



Fairclough's Three Dimensions Critical Discourse Analysis of Malcolm X's Speech at Oxford Union Debate

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Abstract

In discourse, speech is not only considered as a linguistic phenomenon but also as a means to maintain or change power relations in society. One of the clearest examples of the use of speech in discourse to change social change occurred in The Black Civil Rights Movement from 1955 to 1968 in the United States. Based on the interest in studying Malcolm X's speech further, the thesis writer decided to analyze Malcolm X's speech at the Oxford Union Debate using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis framework with a qualitative method that will focus on linguistic issues as part of social and humanitarian issues. The results of this study showed deconstruction result of Malcolm X's speech text by analyzing various linguistic features from the dimensions of text practice (including positive and negative lexical items, key terms of ideology and belief, modality, and rhetorical devices), discursive practice (including intertextuality and shared knowledge), and sociocultural (including formality and personal pronouns), then continued with a discussion of the relationship between discourse, power, and ideology and the role of Malcolm X's speech in the historical context at that time. It can be concluded that Malcolm X's speech highlights his advocacy for revolutionary justice and self-defense for oppressed black people. He also challenged the power structures of his time, opposing segregation and exposing the hypocrisy of the American and Western governments with white supremacy and colonialism behind the mask of democracy.

Keywords: Malcolm X; Critical Discourse Analysis; speech; power; Fairclough

INTRODUCTION

The sole purpose of giving a speech is to create change in the world (Morgan, 2005). A speech can mobilize the masses and influence the souls of people. It can even become a revolutionary movement for mankind. Speeches can arouse the emotions of the audience, such as joy, fear, or hope. Speeches can also direct the perception or framing of an issue, such as politics (Lakoff, 2024). Moreover, speech can reflect certain values and ideologies that the speaker stands for. Speech reflects power dynamics among individuals or groups, as well as how dominant ideas are maintained or challenged. This is where speech functions as a tool to reproduce or transform social relations (Fairclough, 1989).

One of the most obvious examples of using speeches in discourse to transform social change occurred in The Black Civil Rights Movement from 1955 until 1968 in the United States. During this period, the leaders of civil rights movements such as Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, James Farmer, John Lewis, Ella Baker, James Baldwin, and others gave speeches in front of the public (McBride, 2023). They together with the masses fought for voting rights, legal equality, and also black empowerment and self-defense (Klarman, 2004).

The results of the struggle in The Black Civil Rights Movement have fundamentally changed American society, leading to significant social, legal, and political changes. Still, all of that has not really succeeded in eliminating the values of racism that have been rooted in the psyche of American society which is still dominated by white supremacy. Then the Black Lives Matter movement emerged from 2013 to the present, which focuses on stopping various forms of violence against black people, especially those carried out by white police. Then the Black Lives Matter movement emerged from 2013 to the present, which focuses on stopping various forms of violence against black people, especially those carried out by white police. This movement became even more massive and global when the case of the murder of a 46-year-old black man, George Floyd, by a white police officer, named Derek Chauvin in Minneapolis in 2020 sparked a wave of massive protests in America (Markovics, 2020) which led to racial riots in the United States from 2020 until 2023. It shows that racism-based violence still often occurs in America and also in various parts of the world, making this issue still very relevant to discuss today.

In order to explore this issue, this study chose to analyze one of Malcolm X's speeches. Malcolm X is famous black American civil rights movement activist who advocated for black people physically and mentally and he fought to defend blacks against the injustices prevalent in America (Khan, 2021). Time magazine named The Autobiography of Malcolm X as one of the ten most influential nonfiction books of the 20th century (Rogers, 2021).

As an activist and a former Nation of Islam spokesman, Malcolm X has many famous speeches. Among his famous speeches are "Message to the Grassroots" in 1963 and "The Ballot or the Bullet" in 1964. In addition, his speech during a debate at the Oxford Union in 1964 is considered one of his most famous speeches and among the five notable debates in that international debate forum.

Due to interest in further studying Malcolm X's speech, this author decided to analyze with Critical Discourse Analysis Malcolm X's speech at the Oxford Union Debate, with the motion "Extremism in Defense of Liberty is no Vice; Moderation in the Pursuit of Justice Is Not a Virtue" on December 3, 1964. This debate happened seven months after he conducted the Hajj. This notable debate was also broadcast widely on BBC national television (Tuck, 2014).

By using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, this study will deconstruct Malcolm's speech as a discourse in text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice to understand what ideology of power is behind it and what influence it has on social society in the historical context of that time. This research also aims to understand Malcolm X's role as a black Muslim activist and his position in the conflict of various ideological forces that existed at that time, both the opposition and those who held power. Thus, the figure of Malcolm X and his approach can be an alternative model in the event of a similar conflict today and in the future.

a) Previous Studies

The four previous studies on Malcolm X's speeches present a diverse and comprehensive application of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), revealing how language serves as a tool for articulating ideologies, resisting oppression, and mobilizing audiences. Although they share a common analytical framework, each study provides a unique lens through which to understand Malcolm X's rhetorical strategies and their societal implications.

Maya Fitriani's study in 2018 focuses on the linguistic and intertextual features of Malcolm X's speech "Who Taught You to Hate Yourself?". By analyzing elements such as vocabulary, grammar, and cohesion, Fitriani shows how Malcolm X's discourse reflects a consistent anti-racist ideology aimed at confronting racial discrimination. The study highlights how linguistic devices and intertextual references such as indirect quotations have played a significant role in constructing meaning and challenging structures of social inequality. This approach offers insight into the ways in which discourse functions as a means of social resistance, demonstrating Malcolm X's ability to use language to critique and undermine institutionalized racism.

In contrast, Ibtesam Abdul Aziz Bajri and Eelaf Othman's study in 2019 compared Malcolm X's "A Message to the Grassroots" speech with Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech, highlighting the different rhetorical strategies used by these two prominent leaders of the Black Civil Movement in addressing racial injustice. While Fitriani's study focused on Malcolm X's consistent ideology, Bajri and Othman examined the different ways Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. used language to resonate with their respective audiences. The study revealed that although both leaders addressed similar issues of racial inequality, their linguistic choices and discourse strategies differed, reflecting their differing ideological stances. The results showed that Malcolm X's more militant and direct approach contrasted with King's inclusive and conciliatory tone, demonstrating how discourse was tailored to achieve different social and political goals.

Meanwhile, Ahmar Hamid Khan et al. in 2021 further expand the analysis of Malcolm X's speech by focusing on the speech "The Ballot or the Bullet". This study investigates how Malcolm X communicated revolutionary ideas and resistance to racial discrimination. The authors emphasize Malcolm X's symbolic power as a leader who opposes white domination in America. Like Fitriani's study, Khan et al. examine how power, inequality, and ideology are embedded in Malcolm X's discourse, but Khan et al.'s study focuses more on the ideological dimension that portrays him as a supporter of direct action and resistance. This analysis reveals how Malcolm X's phrases and rhetorical choices reflect deeper meanings, calling for social and political revolution as a necessary response to racial oppression.

Lastly, Valerie Ojeda in 2022 presents a multifaceted analysis of "The Ballot or the Bullet," combining not only Fairclough's CDA but also discourse theory and Duarte's Pragmatics. Ojeda's study provides a more nuanced look at the stylistic and cultural dimensions of Malcolm X's speech. Her study emphasizes how rhetorical techniques such as repetition and assonance are skillfully used to create powerful and persuasive messages. Unlike other studies, Ojeda places significant focus on the extralinguistic aspects of Malcolm X's speech, examining how historical context, cultural dynamics, and societal conditions influence the delivery and reception of the message. The study highlights how Malcolm X adapted his rhetoric to the realities of the Black American experience at the time, making his speech not only memorable but also effective in mobilizing his audience.

In conclusion, while all four studies employ Fairclough's CDA to explore Malcolm X's speeches, they differ in scope and focus. Fitriani's work emphasizes linguistic and intertextual elements, Bajri and Othman's study provides a comparative analysis with King's discourse, Khan et al. highlight the revolutionary aspects of Malcolm X's rhetoric, and Ojeda combines linguistic analysis with cultural and historical considerations. Together, these studies offer a comprehensive understanding of Malcolm X's rhetorical power and the significance of his discourse in the broader context of the civil rights movement and social resistance.

After reviewing the results of previous studies, the selection of Malcolm X's speech title in this study is the most important thing in determining the differences and gaps between this study and previous studies. This study chose to analyze Malcolm X's speech in the Oxford debate for several strong reasons. First, this speech took place after Malcolm X left the Nation of Islam and then performed the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca. Therefore, this speech is included in the post-Hajj section phase group. The post-Hajj section was all of his speeches after the Hajj which was also the final phase

of Malcolm X's thoughts and views after becoming an orthodox Sunni Muslim (Leclerc, 2010). Malcolm X's experience while performing the Hajj pilgrimage has truly changed Malcolm X's perspective on the universality and equality of humans based on Islamic teachings. He realized that true Islam promotes racial equality, and this was a pivotal moment that shifted his views toward rejecting racial segregation and embracing a broader perspective on humanity. He no longer saw segregation as a solution and instead focused on fighting for equality and justice for all people, regardless of race.

Another important reason that makes this study different from previous studies is the place of delivery and audience. In the four previous studies, Malcolm X delivered his speeches in the United States and also in front of his supporters who were black African Americans. In contrast, the speech in the Oxford Union Debate was delivered outside America, precisely at Oxford University in the UK, and in front of audience of mostly white academics and students wearing tuxedos (Stuck, 2014).

b) Theoretical Background

CDA is inherently interdisciplinary, drawing on linguistics, sociology, and political theory, and has been extensively developed by scholars such as Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak, who each contribute unique perspectives to understanding the power dynamics embedded in discourse. Teun A. van Dijk, a leading scholar in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), adopts a socio-cognitive perspective, defining CDA as an interdisciplinary method focused on how discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimize, reproduce, or challenge societal power dynamics. He highlights the importance of cognition, such as knowledge and beliefs, in shaping how individuals and groups interpret and produce discourse. Van Dijk emphasizes that CDA investigates how power is exercised and reinforced through discourse, particularly in media, politics, and everyday communication, while also exploring how dominant groups control access to discourse and how marginalized groups resist these power structures.

In contrast, Ruth Wodak's approach to CDA, known as the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), adopts a historical and sociopolitical perspective. Wodak views CDA as a research program focused on analyzing structural relations of domination, discrimination, and control within discourse. She argues that understanding the historical and contextual dimensions of discourse is essential to uncover how power relations are reproduced or contested over time. Wodak's approach emphasizes the intertextuality of discourse, examining how certain discourses evolve, are repeated, or challenged across different contexts and periods, with the goal of revealing how language sustains inequalities and power imbalances (Wodak, 2001).

Norman Fairclough presents a distinct viewpoint on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) compared to van Dijk and Wodak. He defines CDA (1995) as an approach that examines the connection between language, power, and society, stressing that discourse is not merely a reflection of the world but also a tool for shaping and constructing social practices. CDA, according to Fairclough, is a critical method for studying how power dynamics are sustained through language. He introduces a three-dimensional model of discourse analysis that focuses on textual analysis, discursive practices, and the social contexts in which these practices occur. Fairclough's approach aims to reveal how discourse contributes to both the reinforcement and challenge of power relations in society and how it plays a role in fostering social change (Fairclough, 1995).

Fairclough proposed that discourse is a type of social practice and divides discourse analysis into three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and social practice. The text dimension focuses on linguistic features like vocabulary, semantics, sentence structure, etc. Not only that but how these elements contribute to meaning. Discourse practice involves producing and interpreting text, including work patterns, workflows, and routines involved in creating content, such as news. Social practice refers to the broader context of the text, including the situational context and the role of the media within a particular society or political culture (Fairclough, 1989).

METHODS

This study is a qualitative approach because it focuses on exploring and understanding the meaning given by individuals or groups to a social or humanitarian problem (Creswell, 2022). This is demonstrated by using document text analysis using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis which focuses on linguistic issues as part of social and humanitarian problems.

The data collection process will be explained in detail as follows: First, the sources of data will be copied from the original PDF book, Malcolm X at Oxford Union by Saladin Ambar, specifically from pages 169-180, and transferred into a Word document. The text will then be tidied up, ensuring proper organization of writing and paragraphs. A close reading of the material will be conducted to identify the sources of data, particularly in the form of transcripts. Finally, the data will be extracted in text form and organized into a table with specific themes for further analysis.



Barcode Link of Transcript: <https://storage.me-qr.com/pdf/729bd352-fbb7-4315-a49a-aa5a23fe034b.pdf>

After collecting and classifying the data according to Creswell's framework, the analysis proceeds through several steps. First, the data is further analyzed using an analytic framework, specifically Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) 3D model, which deconstructs the text into three dimensions: text (focusing on language features like keywords, modality, and rhetorical devices), discursive practice (examining how speech in text is produced, understood, and interpreted, with attention to intertextuality and shared knowledge), and social practice (analyzing the situational, institutional, and social contexts, emphasizing formality and personal pronouns). Additionally, the discussion will explore the power and ideology behind the discourse, drawing on Norman Fairclough's theoretical framework on language and power to get a better understanding of Malcolm X's speech position in the historical context.

RESULTS

1. The Deconstruction Malcolm X's Speech at The Oxford Union Debate Based on Fairclough's CDA Model

This study conducted a deconstruction process, namely to break something down into its separate parts in order to understand its meaning. This was done within the framework of the 3d Fairclough CDA model to reveal and explore the hidden meanings contained in the transcript of Malcolm X's speech at the Oxford Union Debate.

a) Text Practices

1. Positive and Negative Lexical Items

There are certain words or phrases in Malcolm X's speech transcript in order to classify positive and negative lexical items based on criteria. In some conditions, the form of the phrase is sometimes preferred because it is more appropriate to the context of the speaker's pronunciation. So, in this thesis, positive lexical items are words or phrases that have positive connotations or give a good image to the subject in the form of a certain group or class such as the phrases "freedom fighters", "brotherhood", and "better world". Meanwhile, negative lexical items are on the contrary in the form of words or phrases that carry negative connotations or give a bad image to the subject in the form of a certain group or class such as "oppressor", "cold-blooded murder", "deceitful methods", "brutality", "cold-blood", "unwillingness", and etc.

Malcolm X's speech, positive lexical items are generally directed at the black community who are fighting for their freedom as happened in Congo in order to emphasize that their struggle is a legitimate and dignified struggle and provide a vision of a better future. In addition, positive lexical items are directed at Islamic teachings which he believes are teachings that reject racial discrimination and invite universal brotherhood. In addition, positive lexical items are also directed at every individual or group who supports the struggle for justice and human equality without discrimination based on skin color. Malcolm X really hoped that the young generation of humanity would come to realize this struggle in revolutionary ways. This is shown by the data of lexical items in quotes:

Data 1: "I'm for the kind of extremism that the **freedom fighters** in the Stanleyville regime are able to display against these hired killers" (par:10; line: 16)

Analysis: This quote emphasizes Malcolm X's support for a form of extremism rooted in the struggle against oppression. He supported the resistance of freedom fighters in Stanleyville, Congo against oppressive forces and mercenaries backed by the American and Belgian governments.

Data 2: "I believe in **brotherhood**, of all men ..." (par: 4; line: 3)

Analysis: This quote occurs in a part of the speech where Malcolm X declares his beliefs as a Muslim and the values he holds. In this phrase, Malcolm X shows his position that he supports the brotherhood of mankind regardless of race while criticizing the system of racial discrimination that is widely used by white people in the west.

Malcolm X used negative lexical items to describe those who oppressed the black community, especially racist and oppressive power structures such as the American government and also the Congolese puppet government led by Tshombe which was supported by America and western countries. In addition, he also used it to attack the government and Western press media that created false narratives in order to support the exploitation and violence against the black community and third-world countries. This is shown by data of lexical items in quotes::

Data 3: "But the press is used to make that **cold-blooded murder** appear as an act of humanitarianism." (par: 10; line: 13)

Analysis: This quote manipulates narratives to support violent acts committed by powerful nations. He highlights how atrocities, such as the killing of civilians in the Congo by American-backed forces of the Congolese puppet government, are presented by the media as humanitarian efforts, when in reality they are immoral forms of extremism. In this case, the

media is used to create images that cover up the atrocities and obscure the truth, in order to justify the violent acts committed by those in power.

Data 4: “For four hundred years, they have communicated their **brutality** to us.” (par: 31; line: 4)

Analysis: This quote reflects the long experience of black people in the America, especially in the context of slavery and racial oppression. Malcolm X highlighted that for centuries, black people have been treated with systematic cruelty and violence by white supremacy and colonial powers in America, which oppressed not only physically but also psychologically.

Based on the data obtained, the author found that the number of negative lexical items used by Malcolm X in his speech was much more dominant than positive lexical items. This is in accordance with the character of his speech which aims to expose injustice, oppression, and violence experienced by the black community in particular and to raise the audience's awareness of the need for radical action and change. However, positive lexical items remain important to provide direction and purpose for the values of the struggle emphasized, defense for those who are oppressed, and hope for better change to the audiences.

2. Key Terms of Ideology and Belief

The following are some data of key terms related to ideology and belief from Malcolm X's speech:

a. Defending Freedom and justice

Data 5: “Anytime anyone is enslaved, or in any way deprived of his **liberty**, if that person is a human being, as far as I am concerned he is justified to resort to whatever methods necessary to bring about his **liberty** again.” (par: 6; line: 6)

Data 6: “... those oppressed are justified in resorting to any means necessary to achieve **justice** where the government cannot provide it.” (par: 31; line:9)

Analysis: Both quotes collectively highlight Malcolm X's unwavering belief in freedom and justice as fundamental human rights that must be actively defended, especially when institutions or governments fail to uphold them. He asserts that when individuals are enslaved, oppressed, or denied their liberty, they are morally justified in taking decisive action “any means necessary” to reclaim their rights. The phrase “any means necessary” shows determination, courage, and a willingness to use all means possible to fight injustice and fight for human rights.

b. Islam and brotherhood

Data 7: “I believe in fasting, prayer, charity, and that which is incumbent upon a **Muslim** to fulfill in order to be a **Muslim**.” (par: 10; line: 16)

Data 8: “I believe in **brotherhood**, of all men,” (par: 4; line: 3)

Analysis: Both quotes collectively demonstrate Malcolm X's unwavering commitment to the principles of Islam and the concept of brotherhood without distinction of race as central to his identity and worldview. Malcolm X explicitly based his beliefs on the teachings of Islam, which he viewed as a moral and spiritual framework that guided his actions. He also demonstrated his commitment to the practice of his religion through fasting, prayer, charity, and the Hajj.

c. Revolutionism

Data 9: “... lives in a time of **extremism** and **revolution**” (par: 33; line: 2)

Data 10: “I, for one, will join anyone—regardless of color—who seeks to **change** the miserable conditions that exist on this earth. (par: 33; line: 3)

Analysis: Both quotes clearly illustrate Malcolm X's support for revolutionism as a necessary and justifiable response to systemic oppression and injustice. His support for intelligently directed extremism, extremism in defense of freedom, and extremism in the pursuit of justice highlights his view that radical action is essential when it comes to achieving fundamental human rights. He also explains that the young generation of society lives in a time of extremism and revolution, and must come together to make a change. This statement affirms Malcolm X's revolutionary ideology, which emphasizes proactive, radical, and inclusive efforts to fight oppression and create a just world.

d. Self-defense

Data 11: “One of the reasons that I am in no way reluctant or hesitant to do whatever is necessary to see that black people do something to **protect themselves**,” (par: 25; line: 3)

Quote: “..., whenever, is necessary to see that our **lives** and **our property** is **protected**,” (par: 10; line: 16)

Analysis: Both quotes highlight his strong belief in self-defense as a necessary and justifiable response to systemic oppression. He emphasized the importance of taking proactive steps to protect the lives and property of black people, especially when institutions failed to do so. For Malcolm X, self-defense was a moral imperative and a practical tool for empowerment to ensure dignity and safety in the face of injustice.

e. Anti-racism

Data 12: “I don't believe in any form of **racialism**” (par: 3; line: 3)

Data 13: “I don't believe in any form of **segregation**” (par: 3; line: 3)

Data 14: “And as far as this **apartheid** charge that he attributed to me is concerned, evidently he has been misinformed.” (par: 3; line: 3)

Analysis: These quotes show his strong stance against racism, as he rejects all forms of racialism, segregation, and apartheid. He emphasizes equality and clarifies that accusations of supporting racial division are false, affirming his commitment to a society free from discrimination.

f. Criticism of hypocrisy of the government and press media

Data 15: "When the people who are in power want to use again, create an **image**, to justify something that's bad, they use the **press**." (par: 8; line: 2)

Analysis: This quote reflects Malcolm X's sharp criticism of the government and press media, highlighting their role in perpetuating injustice and manipulating public perception. He argues that those in power use the press to distort reality create an image, to justify something that's bad, turning oppressors into heroes and victims into villains. Furthermore, he criticizes governments that claim to uphold democracy and equality but fail to enforce laws that protect all citizens, exposing their hypocrisy.

Based on various analyses of data of the key terms of ideology and belief that have been presented along with their quotes, the author found that Malcolm X held fast to his belief in defending freedom and justice as fundamental human rights, he was also committed to the principles of Islam and the concept of brotherhood without distinction of race as central to his personal identity and worldview, in addition as an activist he viewed revolutionism as a necessary and justifiable response to systemic oppression and injustice so as to motivate the younger generation to make changes using extremism defense of liberty and quest equality. In addition, he also believed in the importance of self-defense for black people, especially in conditions where there was no protection from the government. From the various key terms, it can also be seen that he was anti-racist and opposed it and emphasized the importance of criticism of the government and the Western press media which often manipulated and acted hypocritically behind the slogan of democracy.

3. Modality

Modality refers to the speaker's attitude or judgment toward a statement, often related to possibility, necessity, or ability. There are three main types of modality: epistemic, deontic, and dynamic. Epistemic modality deals with degrees of certainty or possibility. Deontic modality expresses obligation, permission, or prohibition. Meanwhile, dynamic modality relates to an individual's ability or willingness. These three types of modality clarify the speaker's intent in a given context. The following are some quotes of modality sentence along with their analysis:

Epistemic Modality

Data 16: "it perhaps would have been practiced by others had they been in power," (par: 5; line: 4)

Analysis: The phrase "perhaps would have been practiced" shows the speaker's speculation or guess about what might happen if a certain situation occurred "had they been in power". Because it reflects the level of possibility, the modality type is epistemic modality.

Data 17: "I honestly believe that the day that they do, many whites will have more respect for them" (par: 25; line: 3)

Analysis: The phrase "I honestly believe", which shows the speaker's subjective belief or opinion about the possibility of a future event. Because it reflects the level of belief, the modality type is epistemic modality.

Deontic Modality

Data 18: "There must be change because those in power have misused it." (par: 33; line: 2)

Analysis: The use of the word "must", which indicates an obligation or necessity for change to occur due to moral or situational reasons, namely the abuse of power by those in power "because those in power have misused it". This modality emphasizes the urgent need or normative necessity to carry out a certain action. Because it indicates an obligation or necessity, this type of modality is deontic modality.

Data 19: "A better world must be built, and the only way to achieve this is through extreme methods." (par: 33; line: 3)

Analysis: The use of the word "must", which indicates a normative obligation or necessity to build a better world. In addition, the phrase "the only way to achieve this is through extreme methods" also supports the impression of an urgent need to use certain means, which in this context are extreme methods. Because it indicates an obligation or necessity, this type of modality is deontic modality.

Dynamic Modality

Data 20: "And usually they can determine what the motive of the writer is." (par: 18; line: 2)

Analysis: The use of the word "can", which indicates a person's ability or capacity to determine the writer's motive. Because it describes the potential or innate ability possessed by the subject to perform certain actions, this type of modality is dynamic modality.

Data 21: "... where the government cannot provide it." (par: 31; line: 10)

Analysis: The use of the word "cannot", which indicates the inability or lack of capacity of the government to provide something. modality here highlights the factual or practical limitations of the government in meeting needs or providing certain services. Because it indicates inability, this type of modality is a dynamic modality.

Modality in this text shows how the speaker, Malcolm X, constructs his arguments to communicate his views on freedom, justice, and resistance to injustice and anti-racism. Data obtained by the author shows that Malcolm X's speech at the Oxford Union debate is dominated by epistemic modality. This shows that this text is designed to build trust and confidence among the audience. Malcolm X wants the audience to believe that the fight against injustice is not only possible but also necessary. The use of deontic modality aims to create a moral urgency to act, emphasizing the collective responsibility to fight injustice in the audience. Meanwhile, the use of dynamic modality reminds the audience that they have the ability to bring about change in society.

4. Rhetorical Devices

Rhetorical devices or figurative speech is an important element in critical discourse analysis because it functions as a medium to convey ideology, shape perceptions, and maintain or resist power. Analyzing it helps to reveal hidden meanings, ideological constructions, and power in a text or discourse.

The author has read in depth the transcript of Malcolm X's speech and taken data in the form of sentences classified by type of rhetorical devices. Here are some of the data on rhetorical devices obtained along with the analysis:

a. Antithesis is a figure of speech involving a seeming contradiction of ideas, words, clauses, or sentences within a balanced grammatical structure.

Data 22: "That as long as a **white man** does it, it's all right, a **black man** is supposed to have no feelings." (par: 24; line: 2)

Analysis: In this quote, Antithesis is used to show an unfair action based on race. Malcolm X emphasizes the contrast of "white people" vs "black people" where an action would be considered right or acceptable if done by a white person, but if done by a black person, the person is not even considered to have feelings.

Data 23: "I don't believe in any form of **unjustified extremism**. However, I believe that when a human being exercises **extremism in defense of liberty and justice**, it is not a vice." (par: 32; line: 1)

Analysis: The antithesis in this quote lies in the contrast between "unjustified extremism" and "extremism in defense of liberty and justice". By this sentence, Malcolm X highlights how the meaning of extremism changes based on purpose and context, and provides moral justification for extremism if it is done to defend noble values such as liberty and justice.

Data 24: "They'll take a person who's a **victim of the crime**, and make it appear he's the criminal, and they'll take the **criminal** and make it appear that he's the victim of the crime." (par: 8; line: 3)

Analysis: The antithesis in this quote lies in the contrast between the "victim of the crime" and the "criminal", which shows the reversal of roles between the victim and the perpetrator of the crime. Malcolm X through this quote reminds the audience of the manipulation in public discourse and criticizes how reality is often twisted by those in power and their media press to distort the truth.

b. Anaphora is a rhetorical device in which a word or expression is repeated at the beginning of a number of sentences, clauses, or phrases.

Data 25: "**I don't believe in any form of apartheid, I don't believe in any form of segregation, I don't believe in any form of racialism.**" (par: 3; line: 1)

Analysis: Malcolm X's use of Anaphora shows his strong stance against all forms of racial discrimination as a whole. This is because the statement with its repetitive rhythm makes his message more persuasive and memorable.

Data 26: "**I believe in Allah, I believe in Muhammad, I believe in all of the prophets. I believe in fasting, prayer, charity...**" (par: 25; line: 7)

Analysis: Malcolm X used Anaphora to emphasize his religious and spiritual beliefs. The repetition was done to show his pride in his beliefs as a Muslim and the values he held.

c. Metaphor is a form of figurative language, which refers to words or expressions that mean something different from their literal definition.

Data 27: "I live in a society whose social system is based upon the **castration** of the black man." (par: 26; line: 1)

Analysis: The phrase "castration of the a black man" does not literally refer to a physical act, but rather describes how social systems oppress, burn out, and depower black men. This metaphor shows the systemic and brutal oppression of black men in America.

Data 28: "The powers that be use the press to give the **devil an angelic image** ..." (par: 18; line: 3)

Analysis: The word "devil" is used as a metaphor to describe the contrasting nature of someone who looks good on the outside like an angel but is actually evil on the inside like a devil. It does not literally refer to the devil or angel but symbolizes the bad and good nature of a person or group. This metaphor is used to expose the falsehood or hypocrisy in this case the American and Western governments who use the press to hide the evil of their policies.

d. Hyperbole is a statement or claim that is exaggerated and not meant to be taken literally.

Data 29: "... where I'm from, still our lives are not worth two cents." (par: 27; line: 1)

Analysis: The phrase "not worth two cents" is an exaggeration to describe how little value or appreciation is placed on black lives in America. This hyperbole is intended to arouse the emotions of the audience.

Based on the results of the data obtained, the author concluded that the most dominant rhetorical devices in Malcolm X's speech text were antithesis, followed by anaphora and metaphor. There were a few other rhetorical devices such as hyperbole that aimed to add dramatic effects only as supporters of Malcolm X's antithesis delivery. Antithesis was used consistently to emphasize Malcolm X's criticism of injustice and manipulation carried out by the media, government, and those in power. This was very effective in creating a sharp distinction between truth and hypocrisy, fair and unfair actions, and idealism and reality. This made Malcolm X's argument sharper and more persuasive. With a strong supporting role, anaphora became a form of affirmation of Malcolm X's ideas, while metaphor played a role in increasing emotions and creating a strong image for the audience.

b) Discursive Practices

Discursive practice in Fairclough's CDA framework refers to the process of production, distribution, and consumption of texts in a particular social context.

1. Text Production

Malcolm X is the main producer of this text. As a black civil rights activist and also a Muslim leader, he brings perspectives from the struggle of black people in the United States, his life experiences as an African-American, and also his religious views as a Muslim.

The thesis writer found that various materials used as the basis of Malcolm's arguments mostly came from shared knowledge based on historical references or news information circulating at that time and also a little intertextuality from quotes from certain figures. There are some data of shared knowledge from history references:

a. Shared Knowledge About History of Slavery in America

Data 30: "Some of his ancestors kidnapped our ancestors from Africa, and took us into the Western Hemisphere and sold us there. And our names were stripped from us and so today we don't know who we really are." (par: 2; line: 2)

Analysis: Malcolm X describes how slavery in the America led to the loss of African identity. This quote reflects the painful history of slavery and its lasting impact on the descendants of enslaved Africans. It highlights the loss of identity as ancestors were forcibly taken from Africa, stripped of their names, and sold in the Western Hemisphere, leaving their descendants disconnected from their heritage. This speaks to the shared knowledge within communities of African descent, where a collective memory of this trauma is passed down, though much of the original cultural identity remains lost. The quote underscores the importance of recognizing historical injustices and the ongoing struggle for identity and cultural reclamation.

b. Shared Knowledge About Apartheid in South Africa

Data 31: "The only difference between it and South Africa is that South Africa preaches separation and practices separation, while America preaches integration but practices segregation." (par: 28; line: 4)

Analysis: Malcolm X compared racial discrimination in America to apartheid in South Africa. This quote highlights the paradox of racial segregation in the United States, contrasting it with the more overt apartheid system in South Africa. While South Africa openly promoted separation between races, America claimed to advocate for integration while still maintaining deep-seated segregation, particularly in social, economic, and political spheres. The statement reflects a shared knowledge of the dissonance between the ideals and the reality of racial equality in America, where the rhetoric of integration often clashed with the lived experience of segregation, especially for Black Americans. This reveals a historical and systemic contradiction that continues to shape discussions on race, justice, and equality in both nations.

c. Shared Knowledge About History of Congo Crisis

Data 32: "... they're dropping bombs on villages where they have no defense whatsoever against such planes, blowing to bits black women, Congolese women, Congolese children, Congolese babies, this is extremism" (par: 9; line: 5)

Data 33: "They take it one step farther and get a man named Tshombe, who is a murderer, they refer to him as the Premier, or the Prime Minister of the Congo, to lend respectability to him, he's actually the murderer of the rightful Prime Minister of the Congo, they never mention this." (par: 10; line: 1)

Analysis: Malcolm X referred to the violence and massacre of civilians supported by the West in the Congo, including the killings by Belgian and American mercenaries. Even more brutally, they overthrew the democratically elected government and murdered its first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, because he was not pro-Western and anti-colonialism. Then they supported Tshombe, a cruel but pro-Western dictator. These quotes reveal the Malcolm X condemnation of extreme violence and political manipulation during Congo's turbulent history. He described bombings targeting defenseless villages, particularly women and children, highlighting the brutal tactics used in conflicts where the oppressed have no means of protection. This evoked a shared knowledge of Congo's painful colonial legacy and post-independence struggles. He then continued this narrative by denouncing the elevation of Tshombe, a controversial figure with a violent past, to a position of political power. Malcolm X explained the hypocrisy and disregard for the truth, as Tshombe's violent actions are simply ignored. This critique reflected a widespread awareness of the manipulation of political narratives by foreign powers and their support of morally questionable leaders in order to maintain control over the Congo region.

d. Shared Knowledge About Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima

Data 34: "I'd call it the same kind of extremism that happened when England dropped bombs on German cities and Germans dropped bombs on English cities." (par: 12; line: 3)

Analysis: This quote references the bombing of Hiroshima, a devastating event during World War II that resulted in over 80,000 deaths, highlighting the extreme nature of warfare and its consequences. By comparing this action to "extremism," the speaker emphasizes the catastrophic impact of such acts, which are often justified by political or military objectives, yet lead to immense human suffering.

e. Shared Knowledge About Civil Rights Bill in 1964

Data 35: They came up with what they call a civil rights bill in 1964, supposedly to solve our problem, and after the bill was signed, three civil rights workers were murdered in cold-blood. (par: 26; line: 6)

Analysis: Malcolm X criticized how the civil rights bill was not implemented effectively, especially in areas where the population was predominantly black. The quote illustrates the contradictions that emerged after the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, which was supposed to address racial injustice in the United States. Although the law was supposed to provide protection for minority groups, violence and murders of civil rights activists continued to occur.

There are data of intertextuality from certain figures:

a. Intertextuality from statement of Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona (The New York Times - July 17, 1964)

Data 36: "... extremism, in defense of liberty, why it is no vice, and why moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." (par: 1; line: 5)

Analysis: This quote became a motion of the debate at Oxford Union Debate. Malcolm X agreed to it and prepared various arguments to defended the motion.

b. Intertextuality from statement of Patrick Henry (American politician and orator who declared to the Second Virginia Convention, 1775)

Data 37: "Liberty or death"—a statement of extreme resolve." (par: 32; line: 4)

Analysis: Malcolm X used this quote to support his argument that extremism can be justified in the fight for freedom and justice.

c. William Shakespeare (English playwright, poet and actor. The writer of Tragedy of Hamlet between 1599 and 1601. The main character of this playwright is Hamlet)

Data 38: "To be or not to be," (par: 32; line: 5)

Analysis: Malcolm X related Hamlet's dilemma in the playwright's Tragedy of Hamlet to his struggle against injustice. He emphasized that taking extreme action is better than waiting passively without a goal.

Malcolm X used historical references to demonstrate his critical views on global injustice, highlighting major events related to colonialism, war, racial discrimination, and the civil rights struggle. He also used intertextuality by using several quotes from famous figures such as Patrick Henry and William Shakespeare in the Tragedy of Hamlet to support his idea that extreme action can be justified in the fight for freedom and justice and is better than being passive.

As the only person who prepared the material for this text, there are various factors that influence the production of this text. Namely Malcolm X's background as a former spokesman and leader of the Nation of Islam until he finally left the NOI then became a Sunni Muslim and performed the Hajj which would eventually change some of his old views such as finally accepting the universal brotherhood of man regardless of race and skin color. In addition, this speech was made with a historical context in 1964, in the midst of the civil rights movement in America so that issues of racial discrimination, colonialism, and freedom often became the main focus. Another factor is the platform of the speech which was carried out at the Oxford Union Debate forum as a prestigious platform that gave Malcolm X the opportunity to reach an international audience of intellectuals.

2. Text Distribution

At this stage, the author focuses on analyzing how Malcolm X's speech text was disseminated. From the research conducted by the thesis writer, it was found that initially this speech was delivered live at the Oxford Union Debate. The live audience were students and academics there. Through the lobbying efforts of Eric Abrahams, president of the Oxford Union, the event became the only debate event broadcast live by the British Broad Casting Corporation (BBC), the British public broadcaster in Westminster, London (Stuck, 2014). Fortunately, some of the audio and video recordings can still be seen and enjoyed today on YouTube, although not in their entirety. The existence of digital documentation recordings on video platforms allows this text to continue to be distributed globally.

In addition to being recorded in audio and video, the transcript of this speech has also been written, and republished through various media, including books, historical documentation, and articles. Among them are on the website www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/ and also several books about Malcolm X's life, such as the book *Malcolm X at Oxford Union* by Saladin Ambar. The existence of this transcript of the speech allows future readers to analyze Malcolm X's messages in depth.

3. Text Consumption

The audience that witnessed Malcolm X's speech at the Oxford Union was predominantly young white students, academics and intellectuals from diverse social, political and cultural backgrounds. As the majority of them were European, many of them had never experienced racial discrimination firsthand, adding complexity to their interpretation of Malcolm X's arguments. Malcolm X delivered a powerful and impactful speech to an audience that was captivated by his views. The speech educated them about issues of race, the history of slavery and the inequalities that exist. Immediate

reactions from the audience ranged from applause to a standing ovation at the end of the speech. There were also interjections and questions that reflected disapproval. These dynamic responses highlight the provocative nature of the speech and the challenges of addressing sensitive issues such as race, extremism and justice.

Globally, the message of the speech continues to resonate, particularly among black activists, academics, and students. Its powerful message remains a focal point in discussions about human rights, racial discrimination, and the struggle for freedom and justice. Modern audiences often engage with the text in educational settings, where it serves as a tool for understanding the broader struggle for equality and liberty. Malcolm X's rhetoric and insights transcend his era, offering timeless lessons about the fight for freedom and justice.

c) Social-Cultural Practices

In analyzing this in depth, the author of the thesis uses two linguistic features from the analysis of text practices, namely formality and personal pronoun as tools for this analysis. From the results of a careful reading of Malcolm X's speech transcript, it can be concluded that formal sentences dominate the entire content of Malcolm X's speech slightly. Malcolm X's purpose in using more formal sentences is because the Oxford Union Debate is an academic forum, so the speaker uses formal sentences to show credibility, strengthen arguments, and also maintain intellectual authority. In addition, the use of formal sentences also gives a serious impression to the audience. However, there are still many informal sentences that are used strategically in various parts of the speech to make the message more alive, build emotional closeness with the audience, and make it easier for the audience to understand the idea.

The most frequently used personal pronouns are "I" and "they". Where the details of the number of several personal pronouns in the transcript can be seen in the following table:

Data of Pronouns		
No.	Pronoun	Number
1	I	94
2	They	78
3	It	68
4	You	36
5	He	26

Table data of pronouns in the speech transcript

1. Situational Level

In 1964, when there was a debate at the Oxford Union Debate at the same time as the Black Civil Right Movement was taking place in America. So, Malcolm X used the debate forum to campaign for the values of the struggle in the movement. Malcolm X usually gave a speech in front of his supporters from the black American community using vulgar and informal language. In a different situation in this forum, Malcolm X at the Oxford Union used a more formal communication style because the forum was a prestigious academic institution. This formality adjusted to the norms of the audience, which mostly consisted of intellectuals, students, and academics. The use of formal and rhetorical language helped Malcolm X gain legitimacy in fighting for his ideas among an international audience. However, there is still a lot of use of informal sentences that aim to build emotional closeness with the audience.

Malcolm X uses the pronoun "I" to establish himself as a figure with firsthand experience of racial injustice in America. In the context of his speech at the Oxford Union, the pronoun "I" aims to establish credibility and moral authority. Malcolm X bridges the gap between an audience that has never experienced racial injustice directly, by telling his personal experiences as representative of the collective struggle of the black community. The pronoun "you" is used to engage the audience directly. Malcolm X creates an interactive relationship with the Oxford Union audience, allowing them to reflect on their own positions.

2. Institutional Level

Institutions such as the press and government use formality to shape public perception. For example, the media creates an official narrative that appears neutral but actually favors the dominant group. Malcolm X demonstrated that institutional image manipulation is often conveyed in a formal manner to convey a sense of authority and legitimacy. Malcolm X used his speech as a tool to counter the formal narrative that discredited the civil rights movement. Despite touching on controversial issues, he maintained a formal framework to demonstrate intelligence and credibility, countering the negative stereotypes attached to him as a black activist.

At this level, pronouns "they" often used to indicate parties who have institutions of power, such as the America government, Western governments, the media, or other oppressive institutions. Furthermore, Malcolm X uses "they" to show how media institutions function as tools of hegemony that create negative images of certain groups.

3. Social Level

In a social context, formality is often used to hide injustice. Malcolm X criticized how formal language in laws, official reports, or government speeches often only serve as a tool to perpetuate an unjust system. Malcolm X also emphasized the need to understand that formality is often used to legitimize oppressive actions, such as apartheid or colonialism, in a way that appears polite, organized, and acceptable. He challenged his audience to look beyond formality and dig deeper into reality. Therefore, he also uses many informal sentences so that the audience can better understand the essence of the reality.

At this level, the pronoun "I" is used by Malcolm X to show his experience of living in a racist social system in America. With that, he also explained the social conditions of society in America. Apart from that, he also uses "they" to direct people and the media who believe in the concept of racism and make it a normal norm in society.

CONCLUSION

In text practices, the author found that Malcolm X's speech mostly used negative lexical elements to expose injustice and oppression while urging radical action and change. The results of the ideology and belief keyword analysis reflect that Malcolm X believed in and supported freedom and justice as fundamental human rights, Islamic principles, racial brotherhood, and revolution as a justified response to systemic oppression. In addition, the modality analysis shows that the dominance of epistemic modality in the speech reflects his aim to build trust and confidence among the audience. And in the use of rhetorical devices, Antithesis is used consistently to emphasize Malcolm X's criticism of the injustice and manipulation of the media, the government, and those in power where it is very effective in creating sharp contrasts between truth and hypocrisy, just and unjust actions, and idealism and reality, making Malcolm X's arguments sharper and more persuasive.

And then in discursive practices, there are three levels. At the production level, Malcolm X, as the producer of the text, drew on his experience as a black civil rights activist and Muslim leader, incorporating shared knowledge of historical references, such as slavery in America, Congo crisis, Apartheid in South Africa, Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima, others; and intertextuality, such as quotes from Patrick Henry and Shakespeare, to criticize global injustice. Then at the level of distribution, the text delivered live at the Oxford Union Debate and broadcast by the BBC, the recording and transcript of the speech are still widely accessible today through various media. At the level of consumption, initially received by an audience of young white students and intellectuals with applause and standing ovations, the speech continues to resonate with black activists, academics and students around the world.

Lastly in socio-cultural practices, there are three levels. At the situational level, Malcolm X used a formal communication style at the Oxford Union to conform to the norms of his prestigious academic audience, thus gaining legitimacy among intellectuals and students. He also uses the personal pronoun "I" to demonstrate his credibility and the personal pronoun "you" to gain emotional closeness with the audience. At the institutional level, he highlights how formal presentations often mask institutional manipulation, yet he also uses formal rhetoric to challenge stereotypes and build credibility. He also uses the personal "they" to point out oppressive institutions. Socially, he urges the audience to look beyond the surface formality and critically examine the deeper realities of oppression and injustice. The use of the pronoun "I" provides a deeper explanation of his experience of living in a racist social system in America that is made normal.

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