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RESEARCH PAPER

Power and Language in a Time of Conflict: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Indian and Pakistani Political and Military Rhetoric during **Bilateral Tensions**

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This study investigates the role of language as both a tool of soft power and an ideological framework in the context of escalating bilateral tensions between India and Pakistan. It Explores how official statements by political and military leaders construct national narratives, legitimize state actions, and mobilize public sentiments. Employing a qualitative methodology, the study draws upon data collected from official press briefings delivered by political and military representatives of both nations. The analysis is conducted through the application of Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of discourse. The analysis reveals that language is carefully crafted through metaphors, euphemisms, and symbolic allusions to justify military and political actions and enhance moral authority. Pakistani discourse frequently invokes Quranic symbolism and moral dichotomies to frame its stance as sacred defense, while India rhetoric emphasizes professionalism and rationality to project credibility. At the discursive level, official pronouncements and media outlets mutually reinforce one another, amplifying nationalist sentiments through intertextual connections, synchronized hashtags, and visual story telling. At the level of social practice, findings highlight entrenched ideological frameworks that normalize militarization, construct binary oppositions of "us" versus "them" and suppress avenues for dialogue or peacebuilding. Key findings further indicate that political dialogue is increasingly infused with military terminology, religious and mythical imagery, and exclusionary communicative tactics that frame the opponent as chaotic and threatening. Notably, during the May 2025 crisis, neither side referenced peace negotiations or collective conflict resolution. Overall, the study demonstrates how language functions as a strategic instrument for shaping national identity, rationalizing state action, and sustaining cycles of antagonism, while also offering potential openings for diplomatic rearticulation.

Language and Power, Conflict, Political and Military Rhetoric, Bilateral **KEYWORDS** Tension

Introduction

India and Pakistan are two nations having nuclear power but, also the history between these two nations is quite problematic and in most cases these problems have resulted in the birth of verbal and even strategic confrontations between the two countries. In such a tensed atmosphere, communication among the official levels goes beyond mere dialogue; it is a strategic power endowing option that defines the nature of national identity and cementing ideologies.

Based on a three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by Norman Fairclough, this study offers a research on official statements that have been used in the past few weeks in May 2025. Here we have the statements of Pakistan Director, General of Army Inter-Services Public Relations (DG ISPR) Khawaja Asif and Ex Foreign Minister Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and India Defense Minister Rajnath Singh and other military officials, S. Jaishankar. In this analysis, much focus is laid on the discourse, power, and ideology in the communicative strategies used by both countries to respond to threats, and provocations perceived by the two.

By dissecting the rhetorical strategies and underlying ideologies found within these addresses, the research underscores the active role of political-military communication in escalating conflict, deterring aggression, and perpetuating nationalist narratives on both sides of the divide.

Literature Review

The political and military rhetorical spheres are connected closely to the evolvement and legitimation of the conflict. Chilton and Schaffner (2002) posit that the political discourse is often aimed at persuading, and justifying authority as well as drawing the boundaries of in-groups and out-groups. In terms of Indo-Pakistani conflicts, the occurrence of the relationship can be seen in the way that leaders justify aggression or restraint. In her work Yasmin (2023) examine the discourse between India and Pakistan following the Pulwama-Balakot incident and point out how Indian accounts focused on self-defense and anti-terrorist efforts whereas Pakistani disappointments at it were centered on sovereignty and victimization. Similarly, according to Mushtaq and Abbasi (2020), both of these countries use the past to strengthen national authority and national righteousness.

Indian and Pakistani political leaders tend to couch their speeches in a very instrumentalist jargon, making the conflict a struggle between moral and existential adversaries. Through their study of Pakistani leaders, Zubair and Abbas (2020) observed that these people often use emotive phrases, repetitions and images related to religion to define Pakistan as a good party and India as an aggressor. On the Indian part, Jha (2018) showed how leaders of the Bharatiya Janata party (BJP) have increasingly peddled national security histories with Hindu nationalism, in further cementing a "self" versus other dichotomy. This fact concurs with van Dijk (2006) argument that the representations of the elite are normally used to produce dominance again by influencing mental structures of the in-group.

The media institution is important in propagating government narratives. The study by Badshah et al. (2023) has exposed evident biases in the editorials of the Dawn and The Times of India regarding the presentation of surgical attacks and crossing the ceasefire. Indian editorials often employed euphemistic language including the term of surgical precision and targeted response, whereas Pakistani articles favored such words as aggression and blatant violation to develop a sense of being the victim. This is an indication of Entman (2004) framing theory which stipulates that the media coverage of events focused on certain aspects and highlighted these aspects as a way of advancing ideological agenda.

Digital media have become central to the messages about conflict. By analyzing their Twitter statements in the 2019 standoff, Ashraf et al. (2021) found that deontic modality, strategic ambiguity, and assertive positioning were used heavily by the DG ISPR. Such tweets were not only an update to the population but also a form of ideology in order

to control the narrative within a country and abroad. Kumar (2021) also demonstrates how the Indian military has used its soft power through social media, often, through hashtags, memes, and infographics, to present its scope of stories.

Shah et al. (2023) analyzed the illocutionary force of statements regarding Kashmir in print media, discovering that declarative and assertive speech acts prevailed in Indian newspapers, aimed at bolstering state power. In contrast, Pakistani publications employed interrogative and commissive expressions to contest the moral and legal legitimacy of India. These patterns of discourse correspond with Searle's (1969) speech act theory, which posits that language not only depicts reality but also influences it.

Recent remarks further demonstrate the evolution of discourse. In May 2025, India's External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar proclaimed that "India will no longer be blackmailed by nuclear rhetoric," portraying Pakistan as an ongoing threat (The Economic Times, 2025). This bold assertion coincided with the declaration of Operation Sindoor, India's pre-emptive strategy along the LoC. In reply, DG ISPR Maj. Gen. Ahmed Sharif (May 23, 2025) criticized India's action as a "reckless misadventure" and pledged "proportionate retaliation," thereby fortifying Pakistan's narrative of victimization and resilience. Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Bilawal Bhutto Zardari called for renewed diplomatic efforts, describing the escalation of conflict as "a collective regional failure" (Dawn, 2025).

Manipulation of a narrative has become a strategic goal during the modern conflicts. In a recent defense seminar, the Chief of defense staff of India General Anil Chauhan emphasized the significance of "indigenous strategic communications capabilities" and the risk of disinformation campaigns, and remarked that, when it comes to conflict, we must focus on winning the narrative war as well as the kinetic war (Chauhan, 2025). This outlook is similar to what Nye (2004) has come up with in his definition of soft power as a proposition that power is increasingly applied to attraction and persuasion as opposed to coercion.

In May 10, 2025, Operation Bunyan-ul-Marsoos (OBM) can be considered as one of the key cases of studying the correlation of military efforts and discourse strategies that is initiated by the Pakistani side. The operation was in response to the Indian missiles used to attack Pakistani airbases indicating a significant escalation of the continued war between the two nations.

The phrase "Bunyan-ul-Marsoos" is inspired by the Quran and translates as "a solid cemented structure," representing cohesion and strength. This title serves not just as a symbol but also holds strategic significance for situating the operation within a religious and ethical framework, thus validating military actions through ideological lenses.

The three-dimensional model that is proposed by Norman Fairclough is a strong tool of decoding the relations amid language, ideology, and power (Fairclough, 1995; Machin & Mayr, 2012). In his framework, discourse is a social activity that entails three intertwined entities such as; textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice. Linguistic choices including grammar, modality and cohesion are scrutinized in textual analysis, the production and reception of discourse are covered in discursive practice and social practice positions discourse in broader social and political context (Fairclough, 2003). This model effectively reveals not only the dominant power structures in political and military rhetoric but also the underlying tensions and dissenting views.

Analyzing OBM and Operation Sindhoor from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective reveals insights through Fairclough's three dimensions:

Textual Analysis: The terminology utilized in official communications and media coverage accentuated concepts of defense, retribution, and moral justification. Terms like "retaliatory military venture" and "justice and retribution" were prevalent, crafting a narrative that portrayed a legitimate defense against hostility.

Discursive Practice: The flow of information was managed through state-run media and official avenues, ensuring a controlled narrative. The consistent use of certain terms and expressions bolstered the intended ideological message, influencing public view and dialogue.

Social Practice: Framing the operation within a religious context resonates with larger societal values and beliefs, encouraging public backing and comprehension. This tactical alignment highlights the function of discourse in solidifying social structures and hierarchies.

Moreover, the operation involved deploying various missile systems, including the Al-Fatah ballistic missile, to target several Indian military sites. While Pakistan reported substantial achievements, such as the elimination of vital Indian military resources, Indian sources disputed these assertions, emphasizing the role of conflicting narratives within conflict scenarios.

Following OBM, there were notable instances of misinformation, particularly concerning a deceptive image mistakenly thought to represent the operation. This event highlights the difficulties in verifying information and the possibilities for discourse manipulation in contemporary conflicts.

In summary, Operation Banyan ul Marsoos illustrates that military operations encompass not only physical engagements but also ideological and narrative struggles. The strategic employment of language is essential in shaping perceptions, justifying actions, and reinforcing national identities.

Despite the substantial body of research that exists on the dynamics of Indo-Pak relations and political discourse, there remain substantial gaps in the understanding of how language has increasingly served as a mechanism of ideology formation and soft power crafting as bilateral tensions serving as a factor of instability continues to take center stage, especially in the geopolitical complexities of the year 2025.

The existing literature mainly deals with the issues of the past which include Kargil war (1999) or the case of Pulwama- Balakot (2019) where little attention is given to the discursive events occurring in the present or emerging contexts like Operation Bunyan al-Marsoos and India rhetoric responses to it. The examples of such studies can be the works by Ashraf et al. (2021) and Shah et al. (2023), who have analyzed the military communication on Twitter and Kashmir debates, but similar studies are often limited to certain platforms and do not provide a thorough text analysis of lengthy speeches or briefings.

Moreover, the researchers such as Yasmin (2023) and Badshah et al. (2023), who are concerned with the ways nationalistic and militaristic discourses are represented in the media, have hardly used the whole three-dimensional CDA framework proposed by Fairclough (1989, 1993, 1995). This oversight restricts the comprehension of how textual,

discursive, and sociopolitical elements collaborate to perpetuate state ideologies and identities amid tumultuous political circumstances. A systematic CDA approach that surpasses superficial content analysis is necessary, embedding more profound sociopolitical and ideological critiques.

Finally, there is not much research regarding how rhetoric cross-border exchanges lead to tension or diffusion of conflict (particularly nuclear). It has become an urgent matter in the context of recent events in May 2025, as coordinated messages, aggressive rhetoric, and symbolic initiatives were used in both national moods and global foreign policies.

Material and Methods

This study adopts a qualitative method anchored in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to explore the relationship between language, authority, and ideology within political and military language amidst the recent Indo-Pak tensions May 2025. The emphasis is on remarks made during and following Operation Bunyan al-Marsoos, and Operation Sindoor; a military initiative enacted by Pakistan due to rising security threats.

Data Collection

The data has been collected from official press briefings by the DG ISPR (Director General of Pakistan's Inter-Services Public Relations), particularly surrounding and subsequent to Operation Bunyan al-Marsoos. Public addresses by Pakistani political leaders, including Khawaja Asif (Defense Minister Pakistan) and Bilawal Bhutto Zardari (former Foreign Minister Pakistan). Significant comments from Indian officials, including Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar, high-ranking Defense personnel Rajnath Singh, and delegates from the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). Their statements have been collected as quoted in credible news outlets and global media platforms, listed below:

- Al Jazeera (May 10, 2025)
- Hindustan Times (May 10, 2025)
- The Express Tribune (May 12, 2025)
- The Economic Times (May 27, 2025)
- Dawn (May 24, 2025)
- Infinite Sea of Opportunities (June 1, 2025)

The intentionally curated corpus reflects the official stances and prevailing narratives circulated during the conflict period. All statements were transcribed, organized, and classified for the discourse analysis aimed in the current study.

Analytical Framework and Method

The study follows Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA model (Fairclough, 1995, 2003), which views discourse as a multifaceted practice - textual, discursive, and social. This model is ideal for uncovering how language serves political purposes like legitimization of power, national identity creation, and adversary framing.

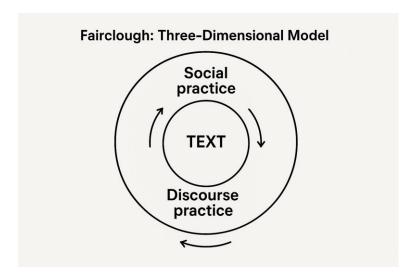


Figure .1 Textual Analysis (Description)

At the micro level, the focus was on:

Lexical selections (e.g., "terror infrastructure," "surgical response," "diplomatic aggression")

Metaphorical language and modality (e.g., "iron fist," "resolute," "cowardice"). Speech acts and intertextuality (e.g., mentions of historical occurrences, repeated appeals for global attention). Pronoun employment and narrative perspective (us vs. them, collective identity in first person. These aspects were scrutinized to unveil how texts encapsulate ideology, authority, and legitimacy.

Discursive Practice (Interpretation)

This stage investigated how the chosen texts were produced, disseminated, and interpreted:

Media portrayal of each nation's rhetoric.

Intended repetition and rhetorical coordination among military and political figures. The dissemination of military imagery (e.g., maps, drone visuals) and symbols. The timing and arrangement of statements, particularly in response to incidents crossing borders or global diplomatic developments. The analysis considered the statements not just individually but within intertextual narratives that reinforced national discourse strategies.

Social Practice (Explanation)

This broader level of analysis placed discourse within its extensive socio-political environment, including: Postcolonial legacies and nationalist ideologies (e.g., Hindutva, the narrative of the Pakistani security state). Militarized nationalism and civil-military relations. Nuclear deterrent discussion and regional security issues. Targeting international audiences, especially in venues like the United Nations or bilateral meetings. This methodology emphasizes the discursive reproduction of authority and soft power dynamics within the realm of global diplomacy.

Limitations and Ethical Considerations

Although this research provides an in-depth examination of elite discourse during a pivotal phase, several limitations exist:

The study focuses solely on high-level, formal communication and excludes public opinion, media talk shows, or reactions from social media, which could provide foundational insights.

The subjective aspect of Critical Discourse Analysis is intrinsic. Nevertheless, utilizing various sources, corroborating claims, and employing intertextual triangulation boosts dependability.

Ethical principles were upheld by depending only on data that is publicly available and can be verified, drawn from official and credible media outlets.

Subsequent investigations could broaden their scope by integrating studies of audience reception or social media discussions to investigate how this elite rhetoric connects with the populace in both nations.

Results and Discussion

The analysis presents a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of selected political and military statements made by Indian and Pakistani officials during the May 2025 bilateral tensions, particularly around Pakistan's Operation Bunyan al-Marsoos and India's concurrent Operation Sindoor. Utilizing Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model (textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice), the analysis focuses on how power, ideology, and identity are discursively constructed and contested.

Overview of Data Sources

The data collection includes:

Press briefings and social media communications from Pakistan's DG ISPR (Inter-Services Public Relations).

Addresses made by Pakistani Defense Minister Khawaja Asif and ex-Foreign Minister Bilawal Bhutto Zardari.

Public speeches and press conferences held by Indian Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar.

Official updates from India's Ministry of Defense and military representatives during Operation Sindoor.

Media reports on Operations Bunyan al-Marsoos and Sindoor from outlets such as Al Jazeera, Hindustan Times, Express Tribune, and The Hindu.

Press briefing at UN by Bilawal Bhutto Zardari

Fairclough's CDA Dimensions Applied

Textual Analysis

DG ISPR (May 10, 2025)

DG ISPR (2025) stated "Operation Bunyan al-Marsoos was initiated to eradicate threats to our national sovereignty. Any reckless behavior will be met with a firm counteraction."

Lexical Choices; Metaphor: The term "existential threats" heightens the urgency; "misadventure" belittles Indian actions.

Agency and Voice: The use of passive voice ("was initiated") obscures the subject, highlighting an impartial tone.

Cohesion & Repetition: The phrase "firm counteraction" recalls previous military language (e.g., 2019).

Symbolism: "Bunyan al-Marsoos" (a reference from the Quran) conveys a sense of divine authority.

Jaishankar (May 23, 2025):

"India does not react to threats with trepidation. Our response is resolute. No country should assume that nuclear intimidation can force our compliance" (Jaishankar, 2025) .

Antithesis Parallelism: The contrast of "fear" and "resolve" along with the repeated use of "respond" amplifies the rhetoric.

Loaded Terminology: "Nuclear intimidation" portrays Pakistan as irrational.

Pronoun Usage: The "we" evokes a sense of solidarity; the unnamed opponent is demonized.

Indian Defense Ministry (May 12, 2025):

"Operation Sindoor is a carefully calibrated, intelligence-driven response focused on neutralizing hostile positions along the Line of Control" (Indian Defense Ministry, 2025).

Strategic Lexis: The terms "carefully calibrated" and "intelligence-driven" suggest technical accuracy.

Euphemism: The word "neutralizing" conceals violent implications.

Cultural Symbolism: The term "Sindoor" refers to sacred Hindu connotations, implying a righteous mission.

Khawaja Asif (May 11, 2025)

"Our endurance must not be mistaken for weakness. Bunyan al-Marsoos exemplifies our commitment to safeguard every part of Pakistan" (Asif, 2025).

Contrasting Structure: The juxtaposition of "endurance" and "weakness" asserts strength through self-restraint.

Emphasis on Sovereignty: "Every part" indicates an unyielding territorial stance.

Reinforcement of Symbolism: The operation's name reaffirms both divine significance and nationalist sentiments.

Indian Army Chief (May 13, 2025)

"Operation Sindoor signifies more than just a task; it conveys that India will protect its borders with both dignity and strength."

Personification Symbolism: The notion of "signifies more than just a task" enriches its ideological resonance.

Moral Framing: The term "dignity" suggests ethical superiority.

Bilawal Bhutto Zardari (May 24, 2025):

"Pakistan aspires for peace, yet this cannot come at the expense of honor. We remain united in support of our armed forces" (Zardari, 2025)

Conditional Peace Narrative: This frames peace as subordinate to dignity.

Unity Identity: The phrase "We remain united" fosters a collective identity.

Bilawal Bhutto Zardari (June 3,2025):

"We never initiated any violence against India" (Zardari, 2025).

The Hindu (Editorial, May 13, 2025)

"Operation Sindoor epitomizes New Delhi's strategically measured response, bolstered by actionable intelligence and a clear moral stance."

Triadic Construction: The phrases "measured response," "actionable intelligence," and "clear moral stance" enhance the logical and ethical arguments.

Thematic Patterns Identified

Militarization of Political Rhetoric: Political language merges tactics and ideology.

Mythic-Cultural Referencing: Military operations are given names that resonate with sacred heritage (for example, "Bunyan al-Marsoos," "Sindoor").

Binary Nationalism: A clear divide of 'Us versus Them' dominates the narrative.

Media-Military Synchronization: Strategic messaging is bolstered by both traditional news and digital platforms.

Discursive Practice

Intertextuality:

Reverberations of Balakot (2019) and Uri (2016) are apparent in the wording.

Common discursive themes in both official and media narratives support nationalistic views.

Media-Military Coordination:

Pakistani media circulated DG ISPR images, employing religious and moral contexts.

Indian media utilized infographics and tactical jargon to reflect institutional communications.

Platform Dynamics:

Twitter/X posts expanded the reach of discourse (BunyanAlMarsoos, Sindoor), transforming military declarations into consumable, performative texts.

Visual Representations of Discursive Strategies

Metaphor and lexical framing are primarily part of the first dimension — *Text Analysis* (*Description*) — in Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model. However, they interact with Discursive Practice because their meaning and impact depend on how they are used, interpreted, and circulated.

Table 1
Metaphor and Lexical Framing

Speaker/Source	Key Metaphors / Lexis	Function			
DG ISPR (Pakistan)	"Existential threats", "Bunyan al-Marsoos"	Moral urgency, religious legitimacy			
Indian MoD	"Calibrated countermeasure", "neutralizing"	Technical rationality, strategic precision			
Jaishankar (India)	"Nuclear blackmail", "respond with resolve"	Moral superiority, deterrence framing			
Khawaja Asif	"Patience", "protect every inch"	Sovereignty, deterrence			
Indian Army Chief	"Dignity", "message"	Ethical authority, symbolic messaging			

Table 2
Pronoun Use and Identity Construction

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Statement Source	Pronouns Used	Identity Constructed	Other Constructed		
Jaishankar	We / Us	United, principled India	Coercive, irresponsible		
DG ISPR	Pakistan / Our	Moral, defensive	Reckless, aggressive		
	Forces				
Indian MoD	India / Our	Strategic, professional	Hostile, illegitimate		
	Command				
Bilawal Bhutto	We / Our Soldiers	Unified, loyal	Untrustworthy peace		
Zardari			partner		
Bilawal Bhutto	We	(Collected national	India (the opposing side)		
Zardari		identity)			

Table 3
Intertextual Echoes and Cultural References

Operation Name	Cultural/Religious Source	Implied Meaning
Bunyan al-Marsoos	Quran (Surah As-Saff)	Divine unity, sacred defense
Sindoor	Hindu tradition (sacred	Sacred feminine protection,
	vermilion)	righteous war

This analysis indicates that the influential figures in India and Pakistan employ language to express nationalistic identities and militarized beliefs. The operations Bunyan

al-Marsoos and Sindoor serve not only as military actions but also as discursive phenomena rooted in cultural, religious, and strategic meanings.

Social Practice

Power Structures and Hegemony

The military narrative in Pakistan revolves around Islamic moral authority and the concept of martyrdom.

Conversely, India's narrative highlights institutional logic and global accountability.

Ideological Construction:

Pakistan positions itself as a moral and religious protector, while India is seen as a rational and democratic overseer.

Both nations portray one another as unpredictable and perilous.

Normalization of Militarization

The lack of de-escalatory terms (such as dialogue) reflects a deeply rooted logic of conflict.

Discourses normalize violence as a frequent, unavoidable, and justifiable occurrence.

Utilizing Fairclough's framework, this illustrates

At the **textual level**, the examination illustrated how precisely selected metaphors, word choices, euphemisms, and symbolic allusions were employed to justify military actions and influence public opinion. References from Pakistan to Quranic symbolism and moral dichotomies underscored a narrative of sacred defense, while India's strategic and ethical language highlighted a focus on professionalism and rational thought.

At the level of **discursive practice**, media outlets and official pronouncements mutually reinforced one another, generating intertextual connections that magnified nationalistic sentiments. Institutional representatives such as DG ISPR and the Indian Defence Ministry played a crucial role in shaping the media narrative, while media articles and digital channels re-circulated and occasionally heightened these official discourses, thereby helping to solidify shared national narratives. At the text level, carefully chosen language establishes legitimacy and a sense of urgency.

At the **social practice level**, the results indicate the presence of deeply rooted ideological frameworks that normalize militarization, vilify the opponent, and obscure avenues for diplomatic engagement. Both nations constructed stories of moral ascendancy, victimization, and necessary retribution, leaving scant opportunities for alternative perspectives such as peaceful dialogue or conflict resolution.

Findings

 Political dialogue is becoming increasingly steeped in military terminology, normalizing the acceptance of violence as typical state action.

- Both endeavors drew upon religious and mythical imagery to support their legitimacy and moral authority.
- Communicative tactics create distinct oppositions, framing "us" as virtuous and united while portraying "them" as chaotic and threatening.
- Official narratives are swiftly mirrored and endorsed via media outlets, particularly through synchronized hashtag initiatives and visual storytelling.
- Remarkably, no significant remarks during the May 2025 crisis referenced negotiations for peace, dialogue, or collective conflict resolution strategies.

Conclusion

The study shows that discourse is an active instrument that is used to contribute to the conflict, identity-making, and authorizing power, rather than a passive reflection of truth. Both Indian and Pakistan states also used language to sentimentalize the nationalism, justify military action and to persuade the general population through emotion and ideology.

The study will contribute to the broad field of conflict studies and critical discourse analysis by showcasing the manner through which present day geopolitical conflict is differentiated and escalated through the use of language. As militarized discourse moves toward normalization, there is now an urgent need towards alternative narratives that emphasizes diplomacy, understanding, and coexistence- narratives, that can help to visualize a future of South Asia beyond the paradigm of confrontation.

Recommendations

Following the results of this research, it is suggested that further consideration needs to be given to the discursive events taking place in the present. For example, both press briefings during Operation Bunyan ul Marsoos and Operation Sindhoor show that political and military institutions create narratives that affect popular opinion and the national identity. Thus, the scholars and policymakers are encouraged to thoroughly evaluate such discourses and to enhance balanced communication in times of conflict.

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