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Representation of Post-Partition Pakistani Politics in Benazir
Bhutto's *Daughter of the East*

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Submitted By

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Approval Letter

This thesis is submitted to the Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University by Nisha Kumari Budha entitled "Representation of post partition Pakistan's Politics" in Benazir Bhutto's *Daughter of the East* has been approved by the under signed members of the thesis research Committee .

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Letter of Recommendation

Mrs. Nisha Kumari Budha has completed her thesis entitle, “Representation of Post-Partition Pakistani Politics” in Benazir Bhutto’s *Daughter of the East* under my supervision. She carried out her research work from September 2017 to April 2018. I hereby co-comments her thesis be submitted her viva.

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Representation of Post -Partition Pakistani Politics in Benazir Bhutto's *Daughter of the East*

Abstract

This thesis makes critical analysis of Benazir Bhutto's autobiography Daughter of the East (1988). It critiques General Zia's exercise of power, formulations of manipulative discourse and its influence on political as well as personal relations. Benazir successfully attempts to show how manipulative power of discourse creates knowledge to exercise power. It projects how activities like secrecy, jealousy create discourse and exercise of power which play influential role in the post-partition of Pakistan as well as personal lives of people and their relationship. The representation of Zia's military regime conveys the writer's sense of mistrust, disbelief and intrigue among political parties, common people and the nation. The finding of this research is that there is connection of power and formulation of truth through discourse and the formulation of discourse determine social relations and lives. Thus, this research helps understand how power operates in a society and nation and how it influences personal life as well as social relationship.

Key Words:- Discourse, power, truth, manipulation.

Introduction

This research project intends to focus on the issue of power through discourse in Benazir Bhutto's *Daughter of the East* (1988). The study makes an analysis of the manipulative power of discourse of military commander General Zia. It is the story about the contemporary political conflict in Pakistan. It attempts to analyze the context of the then society. This research investigates how power is generated in society by producing discourse and how it constructs truth and how that truth influences social and personal lives.

Benazir Bhutto is one of the contemporary Pakistani female leaders as well as a writer who wants to draw attention to the history of post-partition Pakistani politics (1970's). She herself is the political leader of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and she wants to represent the then political scenario and its influence. Benazir was born in June 2, 1953 in Karachi. She was the first democratically elected female leader of Muslim state and her life ended with her assassination in December 27, 2007 in Rawalpindi. Her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the former Prime Minister of democratic Pakistan as well as the founder of Pakistan People's party (PPP). He was a reformist and gave a new direction to labor, education, engineering, peasants, health and upliftment of women during his term. He saved Pakistan from despair and laid the basis of modern industrial state. In 1971, the western provincial wing of Pakistan defeated from the eastern provincial wing of Pakistan and modern Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation. In five years he restored dignity to a defeated nation. He authored a unanimous Islamic, democratic, representative constitution.

Benazir was a beautiful and charming woman leader who led the post-colonial Muslim state; she achieved a status similar to the royal Princess both in her

nation Pakistan and around the world. It was her pride to become the daughter of one of the most popular leaders as well as a freedom fighter of Pakistan. Benazir grew up in one of the country's richest families. She received the international education from Harvard and Oxford University. She became politicized after her father's execution from the hands of General Zia in 1979 and was the first elected Prime minister in 1988. She was really extraordinary and strong female fighter in the Muslim state Pakistan. She was a brave woman, from a martyr family and shows heroic spirit and struggling to maintain the ethos of freedom in the face of savage repression. Her aim was to restore democracy, stop theocracy and address the issues of bread and butter of the people of Pakistan.

Benazir was a Pakistani politician who served as Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1988 to 1990 and again from 1993 to 1996. She was the first woman to head the Government in a Muslim state. She was also the chairperson of Pakistan People's Party. As a writer, she wrote *Foreign Policy in Perspective* (1978), *Daughter of the East* (1988) and later she changes its name into *Daughter of Destiny* (1989), *Reconciliation, Islam, Democracy, and the West* (2008). *Daughter of the East* (1988), the autobiography of Benazir Bhutto, is a historical document of uncommon passion and courage, the dramatic story of a brilliant, beautiful woman.

Benazir's autobiography *Daughter of the East* (1988) is set in 1970's, reflecting contemporary political conflicts. In 1970's both Pakistan People's Party (PPP) – Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and General Zia ul Haq were represented two opposite interest. These two belonged to arch rival groups. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's interest was to bring democracy in Pakistan and give life, liberty and happiness to Pakistani people whereas Zia's vested interest was to impose autocratic rule upon people and repress

them. This research mainly focuses on General Zia's exercise of political power, formulation of manipulative discourse of General Zia that influence and determine various personal and political relations. Michel Foucault critiques that the formulation of power and construction of truth, which determine the personal, socio-cultural and political relations. This research presents activities like; suspicion, jealousy, secrecy and so on create discourse of manipulation and generates the exercising of power which plays the influential role in the nation as well as in personal lives.

This autobiography has been read by a number of critics from different perspectives. They have examined *Daughter of the East*, the narrator Benazir and the dictator Zia from various perspectives like; feminism, historicism, modernism, suspicion, secrecy, violence etc. Patricia Droff, a feminist observes this autobiography in the light of feminism. She asserts:

Benazir Bhutto recounts the events that propelled her into becoming one of the world's youngest and the first female leader of a Muslim nation Pakistan. She weaves a gripping and fascinating story of her life as the privileged daughter of a former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto; of her political education at Radcliffe and Oxford; after a coup orchestrated by General Zia ul-Haq overthrew her father's government and resulted in her execution, of the many years she spent imprisoned, tortured and fighting Zia's corrupted regime.

(186)

In the aforementioned quote, Droff talks about the personality and struggle of Benazir. Benazir is one of the recognizable women. Being a woman leader, Benazir mobilized the world opinion and fought for the people of Pakistan through the Democratic Movement against the dictator General Zia. During this period, she

started the movement for the restoration of democracy and against the violation of human rights. She struggled throughout her whole life for democracy because she knew that only democratic government provides life, liberty, persuade, happiness, freedom to common people. Democracy in Pakistan has been repeatedly snatched by military regime.

Likewise, Lawrence Ziring makes his comparative critical analysis between Fatima and Benazir in his article "Political connections: Fatima and Benazir". It reflects the political struggle and connection of Fatima Jinnah with Benazir Bhutto.

In examining the political aspirations of Fatima Jinnah and Benazir Bhutto it is inevitable that comparisons be made; this article argues that we can gain a better understanding of the two women by juxtaposing their personality. It is also important that attention be given to the roles women play in Pakistani politics, and there is no better place to begin such an investigation than in examining the character, mindset and missing of these two compelling women. (68)

Here, Ziring highlights the political struggle of Fatima and Benazir. In the history of Pakistan two women; Fatima and Benazir stand out. Fatima was present at the country's creation and Benazir became the chairman of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) as well as Prime minister of the Muslim state. Both of them are unforgettable women in the history of Pakistani politics. While comparing Benazir's struggle with Fatima, Benazir didn't have to struggle because she was born in an aristocratic family celebrated for its political and economic power. Her social circumstances could only be considered regal and pampering and made her successful political figure.

Other critics talk about Benazir's confidence, power and struggle but Ziring shows his departure from other critics towards Benazir by saying that though she was a tough woman she didn't have much struggle for survival in her life.

Similarly, James Manor writes that Benazir has tried to show the contemporary historical context of Pakistan in which bureaucratic and other political parties have stood for opposite interest and conflict time and again lies between and among them.

Pakistan's central problem has always been the inability of its political institutions to engage society and manage social conflict in some minimally adequate manner. The bureaucratic framework has always existed, but crucially, no political party of substance has ever been developed to link state and society and give the civilian rule a reasonable chance of survival. This has led to repeated vain attempts by rigid military regimes to govern this complex society. (756)

In the above mentioned extract, Manor asserts that the crucial problem of Pakistan lies in political institutions and bureaucracy. At that time, bureaucratic influence is heavy and other political parties can't sustain. This extract also tries to show that Islamization as a form of religious and cultural politics aimed to spread bureaucratic influence throughout Pakistan. Here, Manor views the autobiography as a critique of bureaucracy and their arrogant attitude and repressive behavior towards Pakistan. In critiquing the autobiography, he presents political conflict and how such conflicts may result in a sense of mistrust and intrigue both for people and nation. This shows how bureaucratic frame has been deeply rooted in Pakistan which does not allow other parties to have space and proper function.

Likewise, Leslie Wolf-Phillips in his reviews “Z.A. Bhutto of Pakistan: A Biography” tries to show General Zia’s misuse of power. He comments about the detective and autocratic activities of General Zia. He writes:

Zia had said in February 1979 that he would not exercise clemency if the Supreme Court upheld the death sentence and revealed that nearly 400 people had been hanged in the previous 18 months after he had rejected their pleas for mercy. Begum Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto were released from house arrest to visit Bhutto on 3 April 1979 and they had informed it was their last meeting. Bhutto was hanged at 2am on 4 April 1979 in the District Jail, Rawalpindi.

(729)

In the aforementioned quote, Wolf-Phillips highlights cruel, mercy less and autocratic activities of General Zia while he was in power. Before the assassination of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto inside eighteen months, four hundred people had been hanged though they begged their life in front of General Zia. General Zia mercilessly said that he can not do anything for them if Supreme Court declared death sentence but Supreme Court had been run by military power. While Zulfikar was in Jail, Begum Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto were released from house arrest to meet Zulfikar which was their last meeting. After that Zulfikar Bhutto was hanged. Begum Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto were not allowed to attend a brief funeral ceremony at Garhi Khuda a few hours after his execution and they remained under house arrest. This shows how power is misused by general Zia while he was in power.

Similarly, Amir Ahmed Khuro and Anil Nawaz Soomro review on their journal “The role of Benazir Bhutto in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy: An Analysis” from the perspective of power, discourse and truth. They claim that General

Zia had fear of Benazir because if Benazir came in power, he would lose his position.

They further make their critical views:

During movement Zia was worried because he was thinking, if Benazir Bhutto came in power then, what will be his position? So, he every time avoided the elections in Pakistan, while giving an interview General Zia replied, 'It is Miss Bhutto's unnecessary impractical ambition and her attitude towards acquiring power which is objectionable'. (275)

Here, Khuro and Soomro highlight the attitude of General Zia towards Benazir.

While, Benazir was warmly welcomed by millions of people at Lahore airport, General Zia had fear from her and due to his fear he played the card of Islamization and announced for referendum. Benazir hoped for change for democracy in Pakistan but General Zia made his clear intention that power would be transferred to only those persons who are religious minded. Khuro and Soomro make a critical assumption about that creating such manipulative discourse of General Zia for power. They also try to show how General Zia had fear towards Benazir's political power for restoring democracy and General Zia wants to give continuity to his military regime. This shows how power is circulated in the state.

Likewise, Seed Shafqat in his reviews "Pakistan Under Benazir Bhutto" tries to show the Benazir's relations with bureaucracy. He finds Benazir has not good relation with military regime because Benazir stands for democracy whereas General Zia stands for autocracy. He writes:

The military had agreed the 1988 elections hoping that the PPP would not be able to sweep the polls. For 11 years under General Zia-ul-Haq, a generation of military officers had been indoctrinated against PPP, which they believed

presented a security treat. They perceived Benazir Bhutto as anti-state and anti-military so there was a perception that a party had come to power whose leadership has conspired against the military from exile abroad. (660)

In the above mentioned extract, Shafqat asserts that the interest of military elites and the relation between Benazir and General Zia. Military regime and PPP stood poles apart. General Zia's interest was to impose martial law whereas Benazir's interest was to restore democracy by throwing General Zia's military regime. In this way, Zia's military regime and Benazir's politics stand quite opposite. Thus, there were mutual distrust and hostility between Benazir and military elites. Both sides approach each other with caution and suspicion.

The concept of new historicism was developed from the concept of genealogy developed by Fredrich Nietzsche. Later Michel Foucault developed the concept of new historicism questioning the old archeological model of history. Historicists, greatly influenced by Michel Foucault's concept of discursive analysis of power relation, come to give another strategy of political reading of the text. The power relations get reflected through discourses which do not find overt manifestations but implicitly expressed in the text. Foucault further focused upon the intricately structured power relations in a given culture at a given time to demonstrate, how that society controls its member through constructing and defining what appears to be universal. It implies that New Historicist "aspired to a politics of culture" which is covertly manifested in a text because power structure is administered by the state (25).

"This state's control of its citizenry was internal rather than external. The state subjected its people by creating them as subjects, devising fixed categories under which people could be described as thus controlled" (78). This was the conjunction

Foucault evoked as “Power Knowledge” (86). Foucault observes history as the discourse between the social and aesthetic circular. He further defines history as:

The final trait of history is its affirmation with knowledge as perspective.

Historians takes unusual pains to erase the element in their work which reveal their grounding in their particular time and place, their preferences in a controversy the unavoidable obstacles of their passion. Nietzsche’s versions of historical sense is explicit in its perspective and acknowledge in its system of injustice. (90)

Foucault attempts to discover the system of particular discourse and relate it with the study of power and knowledge. He interprets it as essential historical discourse and textualization of history. He refuses history in terms of linearity and development rather he observes history in terms of power struggle. Historical continuity for Foucault is paradoxically discontinuity. Knowledge is not knowledge of self rather it is only perspective and subjective.

This autobiography draws Michel Foucault’s notion of discourse and power under new historical perspective. According to Foucauldian notion, discourse is important in politics because it joins power with knowledge and it with truth. He further states that discourse is large group of statements, a rule governed by language. Discourse in the societies created through various acts of representation by people who are in power and constructs knowledge and truth. Thus, in a way of interpreting or representation of something and whatever is represented with in a discourse prepared by power and time; it becomes truth about certain thing in the world. These truths later on become subject of knowledge for people.

The autobiography *Daughter of the East*, represents General Zia's power of discourse that circulates in the social level to determine various relationships. The writer Benazir also tries to show Zia's accumulation of excessive power, thereby he wants to construct the truth. Power is generated in a society by discourse and that help constructing certain truth. In general assumption, power is everywhere; in each and every social body. So, both manipulation and discourse captured by the authority constructs the discursive power and hints the personal, social, political and national relationship. The abuse of power and hegemonic domination result a negative conception and mistrust in relations.

New historicism is a practice rather than a doctrine. It takes history as the matter of perception, interpretation and it is subjective. They try to examine and analyze the traditional concept of history, created by power. History is always based on interpretation and the ideologies of people in power. So, new historicism dismantles traditionally established facts and proceeds by taking history as heterogeneous, unstable and progressive. History is the representation in the form of narratives of the context. So, it is the matter of perception, subjection and interpretation. Any literary text also includes the cultural text that shapes the history of the time.

Actually history does not reveal a clear picture. It just reveals what officially recorded account has shown. But new historians claim history is rather the relative product of contemporary society who is in power and this is the reflection of time and it can also be portrayed in literary texts that shape and is shaped by the same historical context. In this sense, new historicist approach observes *Daughter of the East* as a historical account of socio-politically manipulated context. Benazir's depiction of

characterization of General Zia and his formulation of power of discourse clearly shows the contemporary history of Pakistan. In 1977 general Zia-ul-Haq overthrows the Government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. After 1977, General Zia's Military regime which is political power highlights and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's power was in shade. History veers and holds according to the interest of power holders.

This study makes a significant use of concepts developed in new historicist approach. Since the major objective of the study is to demonstrate the manipulative power of discourse, exercised by Zia, the recent military general and PPP relation, culture and contemporary socio-political condition lies outside the scope of this study. The basic concern of this research is to represent the context of 1970's of Pakistan.

Benazir Bhutto's *Daughter of the East* represents the situation of 1970's by contextualizing the contemporary manipulative power of discourse, politico-cultural and socio-economic aspects. This research observes the autobiography from the perspective of new historicism in order to understand the literary work within its exercise of power and formulation of discourse with in a historical context. The autobiography is examined from the perspective of Foucauldian notion of power how it plays and how the power diffuses in society, how the discourse is created and how the discourse influences and determines the relation of individual and society.

As studying the contemporary history of Pakistan, Zulfikar and Zia were two opposite powerful political entities. They did not have cooperative and mutual relations and both of them represent just opposite interest. The writer tries to show the indifferent nature of Zia. We know that the nature of superiority always have the sense of dominant role to the inferior.

Zia ul- Haq.My father’s supposedly loyal army Chief-of-Staff. The General who had sent his soldiers in the middle of the night to overthrow my father and take over the country by force. Zia ul-Haq, the military dictator who had subsequently failed to crush my father’s following in spite of all guns and tear gas and Martial law regulations, who had failed to break my father’s spirit despite his isolation in a death cell.(5)

In the above mentioned statements, Benazir tries to show the repressive and autocratic activities of Zia-ul-Haq. These statements also show General Zia’s will to power. So, by sending army force in the middle of the night, he overthrows Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s democratic government from the country and impose third Martial Law upon the country and its people forcefully rather than liberally. By representing such autocratic and repressive attitude of General Zia, Benazir describes at that time General Zia’s behavior was seen as brutal, repressive, arrogant and autocratic. Such intention of domination and interest of great power has direct impact on personal as well as national relationship.

In the time of 1970’s General Zia’s military power emerged as a super power with declining Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s democratic government. This resulted General Zia in limelight and Zulfikar in shade. Studying the contemporary history of Pakistan, General Zia and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were belonging torival groups where General Zia’s intention was to rule Pakistan by overthrowing Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s democratic government from the country and he forcefully imposed the Third Martial Law on 5th July 1977. Like in autobiography, “Zia-ul-Haq, the desperate General who had just sent my father to his death. Zia-ul-Haq, who would ruthlessly rule Pakistan for next

nine years”(5).This statement clearly shows General Zia’s dominant role and power in military force and his domination upon others.

In her autobiography, Benazir tries to show brutal, arrogant, autocratic, treason and repressive activities of General Zia towards PPP and Pakistan and its people. According to the writer Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stands for democracy, freedom, honor for the nation and welfare for people. General Zia makes Zulfikar inferior by overthrowing his democratic government from the country and charging Zulfikar as criminal. General Zia became powerful by imposing Third Martial law on 5th July 1977. Here, the writer intends to show General Zia’s autocratic nature.

The case against my father rested primarily on the confession of Masood Mahmood, the director General of the Federal Security force. Masood Mahmood was one of the public servants who was arrested soon after a coup and who had been told was tortured to give false evidence against my father. After almost two months of detention by the military, Masood Mahmood had decided to become an ‘approver’, a witness who claims to be an accomplice in a crime and its pardoned on the promise that will tell the ‘truth’ about the other participants. Now Masood Mahmood was claiming that my father ordered him to murder the politician Kasuri. (119)

Here, the writer tries to show how fake charges were imposed by General Zia on her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. This shows the dominance of power on powerless. Like Foucault says that power is considered a measure of people’s ability to control the environment around them including the behavior of people. General Zia controls Zulfikar under Martial Law.

Foucault gives his views by defining power in *History and Sexuality*. He critically argues that the traditional notion of power is seen in terms of repression and violence. For Foucault, power is seldom violence and repression. Rather he believes in power as creative which determines truth of particular period of history. He also argues that power became negative when it is used politically. This notion of power is interrelated with his notions of discourse in which he believes discourse is medium through which power is exercised in society. As a discourse is multiple and rooted every corner of society and power is too dispersed everywhere. Foucault emphasized that power is creative and it determines truth.

In autobiography, General Zia also used power as creative not involving the physical repression but enforced the mental pressure to Mahmood to give witness and evidence of the murder of a politician Kasuri. By collecting the false evidence, General Zia charges the murder case against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and death sentences was declared and finally on April 4th, 1979 he was hanged. During the whole period Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was of the opinion that the charges against him in the case were baseless but the supporters of General Zia in Lahor high court declared Bhutto guilty of murder case and finally he was assassinated.

Power can be seen as an evil or unjust but the exercise of power is accepted as endemic to humans as social beings. But Michel Foucault rhetorically analyzed the traditional concept of power. For him, power lies in the center. The use of power does not need coercion. Power operates relationally and reciprocally. Social theorists speak about balance of power between parties as all relationship has some power.

Benazir makes Zulfikar as respective and an honorable person whereas General Zia as despotic and tyrannical ruler. General Zia, representative of Martial

Law, believes himself in a central and higher position and wants to control Pakistan, its citizens and political parties. He tries to show himself as superior person in Pakistan. Analyzing the intention of Zia's character, his dominative nature, his dominative conversation, language and position help to make the point of power circulation from center to trickle down model. Discourse succeeds manipulate his exercise of power. The interest of General Zia and his communication also declare the role of the manipulator. The writer also tries to show that the plan to kill Zulfikar which had been designed and directed by General Zia, Martial Law's representation. These given quoted lines show the oppressive activities of military force upon common people.

There are secret and passages here show them to us' the army officers commanded the staff, then beat them when they said there were none. As the search wore on, the servants were taken to the reception room and locked in. When the milkman came early in the morning he was locked in with the news papers. The army was getting desperate. 'Sign this paper', an officer said to one of our staff. He refused. You've seen what happened to your Sahib,' the officer threatened him. (24)

These above lines, show the voice of the people who are in power upon the powerless. Those powerful words and voice of army officers compelled powerless people to follow whatever they told. The army officers are the symbol of power and they misuse power by compelling powerless people to follow their decision.

Here, the army officers are in higher position and they held power. The army officers want poor people completely follow them. The relation between the army officer and the workers is like a tiger and a lamb. This statement shows that "If you

don't sign, imagine what will happen to you. The man was so frightened that he signed”(24). The army officers always stood in superior and higher position which is reflection of Zia's third martial Law's power. Max Webber's theory of "Power and Semiotic" attempts to explain how economic and political power allows the strong to dominate and influence the weak" (159). In the case of this study, dominant role of the army officers, formulation of the power and discourse and influence personal relations. The writer intends to show how Zia's army officers impose their power forcefully upon poor and weak. Both Foucauldian notions and Weber's theory analyze power, discourse and truth and how it influenced personal lives which represent in the form of autobiography. These given quoted lines shows the oppressive and autocratic activities of General Zia.

An Army Colonel arrives in the afternoon with a blank paper. General Zia, the Chief Martial Law Administrator, has ordered that you and your mother sign this, says the Colonel who is dressed in battle fatigues with the name Farood written on his green and brown shirt. I refuse. I'll make you sign it, he threatens me, his beady eyes becoming even beadier and his mouth more cruel. (108)

These above lines prove autocratic activities of powerful people. Here General Zia was in power who sent an Army Colonel by giving a blank paper to sign Benazir and her mother in it. She denies to sign it. While she rejected to sign it an Army Colonel named Farood threatened her. "But there has to be a record of suffering people endured under the brutality of Zia's Martial Law regime"(182).The writer represents Zia as cunning, autocratic, arrogant and oppressive. Through study the representation of Zia's activities and characterization, Zia behaves as a dictator. He was aggressive

and repressive. His words and actions also prove his arrogance and detective nature and intention of manipulation. “The repression unleashed by military regime has a numbing effect on people. When the danger or tension becomes too high, people turn to their own survival”(123). This repressive and brutal behavior address to direction also clear about General Zia’s nature of arrogant, autocratic, oppressive and the role of manipulator to influence others. This given quoted lines show the plan to kill Benazir’s elder brother Shah Nawaz which was designed by General Zia.

The target may will have been Shah not Mir, while my brothers were still in Kabul, a Pathan tribe’s man had come to across from Pakistan to see Mir. It is Shah Nawaz’s head that wants first, he had said. The order is to kill Shah first, then Murtaza. (287)

A Pathan tribe man who had come to Kabul from Pakistan and delivers information that General Zia is going to kill first Shah then Mir because Shah Nawaz is the pillar of Bhutto’s family who supports PPP and Bhutto’s family in each and every difficult situation so military regime make target to kill Shah first. Before Shah’s assassination Bhutto’s family already knew that General Zia wants to kill Shah. These given lines show how powerful people controlled media and through media how they manipulate truth.

The regime controlled papers reported that Shah had been a depressive, a gambler and suicidal. He had been drunk the night he died, they claimed. Lab reports refuted the claims but our denial based on the reports received little pay in the Pakistani press. Now that Shah had lost his life, our enemies were doing everything they could to destroy his honor. And the agonizing wait for my brother’s body to be released dragged on. (293)

Benazir's younger brother Shah Nawaz Bhutto was assassinated in France. Benazir returned Pakistan by bringing Shah's dead body for burial. While she reached to Pakistan, she found that manipulated news about Shah's death in media. General Zia intended to insult Shah Nawaz's character who was base of Bhutto's family. General Zia controlled media reporters and make them publish fake news in the newspapers, that Shah was a gambler and in frustrate mood, he committed suicide. General Zia's intention is to create negative image in the mind of common people towards Shah Nawaz as well as whole Bhutto's family and their honor. It is easy to convince common people through media so newspaper carrying fake charges that Shah had died of alcohol and drug abuse were being circulated.

In *Daughter of the East* Benazir says "My father didn't believe Zia was going to be even-minded and fair. Nor did we. Given the climate of hysteria being created against my father and PPP in the media controlled by the regime, this was a little hard for us to believe"(99). These statements indicate that there is no trustful behavior and mutual relations between Zulfikar Bhutto and his family with General Zia because General Zia has the sense of superiority and power. "The grief for Shah was real and shared amongst the Pakistani community as was the widespread suspicion that Zia was somehow involved in my brother's death"(294). Benazir suspects that there is the hand of Zia behind the death of Shah Nawaz. Through, this research tries to critique the manipulation of truth through discourse and influence the personal relations where General Zia, exercise power upon Bhutto's family and PPP because PPP and Bhutto's family considered main enemy. He exercised power upon other parties as well because they had also opposed him due to their own reasons. Each and every time, he expressed his repressive and superior behavior towards others and he exercise of the power which manipulate to others.

Here, the research claims that manipulation is also an illegitimate domination. According to Teun A. Van Dijk, critical article “*Discourse and Manipulation*” attempts to analysis about illegimate domination and abuse of power. He says:

Manipulation is a social power abuse, cognitive mind control and discursive interaction. In another way manipulation also offer second definition socially manipulations as illegitimate domination confirming social inequality.

Cognitively manipulation as a mind control involves the interference with processes of understanding, the formation of the biased mental models and social representation such as knowledge, truth and ideologies. (359)

Taking this analytical criticism, research observes the illegitimate domination and social power abuse the form of manipulation. When analyzing the characterization of Zia’s representation, it explores the strategy of Zia with the intention of manipulation and formulations of discourse towards Bhutto’s family, PPP, and the common citizen of the country. Through investigation of the historical context of 1970’s Pakistan, General Zia and Zulfikar stand as rivals. By taking his campaign, General Zia wants to harm the status and reputation of Zulfikar. “Zia took his campaign to discredit my father to the newspaper. Bhutto tried to kill me, Bhutto kidnapped me, ran the headlines from my father’s political opponents, all by whom were obviously alive and free” (98). It is very easy for General Zia to destroy the reputation of Zulfikar, through media. Newspaper is the medium of one way communication and delivering information in the mass. By giving false evidence and unreliable truth in newspaper, General Zia tried to destroy the reputation and honor of Zulfikar. By destroying the high reputation of Zulfikar, General Zia wants to establish himself as the benign dictator among the people of Pakistan.

Foucauldian concept of power in the book *History of Sexuality* describes about power and hegemonic domination. Foucauldian concept of power often referred in surreptitious ways in which a dominant group applies its influence over other. Power operates in different forms transforming and reversing its nature in the forms of law, rules, religion and within various social hegemonies. Foucault also highlights that power always exercise the role of dominance to influence others. Power operates in different nature. When power is politically used, it has directly impact on personal and public relations. It is general assumption but when power spread all the corner of the society it influence everywhere. The writer Benazir indirectly wants to show General Zia's political and social hegemonies with his opponent parties, alliances and citizens. Military rule determines the relations of PPP with Martial law. PPP, other political parties and common people got influenced by the exercise of Zia's manipulative power.

United States wants to maintain its power nexus in this region by supporting Military rule. In the contemporary period, military rule was economically and morally supported by the United States. The United States economic support creates a form of power and controls Pakistan and human relationships.

Some Western political analysts and Pakistani military men argued that democracy was impossible for such a divergent and unsettled population where the literacy rate and annual income were so low. Many in Pakistan couldn't even talk to each other, as each region had its own language and customs. Such population could only be kept in line by military rule, the argument went. (79)

These statements clearly state that there is military interest of power, its abuse and its influence in the life of common people. The writer Benazir presents representative authority of General Zia's military rule control and dominates the illiterate and poor people in Pakistan. There is full of mistrust and disbelief of PPP on military rule. Pakistani military men and some western political analysts claim that democracy is not possible and not necessary in Pakistan because the literacy rate is low and poverty is high. By arguing that military regime wants to remain in power for long time and he does not want to hand over power to the democratic parties. "The United States which supports Pakistan with \$525 million annually in military and economic aid has shown callous indifference to the case"(257). This statement proves that the West especially the United States helps Pakistan in addressing the problem. The West must take into an account the residual damage of colonialism on the Muslim world, by supporting Pakistan with \$525 million annually for military dictatorship. It is clear that there is evident support of the United States behind military dictatorship in Pakistan.

The western press was now consistently portraying Zia as a 'benign dictator' and the man who had bought stability to Pakistan. It fell to me to expose his human rights violations and point to the long-term dangers to Pakistan's stability from centralized military rule. (259)

The above statements indicate that the western media frequently presented General as a kind, mild, loyal and gentle dictator. According to western media he did not impose any serious physical threat to Pakistani people and did not show any autocratic, aggressive and arrogant behavior towards others. Here, the western media is glorifying General Zia's activities. According to the western press General Zia was a

courageous man who had bought stability in Pakistan. The western media was controlled by western power politics and their intention was to spread colonization through supporting General Zia's military rule. The vested interest of the west is to support military rule thereby establish its control upon Pakistan and its economy.

The position of power creates suspicion to person because power holders are always worried about his or her position. When they are at the center they don't want to loose it. It shows their will to power. "The tremendous turnouts we were receiving dashed Zia's hopes of politically defeating PPP. Bhutto in jail is even more powerful than Bhutto on the campaign trail. The next day, Zia announced on television that the elections were cancelled"(118). These statements portray that General Zia had developed the fear of his defeat in election with Bhutto that's why he announced on television that the elections were cancelled. By cancelling the election time and again, he wants to postpone democratic process and remain in power.

Foucault's genealogical concept of power is explanatory. It aims to show how power diffuses itself in the system of authority and how the effects of truth are created within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false. Truth itself is a product of the relation of power and charge as the system change. General Zia is successful to fulfill his intention by creating authority. So, the exercise of power constructs the discourse and truth. Foucault indicates how realization of power by a person or a group of men would lead to power of controlling and subordinating others. The relationship between Zulfikar and General Zia could be an example, this realization of power by General Zia subordinate Zulfikar. General Zia is more aware of the socio political dynamic of their relationship; it is realization of power which

leads to subordination of Zulfikar. Zulfikar is also aware about General Zia's oppression.

Like supporting Foucauldian concepts, Teun A Van Dijk also analyzes in *Discourse and Manipulation* and makes critical assumptions of the manipulations. He asserts that "manipulation is a communicative and interactional practice, in which a manipulator exercise control over the people, usually against their will and against their best interest" (359). So the concept of manipulation has negative association, manipulation is bad because such a practice violates social norms and values. Benazir's autobiography may highlight Zia's interest of manipulation and hegemonic effects in PPP and Pakistan by United States. The sense of the superiority of General Zia had a role of power. General Zia's relation with PPP and other political parties also had a role of power. In autobiography, Benazir depicts a clear picture of the then political scenario by representation of General Zia. Benazir intends to show the Zia's role in the then context and society and its influence upon personal relations.

The manipulations and discourse captured the authority constructs his discursive power and hints the personal, social and national relationship. The abuse of power and hegemonic domination results a negative conception in the relation. The form of language, use of manipulative words and means of communication clearly shows the formation of the manipulative discourse. Foucault makes critical analysis that the power is interrelated with discourse. He views that the discourse rooted in social institutions and that social and political power operate through discourse. Foucauldian notion of the discourse is important because it joints power, knowledge and truth. He further states that discourse is a group of statements, a rule governed by language. To make a discourse, a single sentence is not sufficient. Thus, in a way

discourse means an authoritative way of interpreting and representation of something and whatever is represented with a discourse prepared by the power and time; becomes truth about certain thing in the world. These truths later on become the subject of knowledge.

In *Daughter of the East*, truth is constructed in the form of discourse. The writer Benazir also interested to show General Zia as a cruel ruler by choosing negative words like Zia's 'high treason', 'autocratic ruler', 'a traitor', and 'repressive ruler'. These words portray the action and activities of General Zia. His action also represents the dominative and manipulative others. Likewise, Foucauldian notion the power operates all relations and diffuses the social relations. All relations and activities of common people are determined by the actions of General Zia, who is the power holder.

Power determines the political and personal relations. Power and discourse are interrelated. Foucault asserts that power is generated in society by constructing the discourse and producing the truth which directly and indirectly influence personal as well as public relation. In the autobiography too, during this period, Shah Nawaz and Rheana had good relationship. Zia's exercise of power and manipulative discourse breaks the relationship of Shah and Rehana. General Zia is the one, who is formulating manipulative discourse and power of certain truth. So here, Benazir presents and constructs the relationship between political and personal conflict.

Manipulation is the form of illegitimate domination and power abuse in the social inequality. The position of power and intention of the manipulation controls social and personal relations. In *Discourse and Manipulation*, Van Dijk also analyzes that "discursive manipulation generally involves the usual forms and formats of

ideological discourse, such as emphasizing our good things and emphasizing their bad things”(363). Likewise Dijk, in the autobiography the central character, General Zia was abusing the social, political authority of the power. General Zia is in higher military position, he controls others. The project attempts to make a criticism, the writer intentionally shows her satire upon General Zia’s autocratic and arrogant nature. In the autobiography, Benazir also shows that General Zia’s interest of power. General Zia succeeds to hold the power for eleven years and his activities are directly related to his goal of the domination.

In the autobiography, power and discourse creates secrecy, jealousy and suspicion which destroy the relationship. Shah and Rehena’s relationship seems about to fall. General Zia seems to be aware; he creates such conspiracy about this case. General Zia was always jealous and conspired to Bhutto’s family relations. Finally he succeeds to depart Rehena from Shah. Benazir wants to show that Zia benign powerful position determines the relations by highlighting certain aspect of relationship.

The forms of power determine human behavior and language. The instinct of human nature wants to control power and maintain one’s status. Foucault helps for critical analysis thesis statements. He asserts that when a person is in power, he or she totally forgets his or her background, own position and status and continuously misused by exercising the power. This abused of power influenced their position by spreading the public to personal relations. In *Daughter of the East* Benazir also shows Zia is in the power and higher positions who continuously dominate the poor people of Pakistan. He only involves in the centered of goal without generalizing the personal to public relations.

New historicism is a mode of critical interrelation which privileges power relations as the most important context for texts of all kinds. Foucault's concept of power is that power is a creative force which determines truth of particular period of history and discourse is medium to exercise power in society. Truth is never objective and factual rather it is the creation of power, so it's neither completely true nor completely false. It's a construct, a narration and interpretation. Truth is perspective not absolute as truth changes with the change of power. Power circulates in all directions, to all social levels, at all time. It is pervasive. And, discourse is a set of power, knowledge and truth. Discourse in societies is created through various acts of representation by people who are in power. So, in a way, discourse means an authoritative way of interpreting and representing something and whatever is represented within a deformed by the power becomes truth discourse about certain things in the particular context. These truths later on become subject of knowledge for the people. In *A Foucault Primer*, Foucault believes that "all officially recorded historical accounts are explicitly influenced by the perspective of the person who is in power and its writing is controlled by the power relation of the time it was written"(39).

Actually, history does not reveal a clear picture. It just reveals what officially recorded account has shown. But new historians claim history is rather relative product of contemporary society and the reflection of time which can be portrayed in the text that shapes and is shaped in a historical context. In this sense, new historicist approach observes *Daughter of the East* as the historical account of contemporary Pakistan, its society, economy and politics. Benazir's representation of manipulative power of discourse wants to reflect the contemporary history and exercises of power

influence the personal life. Therefore, the text at the same time points out the interest of the power and domination which directly influence the personal relationships.

Daughter of the East, as a fictional work, is a subtle representation of bureaucratic violence in contemporary Pakistan. Although, the autobiography is set particularly in political and historical background of Pakistan, but at the same time it remains an account of general Zia's autocratic activities in general. The purpose of present study is to focus on how the autobiography of Benazir addresses General Zia and his position in military power and how it causes only repression, fear, torture for people or Pakistan.

So, *Daughter of the East*, shows the contemporary historical situation of domination, repression, secrecy, mistrust, exercise of power, formation of discourse and intention of manipulation, influence and determination over various relationships in society. Through study about historical context, General Zia's formulation of discourse and exercise of power have ideological influences on various relations among people as well as in the nation. This research shows the network of power and formulations of manipulative discourse which determine all personal lives and social relations. It helps to understand power of Zia's Martial Law, how it effects society and personal lives.

The finding of this research is that there is relationship between discourse and power. This research is an attempt to analyze how the social world, expressed through language, behavior is affected by various source of power. In *Daughter of the East*, this analysis helps to see this used theoretical approach is also close to social constructivism which understands how our society is being shaped by language which in turn reflects existing power relationships. As research makes an assumption, how

power is spread in the society and how it determines the personal relations. Zia's manipulative power of discourse influenced personal and institutional relationship. So, this project makes the conclusion that manipulative power of discourse influenced and determines personal, social and national relations.

In *Daughter of the East*; Benazir depicts the contemporary history and context of General Zia's military power and formulations of the discourse by representing General Zia who shows militarism as a strategy of influence. Zulfikar and Zia's life, Shah and Rehana's life is influenced by political turbulence of contemporary time and formulation of power and discourse. Through the discourse, General Zia dominates Pakistani people as well as Bhutto's family.

This research intends to show that the network of power and formulation of manipulative discourse determine all of social relations and lives. Manipulative power of discourse analyzes different forms of discourse to produce knowledge by exercising power. It helps to understand power work in society and influence and determine personal lives. Through study about historical context, General Zia's formulation of discourse, exercise of power and ideological influences the various relations.

Foucauldian discourse analysis focusing on power relationships in society as expressed through language and practice, based on theories. These are expressed through language and behavior, and the relationship between language and power. His concept analyzes how the social world, expressed through language which is affected by various source of power. This research understands how our society is being shaped by language which in turn reflects existing power relationships. In *Daughter of the East*, Benazir wants to focus on the exercising of power and formulation of the

discourse determines the personal relations. So the project makes criticism about the formation of language and behavior influences the various relations. Power affects the social world through language.

As a Pakistani democratic writer, in *Daughter of the East*, Benazir represents Zia as traitor and autocratic ruler. Critically, this research finds Benazir's pictures of the Zia's militarism as a formulation of discourse and power influence on the various relations. The autobiography represents historical and political conflicts and domination of power permeating personal relationships. So, this research project shows exercise of power and formulation of manipulative discourse may result in a sense of mistrust and influence of both nation and people. Political conflict within the country has historically affected the relationships of nation as well as people. For instance, Shah and Rehana are seen as representatives of Pakistan. Zulfikar activities are manipulated by General Zia.

The conclusion of this thesis is that manipulative discourse has great influence in personal relation. This study finds that the Zia's military superiority manipulates Zulfikar's activities, his families as well as poor people. General Zia, a representative of militarism, constructs power and imposes the hegemonic domination upon poor people. This research shows General Zia's behavior, attitude, language and actions are determined by the context of the then society. Foucault's theory of discourse and power with regard to an analysis of manipulative exercise of power as represented in the autobiography. Research finds that the writer intended to represent political conflict permeating personal relationships, and how such conflict, manipulative power of discourse may appear as an effect in life and its result in a sense of mistrust among both people and nations.

This research project successfully attempts to show that discourse can be manipulative which plays influential role to the partition of the nation as well as lives. The representation of Zia's militarism as brutal and savage conveys the writer's intention about the sense of mistrust among both nation and people. The finding of this research is that networks of power and formulations of manipulative discourse determine all social relations and live. Manipulative power of discourse analyzes different forms of discourse to produce knowledge and power. So, this research helps to understand how power constructs different forms of discourse and how power works in society and influences personal lives.

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