"Facing the Virus" Anaphora in Political Speech: A Faircloughian Analysis of President Xi Jinping's Address to United Nations General Assembly

Yongming Luo
Saint Paul University Philippines

Abstract---This research study aimed at the analysis of Chinese President Xi Jinping's political discourse (his speech) delivered via video link at the annual General Debate of the 75th session of the United Nations General Assembly. The focus of analysis is the president's speech using Norman Fairclough's modal of three levels or dimensions of discourse. Results show that the speech uses anaphora and pronouns which position an inclusive society of togetherness with differences and competitions among nations, as part of natural order of things. Social determinants like the need to belong, the use of politeness in a context of formality and the appeal to class sentiments against social struggle. These practices contribute in gaining legitimacy and power in the speech. While the speech is considered a powerful tool in unpacking the speaker's ideologies, behind the personas – international persona as juxtaposed with the national persona, the realities of political struggle, national or international, the stabilization of power and the struggle for multilateralism remain a challenge.

Keywords---anaphora, Fairclough's CDA, ideologies, pronouns, three-tiered analysis.

Introduction

The United Nations General Assembly, established in 1945, is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations (UN). As such, it occupies a central position as the chief deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations comprising of all 193 Member States, one of which is People's Republic of China headed by its President Xi Jinping. Given its position, the Assembly is empowered to make recommendations to States on international issues within its competence and further initiated actions – political, economic,

humanitarian, social and legal – which have benefitted the lives of millions of people throughout the world (Goodrich, 1947; Peterson, 2006). The landmark Millennium Declaration adopted in 2000 and the World Summit Outcome Document in 2005 reflect the commitment of Member States to reach specific goals to attain peace, security and disarmament, along with development and poverty eradication; to safeguard human rights and promote the rule of law; to protect common environment; to meet the special needs of Africa; and to strengthen the United Nations. In September 2015, the Assembly agreed on a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals, contained in the outcome document of the United Nations Summit for the adoption of the post-2015 development agenda resolution 70/1: "Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" (Bramley, 2001; Chapter et al., 1945).

The Assembly meets from September to December each year (main part), and thereafter, from January to September (resumed part). At the beginning of each regular session, the General Assembly holds a general debate, in which all members participate and may raise any issue of international concern. The Assembly's annual general debate provides Member States the opportunity to express their views on major international issues. As such, the statements made during the General Debate are an invaluable source of information on governments' policy preferences across a wide range of issues over time (Baturo, et al., 2017). To date, the General Assembly had already conducted 75 sessions and on its 75th Assembly's general debate the theme was "The Future we want, the United Nations we need: reaffirming our collective commitment to multilateralism – confronting COVID-19 through effective multilateral action", as proposed by H.E. Volkan Bozkir, following his election as the President of the UN General Assembly. COVID-19 outbreak was declared by the World Health Organization as a global health emergency in January of 2020 and later declared it as a global pandemic in March of 2020 (Wodak & Meyer, 2015). Since then, the world has greatly changed. Controversies and disagreements within nations and between and among nations were witnessed. To illustrate, CNN reported US President repeatedly blaming China for the virus and once again sought to blame China for the COVID-19 pandemic and called on Beijing to be punished for its handling of the disease, during his speech in the 75th United Nations General Assembly (Daramola, 2008; Simpson, 2003).

During the same session, Chinese President Xi Jinping addresses the UN Assembly with his speech consistent with the theme of the 75th session's general debate (Jinping, 2020). Xi Jinping became the President of the People's Republic of China on March 14, 2013. Under his leadership China was increasingly assertive in international affairs. He was bestowed by the CCP the title of "core leader," which previously had been given only to influential party figures Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Jiang Zemin. Xi's name and ideology, described as "thought" ("Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in a New Era"), was enshrined in the party's constitution, an honor previously awarded only to Mao. His speech during the 75th General Debate of the UN General Assembly is the heart of the analysis of the present study. It is instructive to understand that the speech was addressed in an encompassing view of the world's needs and future directions as the members that convened and listened are presidents of their respective states including other committee members. This

context with emphasis on the pandemic situation may have impinged on the impression made on his speech (Toolan, 2013; Wodak & Chilton, 2005).

Statement of the problem

Generally, this study critically analyzed Chinese President Xi Jinping's Address during the 75th General Debate of United Nations General Assembly. Specifically, it sought to analyze the speech through its linguistic features, power construction through the linguistic cues employed, assumptions for interpretation, and discursive practices observed in the speech (Hofmann, 1989; Huang, 2000).

Scope and delimitation

This study centered its investigation on the critical analysis of the speech delivered by President Xi Jinping during the 75th United Nations General Assembly. It limits the analysis on three levels: description, interpretation, and explanation. Critical Discourse Analysis by Fairclough (2001), served as guide in the analysis. The textual features only become realized when they are set in social interaction, hence an investigation of linguistics is made part in the analysis. Interpretation is needed to deal with discourse processes and their dependence on background assumptions considering text structure and point, situational and intertextual contexts. The explanation level attempted to show how discourses are determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can have on those structures generally, sustaining them or charting a new course for them (Fairclough, 1995).

Conceptual framework

According to Fairclough (2001), a text can be analyzed at the descriptive level by interrogating the lexical, syntactical and textual structures of a text at three different values of analysis to include the experiential, relational and expressive. The experiential value is a 'cue' to and 'trace' of the way in which a text producer presents experience of the natural or social world whereas for relational value, the enactment of social relationships texts in discourses and for expressive value, on reality and what social identities are intended to be projected. Texts are generally the end products of a descriptive analysis and the resource for the interpretative analysis. This is because values of textual features only become realized when they are set in social interaction. Texts are, in other words, produced and interpreted against the background of common-sense assumptions and intertextual chains which are part of members' resources-MR (Zmigrod, 2020; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006).

Interpretation, the second stage, is needed to deal with these discourse processes and their dependence on background assumptions. Explanation, the third and final stage, is employed to delineate discourse as part of a social process and practice. It attempts to show how discourses are determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can have on those structures generally, sustaining them or charting a new course for them, thus, showing a dialectical interplay between text, discourse and social practice (Pennebaker, 2011; McDaniel & Cowart, 1999).

Research Methodology

Research design

The study employed a descriptive research design through a qualitative approach using Critical Discourse Analysis. The qualitative research design was employed to determine the linguistic features in the text of the speech, the assumptions made along with the social determinants, ideology, and effects. Moreover, it attempted to show how discourses are determined by social structures, and the reproductive effects in those structures as found in the Address delivered by President Xi Jinping during the 75th United Nations General Assembly (Scholten et al., 2002; Sharma, 2020).

Corpus of the study

The corpus for analysis is the speech of Chinese President Xi Jinping delivered via video link at the annual General Debate of the 75th session of the United Nations General Assembly on September 22, 2020. It is obtained from the China Global Television Network (CGTN) via their website https://news.cgtn.com . The speech contains about 1846 word tokens. This corpus generated as data was analyzed using Faircloughs (2001), three-tier analytical framework, i.e., description, interpretation and explanation.

Data analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis was employed in this study. The parameters used mainly in the analysis focused on the description, interpretation, and explanation as extracted from the speech of President Xi Jinping. The description analysis was focused on the linguistic features found in the speech whereas the interpretation centers on assumptions as backdrop in the analysis of text structure and point, situational and intertextual contexts. The analysis concluded with the explanation of social determinants, ideology, and effects showing the interplay between language and power (Charolles, 1999; Kuo, 1999).

Results and Discussion

The following presentation of the results and discussion of the study follows the three-tiered level of CDA by Fairclough: description, interpretation, and explanation (Arafah et al., 2021; Sarnoto & Hayatina, 2021).

Description

President Xi Jinping's speech is concerned with articulating what China can do together with the United Nations to confront COVID-19 and emerge victorious from it. He outlined his speech following his vision of collective commitment among nations through effective multilateral actions, considering the underlying trend of the times, and concretizing the steps China would make in support of UN's central role in international affairs. The speech is heavily reliant on the grand style, also known as rhetoric, which is believed to be especially moving

and convincing. The grand style is ornamented by linguistic features such as use of repetition (anaphora), pronouns, and intertextuality.

Anaphora

Anaphora is a rhetorical device that features regular repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of successive sentences, phrases, or clauses. This word repetition at the beginning of each phrase in a group of sentences or clauses is a stylized technique that can be very effective in speeches as it is deliberately employed to create different effects. Used intentionally in the right context, repetition through anaphora can be a powerful tool to make an audience savor words, understand a point, or believe in a cause that may stir up their emotions. Apart from its grammatical function, repetition can have a persuasive and emotional impact on the audience (Mazraani, 1993; Johnstone, 1994; Lahlali, 2012). Such as the following excerpts from the speech. The anaphora "*Facing the virus, we should*" had been repeatedly used four times in the speech which is also similar in frequency with the "*COVID-19 reminds us*"

- "Facing the virus, we should put people and life first".
- "Facing the virus, we should enhance solidarity and get through this together".
- "Facing the virus, we should adopt comprehensive and long-term control measures".
- "Facing the virus, we should show concern form and accommodate the need of developing countries".
- "COVID-19 reminds us that we are living in an interconnected global village with a common stake".
- "COVID-19 reminds us that economic globalization is an indisputable reality and a historical trend".
- "COVID-19 reminds us that humankind should launch a green revolution"
- "COVID-19 reminds us that the global governance system calls for reform and improvement".

These stylized technique of repetition particularly on current critical crisis renders the speech appealable to the audience. What is striking about Xi Jinping's use of repetition is that it is designed to rally the public and create a homogenous public sphere, with the sole aim of taking collective action (Lahlali, 2011). It takes into account that in facing the virus, it is imperative that people and life are prioritized, solidarity is enhanced, control measures are adopted, developing countries are accommodated – all of which necessitates humanity acting as one in winning the battle against the virus. While the repetition in lines 1-4 suggests active engagement as shown by the use of active voice with *we* as the subject, lines 6-8 shift the focus making *us,* the object of COVID-19, which creates an emotional impact as people are reminded of the realities and challenges of humankind and globalization. The phrase "*China will*" was repeated six times in the speech as the President outlined China's steps to add impetus to global recovery and growth.

Continue to work as a builder of global peace
Provide another US $50 million to the UN COVID-19 Global Humanitarian Response
Plan and another US $50 million to the China-FAO South-South Cooperation Trust
Fund
Extend the Peace and Development Trust Fund between the UN and China
Set up a UN Global Geospatial Knowledge and Innovation Center and an International
Research Center of Big Data for sustainable Development Goals

The use of the "China will" anaphora on one hand, offers the promises or voluntary actions that China commits to undertake, while on the other hand, it also demonstrates the president's capability in ruling his government with difficulties in the future (Sharififar & Rahimi, 2015). Strikingly, a repeated phrase "win-win cooperation" within texts in the speech as an underlying trend of the times, surfaced three times.

"And people everywhere crave even more strongly for peace, development, and win-win
cooperation."
"Pursue win-win cooperation and rise above ideological disputes"
"Embrace the underlying trend of peace, development, and win-win cooperation"

The cited repetition embodies the principle of mutual benefit as taught by the COVID-19 situation. In the three tokens of repetition, win-win cooperation is needed to meet more global challenges, to live in an interconnected global village, and to reform and improve global governance system. In view of the repetitions observed in the speech, Preminger and Brogan Forraiova (2011), commented that anaphora is favored because its structure reinforces the meaning of words; foregrounds sequence of sentences and arranges sentences in a similar way. It may be also understood as a form of parallelism due to its repeating pattern (ibid). She further quoted Osborn & Osborn (1988), who think that anaphora is suitable for conclusions to confirm and connect the ideas formed through the speech.

Use of pronouns

The pronouns we, our, and us have their political significance in the speech. We has 38 word tokens, our has 10 tokens (including 1 occurrence of ourselves) and us has 6 tokens, with an exception of a single occurrence of the pronoun "I". Pennycook (1994); Íñigo-Mora (2004); Ubeid & Ali (2015); Clancy & Vaughan (2014); Bello (2013), regard 'we' as always simultaneously inclusive and exclusive as a pronoun of solidarity and of rejection, of inclusion and exclusion. Any construction of a 'we' clearly presupposes the existence of a 'they' or 'you'. Thus, by inclusion, it excludes and assumes at the same time, that a parallel 'other' exists elsewhere. According to Fairclough (2001), when 'we' is used by a leader inclusively as part of the led, it assimilates the leader to 'the people' possibly as a humbling tactic. In this current speech, the various dimensions of the 'we', with reference as well to the use of us, are brought to full political effects in 16 occurrences.

1) We humans are battling COVID-19, a virus that has ravaged the world and has kept resurging.
2) Facing the virus, we should put, enhance, adopt, and show.
3) Going forward, we will continue to share our epidemic control practices.

4) So we must join hands and be prepared to meet even more global challenges.
5) We should embrace, reject, see each other, respect turn not dodge, strike, pursue, say no.
6) We, the 1.4 billion Chinese.
7) We will never seek hegemony, expansion or sphere of influence.
8) We have no intention to fight either a Cold War or a hot war with any country.
9) We will continue to narrow differences and resolve disputes with others through dialogue and negotiation.
10) We do not seek to develop only ourselves or engage in a zero-sum game.
11) We will not pursue development behind closed doors.
12) Rather, we aim to foster, over time, a new development paradigm.
13) COVID-19 reminds us.
14) The baton of history has been passed to our generation and we must make the right choice.
15) Let us join hands to uphold the values.
16) Together, we can the world a better place for everyone.

The usage of 'we' here indicates the various representations and dimensions of the referents. From sentence 1 to 5, 'we' is represented as whole of humanity battling against the virus. In 6 - 12, 'we' is used as referring to the Chinese in particular united with its government set out to make an all- out effort to control the virus and restore life and economy to normalcy. In 14-15, another usage of 'we' is noted where 'we must make the right choice" as referring to the leaders of the United Nations as the baton of history is now passed to them to make decisions worthy of people's trust. Together, as a United Nation, they can chart the direction for a world better for everyone. In the other representations of the 'we', there are pledges made with 'will' (3, 6, 9, 11) — a deontic modal that indicates strong commitment and promise. Summarily, the 'we' used here represents the overall government as a partnership.

In lines 13 - 15, 'us' and 'our' are used as an anaphoric reference to 'we' which represents a joint mandate between humanity and the world leaders of the United Nations, inclusive of the president as a learner to realize the lessons taught by COVID-19 and all world leaders as they accept the responsibility to make the right choices for humanity. Barr (2009), avers that political actors try to win public support using *us* and *our* in their discourse. Beard (2000), also maintains that 'I' among others show a clear sense of personal involvement which is especially useful when good news is delivered such as the single instance when the pronoun *I* was used in the speech:

> "To support the UN in playing its central role in international affairs, I hereby announce the following steps to be taken by China".

Interpretation

Fairclough (2001), theorizes that on the level of interpretation, the speech is generally explored through a critical analysis on the fusion of what is in the text and what is in the interpreter in terms of their mental or cognitive resource of

recall or what is termed "members' resources". He maintains that there are six dimensions of what constitutes the processes of interpretation which include local coherence, surface utterances, meaning of utterance, text structure and point, situational context, and intertextual context. At the heart of the analysis for repetition and use of pronouns are text structure and point, situational and intertextual contexts. These three processes help in understanding the general identities constructed in the use of the emergent linguistic features in the speech.

Relative to text structure and point, the speech begins and ends with an address to Mr. President (the elected President of the UN General assembly) and to Colleagues (the leaders of the world's nations) with a strategic single address to Mr. President in between texts. Crucial in the understanding of the speech is also the notion of felicity conditions. Felicity conditions are given when a speech act is appropriate in a given situation, such as the use of the formal address. Following the address is a historical recount that led to the founding of the United Nations. The speech moved on to the present critical situation with which captures the collective commitment in confronting COVID-19 through effective multilateral action. The past victory on World Anti-Fascist War is interspersed with the present struggle on the virus but a battle that once again humanity will win over. The speech transitioned to the underlying trend of the times and the lessons taught by COVID-19 which highlight what the United Nations need. In conclusion, the speech ended with a reiteration of the pledge expected of world leaders to chart the direction for the future.

For the situational context as the immediate context under which a discourse takes place, the following essential questions are addressed:

- What is going on (activity, topic and purpose)?
- Who is involved? In what relations?
- What is the role of language in what is going on?

The speech event is the Assembly's annual general debate as an opportunity for State Members, in particular in this event, an opportunity for Chinese President Xi Jinping to express his views on major international issues which follows the theme "The Future we want, the United Nations we need: reaffirming our collective commitment to multilateralism – confronting COVID-19 through effective multilateral action". It is an international affair that gathers all heads of states of the United Nations. The immediate audience therefore are highly important because they are the authorities to make commitments for their respective nations. The relationship thus between the producer of the text and the immediate audience is that of a seeker of collective commitment addressing the decision-makers. This relationship has impinged on the choice of linguistic features such as repetition and use of pronouns to achieve the desired goal.

The role of language in this sense cannot be underestimated as it is crucial for humanity as represented by the nation leaders. In this speech event, both the speaker and the audience are influenced by the context in the production and interpretation of the overall message to be delivered. As the world takes a spin due to the pandemic, the speaker and the audience know that their commitment and their decision-making skill as leaders of the world would be critical in gaining

trust of the people each of them serves. Following on Fairclough's view (1992), the speech as a discourse in this study is considered to be a mode of political and ideological practice which as a social practice shapes and is shaped by the world. He believes that ideology is located in the structure of discourse, or what he refers to as "order of discourse", meaning that ideology can be linked to past and present events.

While the interpretation of the situational context is influenced by an obvious physical context as discussed in the previous paragraph, it may differ using intertextuality as another reference for interpretation. Using intertextuality, issues can be presupposed using the linguistic cues. On this view, Fairclough (2001), maintains that presuppositions do not belong to texts; they are an aspect of text producer's intertextual context. Though they are not properties of texts, they can be signaled by certain textual properties. The essence of using them is that they have the potential to pass what is purely ideological as epistemic or truthfully objective (Bello, 2013). In the analysis of pronouns, it is observed that there is no explicit mention of rivals or oppositionists but there are many cases where they are presupposed. As advanced by Richardson (2006), a presupposition is a taken-for-granted, implicit claim embedded within explicit meaning of a text or utterance. In the following text, such presupposed notions could be formed:

> No country can gain from others' difficulties or maintain stability by taking advantage of others' troubles. To pursue a beggar-thy-neighbor policy or just watch from a safe distance when others are in danger will eventually land one in the same trouble faced by others. We should reject attempts to build blocs to keep others out and oppose a zero-sum approach and rise above ideological disputes and do not fall into the trap of "clash of civilizations".

The use of the phrase "no country" presupposes that there are countries that take advantage of other's troubles and remain distant from other's troubles which may be considered a matter of fact or a truth situation in the state of affairs. The negative connotation of the phrases gain from other's difficulties and watch from a safe distance is countered by positive actions on the phrases reject attempts, oppose a zero-sum approach, rise above ideological disputes and not fall into clash of civilizations which further presupposes that indeed as diverse as the cultures of the world is and as variable as ideologies of leaders are, the tendency of the world to clash is imminent. The surfacing of the "clash of civilizations" in the text is intertwined with Huntington' theory (1992) professing that people's cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post – Cold War world. He argued that future wars would be fought not between countries, but between cultures. In addition, the clash of civilizations, for Huntington, represents a development of history, that is, world politics moved into a new phase, in which non-Western civilizations are no longer the exploited recipients of Western civilization but have become additional important actors joining the West to shape and move world history, consistent with how the phrase was introduced in the speech. Similarly, Haynes (2019), posits that inter-civilizational 'clash' and 'dialogue' have become mainstream issues both in international relations and in many Western countries' domestic concerns.

Furthermore, this historical development could not be ensured if countries look away from the face of danger (the virus) as the speaker alluded to strict, which is

believed incorrectly to hide its head in a hole in the ground when it sees danger. Likewise, the intertextuality using Don Quixote as reference presupposes nations' ineffective means to fight as Don Quixote himself loses his mind and imagines his fighting against enemies to serve his nation.

> Burying one's head in the sand like an ostrich in the face of economic globalization or trying to fight it with Don Quixote's lance goes against the trend of history. Let this be clear: The world will never return to isolation, and no one can sever the ties between countries.

Finally, the acceptance that differences are natural and that competition among nations is possible, presuppose that China as a nation has its own identity and ideology as with the rest of the countries in the world. It further presupposes that as a nation, it is not exempt from unhealthy competitions which based on the text may refer to a major nation without an explicit naming of any country, of particular reference is the line "major countries should act like major countries" which implies an unwelcoming attitude on major countries for dialogue and consultation.

> It is natural for countries to have differences. What's important is to address them through dialogue and consultation. Countries may engage in competition, but such competition should be positive and healthy in nature. When in competition, countries should not breach the moral standard and should comply with international norms. In particular, major countries should act like major countries. They should provide more global public goods, take up their due responsibilities and live up to people's expectations.

In the light of the presuppositions made, it stands to reason that speakers or text producers have the option of using presuppositions strategically to avoid challenge or rejection with the twin advantages of evading social threats and the cognitive adjustment of the hearers' memory to take a proposition as true representation of the world (Chilton, 2004; Bello, 2013).

Explanation

Relatively, the explanation level which is the third tier in Fairclough's CDA connects to the analysis of the socio-cultural milieu within which a discursive practice takes place and how it may affect it and vice-versa. Fairclough (2001), believes that when aspects of members' resources are drawn upon as interpretative procedures in the production and interpretation of texts, they are thus reproduced. According to him, reproduction links the stages of interpretation to explanation. The reproduction of discursive structures helps a lot in maintaining the socio-cultural practice or charting a new course for it.

Trailing on Fairclough's view on explanation level, there are three essential units to analyze: social determinants, ideologies, and effects. Considering the first unit on social determinant, it is important to ask what power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape the discourse. In view of ideologies as another unit, question like "What elements of members' resources drawn upon have ideological character?" To explore the third unit, that is, effects, questions such as:

- How is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels?
- Are these struggles covert or overt?
- Is the discourse normative or creative?
- Does it contribute to the sustenance of existing power relations or in their transformation?

The questions above are very relevant in this speech. The president has drawn upon many issues from the socio-cultural and political settings of the country to help in projecting a good image of himself and achieving his political goals. These issues have helped in shaping the discourse and giving it an orientation that serves a political purpose.

Social determinants

Deeply rooted in Chinese society is the need to belong and conform to a unit, whether the family, a political party or an organization. The family is the focus of life for most Chinese. Age and rank are highly respected. With this comes Fairclough's view of formality given the context of the speech. In Fairclough's view, formality is one pervasive and familiar aspect of constraints on access to discourse. It is a common property in many societies of practices and discourses of high social prestige and restricted access. It can also serve to generate awe among those who are excluded by it and daunted by it. As property of social institutions, it manifests three types of constraints upon practice which are associated with the exercise of power, namely: constraints on content, subject, and relations. Thus, the speech content was structured consistent with the theme for the Assembly, as social identities are marked in the subject and the relations constraint which in the speech is overtly made and consequently there is a strong tendency towards politeness. This marking of position is evident with the speaker's consistent use at the beginning, in-between text and end of the speech the address to the leader "Mr. President". In the same vein, the speaker appealed to class sentiments against social struggle as Fairclough asserted "those who hold the power at a particular moment have to constantly reassert their power, and those who do not hold the power are always liable to make a bid for power" such as what the excerpt below illustrates:

> China is the largest developing country in the world, a country that is committed to peaceful, open, cooperative and common development. We will never seek hegemony, expansion, or sphere of influence. We have no intention to fight either a Cold War or a hot war with any country. We will continue to narrow differences and resolve disputes with others through dialogue and negotiation. We do not seek to develop only ourselves or engage in a zero-sum game. We will not pursue development behind closed doors. Rather, we aim to foster, over time, a new development paradigm with domestic circulation as the mainstay and domestic and international circulations reinforcing each other. This will create more space for China's economic development and add impetus to global economic recovery and growth.

Ideology

The speaker's ideology is realized especially in areas where facts are presupposed. The subtle construction of past victory and the positivity in winning once again the battle against the present threat – the virus – with an emphasis of multilateral

action that calls for commitment and togetherness, is a simultaneous construction of his own potential political leadership – that which is deeply seated in the philosophy of Confucianism. Throughout China's history, political thought has been one of the essential branches of literature. For Confucius, morality and government were so closely related that it was scarcely possible to think about them separately. According to Confucius, mentioned in Fu et al. (2008): "Lead the people with governmental measures and regulate them with laws and punishment, and they will avoid wrongdoing but will have no sense of honor and shame. Lead them with virtue and regulate them by the rules of propriety, and they will have a sense of shame and, moreover, set themselves right". In addition to emphasizing virtue and following "natural law," Confucianism promotes active leadership. As such, it has resemblance in current leadership model such as transformational leadership which is as well evident in the speech. Transformational leadership is an umbrella concept incorporating a number of desirable leadership behaviors, including idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration Bass (1985); Burns (1978); Ma & Tsui (2015), remarked that transformational leaders articulate visions, establish themselves as role models, show individualized concerns for subordinates, build and share challenging goals, and stimulate followers' intellectual development.

As the speaker started off his speech by saying that in "Facing the virus, we should put people and life first" and by ending the speech with the line "Together, we can make the world a better place for everyone" opens the humanistic leader in him. Humanistic leadership according to Yang et al. (2020), is understood as being mutually reinforcing and acting in concert, rather than each acting independently of the others. There is, according to them, an inherent consistency and connection between the core values of Confucianism and humanistic leadership.

Effects

The new ideas of the Xi era reflect massive changes in China's place in the international system, its economic, political, and military strength, and China's expectation that the international system would and should accommodate this transformed China (Bader, 2016). Language and power were clearly displayed in the President's speech during the 75th UN Assembly General Debate that after a year it was delivered, China now integrates into its national curriculum from primary schools to graduate programmes the Xi Jinping Thought. The new school books are decorated with the president's pithy quotes and images of his smiling face, with elementary school students served up chapters on the achievements of Chinese civilization and the Communist Party's role in poverty alleviation and fighting the COVID-19 pandemic.

While there were those moved by the power in the speech of the President being statesmanlike in the UN, media analysts such as Griffith (2020), commented that his authoritarianism is on the rise back home making a discrepancy between Xi's international and domestic personas as a reminder that the national leader -- and the political system and ideology he represents -- run deeper than mere style. The effect could as well echo Qiao & Ma (2019), case study of Xi Jinping's speeches

where they concluded that there is potential and space to build a positive and friendly Chinese image and improve international communication capacities and influences in the future.

Conclusion

The critical discourse analysis applied on the speech of the Chinese President attempted to show the efficacy of a systematic analysis of text as provided (Fairclough, 2001). At the descriptive level, the speech is ornamented with linguistic features such as repetition, in particular, repetition by anaphora and the use of pronouns which position an inclusive society of togetherness within the purview of political interests and associations as concretized by the prevalent use of anaphora and of pronouns we, us, and our. At the interpretation level, the analysis shows that certain ideological realities are presupposed and understood as true state of affairs such as differences and competitions among nations, as part of natural order of things.

Finally, at the explanation level, the analysis has attempted to show the socio-cultural practices such as the presence of social determinants like the need to belong, the use of politeness in a context of formality and the appeal to class sentiments against social struggle. These practices contribute in gaining legitimacy and power in the speech. Essentially, in Critical Discourse Analysis the explicit message is as important as implicit message. Thus, what is said is as important as what is not said. Using the stimulus-response theory, the speech is considered a powerful tool in unpacking the speaker's ideologies but behind the personas – international persona as juxtaposed with the national persona, the realities of political struggle involving ideologies realization within and without the social institution, national or international, the stabilization of power and the struggle for multilateralism remains a challenge.

References

Arafah, B., Hasyim, M., & Kapoyos, F. E. (2021). E-democracy and the parrhesia language of netizen towards COVID-19 pandemic. *Linguistics and Culture Review*, *5*(S1), 422-438. https://doi.org/10.37028/lingcure.v5nS1.1428

Bader, J. A. (2016). *How Xi Jinping sees the world & and why*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Barr, R. R. (2009). Populists, outsiders and anti-establishment politics. *party politics*, *15*(1), 29-48.

Bass, B. M. (1985). Leadership: Good, better, best. *Organizational dynamics*, *13*(3), 26-40.

Baturo, A., Dasandi, N., & Mikhaylov, S. J. (2017). Understanding state preferences with text as data: Introducing the UN General Debate corpus. *Research & Politics*, *4*(2), 2053168017712821.

Beard, A. (2000). *The language of politics* (Vol. 121). London: Routledge.

Bello, U. (2013). " If I Could Make It, You Too Can Make It!" Personal Pronouns in Political Discourse: A CDA of President Jonathan's Presidential Declaration Speech. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, *3*(6), 84.

Bramley, N. R. (2001). Pronouns of politics: the use of pronouns in the construction of 'self' and 'other' in political interviews.

Burns, R. G. (1978). Soil enzymes.

Chapter, V. I. I. I., Chapter, X. I., Territories, D. R. N. S. G., & Chapter, X. V. I. (1945). Charter of the United Nations. *available at the website http://www. un. org/en/documents/charter/chapter14. shtml (accessed 2 March 2020).*

Charolles, M. (1999). Associative anaphora and its interpretation. *Journal of pragmatics*, *31*(3), 311-326. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(98)00070-8

Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing political discourse: Theory and practice*. routledge.

Clancy, B., & Vaughan, E. C. (2014). Community and identity in language: small words, big ideas.

Daramola, A. (2008). A child of necessity: An analysis of political discourse in Nigeria. *Pragmatics*, *18*(3), 355-380.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse* (pp. 9-14). London: Edward Arnold.

Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power*. Pearson Education.

Forraiová, M. (2011). The use and function of repetition in political speeches.

Fu, P. P., Yan, X. H., Li, Y., Wang, E., & Peng, S. (2008). Examining conflict-handling approaches by Chinese top management teams in IT firms. *International Journal of Conflict Management*.

Goodrich, L. M. (1947). From League of Nations to United Nations. *International Organization*, *1*(1), 3-21.

Griffith, A. K. (2020). Parental burnout and child maltreatment during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of family violence*, 1-7.

Haynes, J. (2019). Introduction: The "clash of civilizations" and relations between the West and the Muslim world.

Hofmann, T. R. (1989). Paragraphs, & anaphora. *Journal of pragmatics*, *13*(2), 239-250. https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(89)90093-3

Huang, Y. (2000). Discourse anaphora: Four theoretical models. *Journal of pragmatics*, *32*(2), 151-176. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(99)00041-7

Íñigo-Mora, I. (2004). On the use of the personal pronoun we in communities. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *3*(1), 27-52.

Jinping, X. (2020). Statement by HE Xi Jinping President of the People's Republic of China at the General Debate of the 75th Session of The United Nations General Assembly. *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China*.

Johnstone, R. A. (1994). Female preference for symmetrical males as a by-product of selection for mate recognition. *Nature*, *372*(6502), 172-175.

Kuo, C. H. (1999). The use of personal pronouns: Role relationships in scientific journal articles. *English for specific purposes*, *18*(2), 121-138. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0889-4906(97)00058-6

Lahlali, E. M. (2011). *Contemporary Arab broadcast media*. Edinburgh University Press.

Lahlali, E. M. (2012). Repetition and ideology in Nasrallah's political speeches. *Arab Media & Society*, *15*, 1-13.

Ma, L., & Tsui, A. S. (2015). Traditional Chinese philosophies and contemporary leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *26*(1), 13-24.

Mazraani, N. (2013). *Aspects of language variation in Arabic political speech-making*. Routledge.

McDaniel, D., & Cowart, W. (1999). Experimental evidence for a minimalist account of English resumptive pronouns. *Cognition*, *70*(2), B15-B24. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0010-0277(99)00006-2

Osborn, D. R. (1988). Seasonality and habit persistence in a life cycle model of consumption. *Journal of Applied Econometrics*, 255-266.

Pennebaker, J. W. (2011). The secret life of pronouns. *New Scientist*, *211*(2828), 42-45. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0262-4079(11)62167-2

Pennycook, A. (1994). The politics of pronouns.

Peterson, M. J. (2006). *The UN General Assembly*. Routledge.

Qiao, X., & Ma, X. (2019). The Image of China in English Versions of State Leaders' Address—A Case Study of Xi Jinping's Address from 2016 to 2018. *Open Journal of Modern Linguistics*, *9*(06), 591.

Richardson, J. (2006). *Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. Palgrave.

Sarnoto, A. Z., & Hayatina, L. (2021). Polarization of the Muslim community towards government policies in overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia. *Linguistics and Culture Review, 5*(S1), 642-652. https://doi.org/10.37028/lingcure.v5nS1.1449

Scholten, A. N., Creutzberg, C. L., Noordijk, E. M., & Smit, V. T. (2002). Long-term outcome in endometrial carcinoma favors a two-instead of a three-tiered grading system. *International Journal of Radiation Oncology* Biology* Physics*, *52*(4), 1067-1074. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0360-3016(01)02710-9

Sharififar, M., & Rahimi, E. (2015). Critical discourse analysis of political speeches: A case study of Obama's and Rouhani's speeches at UN. *Theory and Practice in Language studies*, *5*(2), 343.

Sharma, R. (2020). Cluster analysis to identify prominent patterns of anti-hypertensives: A three-tiered unsupervised learning approach. *Informatics in Medicine Unlocked*, *19*, 100303. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.imu.2020.100303

Simpson, P. (2003). *Language, ideology and point of view*. Routledge.

Toolan, M. J. (2013). *Narrative: A critical linguistic introduction*. Routledge.

Ubeid, N. A., & Ali, A. Q. (2015). Pronominal Choices in Mandela's Speech at The International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People: A Critical Discourse Analysis.

Verkuyten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2006). Understanding multicultural attitudes: The role of group status, identification, friendships, and justifying ideologies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *30*(1), 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.05.015

Wodak, R., & Chilton, P. (Eds.). (2005). *A new agenda in (critical) discourse analysis: theory, methodology and interdisciplinarity* (Vol. 13). John Benjamins Publishing.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2015). *Methods of critical discourse studies*. Sage.

Yang, B., Fu, P., Beveridge, A. J., & Qu, Q. (2020). Humanistic leadership in a Chinese context. *Cross Cultural & Strategic Management*.

Zmigrod, L. (2020). The role of cognitive rigidity in political ideologies: theory, evidence, and future directions. *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences*, *34*, 34-39. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cobeha.2019.10.016