' in both the wars was emphasized through Individualization especially with reference to the geographic importance of Pakistan in South Asian Region. It is also individualized by the use of singular as a 'frontline ally' to limelight its importance.

XVIII. While the people of Pakistan have accepted this new reality, they still suffer from a sense of betrayal and abandonment, when they were left in the lurch in 1989 after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Then also, we were a front line state. (Musharraf, 2001d)

In this example, Pakistan is represented through Assimilation through a noun denoting a group of people like 'people of Pakistan. The role has been activated as Agent with the material noun 'accept'. Afghanistan situation and Pakistan's role is euphemistically referred as 'new reality'. The use of verbs like 'suffer' and 'left'

emphasized the victimization of Pakistanis in 1989. Individualization of Pakistan as a 'frontline' state is realized through the use of singular.

The representation was primarily through Collectivization as a responsible state of world and Islamic Ummah.

XIX. Our decision to support the international campaign against terrorism in all its manifestations is based on principles. The extraordinary session of the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] Foreign Ministers held on the 10th of October has endorsed this position taken by Pakistan. (Musharraf, 2001e)

Here, the plural personal pronoun 'our' is used as collective strategy to show unity among the government and public of Pakistan. It also highlighted the government's stance as being shared by the government of Pakistan and people of Pakistan mutually. Afghanistan war is euphemistically constructed as an 'international campaign against terrorism'. The use of terms 'international' and 'OIC' showed Pakistan as part of international and Islamic community. OIC is individualized as a Muslim representative organization and its role been activated as agent in relation to material process 'endorse'. Pakistan is referred as beneficiary in the clause as being accepted as a responsible Muslim state.

Pakistan's need of having peace in the region and Afghanistan was also stressed by representing Pakistan as a 'peaceful, moderate and progressive country'. Also, Pakistan's support for the newly elected Afghan government is also foregrounded through Inclusion.

XX. Pakistan supports the Bonn Agreement. We support President Karzai and his Administration. (Musharraf, 2002a)

In the above example, Pakistan and the President Karzai have been individualized. The role of Pakistan is activated in relation with material process 'support'. President Karzai's role is passivated as a recipient in material process.

XXI. We are a member of the coalition. We will remain a member.

(Musharraf, 2002a)

Here, the in-group identity of Pakistan is focused through Inclusion strategy. A plural pronoun has been used for Pakistan to emphasize the collective identity of Government of Pakistan and the general public of Pakistan.

XXII. The difficult decision first was obviously whether we are part of the coalition to move against extremism in Afghanistan or not. (Musharraf, 2002a)

Referring to the status of Pakistan as an in-group member, Pakistan's identity as a coalition member is reiterated through Inclusion. The plural personal pronoun 'We' has been used to show the collective identity of Pakistani government and people. Coalition is mentioned through individualization as an entity that is against extremism, not Afghanistan. The role of pronoun 'We' is activated in the clause while coalition and extremism in Afghanistan has been passivated.

While confronting the criticism of its role in Afghanistan war and combating terrorism, Aggregation was used to represent the number of troops that Pakistan engaged in this war e.g. '70,000 troops', '80,000' troops as well as the casualties that Pakistan suffered e.g. '400 casualties', '700 dead'. The purpose was to highlight the efforts and sacrifices Pakistan made in war.

Taliban were represented in their historical context of 1979-1989 war as well as the post 9/11 'war on terror'. They were represented by Assimilation as Taliban, Mujahedeen, and Jihadis in the 1979-1989 war. They were also Individualized as 'Pupil from madrassahs' who were trained and sent to fight in Afghanistan during 1979 Afghan-Soviet war. In the post 9/11 scenario, they were represented through Assimilation as 'terrorists', 'militants' and 'extremists'. At some points they were also Individualized as 'Pakhtun Taliban', by the individuals like 'Mullah Umer'. The purpose of using Assimilation was to emphasize the collective ideology of Taliban and their destructive activities.

XXIII. We have cracked down on extremism and terrorism in all its facets. ..One is cracking down or operating against al Qaeda, another is operating against the Taliban, supporters of the Taliban regime or functionees of that regime. (Musharraf, 2003d)

In the above-mentioned example, Taliban and Taliban regime was individualized by the singular with definite article. The grammatical role of Taliban and their supporters have been passivated as receivers of the material noun 'cracked down'. In the second clause, use of verb infinite '-ing' form foregrounds the nominalized noun 'cracking down' and referred to Taliban and AlQaeda as entities at the receiving end.

Al Qaeda was foregrounded in the discourse through Assimilation and Individualization. The emphasis was on highlighting the 'Other' character of Al-Qaida. It was represented through Assimilation as 'foreign elements', 'foreigners', 'the outsiders', 'extremists', 'terrorists', 'militants', and 'aliens'. The main focus was to create a difference between Taliban and AlQaeda where Taliban were represented as indigenous people while Al Qaeda's foreign character was pointed out. Individualization was also used when Osama Bil Laden (henceforth OBL) was mentioned. Also, a general term 'terrorists' was used to denote both Al Qaeda and Taliban. The force of the argument was on the 'outsider' character of OBL which was the main cause of post 9/11 war on Afghanistan. Aggregation was also used to mention the arrests that Pakistan made e.g. '400 Al Qaeda members' and '700 major

Al Qaeda members'. These numbers were used as evidence of Pakistan's efforts on controlling terrorism.

The discourse of Musharraf, especially at national level, represented another social actor 'religious fanatics' through Genericization. This social actor was especially represented through Aggregation also as 'a small minority of extremists', 'some ulemas', 'so called custodians of Islam' and 'some religious parties and groups' to refer it as a small group. It is not clear from the discourse that which social actor was referred as the only point of reference used is that group's opposition to the government policies, thus, the cause of agitation and protests in Pakistan.

XXIV.   Some extremists, who were engaged in protests, are people who try to monopolize and attempt to propagate their own brand of religion. (Musharraf, 2002b)

In this example, aggregation is used to represent the opposition as 'some extremists'. The Aggregation strategy helped in highlighting the minority of the opposition for Musharraf policies, hence implying the support of majority. Their role is activated in relation to the negative activities of protest and monopoly.

The incident of 9/11 was also represented as an actor in Musharraf's discourse. It was Individualized as 'incident of terrorist attack on 9/11' and 'catastrophic attack of 9/11'. Its impact was emphasized on the world as 'the world has changed in the wake of 9/11 attacks'. These Individualization techniques implied the gravity of 9/11 incident by foregrounding it and highlighted the role of Pakistan as a 'frontline ally' in the changed post 9/11 political scenarios in the 'changed world'.

Another actor that was constructed in the discourse is the moderate element(s). The general public as a whole was constructed as a group through Assimilation as majorly a moderate group with the noun denoting group of people as 'people of Pakistan' who agreed with the government and Musharraf policies and wanted to get rid of extremisms and terrorisms and thus 'frustrated their (extremist's) designs'.

XXV.   The reality is that there is majority of moderate people who totally reject extremism. (Musharraf, 2004f)

Aggregation is used to indicate the number of moderate elements as 'majority'. The subordinate clause is used as postmodifier to further define this group.

The second person pronoun 'You' had been used overwhelmingly for this group to create a direct link with the moderate element. For example, 'You must realize the realities', 'You should stand against the elements which are floating hetaerism, and extremisms', 'you should reject extremists'. These moderate elements were made the direct addressee of the discourse to highlight their importance as well as to share the responsibility of the government decision.

The region was represented as a 'turbulant region' which had been suffering because of the decade long war of 1979-1989 and then the post war strife between the warlords of Afghanistan and now because of the post 9/11 war. It was Individualized with the help of personal plural noun 'our region'. The main purpose was to highlight the impact of Afghanistan situation not only on Pakistan but on the whole region to foreground the sufferings of people of South Asian region, specifically Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Using the Social Actor Representation model as outlined by Van Leeuwan, the social actors are analyzed in Musharraf's discourse. The analysis highlighted the inclusion and exclusion of different social actors to achieve legitimation. The in-group identity was created by defining Pakistan, Muslim countries and U.S. coalition as 'Self' and Taliban/Al-Qaida as the 'Other'. Also, the analysis described that extremism and moderation were constructed as two parallel concepts where extremism referred to the Afghan Taliban and Osama bin laden and some religious groups in Pakistan while moderation referred to the general public of Pakistan. Against this ideology of extremism, moderation was included in the discourse as the need of hour in Pakistan's society and symbolized by the moderate Muslims. A distancing strategy was adopted to create a difference between Afghanistan and Taliban. Common Afghanis were excluded in the discourse mostly while Taliban and Al Qaeda were included by reference to their negative 'evil' acts. Also, the discourse represented Pakistan through Inclusion as a victim of terrorism and of 1979-1989 circumstances of Soviet-Afghan war. The Coalition forces were foregrounded with regard to the operation in Afghanistan while the U.S. was foregrounded only during foreign media interviews and briefings.

Conclusion

The research concludes the role of language and linguistic structures to legitimate the particular policy standpoints in the discourses of Zia and Musharraf with reference to Afghanistan wars of 1979-1988 and 2001-2008. It is worth-mentioning that this research has scanned the linguistic expressions, phrases, and syntactic structures to highlight the linguistic realization of legitimation through the dichotomous construction of Self/Other and representation of social actors. Moreover, the in-group social actors were Included in the discourse by foregrounding their positive traits and also Excluded to background their negative actions. For the out-group social actors, they were mostly excluded in the text to suppress their voice and were included only to foreground their negative characteristics. The analysis opined that the discursive construction of legitimation through Us/Them divide and categorization of Social Actors through Inclusion/Exclusion and Activation/Passivation strategies reveals the power of language in shaping and construing the particular version of reality resulting in the dominance of the ruling elite.

Linguistic Realization of Legitimation of Power by Zia ul Haq and Pervez Musharraf during the Afghanistan Wars

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