

## Analyzing Persuasion In Pro-War Rhetoric Of Pakistani And Indian Perspective

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### Abstract

Pakistan and India are two major countries in South East Asia. Despite being neighbors, both countries have hostile attitude towards each other. The fact that both countries are nuclear states makes it very alarming for the peace and stability of the region. The situation gets more worst because the public from both the countries also have strong hostile emotions for each other and always ready to get into the war. The main reason for this hostile attitude in public is due to war rhetoric built by their leaders. This study deals with the war rhetoric build after Pulwama attack by leaders of both the countries. The researcher has adopted qualitative research paradigm and used Aristotle's Rhetoric Artistic Proof as theoretical framework to analyze persuasion of war in pro-war rhetoric respectively. Total nine speeches, five from Indian and four from Pakistan's side were selected. It is found that leaders from both the sides used ethos, pathos and logos to persuade their public in favour of war and to convince their public that war is inevitable. The study was only limited to the war-rhetoric built after Pulwama attack, and only analyzed speeches by the head of political and military leadership.

**Keywords:** Pro-war rhetoric, Language of war, Persuasion in war

### Background Study

Clash of interests leads to wars. The history of wars dates back to the inception of human society. Although, the wars are fought between states but they are backed by their public. A state cannot afford to sustain the war unless the idea of war is legitimized for its people. For legitimation of war, a narrative is built. Every war has a narrative, as the foundations of wars are built on narratives. Vlahos (2006) explains that a war narrative does three things. It provides an 'organizing frame for

policy', represents 'war logic' and 'provides rhetorical handbook about how war is to be argued and described'. Moreover, it also helps to uplift the morale of the soldiers who are actually fighting on the battlefield and of the civilians on the 'home front. Vlahos further explains that in war, the narrative is much more than just a story. It is the foundation of all the strategies upon which all the policy is built. Vlahos suggests that the war narratives are to be identified and critically examined on their own terms as they can help us understand the inner nature of war itself.

Apart from its utility as a tool for communication, language is the most effective tool to influence, convince and persuade others, or create experience of people about life. Language, according to Chomsky (2002), is "a set (finite or infinite) of sentences, each finite in length and constructed out of a finite set of elements". Whereas, Merriam Webster defines language as, "a systematic means of communicating ideas or feelings by the use of conventionalized signs, sounds, gestures, or marks having understood meanings". McLaughlin (2006) argues that language is key element in defining human as social being.

Man is a social animal by nature; a person who is unsocial naturally and not accidentally cannot be a normal human being, thus anyone who leads a life without taking part in society is either a beast or a god (Aristotle, 2017). Being part of a society, it is inevitable for a man to make contact with others. Not only this, but man has always made efforts to control the behavior of other people through imposing upon them his ideas, or giving them direct orders. It is an undeniable fact that language has vital role in convincing and persuading people. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) explain that language and society have very close relationship with each other. It helps political leaders, writers, and journalists to express themselves in such a way that society can understand them in any given context. Ghannam (2011) argues that through language and expression politicians convince their listeners about their viewpoint. Kamalu and Tamunobelega (2015) argue that with the help of language we shape views of our society, learn new things and integrate the customs and social patterns of our community.

Aristotle claims that the basic purpose of rhetoric is to persuade. "Its business is not absolute persuasion, but to consider on every subject what means of persuasion are inherent in it, just as in the case of every other art" (Aristotle, 2017). Population is one of the four fundamental components of a state. The ruling bodies of any state have to have unconditional support from its public. The greater the cause, the greater the demand for its support from the general populace. For the purpose of getting support from the public, leaders take help of speeches. Gopang and Bughio (2015) argue that speech is a wonderful source of communication through which one can persuade others. O'Keefe (2016, p. 4) defines persuasion as a successful deliberate effort to influence and convince another person through communication. Lombardi (2018) argues that with the help of persuasion politicians influence listeners. Dor (2003) explains that politicians, by using rhetorical devices and political language, impose their ideology on the minds of people by using the rhetoric devices of persuasion. Burke argues, "Wherever there is persuasion, there is rhetoric. And wherever there is meaning, there is persuasion" (Burke, 1969, p.72).

For hundreds of years, in order to understand the production of effective messages, the scholars of communication dedicated their whole careers to study the phenomenon. As the basic building blocks of creating persuasive messages, Aristotle put forward the concepts of credibility

(ethos), logic (logos) and emotions (pathos). Cicero put forward his own ideas of five canons of rhetoric or five fundamental stages of producing an effective message. Similarly, in the contemporary age, Stephen Toulmin established the Toulmin Model as a way to construct the convincing arguments. His message production model consists of a claim, grounds, warrant, backing, model qualifier and rebuttal. The conclusion or argument being made is the Claim. The data and facts offered to support the claim is the Ground. In order to support the Warrant, the Backing is utilized and to make a statement about the strength of the Claim, Qualifiers are used. Words like ‘definitely’, ‘possible’ and ‘certainly’ are the examples of qualifiers. Rebuttal is the exception to claim. One likely has a basic concept about how an effective message is made, even though he is unaware of above stated theories of rhetoric for production of message. As per Toulmin, issues of practicality are the basis of effectiveness – which is to discover a claim which people find interesting and it is able to be justified. The more you understand the theories of rhetoric to produce message, the more potential you possess for the production of convincing messages in various contexts.

Michael Lee, in his book ‘How To Be An Expert Persuader... In 20 Days or Less’ (2007) explains detailed process to persuade audience and to achieve any persuasive goal. He elaborates that asking for more is a good way to persuade and achieve your target. He explains this phenomenon with the help of argument that whenever parents plan any trip with their children then children ask parents to take them to cinema and to sports as well, the parents know that taking their children to sports is expensive so they only agree to cinema. In this way, the children can make their parents easily agreed to go to cinema, as parents would think that they have bargained well. If children had only given the option of cinema then it might be turned down. Therefore, with this practical example he explains that asking for more can help to persuade anyone. Another technique that Lee explains in order to persuade anyone is to come with the solution. If the speaker has the solution of the problem, which listeners are facing, then he can easily convince the audience. Once the audience is convinced then it is obvious that the audience will also support the speaker’s decision to get rid from that problem. The next technique, which Lee explains, is the use of body language appropriately. Lee says that if gestures are used effectively on right moment then the audience can be persuaded easily.

Heath and Heath (2007) explain phenomenon of persuasion that on what basis we like some ideas and some not. To elaborate effectiveness of ideas, the author explains the term ‘sticky ideas’. He explains that the sticky idea is clear, easily understandable, concrete, and has long lasting impact. It simply means that speaker should explain meaning in a simple way. Concrete ideas help people in remembering concepts for long period. Secondly, he explains that the speaker should arouse curiosity of the listeners. This will help the speaker to generate interest, once interest is generated then it is very easy to persuade audience. Next step is to touch the emotions of the audience by developing pathos. Lastly, telling a right story that hits on those emotions that have already been built. He explains that stories have long lasting effects on the memories of the audience as compared to facts and figure.

Torto (2020) talks about advertising in the print media in Ghana. Use language with images is an old technique. At the end of nineteenth century, modern advertising started. In ancient Greece, rhetoric described as the relationship between thought and expression. By using Aristotle’s

Rhetorical Theory, the writer explains persuasive techniques, and explains that how Ghana advertising companies used those techniques. There are three artistic proofs of Aristotle's theory; Logos, pathos and ethos. Logos means words, pathos means emotional and powerful appeal and ethos means trustworthy. In advertising, powerful words by the trustworthiness help to achieve the target. Writer further explains that most of the employer in Ghanaian press used the Aristotle's technique for persuasive effect. First 'Asaase Wura' and 'YaraLiva' provides logic that these are best nutrition package in Ghana for the growth of Cocoa. Second advertisement of Safe in printing press uses the pathos. In which it is recommended that you can safe your valuable things from fire using our safes. Third, a floor cleaner 'Inesfly' not just cleans your floor but also kills insects. Fourth, 'UMAWA' is best solar and it worded 'I believe in solar, I chose UMAWA'. Therefore, in all four advertisements, writer analyzes that advertising companies used the Aristotle's rhetoric technique.

McCormack (2014) discusses the Aristotelian Rhetoric in the courtroom. He explains that in the past, the authors of treatise like Quintilian and Cicero also utilized Aristotle's rhetoric analysis. In legal practice, a claim is involved so advocate must be able to reason logically, sense what is right and to understand emotions. Writer further explained the three modes of Aristotle's rhetoric. First mode of proof in legal argument, which is widely promoted, is Logos. Second one is legalistic language and impersonal tone of voice, which can impress the jury members. Third one deal with emotions and emotions can influence the decisions. Persuasiveness suggests that to establish the connections between emotions and reasonable outcomes. The writer further describes the three modes in the courtroom. First one is opening statement which means appearance and body language, second is direct examination of witness means credibility, and last one is closing an argument which means logic. The researcher explains that the logic and emotions should be included in closing arguments. He argues that classic Aristotelian rhetoric is still viable. In this article, writer emphasized that Aristotelian rhetoric should be utilized by trial attorneys and as it would serve clients as well as society.

Javaid et al. (2021) analyze the two political speeches of Imran Khan during the Indian escalation after Pulwama attack. Writers highlight that Imran Khan has a strong linguistic power and during Indian escalation he described his agenda through his linguistic skills in such a way that world had to accept his ideology. The study uses 3D model of Fairclough. The writers further explain that Pakistan showed a positive role in handling whole situation. Imran Khan's speeches outlined great ideas such as; devotion, capability, peaceful mind, and patriotism. PM used some words like 'we', 'security', 'fear-based operations' 'dialogue based solution', 'negotiation', and 'peace'. In this article, the writers actually point out that how rhetoric is powerful even in the situation of war. A powerful linguist can limit or stop the war with his exceptional oratory skills. Imran Khan delivered balanced speeches and Western world appreciated Pakistan. They conclude that a positive and strong rhetoric can change the whole scenario.

Gohar et al. (2021) discuss that Imran Khan adopts his politics of persuasion from Aristotle's Rhetoric Model. Imran Khan utilizes various Aristotle's methods of persuasion such as ethos, pathos and logos. Ethos means speaker's credibility, pathos means emotions and sympathy while logos refer logic. The writers further explain the other modes of persuasion by Michael Lee. Lee also suggests using body language and gestures by speaker. The writers also gave some

examples ethos, pathos and logos. Imran Khan justifies the ethos. He also shares many heart-wrenching stories and he always talks with logic. Therefore, Imran Khan justifies all the three methods of persuasion by Aristotle. In this article, the writers actually point out that Aristotle's methods of persuasion are very strong. Imran Khan's speeches have all the three elements of Aristotle's artistic proof, and it influences the minds of audience and therefore Imran Khan captures the imaginations of masses.

South Asia is an important region of the world as it consists of 20% of the world's population. Pakistan and India are the two largest countries of South Asia and both have nuclear power and historic rivalry. The relations between these two countries impact the whole South Asia region (Javaid & Kamal, 2013). Pakistan and India both are developing countries. According to World Bank stats, 60% and 40% of population in India and Pakistan respectively is living below the poverty line. According to the official annual budget 2021-2022, Pakistan spent 16.88% (\$ 7.6 Billion) of her total budget on defense, whereas India spent 13.73% (\$ 49.71 Billion), which is greater than allocation of budget for education, health or development sector. However, it seems that the public overlooks this heavy expenditure on defense budget.

Olmstead (2014) discusses that India and Pakistan were parted through a bloody process and this developed hostility towards each other, and resultantly both have waged four wars since partition. Moreover, due to having a hegemonic design, India never maintains good relations with other small neighboring countries in South Asia. Since the partition, Pakistan and India have had a hostile attitude towards each other on various grounds. Both Pakistan and India are nuclear countries and this hostility makes the situation more alarming because if any war occurs between these two then it can affect the whole world. Johnson (2005) argues that due to nuclear tests there came some equilibrium of power in the region which led to settlement of the Kargil crisis of 1999, but the hostile emotions are still intact on both the sides. The situation even becomes worst by analyzing that the public has also strong negative emotion for each other and they are more inclined towards war, instead of peaceful coexistence. The apparent reason for this favour seems to be the war rhetoric used by the politicians and military personnel, which influences the public in a way that, the public neither cares much about extra spending on the defense budget, nor it is concerned about the destruction of war.

Both Pakistani and Indian leaders use pro-war rhetoric to build pro-war sentiments in their public, resultantly, the public is always ready to have war with each other at any cost, and all is done through the war rhetoric. The same was done by the Indo-Pak leadership after Pulwama attack.

#### **Research Questions:**

- 1) How was the public persuaded in favour of war after Pulwama attack?
- 2) What are the similarities / dissimilarities in use of persuasive techniques by leaders from both sides?

#### **Methodology:**

Aristotle's Rhetoric Artistic Proof has been used to answer the first question. The selected speeches have been analyzed through the lens of this theoretical framework. The elements of persuasion i.e.

ethos (human character), pathos (human emotions), and logos (logical reasoning) have been selected from the data and explained in the light of this theoretical framework. The second question has been answered by comparing the results of the analyzed data side by side to see similarities and dissimilarities.

### **Data Sample**

Total nine speeches have been selected for analysis by purposive sampling. The purposive sampling technique helped me out to squeeze and extract a lot of information from the collected data, and this technique was found time saving. All the speeches were delivered by the Indian and Pakistani leadership after Pulwama attack. The detail of the selected speeches is: four speeches by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and one speech by Lt. Gen Kanwal Singh Dhillon has been included from Indian side, whereas, one speech from Prime Minister Imran Khan and three speeches by DG ISPR have been included for data analysis from Pakistan's side.

### **Analysis of Data**

#### **Background of Conflict**

It is evident from the history of subcontinent that Hindus are the residents of this region long before the Muslims. Soon after the advent of Islam in this region in late eighth century, Islam spread all across the sub-continent within few centuries. Masses of Hindu population embraced Islam, thus it became one of the major religions of this region. Due to this, the land, which was once ruled by the Hindus for centuries, fell into the hands of Muslims. Muslims ruled for nearly three and a half centuries before this region became a British colony. British left this land by dividing the subcontinent into two parts, and Muslims got their separate land to live in.

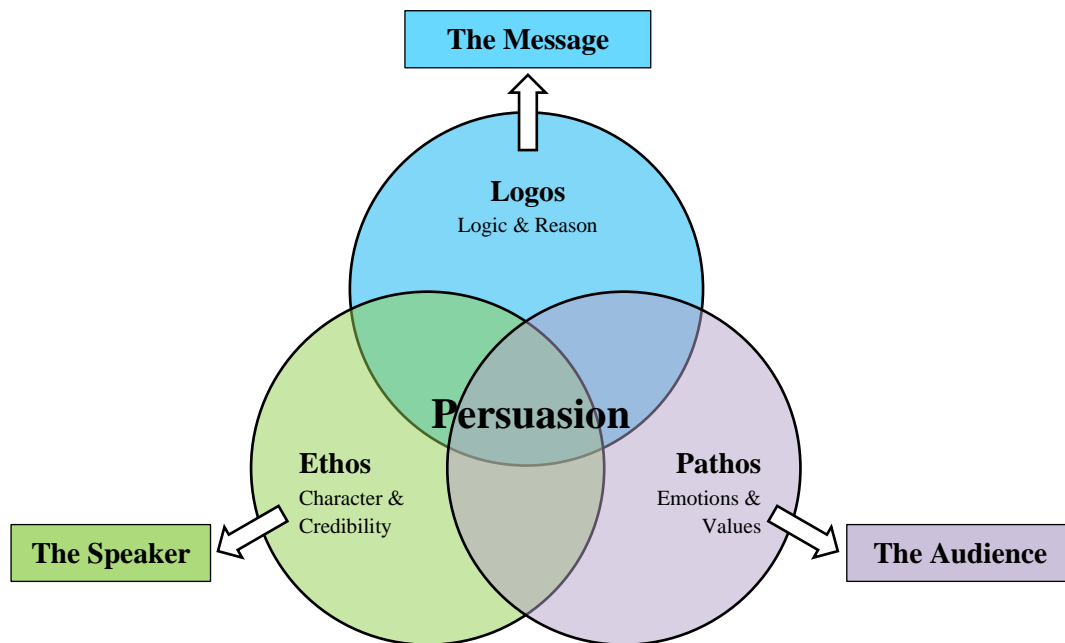
Indian leadership has inculcated myth into their public for building a pro-war rhetoric. As per the opinion of a common Indian Hindu, Muslims were intruders, who used to come on their land to plunder. They believe that Ghaznawi came to India, demolished their temples and snatched their land from them. Not only this, but also he forcefully converted Hindus into Muslims. This forceful entry of a foreign race of Muslims into India grew into their subsequent demand for a separate land of their own. Here two types of fears are being created. Firstly, as in the past, Muslims acquired a separate land mass out of their once united motherland 'Bharat', they will do the same again by completely expelling them out of their ancestors' land someday. Secondly, if they succeed in this attempt, the forceful conversion of all the Hindus into Muslims would be carried out.

Pakistani leadership realizes the severity of hatred in Indians against Pakistan. This necessitates the building of pro-war narrative among the Pakistani public for self-defense in case of hostility. Therefore, Pakistani leadership utilizes the platform media to expose Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and build his image as a cruel man and having a lot of anti-Muslim sentiments. When Modi took over the charge as Prime Minister of India, the narrative was built that the situation of hostility between Pakistan and India might escalate, as he was referred to as a person having anti-Muslim sentiments.

As mentioned earlier, war rhetoric is built mainly either for offensive, or for defensive purpose. After Pulwama attack India consolidated war rhetoric for offensive purpose and made a pro-war situation with the help of war rhetoric. On the other hand, Pakistan did the same in self-defense that if India starts war, or dares carry out any hostile activity; Pakistan will have a solid reason to reply with full support of their public.

### Analysis of Persuasion

Aristotle described three artistic proofs, which are namely, ethos, pathos, and logos. He explains that these are the basic constituents of rhetoric. According to Aristotle, persuasion is based on these three kinds of proof. Ethos deals with the character and credibility of speaker, pathos is about emotions, whereas logos deals with logical reasoning.



*Aristotle's Three Artistic Proofs as Basic Constituents of Rhetoric*

### Ethos

Ethos is one of the most critical elements in the Rhetoric. Aristotle defines ethos as the credibility of speakers established among audience with his own personality and character. It is the trust that speaker develops with his listeners. In other words it can be explained as the perception of audience about the speaker's credibility and authority over the subject he is speaking. The speaker can achieve credibility through his personality, character, intelligence, good will, or, by presenting his accomplishments or pedigree, by introducing expertise, by choosing language that is appropriate for the audience, and by sounding fair or unbiased. Ethos has two main traits i.e. physiological and

intellectual. Physiological trait is conveyed to audience with physical appearance and the intellectual trait is expressed with the power of language.

### **Ethos by Indian Prime Minister**

It was already established from the past of Prime Minister Narendra Modi that he was a true and a proud Hindu Nationalist and that he took all the decision in favour of populace of his country. He established this image through his views, decisions and policies. Secondly, everybody knew that he started his journey from a mere common man and reached to the top of hierarchy after hard struggle, so, it helped him to make people think that he represents common man. To compliment this he also talked in layman language and used very simple and easy sentences. Thirdly, his designation as the Prime Minister of India also helped him in this regard because he was elected by majority of people of the country so it established him as a true representative of public to talk on the major decisions of the country like war.

It was not easy to convince people in favour of war despite knowing of its horrific consequences, and even in case of victory, of collateral damage. So, intellectually, first Prime Minister Modi established ethos by showing his good will for the country and the people. Good will is achieved by projecting speaker's concern and respect for the views and emotions of the audience on any particular subject. He established it by starting his speech in following manner.

“Today country is very agitated and sad. I understand emotions of all of you very well who have come here. Every Hindustani is angered because of terrorist attack in Pulwama. Our brave soldiers have sacrificed their lives for guarding the country. Their sacrifice will not go pointless” (DeshGujaratHD, 2019, 1:42).

He showed his good will by saying ‘I understand emotions of all of you very well’, this helped him to create ethos that he and audience are of same opinion and thoughts. He also used the language which was easily understandable for the public. His structures were deliberately simple to convey proper meaning. He did not need much effort to establish ethos because he already had such reputation and designation, which allowed him to speak with full authority on the topic, and helped him in creating an image of himself in the minds of people as of a person who is patriot, intelligent well enough to take any decision, and also has right intention. Once he established that, it became very easy for him to talk on the topic of war and to convince them to offer their support.

### **Ethos by DG ISPR**

DG ISPR, being the serving general of Pakistan Army and holding appropriate office, had much legitimacy over any other person to address the public with already established strong ethos. To consolidate further, DG ISPR addressed in uniform on all three occasions, it helped him to set the mode of his speech as formal as well as had a psychological impact on the public that he was specialist of the field. This made him legitimate to talk on the topic as he had spent whole of his life as a soldier. Moreover, there was a proper setting of that room so that he arranged a proper press conference in a formal manner to give impression that whatever he would speak was to be taken seriously, which appropriates his designation and the subject of speech. His overall attitude and tone was also serious. Although the aura of his personality and his portfolio already did most



to build ethos but even then he ascertained the efficacy of his speech by choosing to adopt formal setting to deliver it.

### **Pathos**

In the Rhetoric, pathos can be defined, as the affective or emotional appeal that gives power to any persuasive message to move an audience to action (Aristotle, 1991). Pathos is established by appealing emotions of the audience. It appeals the audience's sense of emotions and their interests. Pathos helps the speaker to emotionally get connected with his audience. Aristotle explains, "A man is by nature a political animal not simply because he possesses reason but also because he experiences emotions." Pathos can be evoked by using meaningful language, emotional tone, narrating emotion evoking examples, telling the stories of emotional events, or by implied meaning.

### **Pathos by PM Modi**

Prime Minister Narendra Modi worked on pathos throughout his speech to evoke the emotions of public and to persuade them in favour of war. He not only adopted emotional tone but also used such imagery and events from the past which helped him to make their audience emotional. After making them emotional, he assured the public that he also had same feeling and emotions. This helped him to make a strong connection and build strong pathos.

“Recall my friends that what happened in this civil hospital? This hospital gives live to human. And these demons, when I was Prime Minister, did bomb attacks in the same civil hospital, and killed innocent people. Do you remember it or not? Terrorism was done across the border, was it not responsibility of those who were sitting in Delhi to take revenge? Brothers and sisters! I told you that day just after Pulwama attack, the fire that is in the hearts of countrymen, the same fire is also in my heart also. At that time if the government had had enough power, then the people who took lives of innocent people in Ahmadabad, had taken revenge by infiltrating in their homes. 26/11 happened in Mumbai, innocent people were killed, but nothing was done at that time as well. You tell me my friends, that one should fight against terrorism or not? Should terrorism be nipped in the bud or not” (C9Telugu, 2019, 0:13).

He narrated few scenes from a previous bomb blasts and attacks, and explained it vividly so that the public could imagine those horrific terrorist attacks. Subsequently, he explained that even after those attacks the culprits were not punished. Had they been punished at that instance, they would not have been able to attack innocent people now. By doing this he implied that if no action is taken against those culprits, those terrorists would do the same again. In this way he used pathos to convince public to think in favour of war by raising their emotions.

Later on in the same speech he again said:

“No country can live in such helpless situation. For forty years terrorism is firing bullets in the chest of India. Bullets are being fired in the chest of motherland. Bombs are being blasted. Innocents are being killed. But other people are afraid to take any brave step, but I don’t care about my power and rule. I worried for my country. I am worried for my countrymen. I am here on this land where I saw dead bodies of people other day. I have seen copses immersed in blood, seen injured doctors, seen blood bathed nurses. That’s why I said that I will speak out my heart here. At the end, I want to assure my country that we will do, whatever will be in its interest of country” (C9Telugu, 2019, 7:10).

To emotionally provoke the audience, Modi personified India and explained that ills are being inflicted upon her by her enemies. He made the audience emotional by narrating graphical details of the victims of terrorist attacks and presenting himself as the source of those details. By doing so, he invited their revengefulness and ascertained them that bold decisions would be made to avenge their country to bring her to a better position. In this way he successfully attempted to ascertain the achievement of his objective i.e. to build a pro-war rhetoric.

### **Pathos by DG ISPR**

The function of Pathos was to establish an emotional connection with the audience, so that they are ready to digest the main agenda to be delivered to them. As audience is aware of the fact that the speaker would try to establish a connection with them, it makes it more of a demanding task and requires extreme discretion, precision and subtlety. By virtue of his position and experience, DG ISPR was well versed with this technique. He utilized this mode of persuasion with such subtlety that it is hard to pin-point. Contrary to Indian leadership, his pathos required the establishing of covertly expressive emotions in the audience to maintain the serious setting of his speech. His calm tone, stern expressions and graceful manner while recollecting Pakistan’s glorious battles and India’s frequent hostilities over innocent victims not only helped him establish an emotional connection with the audience, but also readied the audience to take whatever the agenda he may put forth to be digested.

### **Logos**

Logos means to present something with proper support of reasoning. Having logos is one of the most important and distinct attributes that differentiates human beings from beasts. Logos appeals to intellectual reason, which is based on logical proofs. When a speaker tries to convince the listeners with a rational claim and proof, it is said that the statement is a logical. The arguments which are knitted on the basis of the logos bring long lasting impact on the memories of the audience as they provide statistical data which appeal directly to the intellectual reasoning. The speaker can build logos by presenting facts and statistics, by drawing historical and literal analogies, by citing certain specialist authorities on a subject or presenting whole argument in a way that it is logically constructed as a whole.

### **Logos by PM Modi**

After making use of pathos, he used logic to convince his audience that why war was necessary, and if they decide to go into war then they would get dual benefits. One benefit is in the form of winning the war and the second is that there was no chance of any harm to India in this adventure. He presented this logic in the following manner.

“Friends, our neighbor country is suffering from economic downturn and very bad times. It is isolated in the world now; its condition is that much worst that major countries have started to maintain distance from it. It has become difficult for it to run its daily expenses. It is roaming with begging bowl but not easily finding any help. Friends, today major powers of the world are standing with India. They are supporting the feelings of India. The messages which I am receiving show that they are also sad and in anger as we are. The whole world community is in favour of eliminating the patrons of terrorism” (DeshGujaratHD, 2019, 5:59).

He explained his public that enemy is weak at the time of speaking so it is the right time to attack and take the revenge of the martyrs of Pulwama attack. Secondly he also implied that as their opponent is weak, so major powers are also with India so there is no chance of harm to India in this action. In this way he was successful to misguide the audience by ignoring the inevitable threat of collateral damage in case of war and subsequently gained support in favour of war.

### **Logos by DG ISPR**

DG ISPR established logos on much mature grounds as compared to his Indian counterparts. He not only presented facts throughout his speeches but also weaved his argument in such a manner that one argument complimented the other. In this way, the thought process of the audience was controlled to run its course on a systematically laid-down track. By using objective facts and figures he implied that Pulwama attack was carried out in order to benefit India, and through that attack India wanted to attain its opinionated goals and wanted to isolate Pakistan in International community.

“Now I want to tell you timeline that whenever any important event in or related to Pakistan happens, or Pakistan starts its journey towards stability, some incident happens in India or in occupied Kashmir. If you see that the parliament attack that happen in 2001, then, general elections were planned in India in 2002 and United Nation General Assembly was also in session. As I have already told you that after 9/11, there was influx of terrorism in Pakistan. Come to Mumbai attacks that happened on 26 October, as I have told you earlier that Pakistan’s progress on war on terror was going on efficiently, and elections were also planned at that time as well. 2nd January 2016, Pathan Kot happens, President of USA’s state of union address was scheduled, and once again general elections were scheduled in India. Then Urri happen on 18 September, 2018, our Prime Minister had to go for speech at United Nation General Assembly. This pattern tells you that whenever any important event is scheduled then such type of incident happens”. (ISPR Official, 2019, 11:32).

In above excerpt he built logos by giving series of events which established that this Pulwama attack was the same like other past events. He presented facts with dates to convince his audience logically. This not only helped him to convince Pakistani public that this specific event was fabricated but also established that all those events which happened in India, and those which India accused Pakistan of, were of the same nature.

After establishing logically that Pulwama attack was done to benefit India. He also proved that logically that no Pakistani was involved in this attack.

“Now look at the Pulwama incident with carefully. There is a layer of defense from Line of Control onwards at Indian side. How is it possible that someone cross LoC from Pakistan and, a place where troops are present more than the population and sitting more than 70 years, infiltrate in India. It means that you should ask a question from your forces, who are sitting there for 70 years and spending huge money there. If any intrusion happens there then you must ask your security forces that what they are doing there for these long years? They are spending huge military budget there. How this infiltration happened? The incident has happened miles away from Line of Control. The explosive which has been used in that incident was being used by the local security forces and administration. That was not from Pakistan. And the Kashmiri young boy who carried out the attack is also a native of occupied Kashmir. Also look into his history that how he was taken under arrest in 2017 and how security forces maltreated him. Also observe that the security personnel who have died in this incident are from which cast” (ISPR Official, 2019, 07:02).

In series of logical arguments, he proved that Pulwama attack was done by any person from Indian soil, as it was impossible for any Pakistani person to physically reach there and to conduct that attack. He also established that if that incident was planned by any of the local Kashmiri then India should think that why Kashmiri people are at the point that they have no fear of death. He implied it to International community as well that India was doing atrocities in occupied Kashmir and that incident was also a form of retaliation from Indian occupied territory.

He then made people ready for any eventuality; he did so to convince people that in case of Indian attack people should get confident that Pakistan was fully prepared and could give a befitting reply to India. Also, it would be inevitable for Pakistan to go into war in case of any aggression from India.

“We are not the military of past, from the chiefs to the soldiers of our tri-services, we have directly fought war, remaining self-dependent. We defended our country against terrorism. We are battle hardened. The war against unseen enemy was very tough, but India is a known threat. For 70 years, we have studied you, observed you, and prepared our capability, therefore response is also for you” (ISPR Official, 2019, 18:04).

Whole world had accepted and seen the success of Pakistani armed forces in fighting terrorism. He built his argument from the fact that if we can win war from unseen enemy then it is very easy to win war from the country to which we have prepared for 70 years. Thus, his logos played key role in building pro-war rhetoric by convincing the audience that despite being less in statistical figures, the nation was fundamentally ready to defend the motherland.

### **Similarities and Dissimilarities**

While utilizing the three-mode Persuasion technique, there are many similarities and dissimilarities among Pakistan and India's method.

Both the Indian and Pakistani leaderships tried to persuade their public from different perspectives. They both used variety of methods to convince their audience in favour of war. Although ethos of both was already established yet they made use of proper setting, vocabulary and their legitimacy by virtue of position to reinforce their rapport.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi tried to persuade audience on the basis of ethos and pathos. However, his speeches were found to be scarce of the third and more rational mode, i.e. logos. He mainly utilized pathos. Apparently, it seemed that for logos, he mentioned some facts and figure in his speech, yet they were exaggerated to the extent of hilarity and lost their effectiveness, thus only served to appeal emotions. On the other hand, DG ISPR maintained the equilibrium of persuasion by giving due regard to each mode of persuasion as per the need. He was distinct for his utility of logos based on detailed narration of facts and figures. He explained each and every component of his objective in detail so as to develop its retention in the minds of the audience.

As Prime Minister Narendra Modi and DG ISPR emphasized on pathos and logos, respectively, the way of their oratory was also accordingly. Prime Minister Narendra Modi used emotional tone, as he was mostly to rely on pathos. Whereas, DG ISPR used stern and professional tone, for he was to make use of rational mode, logos. Logos requires extensive efforts in convincing arguments, logical sequencing and presentation of appropriate facts. On the other hand, the exploitation of emotions does not require much. It is due to the very choice of persuasion modes by Modi and DG ISPR that the lengths of their speeches also differed greatly from each other.

### **Conclusion**

It was identified that both Indian and Pakistani leaderships utilized all three modes of persuasion. However, the former was found to be scarcely making use of 'logos', which is rational mode of persuasion. Instead, it relied upon the 'pathos', which purely deals with the emotional connection between the speaker and the audience. By provoking their public on emotional grounds, Indian leadership succeeded to persuade them in favour of war. While the Pakistani leadership relied upon 'logos' mode of persuasion, for they deemed it appropriate to gain the support of their public by making them aware of the actual situation and providing them with factual data on rational grounds.

### **Limitations**

This study was limited to speeches delivered by the Prime Ministers and Military representatives. Speeches from other political leaders were not made part of the study despite they played an important role in building pro-war rhetoric. The study also dealt with specific timeframe i.e. Pulwama attack, the whole study was conducted in this context. In this study, only general techniques of persuasion for war have been discussed, other elements of war rhetoric that are 'metaphor' and 'the use of other figures of speech' have not been discussed in this study.

The researcher has fully tried to address the research questions in comprehensive way by remaining completely impartial and unbiased. But even then, if someone wants to highlight some of its shortcoming or wants to give suggestions and feedback, s/he will be highly appreciated in this regard.

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