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The Political and Communication Influence of Malcolm X Speech (A Critical Discourse Analysis of Civil Rights Struggle)

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Abstract: The paper reveals the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the famous speech of Malcolm X. who was a leader of Black people in America from 1925 - 1965. The title of speech is the "Ballot or the Bullet" It is studied in socio-political perspective. Fairclough Model of CDA is used to carry the study. The paper scrutinizes the way Malcolm managed to communicate spirit of insurgency and the need of revolution also the way he conveyed ideological meaning proving he as an icon leader against racial discrimination and a strong resistance against White people of America.

Key Words: *Critical Discourse Analysis, Fairclough, Racial Discrimination, Hegemony, Dominance, Inequalities*

1. Introduction

Since the time immemorial human being has been seeking knowledge through his sense, game of power and the lust of supremacy has created divisions between the races and ethnic groups. This differences promoted and element of abhorrence on the earth and inclined the scholars to explore the question of peach. Since all the mankind is created by one God then why there have been arising the

problems of inferiority and superiority and the issues of racial discrimination. It is a fundamental right of every human being to live in peace without being estimated by the difference of complexion. The hegemony has become the most important issue for the debate during the last centuries. It is the worst problem that destroyed not only the peace of a single person on earth but the peace of the billions or even countless people living on the earth.

Many articles and researches have been produced to investigate the social practices led to such type of discrimination all around the world. But the problem of racial discrimination has been the most prevailing and penetrating in the USA during the last centuries. With the observation of historical context, a study is carried to see how the prominent American figure X Malcolm inculcated the curse of superiority concept into the minds of oppressed people.

Malcolm X has been a prominent American leader who stood as the influential force to create awareness about civil rights among Black people. Advocating the Blacks as 'rightful' physically and

mentally, he struggles to draw Black's attention to prevalent unfairness in America. His socio-political discernment fostered his aim and he joined the "Nation of Islam".

This drive of Muslims contained concepts which brought together the vision of Blacks and Muslims one forum. It began in 1930. Putting his energy for the concepts of race, he rose as an influential force to challenge the pride of White Americans. To comply, he led a Civil Rights Movement. The famous poet Amiri Baraka along with number revolutionists (1967) considers that Malcolm is the picture of all Black people of the World. In his poem "A poem of Black hearts" he says "Strong in his image of ourselves."

'Image' of Malcolm symbolizes the dignified and powerful representation of the whole black community. His popularity in the social circle of America can be observed from the poet. Means, the Black people in America actually iconize the political figure of Malcolm as a symbol of African-American masculinity, prestige and self-conscious. Peniel E. Joseph March 31, 2020, in New York Times, gave his views on the movement, he said, the era in America from 1954 to 1965" has been marvelously combatted by X Malcolm. He reasonably argues that Malcolm X these years, King and Malcolm X directly impacted the thoughts of Black-Americans, Malcolm and Martin Luther King these two persons obtained the clear impression of the conditions of America and they timely came in the game of politics to tell about the right and wrong.

(March 31, 2020, in New York Times)

X Malcolm orated historical words in his speech on April 3, 1964 at in Cleveland, these words efficiently contributed to critical discourse studies. The speech flourishes for the study in the field of linguistics. Key features both the power and ideology of the speaker are taken for consideration. The important features of Critical Discourse Analysis are concern with the contextual meanings of language. CDA Model of Fairclough is determined by many aspects such as how it is prompted, the objectives of its users, their intended

meanings, the purposes beyond the use, and the association it holds with other texts.

Discourses are influential due to their serving of production and reproduction unevenness power relations among the civilizations, social strata, sexes, different stages of ages, and occupational groups.

In the paper it is assessed that how the Malcolm attempted to speak against the hegemony of White people against the Blacks applying the language and how he went to inculcate his ideology and themes in the thought of the Blacks who were oppressed socially and politically.

1.1 Research Questions:

1. How does the application of textual/stylistic strategies reflect the view of the Black American community in speech?
2. To what extent the ideology of X Malcolm has been reflected with the help of linguistic choices?

1.2 Literature Review

For this part of study opinion and thoughts of scholars and researchers have been discussed to support the paper.

Fairclough (1988) presented his study for the analysis of text as critical language study. The main idea was to discover the discrimination of social relations and discursive practices which exploits the rights of masses with the help of language used in society. He argued that language is used as an instrument for functioning the power and hegemony. Gee (1990) and Sampson (1990) describes the CDA in a way that it creates the understanding of discourse, applying different approaches. Socio-political as well as the economic matching parts was also considered. Analysis is based more on social semiotics keeping in view the social factors in the specific context.

Fairclough (1989) Van Dijk (1997) see the CDA as the linguistic approach in relation to the exposition of matters concerning language power and ideology for the way ideology communicates ideology and encodes power.

The term cohesion means, in the syntax aspects the sense is made in the text (Baker & Ellece, 2011).

Cohesive devices comprise forms of reference such as ellipsis, replacement, cohesion of lexis, conjunction and the substitution (De Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981).

Text structure related to discuss in large-scale organizational, which is interactional control that means concern turn-taking, the selection and change of topics, the control of the agenda and how interaction are established and finished.

Basically, interactional control talks about in oral speech genre that can display about the power relations that are being developed across the order of sentence and phrases.

Political Discourse has achieved much popularity with regard CDA study, it is due to the reason that all discourse taken into consideration as political (Shapiro, 1981). The topics of power, conflict, control, and harmony are being carried for examination in political discourse. Infact, the global emerging scope of political discourse includes all persons and institutions that work in political settings to attain political objectives. This type of achievement meets language choice which manipulation for specific political goals.

1.3 Research Methodology

A careful study is carried applying the framework presented by Norman Fairclough (1992). Text includes the practices of society in culture and discursive practices in society. CDA analysis text as analyzable socio-economic and political factors influences the practices of discourse in the society. Critical analysis is taken as theoretical framework of this study. CDA shows the social-political exercises like authority, exploitations, domination and ill-treatment of the suppressed one. The title exposes variables as the social, cultural and political disproportion and ideology which are the main subjects.

The data for the study was taken from the famous speech of nationalist leader of Blacks in America 'Malcolm X'. The title of speech is 'Ballot or the Bullet'.

The speech is the representation of emotions and demands by the blacks living in America specific paragraphs have been selected for the study.

Qualitative research method is applied to look for the hegemonic behavior and discursive practices of the Whites towards the Blacks.

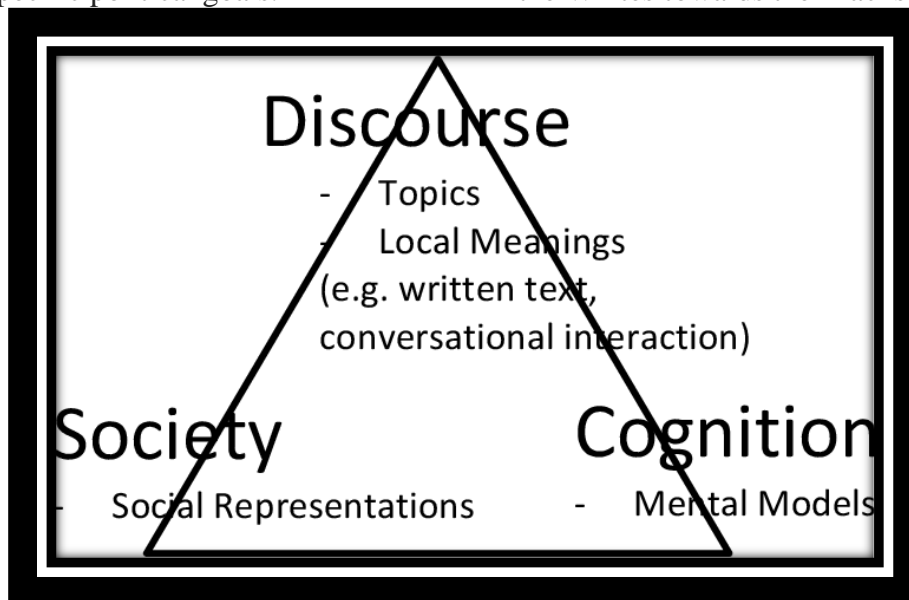


Figure-01: Tri of CDA Model

2. Discussion And Analysis

From the speech "Ballot or the Bullet" certain paragraphs that are (4, 8, 6, 23, 26, 49) have been taken for the study. Fairclough approach lightens

the dimensions as it provides the sketch of linguistic features used in the text. It also interprets the links of that specific text in the interactions. Finally it reveals the relation of

communication with the socio-political variables.

2.1 Analysis of the Background of Malcolm X

a) His Imprisonment and Rise as a Leader

X Malcolm was an African American Muslim minister. In America, African American refers to the ethnic group of Americans who have their forefathers from Africa. These people are known as enslaved descendants. X Malcolm was the leader for these Black people. He was a human rights activist. He had been a leading figure for the civil rights Moments in America also spent good time for the "Nation of Islam". By the American government he was charged for being involved in illegal political activities and penalized for the 10 years imprisonment in 1946. Two charges were launched against him; Larceny and Burglary. In prison, he joined the party the Nation of Islam. This imprisonment gave him fame and as he got paroled in 1952, he became the most influential leader for Blacks, started promoting the black empowerment, question of separation of Black and white Americans, he voiced for the desegregation and demanded the equal opportunities for all.

In 1960, he performed Hajj and became a Sunni Muslim. He left the Nation of Islam with a formal public announcement and inaugurated a Islamic Muslim Mosque which is famous as MMI.

During 1964, threats of death were sent to him, On February 19, 1965, X Malcolm told in an interview that he was receiving threats. On 21 February the same year when he was just about to give speech at Audubon Ball stage, a man came out of audience and shot him in his chest.

b) Analysis Of The Political And Social Context Of His Speech

According to Rotney S. Tashaka (2015), 'Ballot or the Bullet' was especially for the Black youngsters of America because the new generation was reluctant to accept the hegemony of White people. The speech was admired by the large number of people, scholars, and suppressed nations of world because it talked about the depression of the rights and freedom of Blacks.

People were categorized on their physical appearance rather the content of their characters. They were made classes as into native, colored, Indian or white as Posel (2001) described..

Realizing the torment behavior of white Malcolm told to unify all the Blacks against White rulers but the approach of Malcolm was on the aggressive grounds as it clearly opposes in his speech from time to time;

"Anytime you have to rely upon your enemy for a job, you're in bad shape. [applause] When you — and he is your enemy." You wouldn't be in this country if some enemy". (X Malcolm) (paragraph 18)

"They've become dissatisfied. And all of this has built up frustrations in the black community that makes the black community throughout America today more explosive than all of the atomic bombs the Russians can ever invent". (paragraph 33)

In New York Vining (2011), it is stated that the idea of Malcolm became culturally than a finely understood as a historical figure. In the social circles a large number of the people and groups have estimated their imaginations, ideas and dreams.

2.2 Text Analysis

Text analysis is linked the analysis of the language applied in the real situation by one member or of one group. It contains the cohesion, coherence, lexical choices and stylistic features which highlights specific themes and broader socio-political perspective of the speaker.

Two divisions are made for the analysis. For the first part, statement and clauses expresses the ideology.

For the second part, sentences and clauses are analyzed in relation with each other to focus on types of thematic development.

There is a progress of series of theme, rheme on the basis of known and new information. This pattern makes the sentences well-arranged for the speech it also leads to cohesion and coherence in the text. The unity of grammar focuses information for structure.

The message of orator is considered through the feelings. Sentences are persuasive with logical ideas. The organization of new and given information for making the speech is effective. Mark and unmark theme work as a tool to capture new discourse collectively. There is a chain of ideas finely developed. The vocabulary

focuses the core ideas. Listeners are well intact and motivation is inculcated in the audience to get freedom from the slavery. Continuous theme style targets the organization of deep emotional impact upon the listeners. There is a repetition of words and sentences by the speaker.

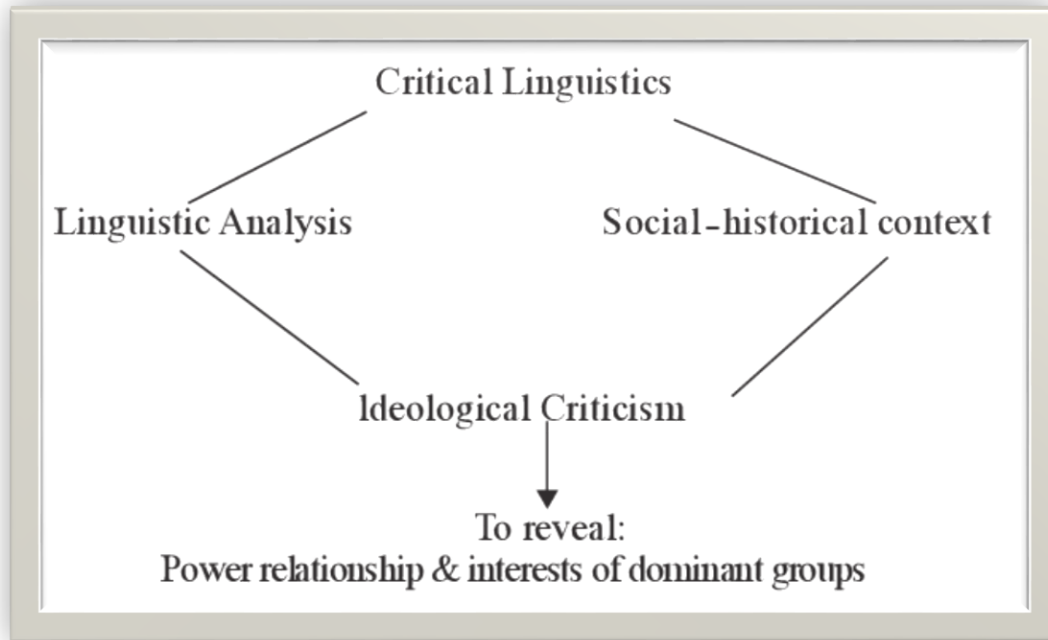


Figure-02: Textual Relationship of Speech

2.3 Analysis of Themes Addressed in Speech

Here the 'Ballot or Bullet' very clearly announces the message that now the Blacks have become much irritated by injustice of White rulers, It provides the most powerful representation of Black's Ideology.

In the 4th paragraph of speech it is very clearly stated, *'I am a Black Nationalist freedom fighter'* (Paragraph 4).

The discourse reveals that it is a struggle for the Black Americans for getting basic rights of the Blacks. *'Black men should control the politics'* (paragraph 6) It states neither the social nor the political identity was given to the Black's. Hence, the theme of nationalism is introduced.

Malcolm provides that audience with the spirit of progression. Actually wants to raise the social status of the Blacks. A true picture is portrayed as what is the actual position of Blacks in the eyes of

whites. As stated in American poetry by Amiri Baraka (1965) "For Malcolm 'heart raising us above our filthy cities'. Means the Black people were called as the lowest class with no importance. Amiri Barakav(1965) states that the area of black were "filthy cities" But X Malcolm reawaken the sleeping blacks to revolt for achieving their equal participation in the services of the country.

'If you and I are going to live in a black community'(X Malcolm) (Paragraph 8)

Malcolm shows the moral blindness of the whites. Blacks were forced to serve as slave and were assigned the lowest category jobs.

'We will always be misled and astray' (Paragraph 9).

The discourse reveal the loss of identity and loss of dignity. It states that in the legal papers segregation in USA had ended before 50 years. Yet in many parts of America people from different races cannot

go to same school, they cannot shop at the same store, and they don't have the same services. Mostly the blacks were enforced to live either on country sides or in the tenements.

2.4 Repetition

According to (Kech 1996) repetition in linguistic means the copying of same previous unit in a text for instance a word, phrase or a sentence.

1)..... *Black nationalism, the only way you can get involved in the civil rights struggle.....* (Paragraph 23)

2) *to black nationalist, those whose philosophy is black nationalism....* (Paragraph 26)

3)..... *Black nationalism means 'give it to us now, don't wait for the next year'* (paragraph 26)

Here the phrases black nationalism has been used 17 times repeatedly. It shows that it has been too long for the blacks being dominated and terribly ignored by the state rulers and the Whites. There is an open call of insurgency against the state government.

The deprivation of rights and thrust for having a reasonable part in the land can be seen.

2.5 Parallelism

Parallelism influences the grammar structure sentences but can impact the meaning of thoughts and ideas being presented. It is regularity over syntax. It actually balances the items of sentence which are equal in grammar. Malcolm X makes an impressive rhythm by applying parallelism to assist the listeners to go through bottom of ideas.

1) If we own the stores, if we operate the business..... (Paragraph 49)

Malcolm used the noun "Freedom" 8 times. It very clearly reveals that the chief themes are freedom and inequality in the socio- political perspective. The pronoun as 'We' is used 167 times, "You" is used 308 times, and the adjective 'racial' is used 8 times.

This creates the attachment between the speaker and audience. A strong bondage is systematically increased between the listener and audience.

2.6 Metaphor

Metaphor is a thing that is the representation or a symbol of something other.

"If you were black, you were born in jail" (Metaphor)

Metaphor of a jail is applied to uncover the experience of African-Americans live in a barbaric system of enslavement and agony.

2.7 Rhetoric, Imagery and Cohesion

Politicians apply rhetorical devices to communicate intended meaning and ideologies. According to Robert A Harris (2019) rhetorical device is a technique that a speaker uses to communicate the audience a meaning with a good of persuading them towards considering a topic from a perspective, applying language intended to motivate or provoke an emotional demonstration of given perspective or action.

Flowerdew (2002) and Pinto (2004) state the question based on rhetoric do not find answers. Those are indirect methods to convey the meaning.

1)..... *"Ballot or the Bulle"*t.

"Ballot or Bullet" is a complex rhetorical development.

According to Charland (1987), there is dream of equality, radically redrawing the ideological boundaries of Americans.

Managerial rhetoric is used. It is the most poignant and militant statement. It drew the attention of mass electronic and printed media. Establishment was a direct target in the rhetoric invoked the violence and bloodshed but for a positive and a true cause and for the sake of fundamental human rights.

"The Ballot or the Bullet" also designates a change in Malcolm X's rhetoric, as his departure from the "Nation of Islam" and new, liberated public involvement gave a change in the ways he delivered his listeners. Malcolm X kept his use of repetition as "*communications of the passion* which is fulfilled by a single sentence, but that someone who has indulged the seeds of the land of America, (paragraph 38) and this can be cleared by his continuous application of the phrase "*the ballot or the bullet*".

Besides, Malcolm X decorated the speech by applying imagery and to mask his ideas of society and religion. "*though Islam is my religious philosophy*", "*my political, economic and social philosophy is Black Nationalism*" (Paragraph

5). In new style he discusses issues into his perception for his spectators and encourages direct action. The most significant change of Malcolm X's rhetoric which can be seen in "The Ballot or the Bullet" is the widening of his audience, as he stresses personalized finding rather than group cohesion. And also allows for more analysis. , As he says "*The economic philosophy of black nationalism*" (X Malcolm).

2.8 Genre and Style

Genre analysis means analysis of text that relates to choices of lexical items applied in speech in socio-cultural context. Speaker's style holds the key important role in the critical analysis of any discourse. The value of expression and its relation with speech is linked with the analysis of speech through personal expression of the speaker as he says "*stipulation wherein whenever*", "*voter rights*" (Paragraph 55)

We came to know that speaker was a Negro and so he also suffered same deprivation of rights and worst attitude of the white people. His words are the complete representation of all Negroes. The rhetorical values reflect upon the connection between the speaker and audience. Since he was a part of the same trouble therefore he successfully induces his ideology.

Several times he uses Our, I, and We that state that he considers himself the part of audience. The sentiments are provoked with the help of racial themes

3. Conclusion

The paper presented critical discourse analysis of X Malcolm's speech 'Ballot or the Bullet'. It was shown that selected speech expresses multiple manifestations through which ideologies are communicated to listeners. The study reveals power, inequality, and ideology's relationship between structures in discourse of organized textual analysis. Malcolm X speech entitled "Ballot of the Bullet" shows contents of meaning of phrases hidden in the speech.

The use of Fairclough (1992) model was kept in practice to analyze the objectives of this study. For the data, the 9 paragraphs were selected from the full speech. This all data of speech focused on one

idea that it is about discrimination issues of races in America. The conflicting American ethical problem was highlighted. The oppression by White toward Black people was the key issue to be discussed.

Malcolm's speeches assisted a lot on Civil Right Act as symbolic of Black group. As a result, it is true that Malcolm X delivered his ideology using the power of Black itself for standing up against races of Black people. His speech can stimulate all the Black people to act against discrimination in America.

3.1 Semantically Analysis of vocabulary section

CDA analysis looks for strategies used by X Malcolm for convincing his black ideologies and communicates his meaning to the audience and to the people of America.

According to Soring (1989), in CDA strategies speakers employ to convey their ideologies. Same is applied by the Malcolm to communicate his intended meaning.

1) *You would never found - you cannot open up a black store in white community.*

2) *White man will not patronize you.*

3) *We should own and control economy of our country.*

These above lines contain the artful selection of phrases and words.

1) Black Nationalism (2) we should own (3) we should own (4) never found (5) black store (6) cannot open (7) in white community (8) ever patronize you (9) should own (10) will not ever (11) we should control (12) our country.

The dictions aimed at describing the ill-treatment of the Blacks by the white rulers. The speaker used the pessimistic approach of the ruling class that's why she shows the negative authoritative role practiced by the government of whites. The words display that the blacks neither politically nor socially given the part in the offices of the country. Malcolm through the uses of words maintains the spirit of awareness for demand for rights. He through his words motivates the blacks to understand the upcoming loss of their generation under the white supremacy. '*Sense through to look himself*' He conveys that the white are swollen with the unnecessary pride.

Won't ever patronize you`

Through the words Malcolm intends that there will never be a legal place for blacks in America.

3.2 Vocabulary Analysis

Noun

1- *"By ballots I only mean freedom".*

2- *"Compromising approach that have been using toward getting freedom".*

3- *"We want freedom now"*

4- *"Proclamations to give freedom to the white man".*

5- *"Supreme court decisions to give freedom to the black man".*

6- *"If it is a country of freedom".*

7- *"Let it be a country of freedom".*

8- *It is not a country of freedom change it.*

The word freedom has been used eight times by the speakers. The writer selected the words because it is throughout to be the most appropriate representation for being enslaved in any way. The term challenges the dominance as the America is based on Greenberg theory toward dominance that has frequency of association of string in the world. It displays the government of USA that the black community, the suppressed people and the deprived people of their primary and secondary rights.

1- *To such extent you bleach, to get like one white men.*

2- *Here the white man are whisking them put you in jail for getting drunk.*

The above two sentence reveals the comparison of skin color. In the 1st sentence, the mentality of black is shown that try to get involved in the country without any concern of skin. They want to make relations with Whites but in the 2nd sentence the word 'men' is intended to refer to white men or Americans. The impression is that 'a connotation meaning of white men functions like bad sides. There are no benefits for the blacks as for the whites.

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Appendix

The Ballot or the Bullet by Malcolm X
 April 3, 1964
 Cleveland, Ohio