

Political Glorification of Awami League in Sheikh Hasina's Religious Festival Speeches: A Critical Discourse and Rhetorical Analysis

By

Aeysha Bintay Anowar

ID: 22303008

A thesis submitted to the Department of English and Humanities in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of the Bachelor of Arts in English

The Department of English and Humanities

BRAC University

January, 2026

© 2026. BRAC University

All rights reserved.

Declaration

It is hereby declared that,

1. This thesis is my own original work, submitted while completing my degree at BRAC University,
2. The thesis does not contain material previously published or written by a third party, except where this is appropriately cited through full and accurate referencing.
3. The thesis does not contain material that has been accepted, or submitted, for any other degree or diploma at a university or other institution.
4. I have acknowledged all main sources of help.

Student's Full Name & Signature:

Aeysha Bintay Anowar

(22303008)

Approval

The thesis titled “Political Glorification of Awami League in Sheikh Hasina’s Religious Festival Speeches: A Critical Discourse and Rhetorical Analysis” submitted by Aeysha Bintay Anowar (ID: 22303008) of Fall 2025 has been accepted as satisfactory in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in English in January 2026.

Examining Committee:

Supervisor:
(Member)

Atiya Tafannum
Lecturer, Department of English and Humanities
BRAC University

Departmental Head:
(Chair)

Firdous Azim
Professor, Department of English and Humanities
BRAC University

Ethics Statement

All the sources used in this study will be quoted and paraphrased with appropriate reference. No ideas or information will be included from different sources without due reference. I fully acknowledge that failure to comply with these academic integrity standards may result in disciplinary action. I understand that any form of academic dishonesty constitutes unethical conduct and may lead to serious consequences, including suspension or expulsion from BRAC University. I affirm my commitment to upholding the principles of academic honesty and accept full responsibility for adhering to these standards throughout the research process.

Course Name: Dissertation (ENG466)

Name: Aeysha Bintay Anowar

ID: 22303008

Abstract

This study examines political discourse based on how religious festival speeches are utilized in the mobilization of politics to establish and legitimize authority in Bangladesh, with a focus on a sample of two speeches given by a former Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina, specifically on the occasions of Eid-Ul-Fitr and Durga Puja. It reflects on how language can be strategically integrated in religious speeches to make governance appear morally correct and socially necessary through the transcribed speeches, which are available on publicly available broadcast channels. Using a qualitative approach, the study applies Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), following Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, alongside Aristotle's rhetorical appeals of ethos, pathos, and logos to analyze how language, persuasion, and ideology interact in political communication. The research has concluded that the purpose of religious festival speeches is not so much a purpose of celebratory message, but of an established location of political self-authentication, which entrenches the political domination of the party in the process of recreating national identity in the atmosphere of emotional resonance and cultural ambiance.

Keywords: Political Discourse; Critical Discourse Analysis; Rhetorical Appeals

Dedication

To my father, K.M. Anowar Hossain, who went against all odds to make sure that I get the degree I want from the best place possible in the country.

Acknowledgements

First and most importantly, I am ever so grateful to my creator, Almighty Allah, for His endless mercy on me. Without His mercy, nothing would have been possible. I am thankful for the unwavering support of my parents, who always made sure of my well-being and comfort. And of course, my loving husband, who helped me stay sane throughout this thesis journey. I would also like to extend my appreciation to my lovely friends who had my back for the last four years. Last but not least, I want to convey my gratitude to my amazingly kind supervisor, who patiently guided me while conducting the study.

Tables of Contents

Declaration	II
Approval	III
Ethical Statement	IV
Abstract	V
Dedication	VI
Acknowledgement	VII
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Background	3
1.2 Rationale	4
1.3 Research Objectives	5
1.4 Research Questions	5
Chapter 2: Literature Review	6
2.1 Political Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis	6
2.2 Rhetorical Appeals in Political Communication	7
2.3 Religion and Politics in South Asia	9
2.4 Discourse Studies in Bangladeshi Political Discourse	11
2.5 Global Perspectives and Research Gap	13

Chapter 3: Methodology	15
3.1 Fairclough’s Framework of Critical Discourse Analysis	15
3.2 Aristotle’s Rhetorical Appeals	18
Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion	20
4.1 Integration of the Awami League’s Political Narrative into Religious Festival Speeches	20
4.1.1 Textual Analysis	20
4.1.2 Discursive Practice	23
4.1.3 Social Practice Analysis	25
4.2 Rhetorical Appeal Analysis	29
4.2.1 Ethos: Constructing Moral Credibility and Historical Continuity	29
4.2.2 Pathos: Emotional Engagement and Collective Identification	31
4.2.3 Logos: Rational Justification Through Evidence and Achievements	33
4.3 Constructing Political Legitimacy and Reinforcing the Party’s Central Role in National Identity Through the Speeches	37
Chapter 5: Limitations	40
Chapter 6: Conclusion	41
References	43
Appendix	46

Chapter 1

Introduction

Bangladesh is a multiethnic country, and its social structure comprises Islam, Hindu, Christian, and Buddhist religions. In this regard, political elites often utilize religious celebrations to consolidate their rule, reinforce ideological discourses, and establish societal legitimacy. One of these leaders was Sheikh Hasina, the former Prime Minister and chairperson of the Awami League who had been able to use speeches at festivals in which she addressed the people on various occasions like the Eid-ul-Fitr, Durga Puja, Buddha Purnima and Christmas to anticipate the success of her party, to stress the importance of national unity and to present herself as a leader who is both morally and politically indispensable. Although to the audience, such speeches are supposed to be an adoration of peace among people and secularism, they also serve the purpose of political self-glorification and entrenching party ideology in cultural sacrality. The historical importance of these speeches has grown since Sheikh Hasina was ousted from power in August 2024, when a nationwide student-led insurgence forced her out of Bangladesh amid a breakdown in government authority. Such a dramatic political turn throws light on the conflict between the discursively created power and the delicacy of the real political power.

The political career of Sheikh Hasina puts her in a very important place in Bangladeshi politics. Taking on more than 19 years in total service, she was the longest serving Prime Minister in the history of the country and steered through the political ups and downs, and opposition-led difficulties. Her political involvement at an early age, which included student activism, working in the leadership of the Bangladesh Chhatra League, and then becoming chairperson of the party, together with her personal experience of familial loss due to the assassination of her father, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 1975, formed a political identity that was closely tied to

the idea of national history. Her speeches are, thus, not just based on the ceremonial speech, but also a strategy speech, which uses personal, historical, and religious stories to justify her leadership and cement her political role.

Although numerous works on the subject of political speech in Bangladesh have already been written, the majority of researchers have looked at the election campaigns and debate in parliament or stories in the press, but have not considered the ceremonial speech given in the religious festivals. The speeches of this kind form a special discursive space where political legitimacy, moral authority, and national identity collide with culturally and religiously important rituals. Presenting governance as a morally acceptable, historically legitimate, and socially needed action, the speech at the festival functions like an act that is acceptable and socialized, making the control of the party and the leadership power acceptable. The comparison of the well-calculated rhetoric of Sheikh Hasina and her subsequent removal emphasizes the changeability and contingency of political legitimacy, the significance of considering both short-term persuasion impacts and long-term interpretations.

This research paper will use critical discourse analysis (CDA) and rhetorical appeals analysis to conduct a systematic analysis of the festival speeches delivered by Sheikh Hasina. The analysis of linguistic characteristics (textual level), production and reception processes (discursive practice), and the socio-political and cultural contexts (social practice) is analyzed with the framework of CDA, which is guided by Fairclough in his three-dimensional framework (1995). The rhetorical analysis with emphasis on the classical appeals of Aristotle- ethos, pathos, and logos can help understand the application of persuasive tactics to create the moral authority, emotional allegiance, and rational justification. Combining these analytical models, this study sheds more light on the

manner in which religious festivals are absorbed as the tactical instruments of ideological enforcement and political self-authorization in Bangladesh.

1.1 Background

The longest serving Prime Minister in the history of Bangladesh was former Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, who served a total of more than 19 years in the same position. Her time as the Prime Minister of Bangladesh was between June 1996 and July 2001. She started her longest tenure in 2009 as the Prime Minister of Bangladesh that continued till 5 August 2024.

In 1973, Sheikh Hasina graduated from the University of Dhaka. She was previously involved with student politics and worked as the vice president of the students' union in Eden College between 1966-67. Once she began her undergraduate life, she became a member of the Bangladesh Chhatra League and was elected a General Secretary of the women's division at Rokeya Hall. Her political identity was also highly connected to her family background since she was the daughter of a prominent political leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. After the assassination of her father and the majority of the close family members in August 1975, Sheikh Hasina, together with other representatives of the Mujib family, was fighting to survive. She was elected the President of Bangladesh Awami League in 1981. She became the Leader of the Opposition in Parliament, Govt of Bangladesh, in 1986 and was instrumental in bringing democracy to Bangladesh. Nevertheless, Sheikh Hasina was ousted in August 2024 after a huge student-led movement that turned into a nationwide movement of protest. As the pressure grew, she fled the nation when her state of governance started unravelling its veil of pretension. This was a radical turnaround of a leader who had strived to position herself as the protector of the Bangladeshi democracy, secularism, and development path.

1.2 Rationale

The politics of Bangladesh has been extensively examined within the framework of election campaigns, debates in parliament, and policy rhetoric. Nonetheless, speeches given on religious festivals, such as Eid-ul-Fitr and Durga Puja, have not been widely discussed in literature. These speeches are indicative of a special discursive space. They are likely to make the nation united and people of different denominations to live in peace, yet they tend to be exploited as a means of political self-justification. Sheikh Hasina was a long-serving Prime Minister who, in 1999, gave a speech at the festivals regularly, which glorified the secular and communal unity of Bangladesh. Meanwhile, such speeches often placed her leadership and the Awami League as the champions of development and stability, thus fusing religious-cultural accounts with political praise. However, there has been no detailed use of the critical discourse analysis to examine how these speeches formed political legitimacy.

Moreover, the fact that she is not in power anymore in 2024 onwards gives the speeches added retrospective meaning. The egocentric rhetoric of these speeches now stands in contrast with her disputed political demise. This provokes significant concerns regarding the viability of this kind of rhetorical means and the way the discourse can both uphold and hide the weaknesses in political power. This research illuminates that through the discourse of Sheikh Hasina at different religious celebrations, political leaders utilize the religious setting to market party ideology, take on a moral high ground, and present themselves as important in the stability and cohesion of the country. The study is very relevant in the context of contemporary political changes in Bangladesh and the increasing criticism of the legacy of Hasina.

1.3 Research Objectives

- To employ Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to uncover the ideological and political meanings embedded in Sheikh Hasina's religious festival speeches, focusing on how her language reproduces dominant narratives of democracy, secularism, and national identity.
- To apply rhetorical analysis to examine how classical appeals- ethos, pathos, and logos are strategically used to legitimize Hasina's leadership, construct moral authority, and glorify the Awami League as a guardian of unity and religious harmony.
- To integrate CDA and rhetorical frameworks in analyzing how religious and cultural festivals are discursively appropriated as political platforms, revealing how Hasina's speeches blend spiritual discourse with political self-representation and ideological reinforcement.

1.4 Research Questions

This study aims to seek answers for the following questions-

- How does Sheikh Hasina integrate the Awami League's political narrative into her speeches during religious festivals?
- What rhetorical strategies does she use to connect her party's achievements with religious values or celebrations?
- How does this integration contribute to constructing political legitimacy and reinforcing the party's central role in national identity?

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Political Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis

Political discourse is characterized as a kind of communication that does not produce information only but also actively constitutes social reality (Chilton, 2004; van Dijk, 1997). Political talk is strategic in nature as compared to ordinary talk. Considering the situation in Bangladesh in which political discourse is inextricably connected with historical memory, nationalism, and religious identity, discourse turns out to be one of the prime locations at which power and ideology are formed and exercised.

Political language is not neutral, and it not only recreates ideology but also legitimizes authority and, in most cases, places political actors in a position of defending national or moral order (Fairclough, 1995). The process of revealing these layers of meaning concealed within the text is provided by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The model of discursive practice that involves textual practice and social practice will be used as the guiding principle of the study by Norman Fairclough in his three-dimensional model. One of the most influential people in the process of CDA development is Norman Fairclough. This is done through his approach that considers discourse as a type of social practice that develops and is developed by society (Fairclough, 1992, 1995). CDA is much more focused on the connection between language, ideology, and power, unlike analysis in purely linguistics, which is why it is especially useful in the study of political discourse.

The CDA model by Fairclough is organized into three dimensions that are interconnected and give a complex system of discourse analysis. Textual analysis (description) is the first dimension, which concerns the linguistic properties of a text, such as vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and the overall structure of a text. It studies the process of meaning construction by the use of such choices as metaphors, transitivity, modality, and rhetorical strategies. Description deals with formal attributes of the text, as Fairclough (1995) elaborated.

The second dimension, discursive practice (interpretation), studies the text production, distribution, and consumption processes and how texts draw upon other discourses with the help of interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Fairclough (1995) states that interpretation is related with the association between text and interaction.

The third dimension is social practice, which places discourse in a wider socio-political and cultural background. This degree of analysis examines the role discourses play in reproducing or challenging the relations of power, ideologies, and hegemonies. With Hasina's speech at religious festivals, the speech is usually not limited to religious greetings but serves as a political instrument to strengthen the image of the Awami League as the protector of peace, despite the later political events that undermined the image. As Fairclough (1995) revealed, the explanation is focused on the issue of the correlation between interaction and social context.

2.2 Rhetorical Appeals in Political Communication

Rhetoric has been the accepted pillar in political communication. Going back to the Rhetoric of Aristotle, it has been found out that persuasion is based on three interdependent appeals. The first

one is the ethos or credibility or moral authority of the speaker. Pathos is next, the emotional appeal to the audience; and finally, logos which means the rational arguments and facts provided to support arguments (Aristotle, trans. 2007). Such appeals have been the main focus of modern political rhetoric because they allow leaders to earn legitimacy, appeal to trust and find the support of people (Herrick, 2017).

Ethos in politics is particularly vital as audiences believe in leaders and trust the character and integrity of those leaders, thus gaining acceptance of their messages. Political leaders tend to build ethos by identifying themselves with cultural values, historical legacy, or morals. A good ethos is able to establish a perception of power, trustworthiness and sustainability.

Pathos is more complementary and, in most cases, political communication aims to arouse the collective emotions of pride, solidarity, hope, or even fear. Political leaders connect to people on emotions and ally them to achieve common objectives. Pathos is most frequently used in ritualistic or symbolic situations, where the emotions of the masses are most aroused, and leaders can strengthen the feeling of cohesion by means of emotionally appealing words.

Logos introduces a rational level, which entails the use of arguments, evidences, and logic that will support the claims of the leader. This can involve referring to economic developments, policy success or security provision. Political communication is made stronger through the appeal to logos which makes leadership appear as pragmatic and functional as well as being symbolic.

According to modern scholarship, these rhetorical appeals do not often work separately. Rather, issues tend to be linked together in a manner that supports each other (Charteris-Black, 2014; Finlayson, 2021). As an illustration, a political speech can also create ethos through emphasizing moral authority, pathos through an appeal to national pride, and logos through noting actual

accomplishments. This combination of appeals increases the persuasiveness of the political speech in general.

Rhetoric as a study of political communication therefore brings out the role played by language as a symbolic and strategic activity. Through the analysis of rhetorical strategies, scholars are able to understand how leaders build power, give consent and reproduce or counter ideological narratives. Rhetorical analysis offers a complex approach to the study of the relationship between persuasion, ideology, and power in political speech when used together with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

2.3 Religion and Politics in South Asia

Religion has a complicated and crucial role to play in the politics of South Asia, specifically Bangladesh. Although the country is constitutionally bound to secularism, the issue of religious identity has traditionally affected the political behavior, the policy, and the leadership legitimacy (Riaz, 2016; Jahan, 2014). This contradiction between secular principles and religious feeling makes the special climate in which the political actors have to negotiate between the demands of constitutional secularism and the needs to attract the moral and cultural values of the electorate that are inclined to religion (Ahmed, 2012). According to scholars, the balancing act is the key to the analysis of political discourse in Bangladesh whereby the leaders integrate religious language and symbolism to achieve political support and legitimacy.

Religion and politics intersect in one way and that is, the strategic exploitation of religious events. Eid, Durga Puja, and Diwali are not just religious occasions in Bangladesh and other South Asian nations but also the events of political messages (Karim, 2015; Devji, 2019). Political leaders tend to make speeches, release official messages, or to attend ceremonies in order to strengthen party

ideologies, indicate that they are inclusive, and to rally constituencies. These events offer a socially approved avenue to allow political actors to address large audiences, construct discourses of national cohesion and advance their political purposes indirectly. The existence of comparative studies in South Asia has shown that religious festivals are sites with a high impact of political messages due to their high emotional resonance and collective identification (Haynes, 2019; Juergensmeyer, 2017).

Appeals to religious sentiment on the part of leaders are usually aimed at affecting their projected moral power and authority in politics. Politicians can present themselves in a moral, reliable, and consistent way with the spiritual or cultural mood of the country through the appeal to common religious values, historical events, and culturally important rituals (Choudhury, 2018; Sarkar, 2020). These approaches are usually ethos (credibility), pathos (emotional connection), and logos (rational justification) and by this means, leaders can strengthen their authority and at the same time build loyalty among their citizens. Within the framework of Bangladesh, where the legitimacy of the leadership is actively disputed, the combination of the leadership and the moral and religious spirit allows the political leaders to gain the support of the various communities and strengthen the party ideology at the same time (Riaz, 2016).

Although the role of religion in South Asian politics has been realized, there is little systematic scrutiny of religious festivals as strategic platforms in politics despite the fact that most scholars have tended to concentrate on general political discussions, electoral campaigns or media discussions. Although the instrumentalization of such events as Eid or Durga Puja by the political sphere is accepted in the press and in anecdotes, there are few studies of speeches given in such events (Shehabuddin, 2021). This gap is acute since the speeches of festivals usually work at the crossroads of culture, religion, and politics and can offer specific clues regarding how political

leaders build authoritative positions, appeal to the sense of belonging, and contain ideological discourses.

2.4 Discourse Studies in Bangladeshi Political Discourse

Over the past few years, CDA has found more and more applications in the study of South Asian politics and political communication, and most particularly in Bangladesh to understand the role of language in creating ideology, justifying power, and political identities. Based on underlying CDA models provided by other theorists like Fairclough (1995, 2001) and van Dijk (1997, 2006), scholars have found the linguistic practices whereby political actors project themselves as authoritative actors and represent opponents using inclusion, exclusion, and moral disapproval strategies. The research on political discourse in Bangladesh, though currently relatively scarce in comparison with studies in Western settings, has used these models to study the phenomenon of election rhetoric, parliamentary debate, and popular speeches, and found that political language often blends nationalistic narratives, the symbols of liberation-war, and moralized appeals to unity and development (Jahan, 2015; Riaz and Fair, 2011). Such works prove that political communication in Bangladesh is highly ideological as it relies on historical memory and identity-based discourse as the means to find the consent of citizens.

The role of the media in political meaning-making in Bangladesh has also been explored by use of CDA. The studies of political talk shows and news discourse broadcasting reveal that the media becomes a significant venue of ideological reproduction, in which political rival narratives are created with the help of framing, lexical assessment, and discourse contest (Hossain, 2018; Rahman, 2020). These studies remark that the mediated political discourse tends to reflect what van Dijk (1997) states as the normal polarization of the political communications by selling the positive image of the in-groups and labels the political opponents as illegitimate by blaming them

and labelling them as negative. The media discourse is therefore a continuation of a political struggle in which language mediates power relations and creates understanding of governance, citizenship, and opposition among the people.

In addition to elite talk and media commentary, CDA studies in South Asia have also focused more on the analysis of grassroots politics, such as protest speech, protest slogans, and protest chants, as forms of collective identity construction and political resistance (Chatterjee, 2011; Roy, 2016). Through such studies, linguistic techniques such as repetition, metaphor, and pronoun alignment have been identified to be employed to unite crowds, to express dissent, and even to personify the political leadership or the institutions as the object of the moral critique. These findings extend the scope of CDA to include other aspects of institutional discourse, which validates the position of Fairclough (1995) that political power can be exercised not just by means of a formal speech but also by communicative practices in the everyday life of social movements.

Combined, this research literature highlights the methodological flexibility and analytical power of CDA in the analysis of political speech in a highly polarized and historically sensitive setting like Bangladesh. Available literature demonstrates the effectiveness of language in mediating political power, ideological debate, and popular legitimacy in both speeches, media discourse, and protest messages. Nevertheless, there is a research gap. There is no systematic academic research on religious festival speeches as a specific genre of political discourse, although this is a highly visible genre of ritualized mass event when religion, nationalism, and political communication meet. Also, minimal concern has been given to the manner in which ceremonial speech ideological work can come to ex post facto connotation with regard to the change in politics that follows, especially in the change of leadership legitimacy. Filling this gap will not only serve the research

on the discourse of Bangladeshi but will also serve the knowledge of political self-legitimation and ideological upholding via appropriating ceremonial and religious occasions in particular.

2.5 Global Perspectives and Research Gap

International scholarship also goes on to show that strategic exploitation of religion as a political discourse is not exclusive to South Asia and thus, a global phenomenon. Wodak (2009) recorded the tendency of the U.S. presidents to make use of religious and moral language to position themselves as the unifier of the nation, especially during times of crisis. Noor (2015) has analyzed the discourse of political speech in Malaysia and has found that leaders combine Islamic ideals with modernization and development discourses, attracting the two levels, the tradition and the hope of progress, at the same time. In Nigeria, Taiwo (2010) revealed that both religion and ethnicity are legitimizing strategies used by politicians in a fragmented society. These studies affirm that the practice which has been adopted by most political leaders to integrate religious rhetoric in their political messages is a common tool, however, with varying formats that can occur in different cultural and historical settings. However, there is a significant research gap in the Bangladeshi context. Although the idea of discourse studies has been widely used to analyze political discussions, television talk shows, and protest movements, not much has been done to unravel the role of religious festival speeches as a unique input of discourse. More so, no research has taken into consideration how such speeches may attain new meanings amidst changes in politics, especially in the case of Sheikh Hasina, where her self-glorification and party promotion speeches are of absolute contrast to her later overthrow.

Therefore, even though conversations on the topic of political debates, media discourse, and protest movements have been done extensively, the case in Bangladesh has not been explored in this respect. Specifically, the analysis has never been conducted on the religious festival speech

as a unique discourse, and it has also not focused on how such speeches can be re-read in a retrospective way after the change of political regimes. It is particularly notable in the example of Sheikh Hasina, whose speeches based on unity, development, and ethical leadership are a stark contrast to the subsequent political elimination of the speaker. The proposed paper aims to fill this gap by using the Fairclough model of CDA as well as rhetorical analysis to learn how the speeches at the religious festival of Hasina served as legitimizing, identity-forming, and ideologically reinforcing political instruments.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This paper takes on a qualitative research design in which the researcher will use the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and rhetorical analysis to explore the ideological and persuasive aspects of the speeches given by Sheikh Hasina at major religious festivals. The major data of this study will include publicly available video clips accessed through the authentic news channel YouTube channel, which has developed as one of the major storehouses of political communication in Bangladesh. The speeches will be transcribed manually in order to make the speeches accurate and to perform a systematic analysis of the text. The analysis will be based on a three-dimensional CDA model by Fairclough (1995) that addresses the interaction of linguistic features (textual practice), production and connotation processes (discursive practice), and socio-political contexts (social practice). Simultaneously, rhetorical strategies will be evaluated in the light of classical appeals of ethos, pathos, and logos, paying attention to the manner in which they are turned to legitimize leadership, idealize party identity, and build the discourses of unity and harmony. The qualitative orientation of the research allows a deep investigation of the meaning-making processes instead of quantifiable patterns, so it is especially appropriate to reflect a delicate ideological work that manifests itself through the festival speeches.

3.1 Fairclough's framework of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) offers a method of comprehension of the functioning of language as a kind of social practice that both mirrors and creates structures of power, ideology, and identity. It is based on the idea that discourse is not only the reflection of social reality but a way in which social relations are both created, sustained, and changed (Fairclough, 1992; Wodak

and Meyer, 2016). Probably one of the most robust models that have been used to connect linguistic specifics with overall socio-political dynamics is the three-dimensional model by Norman Fairclough, which has remained one of the most significant models in the field of CDA.

Fairclough (1995) defines every act of discourse as comprising three dimensions, namely, the level of the text, referring to the linguistic and structural properties of the text; the level of discursive practice, which refers to processes of text production, distribution, and consumption; and the level of social practice, which places the discourse in contexts of broader social, political, and cultural processes. These dimensions are analytically different yet dynamically interrelated, and this gives researchers an opportunity to switch between micro-level linguistic analysis and macro-level sociocultural interpretation.

At the textual level, CDA concentrates on textual features of a text, such as vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and rhetorical structure of a text. It is the stage that analyzes the influence of meaning creation in conjunction with certain linguistic selections that include modality, transitivity, metaphor, and evaluative language (Fairclough, 1995). In politics, these characteristics are hardly neutral, but they have strategic outcomes, including the legitimation of power, creating solidarity, or quashing dissent, among others. As an example, the ideological framing can be achieved through the use of such ideologically signaling pronouns as *amra*, and evaluative adjectives, such as *shantipurno* or *unnoyonshil*.

The dimension of discursive practice is concerned with the production, circulation, and interpretation of texts in particular institutional and cultural contexts. Fairclough (1992) puts a lot of emphasis on the fact that discourse is intertextual at all times. It employs, recontextualizes, and refigures the already existing discourses. In this perspective, analysts will be able to investigate

the way in which a political speech is reiterating previous discourses of nationalism, religion, or leadership. This analysis also looks at the reception of the audience and indicates the manner in which the meaning is negotiated between the speaker and the listener, and how discourse is involved in the replication of social knowledge and beliefs (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002).

Lastly, the social practice aspect puts discourse in its wider socio-political context. It poses the question of how linguistic and discursive practices maintain or disrupt power relations, ideologies, and hegemonies (Fairclough, 2001; van Dijk, 1998). This aspect connects the language with the problem of dominance and resistance, and CDA is not merely a technique of reading the text but a means of social criticism. In political communication, it implies studying the role of speeches in ensuring political legitimacy, forming a sense of nation, or strengthening hierarchical relationships between social groups.

The model created by Fairclough, therefore, offers a detailed analysis structure that goes beyond the mere description of the text. It combines the linguistic and social theory, which enables the researcher to trace how ideology has been entrenched in normal communication (Fairclough, 2013). Further, by stressing the dialectical association of discourse and society, CDA proves that discourse changes may represent as well as bring about more significant social shifts. This also renders it particularly apt in the analysis of political speeches, which frequently are performative acts of power, persuasion, and ideological reproduction.

The strength of CDA in the framework of political discourse analysis is that it can relate what is said (linguistic form) with why it is said (social intent) and what it does (political function). In this regard, it is especially applicable to studying speeches of leaders who can express it in a religious or cultural context, where language will be actively employed at the symbolic, emotional, and

ideological levels. With the help of Fairclough's model, scholars can effectively use discourse to reveal how political leaders strategically utilize discourse to legitimize their leadership, increase their conformity to cultural values, and influence societal perception and thus understand the multifaceted interplay between language, power, and ideology.

3.2 Aristotle's Rhetorical Appeals

In this paper, rhetorical analysis is based on the classical model of ethos, pathos, and logos offered by Aristotle that still continues to be the basis of analyzing persuasive communication in the political context. Ethos is the term used to define the credibility, moral authority, and legitimacy built by the speaker, which may be based on his or her personal integrity, the qualities of leadership, experience, or even congruence with the cultural values that they share (Aristotle, trans. 2007). Pathos involves emotional appeals aimed at producing affective or emotional responses in readers, including pride, unity, empathy, fear, or hope by symbolic use of language, framing of a narrative, or use of emotional tone (Charteris-Black, 2014). Logos entails claims to rationality and reason, usually done in a systematic manner in the form of arguments, evidence, policy assertions, or explanations that produce an impression of rational defense (Finlayson, 2012). The combination of these three forms of persuasion helps to form perceptions of the audience and direct the interpretation, creating what modern rhetorical theorists call a combined persuasive strategy in political communication (Charteris-Black, 2014).

These rhetorical appeals will be explored systematically in this paper in connection with Critical Discourse Analysis in order to offer a multilayered interpretation of the meaning of persuasion in the context of the speeches of the religious festival by Sheikh Hasina. After transcribing the chosen speeches, the texts will be coded in terms of rhetorical markers that are related to ethos, pathos,

and logos, including credibility appeals, emotion appeals, and argument structures. Special focus will be given to how these appeals overlap with ideological messages and discursive positioning, showing ways in which persuasive language helps in building political legitimacy, moral authority, and glorification of parties in culturally relevant religious contexts. The combination of rhetorical analysis and CDA, therefore, allows taking a closer look at the linguistic characteristics of the speeches as well as the persuasion techniques inherent in them, providing more insight into the functioning of the chosen texts as tools of ideological communication and political self-representation.

Chapter 4

Findings and Discussion

4.1 Integration of the Awami League's Political Narrative into Religious Festival Speeches

This section conducts a critical discourse analysis of Sheikh Hasina's religious festival speeches following Fairclough's (1995) Critical Discourse Analysis framework. In the textual analysis, the focus is on lexical choices, grammar and syntax, cohesion and coherence, and pronoun usage to demonstrate how political meanings are linguistically constructed. Discursive practice section analyzes the discursive practices surrounding Sheikh Hasina's religious festival speeches, following Fairclough's (1995) CDA framework. It mainly focuses on text production, distribution, and interpretation by its audience. The social practice analysis discusses the broader context and the impacts of the speeches on mass.

4.1.1 Textual Analysis

In lexical range, Sheikh Hasina has always incorporated the political story of Awami League into the religious context with the help of the use of words, which is strategic and brings together the issues of governance and the issue of moral obligation. The same lexical categories like *unnoyon* (development), *shanti* (peace), *nirapotta* (security) and *kollan* (welfare) are used along with the religious terms like *Allahr rohmote* (By the grace of Allah), *doa*, and *Eider shubheccha* (Eid greetings). This co-occurrence creates the construct of political governance as a moralized and near-deity activity. Development is not explained as a secular result of policies but rather as moral completion that is not against religious principles.

The agency is grammatically mostly in the form of active voices with a first person plural *amra* pronoun (we), such as *amra desher unnoyon korechi* and *amra shob dhormer manusher jonno kaj korchhi*. These types of constructions blur the boundaries between the ruling party, the state and the people making the governance of the Awami league much more natural than a partisan success. It is therefore in a discourse of joint responsibility and involvement that the political story is incorporated.

Diving deeper into the pattern recognition, her speeches have a consistent narrative pattern that switches between religious greetings, historical memory, and policy successes and objectives. This anticipated arrangement guarantees coherence and enables the inclusion of political message with the smooth insertion of political message with a ceremonial backdrop. Allusions to national history, especially the liberation and post-1975 trauma as unifying features that legitimize the current government by directly connecting it to the national histories that have conventionally belonged to the Awami League.

In language, evaluative adjectives like *shundor*, *shantipurno*, and *unnoto* are used to describe state-directed efforts, and to describe disturbances to harmony, such imprecise and morally-tinged words as *dushto chokranto* or *oposhokti* are used. Such lexical asymmetry puts the politics of opposition not in the form of a different ideology but within the context of moral deviation. Notably, there is a non-acknowledged political adversary, which keeps the rhetorical style of moral custody but not a partisan struggle.

Syntactically, soft imperatives and modal constructions have been extensively used in the speeches, for example, *amader shobai mile kaj korte hobe* (we must all work together). This kind of phrase share the duty among the citizens and save the state power. The modality (*hobe*) indicates

that it is obligatory and inevitable, but coercion is not actively employed, which can be considered another element of hegemonic consent that is described by Fairclough as the process where submission is gained by persuasion, rather than by coercion.

The religious-political affiliation is also reinforced through the use of figures of speech. The nation is implicitly being built as a moral society where good leadership exists through the metaphors of unitedness and safety. Parallelism and repetition, especially of slogans about harmony and coexistence have a mnemonic and persuasive effect as they support ideological messages at the same time as they increase rhetorical effect.

The use of pronouns is a key element in the creation of political legitimacy and the strengthening of the Awami League to the national identity. The continual swapping between *amra* (we) and *ami* (I) enables Sheikh Hasina to shift between group representation and individualized power. Whereas *amra* generates a sense of national identity that is inclusive of leader, party, and people, *ami* is tactfully used in narrating personal struggle or decisive leadership behavior, thus reestablishing the top-down authority.

The unity is also attained with the help of the intertextual allusions to the speeches and the ideals of Bangabandhu. These quotes operate on a discursive level to place the modern form of governance into the historical roots of the nation-state. The discourse puts political responsibility in the past and makes current policies just continuations of the past and not a questionable decision through values like secularism, religious harmony, and social justice that are presented as inherited values.

On the discourse level of coherence, the temporal stratification, sacrifice of the past, of the present governance, and of the future development create an uninterrupted flow of political continuity.

This organization limits ideological interference by ideologizing leadership as historically predetermined and forward-thinking. Thus, linguistic continuity is normalized in the process of political legitimacy, as opposed to explicit argumentation.

In general, these speeches are not only descriptions of the political reality but the active creation and stabilization of the relations of power. By making choices of words, grammatical arrangements, cohesive narrative devices, and rhetoric, the festival speeches by Sheikh Hasina have turned religious events into places of ideological reinforcement. On the textual level, the discourse is not as democratic negotiations, but as a tactic of identity policy, which makes the leadership of the Awami League morally justified, historically proven, and nationally necessary.

4.1.2 Discursive Practice

The speeches are issued by both Sheikh Hasina as the Prime Minister of Bangladesh and the leader of the Awami League, using institutional and political resources to reach the biggest possible audience and to have maximum authority. The speeches are prepared by the input of the party communications team and governmental media units and aligned with the national policies and party accounts. Religious and cultural themes, including allusions to Eid festivities, Islamic expressions like *Allahr rohmote* and *doa*, and the history of the country, are delicately woven to appeal to the religious and secular audience.

There are several channels of distribution, both formal and informal. The national and international audience is guaranteed through official state-owned television and radio, social media posts by parties, and YouTube videos (such as the ones included in the transcriptions it provides). The speech is given greater publicity by local media, particularly newspapers, and online news portals, which give textual summaries and highlights of key projects, e.g., the welfare card distribution

towards low-income citizens ("*Pray ek koti manush ke amra ei card diyechi*"). Grassroots diffusion takes place whereby messages are communicated through local leaders and party workers during community meetings, mosques, and cultural centers, which enhances the connection between centralized leadership and local involvement.

These speeches were strategic and came at religious festivals, which further increases symbolic resonance. It made the governance of the Awami League morally and culturally entrenched in society. The speeches are both ceremonial communications and political mobilization by aligning the production of institutions and their distribution across a large population.

Social position, political affiliation, and cultural context mediate the interpretation of the audience. The Awami League supporters perceive the speeches as confirmations of the mutual development, ethical government, and the unity of the nation. As examples, such references as historical sacrifices (*30 lokkho shohider roker binimoye amra shadhinota peyechhi*) and modern welfare programs (*shadharon manusher jibon jibikar jonno nogod ortho shahajjo kore*) support the beliefs of the party as a good and long-standing one. Emotional appeal and personal stories boost resonance because the audience can connect the personal losses and sacrifices of the speaker with the challenges faced by the nation (*75 shale amar amar ma, bhai shoho amar baba, shobai ke hariyechi*).

On the other hand, politically neutral or anti-government listeners can take the discourse to be a political image management, especially in conceptualizing ethical responsibility and refusing to verbally criticize political opponents directly (*dushto chokranto instead of calling BNP-Jamaat leaders by name*). The focus on collective pronouns (*amra*) and historical continuity can be interpreted as an effort to naturalize the power of the party, whereas ritualized allusions toward Eid and national history incorporate political messages into the culturally approved events.

It also depends on the socio-economic status in the interpretation. In the case of the lower-income and rural audience, the speeches will be interpreted as a national development metric, infrastructure success, and pandemic control (*Amra tika deowa shuru korechi, ebong byapok bhabe debo*), whereas in urban elites, the speeches can be comprehended as tangible improvement to welfare (like the provision of housing, "*Edesher manusher jonno bina poyshay binamulle ghor toiri kore diye*"). This multi-layered comprehensiveness of the interpretation possibilities highlights the discursive flexibility of the speeches, which enabled them to support political legitimacy, moral authority, and social cohesion among different parts of the population simultaneously.

The speeches delivered by Sheikh Hasina at her festival are examples of how the production of political institutions and social location can be combined. The party's resources, media infrastructure, and religious-cultural symbolism are strategically used in the production process, and the channels of distribution provide access to a wide audience and ideological influence. The interpretations of the audiences are mediated by the political stance, socioeconomic status, and cultural background, and lead to a range of reception between emotional solidarity and critical evaluation. Together, these discursive practices enhance the legitimacy of the Awami League to the greatest extent, situate the governance within the context of the morally pertinent and historical contexts, and transform the religious events into circles of performance of political power.

4.1.3 Social Practice Analysis

At the social-practical level, the speeches of Sheikh Hasina at the festival should be contextualized within the larger social-political and cultural field of Bangladesh, in which constitutional secularism is formally in charge of state policy, but alongside an unconsciously-existing religious awareness and personalized form of political leadership. Such duality provides a unique discursive

space whereby the legitimacy and political authority will be negotiated constantly using the public symbols, cultural practices, and historical memory. The religious festivals like Eid-ul-Fitr, Durga Puja are the highly visible and emotionally resonant events that involve different groups of constituencies, which give the leaders the platform to express the national identity, consolidate the political power, and support the party ideology. These events are not just ceremonies but are performative spaces where social values, histories, and political agendas meet so that leaders can influence collective perceptions of how to govern, how to live morally and what civic responsibility is.

In this respect, the speeches are not neutral expressions of culture, but an action to reproduce dominant ideologies and power relations. The discourse associates the success of governance with ethical virtue, religious tolerance, historical sacrifice, and developmental gains, and, by association, political stability and national prosperity are determined by the continuation of the Awami League rule. This conformity creates a narrative of ideology where the ruling party is not only the implementer of policies, but the moral and ethical protector of the country. Opposition is implicitly conceptualized as a challenge to social harmony, religious coexistence, and communal advancement, actually placing political criticism on par with being morally deviant. This type of discursive framing relies on the idea of cultural hegemony when the forces of dominance are not exercised exclusively via the use of force but via the control over consent and the naturalization of the dominance as something that is ethically and socially necessary. Incorporating governance into the context of morality and history, the speeches serve to naturalize leadership, that is, to project political authority as an aspect of national life that is not a matter of contest or negotiation.

Moreover, the speeches by Sheikh Hasina support the hierarchical relations between the political leaders and citizens by developing the role of leadership as protective, paternalistic, and

emotionally interested in the population. The citizens are not placed as independent citizens in the democratic deliberation process but as recipients of good governance. This description echoes the ideas of Fairclough (1995), who states that the social practice is reproduced in discourse: the symbolic image of leadership influences the way society sees the legitimate power, consent, and duty. This hierarchy is reinforced through emotional appeals to compassion, solidarity, and shared suffering to create the connections between leader and citizen, and in the process, depoliticize governance. This way, religious practices, which have long been a means of promoting collective worship and meditation, are converted into the instrument of political assertion, whereby the civic obligation is equated with the obligation of morality and spirituality.

The connection of the state ideology with the religious celebration increases the symbolic and performative power of the leadership as well. The speeches place policy accomplishments, including those concerning poverty reduction, welfare card distribution, development of infrastructures, and disaster relief, in the context of sacred, culturally important occasions, making them build a moralized account of governance. The process of development is introduced as a shared, ethically directional process, which only strengthens the images of the state as an ethically legitimate and socially responsible group. The allusions to the past, especially to the Liberation War and the sacrifices of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family, also anchor the current authority within the context of a long history of struggle, adding both temporal and moral value to the current regime. This dualization in both the moral-religious and the historical-national levels strengthens the performativity of political power and situates the concept of leadership as something that cannot be separated and independent of the moral and cultural life of the nation.

Additionally, the speeches are part of social consent reproduction as they, in a way, affect the appeal to several layers of society. The rural and poor people will tend to view the governance as

an answer to their material needs, whereas the urban and elite audiences will evaluate the success of the policies in terms of the development numbers, modernization, and the global image. Such a multi-layered reception shows how discourse is diverse and can be used to maintain political legitimacy in heterogeneous social settings. The speeches make it easier to internalize ideological narratives by addressing different audiences with culturally resonant, emotionally charged, and moral framing messages, which stabilize the power structures in place and require continuity of leadership.

Most importantly, the political disregard of the ruling Sheikh Hasina in August 2024 underscores the prospective fragility of discursively created legitimacy. Previously successful speeches could be re-read in the context of political transformation as a form of strategic self-glorification or representational offer of power that is not linked to tangible political results. This highlights the fact that the concept of social practice is dialectically related to discourse as argued by Fairclough (1995): the formulation of perception and social relations is always subject to re-criticism in relation to changing socio-political realities. On the one hand, though, symbolic authority is destabilized, the embedded nature of symbolic authority in cultural rituals and moral structures guarantees its permanence as a symbol of how political legitimacy was historically represented and how it was socially supported.

Overall, at the social practice level, festival speeches by Sheikh Hasina can be viewed as an example of how ritualized, emotionally charged, and culturally encoded discourse can work to recreate power relations, moral hierarchies, and ideological dominance. Placing political power in the context of morally resonant, historically located, and culturally relevant contexts, the speeches socialize leadership as ethically imperative and socially essential. They contribute to good loyalty, depoliticization of the state, and the incorporation of ideology into the everyday lives of citizens,

which depicts the complex relationship of discourse, culture, and political authority in Bangladesh. This discussion shows that the political effectiveness of religious festival speech goes much further than the text; it lies in their ability to construct social cognition, sustain hierarchies, and sustain hegemonic consent by symbolically and ethically charged performance.

4.2 Rhetorical Appeal Analysis

The two speeches at the festivals that were analyzed are based on the classical approaches to rhetoric, which are ethos, pathos, and logos, to convince audiences and justify political power, especially in the context of religious festivals, which are highly emotional and culturally charged. The appeals are combined successfully to form a discourse that not only passes across political messages but also establishes moral, historical, and emotional legitimacy. A closer look at each of these appeals would be enlightening in terms of how political power is built and upheld.

4.2.1 Ethos: Constructing Moral Credibility and Historical Continuity

The ethos, which is an appeal to credibility and moral authority, is supportive of the establishment of the political legitimacy of Sheikh Hasina in both speeches at the festivals. This credibility is discursively constructed by protracted conformity to national history, liberation discourses, and self-sacrifice, all of which place the speaker in a moral authoritative role and not as an administrative leader. The speeches place the governance of the day, in the very fabric of the independence of Bangladesh, by recurrent reference to the Liberation War of the year 1971. Such pronouncements as "*Jatir Pita Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, jar netritte amra shadhinota orjon korechi, shadhin rastro peyechchi*" and "*30 lokkho shohider rokte binimoye amra shadhinota peyechhi*" position the speaker in a collective history of struggle, sacrifice, and

national renewal. These sources are not mere historical reminders but rather moral foundations, which justify the current power by relating to the most sacred political memory of the nation.

The major feature of this ethos-building agenda is the constant use of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as *Shorbosreshtho Bangali Jatir Pita* (the greatest Bengali and Father of the Nation). Sheikh Hasina has established herself as the protector and implementer of the moral vision of her father by quoting his speeches, including the 7 February 1973 declaration in support of religious coexistence ("*Hindu Musalman Bouddho Khrishtan... bhai bhai hisebe bash korben*"). These intertextual allusions are discursive in transferring the symbolic power of Bangabandhu to the speaker, so her leadership might seem to be an extension of an ideological project that has already been legitimized, and not a political stand that might be challenged.

This sense of ethical appeal is further bolstered by personal accounts of losing someone in the family. Specifically, the speaker narrates the case of her family being killed, saying: *75 shale amar amar ma, bhai shoho amar baba, shobai ke hariyechi... shudhu amar chhoto bon ami beche achhi*. This expression of trauma turns subjective loss into a social ethical value. The loss is not represented as a personal tragedy but as a violent past of the nation, and this fact helps to strengthen the idea of the speaker as a person who had paid a personal price for the political fate of Bangladesh. Further allusions to political violence, including *15 August jara shahadat boron korechhen and 21 August grenade hamlay Ivy Rahman shoho 22 jon neta-kormi jibon diyechhen*, apply this morality to the wider level of party and national sacrifice, and further strengthen moral legitimacy.

The sacrificial, perseverant, and continuity foregrounding is replenished and created to establish leadership as a position that is acquired through moral merit instead of political position. The

ability of the speaker to use first-person pronouns (*ami*) numerous times in these passages adds to the sense of authenticity and ownership of pain, and at the same time, calls on the collective pronouns (*amra*) to unite the individual sacrifice with the national one. This strategic pronoun swing increases ethos by balancing personal closeness with representational power.

Such an ethos construction has several discursive purposes. First, it builds trustworthiness by relating the speaker to the national memory of the whole nation, which positions her as a morally consistent and historically-based person. Second, it justifies present-day governance by positioning it as the extension of a historically approved mission founded on liberation, secularism, and social justice. Credibility in the Aristotelian sense arises due to perceived virtue (*arete*), wisdom (*phronesis*), and goodwill (*eunoia*); the speeches are a practical accomplishment of all three because they make the leadership appear to be morally upright, historically knowledgeable, and interested in the well-being of the nation. Ethos, therefore, makes Sheikh Hasina more than a political figure and a moral authority whose authority is culturally ingrained and whose appeal to emotions makes the governance not only administratively but also ethically indispensable.

4.2.2 Pathos: Emotional Engagement and Collective Identification

Pathos or emotional appeals are the most eminent forms of persuasion in both of the festival address and this is partially because religious events are already filled with emotional and group meaning. Foregrounding collective grief, collective suffering and moral empathy by Sheikh Hasina is a strategic way of activating this emotional space. The emotional solidarity is formed in the very beginning of the speech with solemn memory, such as the appeal to national sacrifice: "*30 lokkho shohider roker binimoye amra shadhinota peyechhi*" and "*sei 30 lokkho shohid-er proti amar*

shroddha janai." Such displays of piety towards martyrdom serve an effective purpose of reminding viewers of the collective loss, and also puts the speaker in the collective emotional past.

Personal mourning is recurrently reenacted in order to enhance the emotional reality. The speaker describes her personal family losses such as "*75 shale amar ma, bhai shoho amar baba, shobai ke hariyechi... shudhu amar chhoto bon ar ami beche achhi*" and alters personal trauma into the emotional capital of the people. Rhetorically speaking, such personalization of pain elicits sympathy and makes the leader seem like a person who has suffered with the rest of the nation, as opposed to someone who has been above it. Equally, allusions to political violence victims, including *15 August jara shahadat boron korechhen* and *21 August grenade hamlay Ivy Rahman shoho 22 jon neta-kormi jibon diyechhen* tend to expand emotional appeal beyond the individual account in national political experience to include national political trauma.

Even compassionate recognition of modern suffering is a trigger to pathos. Speaking specifically of the COVID-19 pandemic, the speaker expresses compassion to loss and fear: by saying that *coronakalin shomoy jara mrittuboron korechhen, taderkeo ami sroddhar shathe shoron korchhi*, but on the other hand she also admits that the extent of suffering is universal: *Corona emon ekta mohamari, jeta shudhu Bangladesh na, shara bisshey ekta shomoshya srishti korechhe. Emon kono desh nei je desh khotigrosto hoyini*. These emotive utterances correspond leadership to care and concern and governance to a sympathetic reaction to crisis as opposed to a purely administrative control.

Marginal and vulnerable groups are also appealed to emotionally. The recurrent stress on the poor and the populace of the grass-root- "*bishesh kore trinomuler doridro manush, tader bhabgo poriborton hok*" builds a moral order where the role of the State is gauged by the feeling of

compassion for the most disadvantaged. In a similar manner, support of the religious minorities is also effectively framed with assurance in terms of *apnara kokhono nijeder shongkhyaloghu bhaben na* and *ei matite apnader jonmo, kaje ei matir-i shontan apnara*. These terms mention the feeling of belonging, dignity, and emotional security, which makes the state a guarantor of community peace.

Calls to unity of the nation of all religions also reinforce emotional appeal. There are regular expressions like *dhome jar jar, utshob shobar, Hindu Musalman Bouddho Khrishtan... bhai bhai hisebe bash korben* that can be used to invoke general emotion by referencing the idea of coexistence as a moral imperative and an emotional ideal. The use of the inclusive language is repeated, which strengthens the use of emotion and allows the audience to associate the connection of peace and contentment with the uninterrupted political stability.

Such affective politics serve as naturalizing political power as they inscribe it into emotionally compelling discourses of compassion, sacrifice and ethical duty. Therefore, leadership is discursively built not as forcing or dominating, but as being kind, understanding and sensitive to the suffering of society. The constant placement of governance in the emotional contexts of grief, compassion, and cohesion reinvent political creditworthiness into the emotional connection, prompting people to remain loyal to their leaders by identifying themselves emotionally instead of examining the political system or its policies.

4.2.3 Logos: Rational Justification Through Evidence and Achievements

Logos, or appeals to logic, are dominant in the speeches of the festivals with the systematic appeal of the number language, quantifiers, and policy metrics that define political power as logical and

effective and result-oriented. Sheikh Hasina continuously bases her arguments of good governance in statistics reflecting magnitude and quantifiable qualities. Indicatively, she appeals to the scale of national sacrifice, when she writes about the Liberation War by mentioning *30 lokkho shohider rokter binimoye*, a quantitative indicator of history, which simultaneously creates a numerical standard of national legitimacy. It is a logical extension of collective cost in the past and political power today, created through this appeal to quantified sacrifice.

Dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic, numerical quantification plays a central role in the validation of the state capacity. The speaker accentuates the scope of the vaccination campaign by saying that vaccination has started and will be extended *byapok bhabe*, which is backed by the argument that, resources are being brought in, at any cost: *er jonno jototuku ortho lage amra beye korchhi*. Even though the exact numbers are not always identified, repetition of such quantifiers as *byapok*, *joto*, and *shob* create the impression of comprehensive governing, which supports an idea of complete governance. The statement that *Corona ekhon onekta amader niyontrone* goes ahead to create a logical conclusion, that is, a quantifiable change of state intervention.

Logos can be especially eminent in terms of minor welfare and religious infrastructure when it comes to using specific numerical data to reinforce claims of inclusiveness. The speaker mentions that *shara deshe 6450 ta mondir-vittik shikkha kendrer maddhome protibochor 1,91,250 jonke dhormiyo granther shikkha dewa hocche*, a very particular statistical statement that makes claims of administrative accuracy and institutional scope. Likewise, financial allocations are numerically predetermined as in *Hindu dhormer kollyan trust tohhobile 100 koti taka amra diyechi*, and *praye 300 koti taka boraddo deya hoyeche* to have religious institutions developed. These characters are used rhetorically to show that religious goodwill is not only a symbol but that it is practically backed with quantitative investment.

Arguments concerning institutional continuity and scale of governance are also organized through quantification. The appeal to 2697 *ti dhormiyo protisthan unnoyoner kaj choloman* creates a picture of a consistent, methodical progress as compared to the actions of sporadic goodwill. Likewise, the number of *protibochor ek lokkho ekanobboi hajar duisho ponchash* regarding people who receive religious education on an annual basis support the impression of routine, sustainability, and bureaucratic regularity. The frame of governance as a stable and enduring phenomenon instead of episodic is constructed using such temporal quantifiers (e.g., *protibochor, ekhono choloman*).

The recurrent use of numerical terms and quantifiers increases the perceived objectivity and verifiability of political statements. Numbers are discursive representatives of rationality, meaning that leadership performance is measurable by certain results. Logos is a completed part of a triangulated persuasive approach when combined with appeals to ethos based on the historical sacrifice, and appeals to pathos based on care and unity. The audiences are not only encouraged to develop loyalty and trust but also to identify leadership as the most natural decision regarding the proven outcomes. These logical appeals are delivered in the emotionally and morally charged environment of religious festivals, and have an increased persuasive power due to this, displaying political authority as empirically valid, ethically based, and socially imperative.

Ethos, pathos and logos work together to form synergy in order to cement political legitimacy. Ethos creates credibility in matters that are moral, where leadership is presented as credible and historically based. Pathos constructions create an emotion of loyalty to relate government to collective pain, ethical obligation, and collective character. Logos offers logical strengthening, which helps to prove quantifiable success and success of policies. These appeals are even more potent in the context of the festival because religious rituals are already full of emotional overtures,

moral thought, and group involvement. Pathos structures develop an emotion of fidelity towards aligned government to shared suffering, moral duty and shared personalities. The speeches take advantage of this background, and applies political authority to sacred pictorials and social familiarity, and thereby renders leadership to be ethically ordained and societally inevitable.

The discursive construction realized with the help of classical appeals of rhetoric has social and political consequences. The speeches unite the moral credibility, emotional solidarity and rational evidence and turn the political authority into a sort of cultural and moral inevitability whereby citizens are influenced to perceive the validity of leadership by several reinforcing cognitive and affective channels. Leadership is depicted, not just as a work or administrative position but as a moral, emotional and rationally warranted custodianship of the nation to solidify obedience, loyalty and approval even in challenged political realities.

Finally, the interrelation of rhetoric, culture, and political power can be demonstrated by the use of ethos, pathos, and logos in the speech of religious festivals. These speeches are not only informative and celebratory, but also actively building and maintaining legitimacy, the mobilization of historical memory, emotion, and rational appeal make the political authority culturally and morally established. The success of these classical appeals indicates the high level of interdependence among communication, governance, and symbolic power in Bangladesh, which provides the opportunity to learn about the whole process of political persuasion and reproduction of ideologies.

4.3 Constructing Political Legitimacy and Reinforcing the Party's Central Role in National Identity through the speeches

The results of this paper show that the speeches at the religious festival of Sheikh Hasina are not just any ceremonial messages but the politically developed texts which have several ideological purposes at once. The application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and rhetorical analysis allows predicting that these speeches function at three levels related to each other, which form a political legitimacy, moral authority, and national identity construction.

On the textual level, the lexical choices, grammatical construction, and narrative patterns play a fundamental role in providing a political meaning. The terms *unnoyon* (development), *shanti* (peace), *nirapotta* (security), and *kollan* (welfare) are repeated along with such terms as *Allahr rohmote* and *doa*, uniting the government with moral and spiritual demands. There is a strategic alternation in the use of the pronouns *amra* (we) and *ami* (I), with collective identity being mixed with personal authority. The we of inclusion makes the successes of the Awami League national, and the personal I is concerned with decisiveness in leadership and ethical guardianship. The impression of continuity, stability, and inevitability of leadership is reinforced by the creation of narrative coherence, which is created through the temporal layering, the connection between the past liberation struggles, the present ruling and the future aspirations.

These speeches have intertextual and interdiscursive strategies as shown in the discursive practice dimension. Sheikh Hasina utilizes religious, historical and welfare discourses, thus producing highly intertextual writings which both appeal to spiritual values, national memory, and political achievement at once. The distribution channels such as state media, social media, and distribution of these ideological messages to the local community make sure that these messages spread widely.

However, interpretation by the audience differs on the social-political and economic lines. The proponents view the speeches as a declaration of moral authority and continuity with history, whereas the audience that is neutral or aligned with the opposition can see the speeches as image management. This interpretive plurality accentuates the power of the speeches to be used as a means of ideological support and to guide the agreement and satisfy the diverse perspectives of the audience.

On the social practice level, the speeches have to be situated in the context of the multi-faceted interaction of secular constitutions and infrastructures of religious feel in Bangladesh. Religious feasts serve as great cultural and emotional experiences, which offer the leaders chances to build power in a way that is morally impressive. The rhetoric articulated by Sheikh Hasina through the harmonization of governance and religious values, liberation history and welfare, upholds the hegemonic histories of stability and progress, asserting governance not by power but through cultural acceptance. The speeches both depoliticize the governance- by depicting citizens as the recipients of the kind leadership and naturalize the Awami League power in the symbolic weft of national identity. Markedly, her later disenfranchisement provides a retroactive perspective. Those speeches that previously have been effective in fostering legitimacy, can now be re-read as performative self-worship, not tied to the changing political conditions.

These discursive effects are amplified by the means of the rhetorical analysis that explain how persuasion takes place. The appeal to Ethos is established with the help of the allusion to personal sacrifice, family history and the continuation of history which supports the moral standing of the speaker. Pathos are the most prevalent appeals of unity, compassion, and national pride based on emotional appeal, which inspires a sense of collective loyalty. Logos is used to support arguments with facts, policy results, and tangible accomplishments, to offer logical reasoning to remain in

leadership. This is due to the synergy of ethos, pathos, and logos, which is employed in the context of culturally and religiously important frameworks, where the political power appears morally valid, emotionally touching, and pragmatically acceptable. Festivals then turn into staging grounds whereby holy feeling is also turned into political acquiescence.

In combination, CDA and rhetorical analysis will provide an insight into the fact that these speeches can be regarded as ideological actions, turning ceremonial communication into a tool of political influence. A combination of linguistic strategies, the circulation of discourses, and rhetorical persuasion accentuates the strategic proficiency of the festival speeches of Sheikh Hasina as political leaders use culturally relevant events to strengthen power, balance ideology with moral and emotional appeal, and create a sense of shared identity.

Chapter 5

Limitations

One of the major limitations of this research is the possibility of the researcher bias due to the qualitative and interpretive methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis and rhetorical analysis. Since CDA is a concept of close reading, thematic interpretation, and contextual judgment, the recognition of ideological patterns, rhetorical strategies, and discursive effects depends partially on the views of the researcher and his/her political consciousness and socio-cultural positioning. Although attempts are made to systematize the application of the established analytical frameworks and base interpretations on the support of textual evidence and academic theory, one cannot be absolutely neutral. The politics of the leadership of Sheikh Hasina such as the conditions under which she was later politically ousted might also have influenced the interpretive focus especially on the evaluation of discursive strategies as either self-legitimizing or hegemonic. Secondly, the choices associated with the selection of data, the choice of coding, translation options, and the priorities given to some extracts of the speech rather than to others cannot but be subjective. Such aspects can restrict the reproducibility of the results because other analysts can emphasize other details in the same texts. In acknowledgement of these limitations, this study takes a reflexive perspective in which interpretation is not a potential objective finding of pre-established meanings but a theoretically informed reading which is defined by positional consciousness. Subjectivity in future research could be minimized by engaging in collaborative coding, inter-rater reliability, or mixed-method research designs with audience reception information to triangulate the results and provide more analytical balance.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This paper illustrates that the speeches at the Sheikh Hasina religious festivals are political performances, which are strategically organized, and deploy linguistic, discursive and rhetorical practices to establish the moral authority, political legitimacy and national identity. Using the Critical Discourse Analysis and the rhetorical analysis, the study will demonstrate how the traditional festival speeches that are traditionally viewed as a rite of passage to spirituality are being manipulated to serve as effective means of political self-authentication and ideological re-enforcement.

Textually, lexical decisions, grammatical forms, pronouns and narrative unity are merged together to inculcate the political successes of the Awami league in ethical and culturally sensitive contexts. The use of collective and personal pronouns in the speeches creates a sense of inclusiveness and strong authoritarian leadership at the same time that the party governance is in line with national development and historical continuity. The intertextual and interdiscursive overlay of the religion, history and welfare discourses can be seen in discursive practices that are carefully distributed across various platforms to have a strategically known influence. The social practice analysis places these speeches in the politically and religiously complicated environment of Bangladesh, to emphasize the role of cultural assent, moral positioning and ritualised feast to reproduce political hegemony.

Rhetorical appeals- ethos, pathos and logos work together to make the discourse more persuasive. The credibility based on ethics is supported by historical and personal appeals, emotional appeals bring a sense of loyalty and unity and rational appeals support claims of governance. Such appeals

together in the background of religious festivals enable leadership to sound morally good, emotionally persuasive and practical. The speeches, therefore, not only convey information, but also create legitimacy, influence the perception of the people, and support the ideological discourses that would connect political power with cultural and moral values.

The hindsight lens that the eventual political removal of Sheikh Hasina gives to power only underscores the contingency of discursively constructed legitimacy even further. Although the speeches initially served the consolidation strategy in gathering support and presenting the idea of leadership as an inseparable part of a political enterprise, the further development of politics reveals the weakness of power built, first of all, on the basis of ritualized discourse and the symbolic performance. This highlights an essential point: the political legitimacy created with the help of ritual and oratory measures is strong but not the one that cannot be harmed by the changes in the real world concerning the agreement of the society and its forces.

To sum up, this study is of great interest to the study of the Bangladeshi political discourse as well as the overall understanding of the political communication in culturally heterogeneous societies. It shows how religious events as culturally and emotionally laden events can be strategically used to integrate ideology, rhetoric and moral authority. The analysis of political speeches as power, persuasion, and identity construction, combining CDA with rhetorical analysis, can be used by scholars of political discourse analysis, communication studies, and South Asian politics to gain a deeper understanding of the political speech. The results put into focus the long-lasting relevance of the ceremonial rhetoric in the formation of the image of leadership, and at the same time, the limitations of the discursive authority in the context of socio-political changes.

References

- Ahmed, N. (2012). Cultural politics in Bangladesh: Festivals, identity, and nationalism. *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 35(2), 145–162.
- Aristotle. (2007). *On rhetoric: A theory of civic discourse* (G. A. Kennedy, Trans., 2nd ed.). Oxford University Press. (Original work published ca. 4th century BCE)
- Charteris-Black, J. (2014). *Analysing political speeches: Rhetoric, discourse and metaphor*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Choudhury, R. (2018). Religion and political legitimacy in South Asia. *South Asia Research*, 38(3), 215–230.
- Devji, F. (2019). *Muslim nationalism in the postcolonial era*. Hurst.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power* (2nd ed.). Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Finlayson, A. (2012). Rhetoric and the political. *Political Studies Review*, 10(2), 197–208.
- Finlayson, A. (2021). *Rhetoric and the political theory of ideology*. Oxford University Press.
- Haynes, J. (2019). *Religion in global politics: Explaining the rise of political religion*. Routledge.

- Herrick, J. A. (2017). *The history and theory of rhetoric: An introduction* (6th ed.). Routledge.
- Hossain, M. (2018). Political talk shows and ideological polarization in Bangladesh's television media. *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 41(3), 475–491.
- Jahan, R. (2014). Bangladesh politics: Secularism, religion, and governance. *Asian Affairs*, 45(3), 402–419.
- Jørgensen, M. W., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. Sage.
- Juergensmeyer, M. (2017). *Terror in the mind of God: The global rise of religious violence* (4th ed.). University of California Press.
- Karim, A. (2015). Festivals and political culture in South Asia. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 38(1), 75–92.
- The New Yorker. (2024). The historical forces behind the student rebellion in Bangladesh. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/the-historical-forces-behind-the-student-rebellion-in-bangladesh>
- Noor, F. A. (2015). The discursive construction of Malay-Muslim identity in Malaysian political speeches. *Discourse & Society*, 26(4), 401–417. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926515575276>
- Rahman, M. (2020). Framing politics in Bangladeshi television talk shows: A discourse-analytic perspective. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 30(2), 156–171.
- Riaz, A., & Fair, C. C. (2011). *Political Islam and governance in Bangladesh*. Routledge.

- Riaz, A. (2016). *Bangladesh: A political history since independence*. I.B. Tauris.
- Roy, S. (2016). Protest discourse and political identity in South Asia. *Discourse & Society*, 27(4), 356–372.
- Sarkar, S. (2020). Political symbolism and religious festivals in South Asia. *Contemporary South Asia*, 28(4), 456–471.
- Shehabuddin, E. (2021). *Women and the making of the modern political subject in Bangladesh*. Cambridge University Press.
- Taiwo, R. (2010). Legitimation in political discourse: A case study of Nigeria. *Discourse & Society*, 21(6), 659–673. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926510381224>
- van Dijk, T. A. (1997). What is political discourse analysis? In J. Blommaert & C. Bulcaen (Eds.), *Political linguistics* (pp. 11–52). John Benjamins.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. Sage.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Politics, ideology and discourse. In R. Wodak (Ed.), *Elsevier handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 728–740). Elsevier.
- Wodak, R. (2009). *The discourse of politics in action: Politics as usual*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2016). *Methods of critical discourse studies* (3rd ed.). Sage.

Appendix

Transcription 01

<https://youtu.be/tfymCVC0MwY?feature=shared>

Eid Mubarak. Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim. Ek maash...Ami shobaike gonobhobone antorik shuveccha janacchi. Ei pobitro eid-ul-fitr upolokkhe. Pray ek maash siyam shadhonar por, roja rakhar por ajke pobitro eid. Ar ei eid er dine jara ajke gonobhobone eshechen, shobaike amar antorik shuveccha ebong apnader shathe shathe shomosto Bangladeshe ebong probashe jara amader bhai boner achen shobaike ami eid er shuveccha janacchi. Ami jani goto shei 2020 e Covid-19 e otimari amader jibon taake biddhosto kore diyechilo, shobar shathe dekha shakkhat shob e pray bondho chilo. Porpor onekguli eid, onekguli onushthan geche, shokoler shathe dekha korte parini, shakkhat korte parini. Tar upor abar orthonoitik monda. Shob kichu miliye ekta oshabhabik poristhitir moddho diye shara bissho cholche, ar shei obosthay esheche amader Eid er khushi. Jodio shara bisshobyapi orthonoitik monda, onek unnoto desh o himshim khacche, tobuo Allahr rohmote ami bolbo Bangladesh Bangladesh er jonogoner shohojogitay ekhono onek bhalo obosthane ache. Orthonoitik bhabe amra jotheshto shokriyo achi. Abar shob theke dukkho lage je porpor kotoguli ognishongjog holo. Bongobazar shoho bibhinno jaygay New Market, Bongo Bazar ebong onnanno jaygay ei ognishongjoger fole amader bebshayi ba shekhane jara kaaj kore tara kormojibi manush, shadharon manush tara je khotigrosto hoyeche shejonno shotti ami khub dukkhito. Tobe amar pokkho theke tader ami kichu eid upohar dite perechi. Ar tachara shara Bangladeshe amader jara jehetu mudrasfiti, amader jara nimnobitto ba shadharon manush, tader jonno apnara janen amra bishesh card er maddhome olpo khorochhe bhortuki diye kom mulle taderke chal, chini, dal, tel shoho ja ja proyojoniyo jinish jaate kroy korte pare shei bebosthao amra kore diyechi. Tachara pray ek koti manush ke amra ei card diyechi ar jara ekebare hotodoridro tader bina poyshay khabarer beboस्था kore diyechi jeno romjan maashe jeno keo koshto na pay ba eid e jeno koshto na pay shejonno ei beboस्था ta amra shorkar er pokkho theke korechi. Ebare jehetu mullosfiti ebong shadharon manusher koshto tai amra romjane kono

iftar party korinai. Ami iftar party na kore shokol ke ahoban korechilam shadharon manush ke iftari ba sehri te shohojogita korte. Ami dhonnobad janai amader doler neta kormi, amader shohojogi doler neta kormi je jekhane ache shokolei kintu shadharon manusher pashe dariyeche ebong shokol kei iftar bitoron othoba seheri bitoron koreche. Jara ei pobitro kaaaj koreche tader shobaike ami antorik dhonnobad janai, mobarokbaat janai. Allah rabbul alaminer kache doa kori je eije manushke debar ke antorikota, debar je khomota ei khomota ta jeno apnader thake. Itimoddhe apnara janen je ei otimari thaka shotteo, Ukraine-Russia juddher jonno shara bisshobyapi mudrasfiti thaka shotteo Bangladesh e kintu amra daridrer har komate shokkhom hoyechi. Jei daridro 41 bhag chilo amra kintu ei durjoger shomoyeo proti bochor ta 1% kore amader darider har komiye amader oti doridrer har matro 5.6%. Allahr rohomote amader eituk o thakbena. Ei Bangladesh shompurno daridromukto hobe, jeta jatir pitar shopno amra ta puron kore jabo. Amader daridrer har 18.7 bhag shetao amra onek komiye niye ashbo jaate Bangladesh daridromukto ghoshona kora jay. Amra edesher manusher jonno bina poyshay binamulle ghor toiri kore diye tader jibon jibikar beboatha kore diyechi jate kono manush bhumiheen na thake. Amra shorkar er pokkho theke jemon korechi shei shathe shathe amader shadharon oneke, amader bibhinno protishthan, chakurijibi ba shorkari officer theke shuru kore amader prottekta bahini theke shuru kore shokole ebong shadharon manush bebshayi prottekei kintu kichu kichu shohojogita nije theke manush ke korechen. Tran tohobile diyechen ba griho nirman tohobile diyechen jar fole amra jomi kineo ghor kore diyechi. Shamanno kichu lok ekhon baki ache, tader ghor o ekhon nirman hocche. In sha Allah ei ghor guli nirman hole proti ghor shudhu ghor na, ekta bari na, 2 katha jomi, ekta bari, tar shathe sanitary latrine, paker ghor, khabar pani, shupeyo panir beboatha ebong tader jibon jibikar jonno nogod ortho shahajjo kore ekeka manusher jibon jeno sthir bhabe cholta pare shei beboatha ta amra niyechi. Jara bittoban, tarao jodi erokom ektu shahajjer haat baran, edesher manusher kintu kono koshto thakbena. Ami ontoto eituk bolte pari Bangladesh ekta drishtanto sthapon koreche shara bisshobyapi karon erokom onek dhoni desh o pareni shadharon manusher pashe dariye theke tader shahajjo korte ja Awami League shorkar shomotay ache bole amra eta korte perechi. Ejonno Allahr kache ami

shukriya aday kori. Ajke amra Bangladesh unnonoyonshil desher morjada peyechi, ei morjada dhore rekhe amader agate hobe. Ekhan theke jeno keo Bangladesh ke shoriye na nite pare. Tar jonno deshbashi keo shotorko thakte hobe. Ar ei je porpor kotogulo agun laga, prothome bongo bazar jokhon agun laglo, mone hoyechilo eta bodh hoy ekta accident kintu erpor koyekti agun lagar por mone holo je ami janina thik bolte parbona, tarpor o eta amar shondeho jara ek shomoy 2013, 14,15 teo ogni shontrash kore jibonto manush ke puriye puriye hotta koreche, jara pray 3800 gari puriyeche, 29 ta train puriyeche, launch puriyeche, 500 school ghor puriyeche, 70 ta shorkari office puriyeche, cholonto bus e agun diye manush ke puriye mara e dhoroner joghonno kaaj omanobik kaaj jara koreche, ei je barbar hothat hothat agun lage, ekhane tader o kono chokranto ache kina eta amder bhabte hobe. Karon onekguli agun jebhabe legeche sheta oshabhabik. Ami dhonnobad janai amader fire service, civil defence er shokol lok ebong volunteer ebong jara kaaj koreche tader protteke ebong sthaniyo lokjon jara chuti diyeche agun nibhanor jonno ebong manusher chikitshar jonno shahajjo korechen, tader shobaike ami dhonnobad janai. Tobe ekhane ekti kotha bolbo, jani sotti khub dukhito, je fire service-er lokera kosto kore agun nibhate jay, taderke jekhane agun legechhe sekhane jete badha dewa, gari bhanga, fire service-er manusher opor akromon kora – eta joghonnno kaj korechhe tara. Ebong ei ghotona thekei shondeho ta beshi ashe je era agun nebhate debe na keno. Keno agun nibhate jete badha dichchhe? Tader ki shartho? Egulo amader khotie dekhte hobe. Ejonno prottekta manush, amar mone hoy jar jar elaka, prottekta byabsayi, apnader shokol byabsha protisthan, barighor, shobkichu jeno surokkhito thake sedike bisesh bhabe drishti diben. Karôn jara e dhoroner jibonto manush purie felte pare, tara pare na emon kono dushkormo nai. Kajei eder byapare shokolke sojag thakte hobe. Era kara kara apnara bhalo korei janen. Jaikhok, aajke pobitro Eider din. Ami jani amra Padma Setu toiri kore diyechi, bibhinno rastaghat kore diyechi, amra rastaghat gulo unnoto kore diyechi. Jar fol e jatayat byabostha onek shohoj hoye giyeche. Age jemon ghontar por ghonta shobai ke atke thakte hoto, otiter moto din ba rat rastay boshe thakte hoyni. Jar jar gontobbo sthole hoyto kichu shomoy niyechehen, tobe shobai shobar jaygamoto pouchhe jete perechehen. Bhalo legechhe je shobai rajdhani te

boshe na theke, shobai nij nij gramer barite chole giyeche. Ei je grame chole jawa ta, gramer shadharon manusher sathe Eid kora, eta sotti khub anonder. Ami arekta bolbo, ei je manusher kachhe chole jawa, ete gramer orthor probah ta barbbe, manush o khushi hobe. Grame o ar ager moto koshto nei, prottek grame amra bidyuter soroboroh dite perechi. Rastaghat er unnoto korte perechi. Jibonman e unnoto hoyeche. Amader daridro bimochone gramer unnoto howa ekta boro bhumika rekheche. Jatir Pita Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman amader shadhinota ene diyechhen. Aajke pobitro Eider dine ami tar proti amar shroddha janai. Jatir chan netar proti shroddha janai, shokol shohider proti shroddha janai. Apnara janen, amar to keu nei, baba, ma, bhai, ami shob hariyechi. Shob hariye amar chhoto bon ar amii beche chilam. Kajei Bangladesh-er manusher proti amar daitto o kortobbobodh, jeta amar babar kach theke shikhechi- dukhkhi manusher pashe darano, manusher mukhe hasi photano, ei desher manusher bhaggo poriborton kora, ami cheshta kore jacchi sei kaj e. Amar babar je shopno- prottekta manush tader moulik odhikar pabe, eta puron korai amar kaj. Jehetu ami baba, ma, bhai shob hariyechi, ei Bangladesh-er manusher majhei ami khuje pai amar babar harano sneho, mayer sneho, bhaier sneho. Ma jemon songsar ke agle rakhe, prottekta manusher bhalo chay, taderke shukhi dekhte chay, thik sei mayer mon niye ami Bangladesh-er jonogoner sheba kori. Bangladesh-er manush jeno shundor jibon pay, setai ami chai. Amar bektigoto jibone chawapawar kichhu nei. Ei desher manush jodi shundor jibon pay, ami jani amar babar atma shanti pabe. Ami jani, amar mayer attao shanti pabe. Apnara amar paribarar jonno doa korben – jara 15 August nirmom bhabe hotya hoyechen. Amader onek neta-kormi jara shahadat boron korechen, tader jonno o apnara doa korben. Ar tachhara ei BNP-Jamaat er haate amader hazar hazar neta-kormi atyocharito hoyeche, mrityuboron koreche. Shei Ziaur Rahman theke shuru kore Khaleda Zia, Ershad protteker hate amader neta-kormira niroytoner shikar hoyeche. Bangladesher jeno orokom dushashon ar na ashe. Bangladesher manush ekhon shantite ache, dubela pet bhore khete parchhe, tara shantite thakte parchhe, roger chikitsa pachhe, shikkhar shujog pachhe, jibone unnoto howar shujog pachhe. Manusher jiboner ogrojjatra jeno obyahoto thake- Allah Rabbul Alamin-er kache seti doa kori. Ar amader neta-kormira o shob shomoy jonogoner pashe thakbe. Ar shadharon manush keo ami bolbo,

eke oporer shathe souharddropurno shomporko rekhe apnara cholben, jeno Bangladesher shanti o nirapotta nishchit thake. Aaj proyai dui bochor tin bochor karo shathe shakkhat hoyna. 2007 shale jokhon caretaker shorkar elo, tokhon shobar age amake bondi kora holo eka karagare. Amar prerona amar baba; ei Bangladesher manusher jonno sara jibon e to tini jel khetechnen. Fashir cell-eo take atke rakha hoyechhilo. Karagare eka bondi kore rakha hoyechhilo. Jokhon amar baba ei desher manusher jonno eto koshto shojjho korte perechnen, amio chai koshto shojjho korte. Ami shobshomoy prostut chilam, ekhono achhi. Ar tachhara, shobshomoy apnara amader pashe chhilen. Apnara ekta prochondo chap srishti korechhilen bole 2008 e nirbachon dite baddho hoyechhilo, jekhane amra Awami League bijoyi hoyechhilam. Shudhu tai noy, 2014 er nirbachon, 2018 er nirbachon shobgulote apnara amader bijoyi korechnen, jar fole unnoyoner ogrojatra cholchhe. 2009 theke 2023 ei dirgho shomoy gonotontorer orgrodhara obyahato to ache bole Bangladesh aajke arthosamajik bhabe unnoto hote perechnen. Ekta juddho-biddhosto deshke Jatir Pita Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman unnoyonshil desher pother dike niye jacchhilen. Matro 14 bochhore amra Bangladesh ke ekta unnoyonshil deshe porinoto korte perechi. Egulo thik tokhoni hoyeche jokhon Jatir Pitar jonmo shotobarshiki ebong shadhinotar suborno joyonti udjapon korechhi amra. Etaw Allah'r rohmot je thik ei shomoy amra Awami League shorkar e achhi. Jonogon vote diyechnen. Amra jokhon shadhinotar rojot joyonti udjapon korechhilam, tokhon Awami League khomotay chhilo. Abar suborno joyontiteo Awami League khomotay. Ami Allah Rabbul Alamin-er kache shukriya adai kori ebong kritoggyota janai Bangladesher jonogoner kache jara amader vote diye nirbachone joyi korechnen, tader sheba korar shujog diyechnen. Toh, nirbachon hobe ami jani jonogoner kache etai amader kamona thakbe, je unnoyoner dharata amra suchito korechhi, seta jeno shampurno bhabe protisthito korte pari. 26 shaler moddhei amra unnoyonshil desh hisebe amader jatra shuru korbo, ei prostuti amra niyechi. Ami jani ekhane shadhinota birohi, juddhoporadhi, grenade hamlakari, khuni- era jodi khomotay ashe, ei deshtake abar dhongsho kore debe, tochnoch kore debe, shokol ogrojatra noshto kore debe. Sejonnoi desher manush socheton thakben. Awami League jonogoner sheba kore jabe. Ar ami, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujiber konna, prodhanmontritwo amar kache

kichhui na, kajei tar shopno puron kora amar kortobbo. Aaj Eider dine apnader shathe dekha korte pere ami sotti khub anondito. Ashole apnarai to amar apon atiyo. Shobaike amar antorik shubhechha ebong doa janachhi. Abar dekha hobe, shobaike doa janachhi, shustho thakben, poribar-porijon niye Eid upobhog korun.

Joy Bangla, Joy Bangabandhu, Bangladesh dirghojibi hok.

Transcription 02

<https://youtu.be/S1JDzNB0Vpk?feature=shared>

Shorbosreshtho Bangali Jatir Pita Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, jar netritte amra shadhinota orjon korechi, shadhin rastro peyechhi. Jatir Pita amader shadhinota ene diyechhen. 30 lokkho shohider rokte binimoye amra shadhinota peyechhi. Sei 30 lokkho shohid- tader proti amar shroddha janai. Jekhane protiti dhormer manush ekshathe, kandhe kandha mile juddho kore, rokto diye ei shadhinota enechhe. Ami amar duylokkho ma-bon, jader binimoye amra shadhinota peyechhi, taderkeo ami smoron korchhi, shroddha janachchhi. 75 shale ami amar ma, bhai shoho amar baba, shobai ke hariyechhi. Shudhu amar chhoto bon ar ami beche achhi. 15 August jara shahadat boron korechhen, taderke sroddha janai. 21 August grenade hamlay Ivy Rahman shoho 22 jon neta-kormi jibon diyechhen, ebong eibhabe nanabhabe jara ghatoker hate shahadat boron korechhen, tader shobai-ke ami shoron korchhi. Corona emon ekta mohamari, jeta shudhu Bangladesh na, shara bisshey ekta shomoshya srishti korechhe. Emon kono desh nei je desh khotigrosto hoynei. Coronakalin shomoy jara mrittuboron korechhen, taderkeo ami sroddhar shathe shoron korchhi. Ami shobshomoy ekta kotha bolbo je ami proti bochor... haa, jokhon birodhi dole chilam, tokhon to ektu beshi shadhinota chhilo. Mondire jetam, ghurtam, khabar khetam, khub bhalo lagto. Tarpor prodhanmontri howar por ektu jatayat shimaboddho hoye gelo, karon ami ek jayga theke arek jaygay jete gele traffic jam. Shei karone ami shadharonoto Dhakeshwari Mondire jetam. Ei coronakalin shomoy baire jawata ashole shimaboddho kora hoyechhe. Onakta ekta bochor jail e bondi shomoy keteche bolte paren. 2007 shale chhoto jail e chhilam, ekhon boro jail e achhi bolte paren. Tobe eta thik je 2008 shale

nirbachoner ghoshona diye je “Digital Bangladesh” korbo ei protishruti amra diyechhilam ebong seta aajke bastob. Ei karoney aajke apnader shathe dekha korar shujog peyechhi. Ontoto dekhte parchhi- etai shobcheye boro kotha. Corona ekhon onekta amader niyontrone. Amra tika deowa shuru korechi, ebong byapok bhabe debo. Er jonno jototuku orthho lage – amra beye korchhi. Shudhu tika na – tika deowar shathe onno shoranjâmoddiyo proyojon. Apnara janen shob kisur-i byabostha amra kore dichchhi.

Amra chai – khub druto jeno Corona theke Bangladesh ebong shara bishwo mukti pak.

Jatir Pita 1973 saler 7 February tar boktobbo-te bolechhilen: “*E deshe Hindu Musalman Bouddho Khrishtan, apnara sukhe bash korben, pasapashi bash korben, bhai bhai hisebe bash korben. Konorokom kono samprodayikota jeno Banglar matite na ashe.*”

Amader durbhagyo je gatô 15 August Jatir Pita-ke hotyar por amra dekhchi samprodayik shoktir utthan. Ebong emonki juddhoporadhi jara, Jatir Pitar khuni jara, tader-o purashkrit kora, bicharer haat theke tader-ke rokha kora ebong tader-ke rashtriyo khomotay niye asha, ebong songbidhan-ke khotobikkhoto kore samprodayik shonghater dike desh-ke niye deowa hoyeche.

Amra shob shomoy er biruddhe chilam, achhi – Jatir Pitar shei adorsho-i amader poth cholaar onuprerona. Karôn Bangladesh ôsamprodayik chetonar desh. Sokole ekshonge boshobash korbe ebong jar jar dhormo se se palon korbe – orthat *dhormo jar jar, utshob shobar.*

Prottekta utshobe-i kintu shokol dhormer manush ekshathe hoye shei anondo ta upobhog kore. Kintu majhe majhe kichu dushtochokro kichu ghotona ghotie manusher vitorer chetona-ke noshto korte chay – eta ottoonto durbhaggojanok.

Kichudin age Cumilla-e je ghotona ghotecchilo – eta itimodhyei tottantô hocche, khub byapokbhabe tottanto hocche. Onek tothyo amra pachchhi, ebong oboshyoi ei dhoroner ghotona jara ghotabe tader-ke amra khuje ber korboi. Je amra korte parbo – eta projukti-r jug, eta ber kora jabe.

Ebong se jei hok na keno, je daler hok na keno – tar biruddhe jothojothô byabostha oboshyoi neya hobe, karôn amra ta korechhi, ebong korbo.

Kichu manusher vitorei dushto buddhita ache – je jokhon ekta jinis khub shundor bhabo cholechhe tokhon setake noshto kora. Ar Bangladesh jokhon unnayoner poth-e druto egiye jacchhe, se shomoy ei jatrata-ke byahoto kora, ar sei shathe shathe desher bhitore ekta shomoshya srishti kora.

Ei dhoroner kichu lok jara jonogoner ashta arjon korte pare na, bishwas arjon korte pare na, rajniti nei, kono adorsho nei – asole tara ei dhoroner kaj kore. Kintu er biruddhe jodi sokole sochoton thake, tobe oboshyoi ei byapare byabostha neya hobe.

Jatir pita 1974 shaler 15 December bolechhilen “Banglar matite shampradaayikotar sthan nai. Musalman, Hindu-Bouddho-Christian jara Bangladesh-e boshobash kore tara sokolei e desher nagorik. Protiti khetrei tara shomodhikar

bhog

korbe.**

Amra kintu setai shobshomoy mene cholchi je dhormo jar jar, utshob shobar. Dhormo jar jar, rashtro shobar – ei nitey amra bishshash kori.

Kaje amra shobshomoy etai cheshta kori je protyeke jar jar nij dhormo shadhinbhabo ujjapon korte parbe, anonder shathe ujjapon korte parbe. Ar dhormo palon korte je shujogta tini srishti korechhilen, shokol dhormer dhormo palone shadhinota jatir pita shongbidhan-e diye giyechnen.

Itimodhhye apnara janen amra amader Hindu shompraday-er jonne onek kaj kore diyechi. Tobe ami ekta bishoy bolbo – je apnara nijera nijeder ke kokhono oi khudro shompradayi mone korben na. Ei matite apnader jonmo, kaje ei matir-i shontan apnara. Apnara sobai nijer odhikar-e boshobash koren.

Ekhane kokhono nijeder moddhe shonkhar loughishto egulo diye bichar na korai bhalo. Apni shadhin Banglay ekjon shadhin nagorik hishabe boshobash korben. Se atmobishshash ta apnader majhe thakte hobe – etai ami chai.

Hindu shompraday-er kollyane amra itimodhhye onekgulo podokkhep niyechi. Kichu kichu odhikarer byapare, jemon amader Musalman-der ma-babara jodi tader shontan-ke kichu shompotti diye jete chay, tahole kintu sekhane kono tax dite hoy na – heba kore dite pare.

Amra kintu Hindu shompraday-er-o baba-mayer shompod tader shontander je odhikar, se odhikar ta jate tara jothajothobhabe pay – arthaat 100 taka dalil mulye shompotti dan, jehetu Musalman dhormer khetreo ache – amra Hindu shompraday ba shokol shompraday-er jonne se byabosthata kore dichhi.

Onek shomoy ei shomoshyata hoto, kintu amra ekhon tar byabosthata kore diyechi. Onnanno shompottir byapare-o ain amra kore diyechi. Sei shathe apnara janen amra mosque-vittik jemon shikkhar byabostha niyechi, temni mondir, moth, girja – jekhane jekhane shikkhar byabostha kora jaay – setao kore diyechi.

Ebong shara deshe 6450 ta mondir-vittik shikkha kendrer maddhome protibochor ek lokkho ekanobboi hajar dui shoh dosh ponchash (1,91,250) jonke dhormiyo granther shikkha dewa hocche – se byabostha amra korechi. Hindu dhormiyo kollyan trust ain amra kore diyechi. Hindu dhormer kollyan trust tohhobile 100 koti taka amra diyechi.

Amra ei prothom Bangladesh-er sonaton dhormabolombider dhormiyo protisthan unnoyone pray 300 koti taka boraddo dei. Shara desher sonaton dhormabolombider 2697 ti dhormiyo protisthan unnoyoner kaj choloman. Dhakeshwari mondirer shomoshyatao amra shomadhan kore diyechi. Eta jokhon 91 ba 92 shal, jokhon BNP khomotay chhilo, tokhon ei mondir dhongsho kora hoyechhilo. Tarpore mondirta amra toiri kore diyechi – seta nichchoy mone ache.

Dhakeshwari mondir unnoyoner kaj ekhono choloman royeche. Tachhara Siddheshwari mondir – tar unnoyoner kajeo amra shohayota diye jacchhi. Ar tirtho bhromone onek shomoy onek shomoshya dekha dey je kono jaygay tirtho bhromoner byabostha – sekhaneo amra subyabostha kore dicchhi.

Snaner jaygay ghat toiri kore dewa, boshar jayga – shobkichur byabostha amra kore diyechi.

Prodhanmontri kollian tohhobil ache – ei tohhobil theke protibochor amra kichu ortho diye thaki. Ebar-o tin koti taka onudan ami diyechi. E bochoro anonder shathe shantir shathe shara desh-byapi Durgapuja onushthito hocche.

Tobe ami etuku bolbo – je jehetu sarbojonin utshob ekhane dekha jay abar khudro khudro puja mondop hoy, kintu brid'dhi pacchhe. Apnara nijeder boktobbo-te bolechen 328 mondop-e ekhon puja hocche – khub-i bhalo kotha. Kintu apnara ekta kotha mathay rakhte hobe je amader jara ain-shrikkha rokshakari shongstha ba police bahini – tader protiti jaygay kintu amra nirapottar byabostha dei.

Sarbojonin puja mondop-gulang kono oshubidha hoy na. Tobe oshubidha hoye jay jokhon chhoto chhoto alada alada osthayi mondir boshiye jokhon puja kora hoy – tokhon kichu lok shujog pay shekhane shomoshya srishti korte.

Kaje ekhhetre apnader pokkho theke kichuta shohayota kamona korchhi. Okhane kintu sarkarer onumodon chara notun kore puja mondop kora jay na. Amader ekhane se shadhinota ache – apnara korte paren. Tobe apnader nijer pokkho theke kichu nitimala thaka dorkar, shanti-shrikkhola bojay rakhar jonne ekta nirdeshona thaka dorkar – je kothay koto-ta puja mondop hobe.

Ami abar-o onurodh korbo – apnara kokhono nijeder shongkhyaloghu bhaben na. Amra apnader amader aponjon hishabe mani, ei desher nagorik hishabe mani. Shom odhikar-e apnara bosobash koren. Shom odhikar bhog korben, shom odhikar niye apnader dhormo palon korben. Kaje-i setai amra chai – etai hocche amader Bangladesh-er asol niti ebong amader adorsho. Ar apnara janen je amader Islam dhormo kintu bibheder kotha bole nai – Islam dhormey shokol dhormer shadhinotar kotha bola hoyeche.

Amader je unnoyon, she unnoyon shokoler jonnoi – prottekta manusher shofol bhog koruk. Ar bishes kore trinomuler ekdom doridro manush, tader bhaggo poriborton hok. Bangladesh khudha-daridryomukto Bangladesh

hishabe gore uthuk – setai amra chai. Ajke jototuku orjon amra korte perechi, sejonno Bangla jonogoner kachhe amra kritoggo. Apnader shomorthon, shohojogita ebong vote na pele eta amader pokkhe shombhob hoto na.

Amar pita Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman – tar adorsho nie amader pothchola. Ebong Bangladesh-ke amra chai bhobishotte unnoto, shomriddho, sonar Bangladesh-e porinoto korte. Tobe sei lokkho nie itimodhdhe amra kintu amader porikolpona pronoyon korechi. 2018 e bolechilam 2021 shale kemon Bangladesh-ke dekhte chai – she rupokkolpo amra diyechilam, porikolpona korechilam. Jati-shongher SDG goal-gulo amra bastobayito korchhi.

Bodhip okkhol Bangladesh. 2100 shaler Bangladesh-er jonno porikolpona nie amra Delta Plan pronoyon korechi. Jotokkhon amar shash ache, ami desher manusher jonno kaaj korbo, desher kollaner jonno kaaj korbo – shei kaaj ami kore jachchhi. Kintu amar obortomane-o jeno e unnoyoner dhara choloman thake, gotishil thake – tar porikolpona, kathamo diye jachchhi.

Bangladesh egiye jak, orthonaitik vabe unnoti lav koruk – sei kamona kore, Jatir Pita'r shopner pothe egiye, amar boktobbo ekhanei shesh korchhi. Sobai-ke abar-o antorik dhonnobad. Joy Bangla, Joy Bangabandhu, Bangladesh dirghojibi hok.

