

Communication for Political Interest: The Case Study of Bangladesh`s ex-dictator HM Ershad

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ABSTRACT

Hussain Mohammad Ershad, known as HM Ershad, is one of the few dictators in the world who has flourished in the political arena of Bangladesh even two decades after the end of his autocratic regime. The aim of this paper is to investigate the verbal communication patterns of Ershad to validate his own claim of being transformed into a democratic leader from a dictator. In achieving this, the study specifically analyzed the rhetorical and persuasive strategies employed in Ershad`s speeches as Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA), President, Fallen Dictator, Member of Parliament and Special Envoy to Prime Minister. The analysis employs the method of Content Analysis and the findings implies that Ershad is a good articulated speaker who is well aware of the social and political environment for which he constantly changes his vocabulary in his political speeches according to his own political interest to save himself and his political party. The results also found Ershad having a resolute authoritarian nature throughout his political career which nullifies his claim of not being a dictator anymore.

Keywords: Political discourse, Political communication, democratic leader, autocratic leader, Content Analysis, Bangladesh, dictator, personal pronouns

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Communication for Political Interest: The Case Study of Bangladesh's ex-dictator HM Ershad

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Master of Social Science in Media Studies and Journalism

Communication for Political Interest: The Case Study of Bangladesh's ex-dictator HM Ershad

I hereby declare that this project paper is the results of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degree at ULAB or other institutions.

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Finally I want to remember my parents, and my best friend for their untiring sacrifice, support, patience, and encouragement at every point in my life.

University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh (ULAB)

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Dedication

I want to dedicate this research paper to my Late Uncle Liton and Late Uncle Reza, who died just 2 months ago. They have been and will always be my inspirational heroes.

May ALLAH (Subhanahu wat'ala –May He be Glorified) grant them both eternal happiness in Paradise.

Curriculum Vitae



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Worked as Conference Aide at Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) Bangladesh, 2012

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- Video Jockey (VJ), Creinse Limited, September 2013 – August 2014

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- Management Trainee, British American Tobacco (BAT), February 2013- June 2013
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- Society Intern, British Council, Dhaka, November 2012- Dec 2012

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

1.1.1 Main argument of the paper. Hussain Muhammad Ershad, known as HM Ershad, Bangladesh's former autocratic President is one of the few dictators who has neither been killed nor exiled from his country Bangladesh, even two decades after the end of his official autocratic regime. With time H.M Ershad has flourished in the political arena of Bangladesh for which he makes statements like "I quit power for the sake of democracy in 1990. Till date, democracy hasn't been established in this country" (Prothom Alo, 2012), trying to prove his role in the pathway of democracy of Bangladesh. Similarly while delivering a speech in the 9th Parliament as an MP; he said "I get hurt when you call me a dictator. I am not a dictator any more. I am an elected lawmaker like you" (The Daily Star, 2012).

So from the statements above it looks like there is a strong assertion by H.M. Ershad that he is no longer a dictator any more but rather has paved the way for democracy in Bangladesh and claiming to be transformed into a democratic leader. Thus this research paper will analyze this transformation of Ershad through the lens of verbal communication and try to justify the claim made by HM Ershad.

Since the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, there has been a lot of pitfall in the political scenario of the country which included ruling period of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of Awami League (AL), followed by the ruling of Chief Martial Law

Administrator (CMLA) turned President Ziaur Rahman, leader of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). After that it was HM Ershad who ruled the country and since his downfall in 1990, the political scene is dominated by both AL and BNP in every 5 years turn (COI Service, United Kingdom Border Agency (UKBA), 2011).

Over the last three decades, Ershad`s political transformation could be understood in the context of five major events which are life-changing and caused shifts in his political trajectory. The first event in this regard was that he came from a military background and took over power as the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) followed by the second event when he declared himself as the President by suspending the constitution and political parties. Both these events crafted him as a dictatorial person in the history of Bangladesh politics. The third life event came when he was ousted from the position of President which took away the platform for him to exercise his dictatorial power and became a Fallen Dictator. The fourth major event was when he had to lead his Jatiya Party and his followers through a democratic platform. The latest event was when he became The Special Envoy to Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina after the 10th Parliamentary election in January 2014. Thus, by looking at the diversified political transformation of HM Ershad and his survival in the political arena of Bangladesh gives justification of studying his political communication.

1.1.2 Ershad`s episode in the political arena of Bangladesh. H.M. Ershad, was born in 1930 and joined the Pakistani Army in 1952 right after his graduation from Dhaka University. During the 1971 liberation war, he was a captive in West Pakistan

and returned in 1973 joining as Adjutant General in Bangladesh Military Force. Later in 1978 Ershad was promoted to the rank of Lt. General and became Chief of Army Staff of Bangladesh Military Force. Following the assassination of President Zia ur Rahman, when Vice President Abdus Sattar took over power, Lt. General Ershad demanded a constitutional role for the military in the government (Khan, 2009). Ershad said in his statement that he wanted to remain as a soldier and had no plan to overtake power but within few months, Ershad initiated a bloodless military coup and seized the control of the government and became the Chief Martial Law Administrator (Kabir, 2013).

On 1st September 1986, H.M. Ershad resigned as Army Chief of Staff and retired from military service in preparation for the presidential elections with his newly formed political party 'Jatiya Party' (COI Service, United Kingdom Border Agency (UKBA), 2011). It is assumed that 'the Jatiya (National) Party [is] designed as Ershad's political vehicle for the transition from martial law' (COI Service, United Kingdom Border Agency (UKBA), 2011, p. 22). Ershad won two-thirds majority in the National Assembly and amended the constitution to legalize his martial law regime. This was indeed one big step of Ershad in his whole political career but this was not the end, in fact it was a new beginning. In 1983 two of the major political parties Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) formed two alliances against General Ershad's autocratic government (May & Selochan 1998). According to (Feldman n.d), it was during Ershad's period which created a distance from democracy, socialism, and secularism, the pillars of the independence platform which actually instigated fire in the

whole country for restoring democracy. This resulted in a massive uprising and finally Ershad`s autocratic rule was defeated and he had to resign on 6th December 1990 and later a free, credible general election was held on 1991 which put back life to Bangladesh`s democracy (May & Selochan, 1998).

1.1.3 Return of Ershad. Ershad`s regime was the longest autocratic rule that Bangladesh has faced and during his nine years of power, Ershad gained popularity among the villages and townships (Khan, 2009) and mostly because of this he has been given a tagline of ‘Polli bondhu’ which means Rural Friend in English since the tagline of his Jatiya Party says ‘If 68 thousand villages are alive, then Bangladesh will be alive’ (Jatiyo-party.org, n.d.). Even though Ershad had spent 10 years since he was ousted from power in 1990 in jail (Hossain, 2000), yet his Jatiya Party took part in every election since 1991 and managed to secure a significant number of representatives in the parliament (Bhattacharjee, 2011). Ershad still dreams of becoming the future Prime Minister as his Jatiya party remains the country's third-largest political party (Haque, 2011). On 11th January 2014, Ershad takes oath as an MP of the 10th parliament and is appointed as Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina`s special envoy (The Bangladesh Chronicle, 2014) and after this election Ershad`s Jatiya Party, for the first time, became the Chief Opposition Party in the 10th Parliament.

1.2 Research Questions

RQ1- How are the verbal communication patterns manifested at the different stages of Ershad`s political career?

RQ2- Has HM Ershad transformed from a dictator to a democratic leader according to his own claim?

1.3 Objectives of the study

- To explore the implicit meanings of Ershad political speeches
- To find whether the claim by Ershad of being transformed into a democratic leader is reflected in his political speeches

1.4 Significance of the Study

This research is important as HM Ershad is one of the few dictators in the world who has become a key stakeholder in politics even after years of being over thrown from power so people should know about him and moreover this study will inspire the next generation of leaders who are willing to know about him or join politics in the near future. On the other hand this study will show them a clear picture of H.M Ershad`s political graph in Bangladesh through case studies, examples and collected data which

eventually showed how communication played a vital role in Ershad`s claim of not to be an autocratic leader.

By looking into this phenomenon, students of political science and communication can learn from the insight of seeing how one specific set of communication approaches like verbal can shape a politician`s impact on the world or the communities they are trying to reach. This insight will help them understand the communicational approaches of other leaders as well as the significance of positive or negative impact these approaches have on leaders influence, impact and legacy. Reading the results of this study will help students of political science and communication to accumulate their knowledge on different traits of political communication theories gradually. The data collected by this study can be used by other researchers for the literature review in future. Therefore the study will not only help the students but will also help the mass media researchers.

1.5 Limitation of the Paper

This research is only about the communication styles of H.M. Ershad, however similar spectacular style of communication can also be seen in case of Late President Zia ur Rahman, who could have acted as a major influential factor in the formation of Ershad but this research does not address this issue as an objective. This research does not

focus on certain factors of International diplomatic support throughout Ershad's political career which may have helped to boost up his political aspirations.

Another limitation of the study is that it only focuses on the verbal communication, not the non-verbal ones. It is common that professional speechwriters are hired to write the speeches of Head of States or politicians but in this study, this factor is also ignored. The availability of the speeches are also one of the limitation this research faced that's why only five sample speeches were selected for this study.

This study is limited to Ershad's political speeches so it doesn't highlight his intra-party political attitude. Addition to this, this study will not highlight the fact how his political speeches were shown or represented in electronic and print media after the end of his autocratic regime.

CHAPTER II

STUDY FRAMEWORK

This section discusses the two inter-twined points that make the foundation of my thesis. In the first point, I have discussed the literature review and in the second point, I have discussed the study framework of this study.

2.1 Literature Review

This literature review covers the credibility of my thesis argument as it analyses some research papers, journal articles and relevant documents in the field of Political Communication, Political Discourse, Verbal Communication and practice of different communication styles among political leaders. Primarily my paper argue to look for the verbal communication patters of former dictator H.M. Ershad but since there are very few research papers on H.M Ershad in particular; therefore I have looked onto other papers as references which were talking about some similar important elements of my research. I have divided my literature review into four distinctive parts in which the first part explains the key concepts in my research such as Political Discourse, Democracy, and Dictatorship and so on, which will form the basic foundation of my thesis. The second and third part gives guidance on methodology, results and findings of previous research in Political Discourse which helped me in conceptualizing for my thesis. Finally in the last part, I will address the gap in this field by comparing other studies on HM Ershad and Political Communication in Bangladesh.

2.1.1 Political Communication and Political Discourse. Language and Discourse constructs an integral part in politics. “Political discourse plays a pivotal role in shaping people's thoughts and attitudes, as some politician function in their rhetorical skills and experiences to change and control the people's thoughts and attitudes. To be a successful politician, one should be eloquent orator in order to steer and attract the receivers' emotions, attentions and minds” (Al-Harabsheh, 2013, p.101). The author further added by saying that “political discourse can be defined as the written or spoken language, verbal or non-verbal, used in politics to steer the emotions of audience to affect their opinions and attitudes” (Al-Harabsheh, 2013, p.101). Hence it is clear how important is political discourse in the domain of communication and for this study I have only focused on the Rhetoric which is “the art of using language so as to persuade or influence others; the body of rules to be observed by a speaker or writer in order that he may express himself with eloquence” (Oxford English Dictionary) cited in (Bayram, 2010, p. 28).

2.1.2 Concepts used in Dictatorship and Democracy. One of the category of Dictatorship is Military Rule which is a process through which a single military strongman or junta overtake a civilian government, consume power by force and do not return power back to civilians (Geddes, Frantz and Wright, 2014). The result of this is such that it gives the dictator or the autocratic leader supreme power to do anything according to his will and that's why Olson (1993, p. 569) says that “the autocratic ruler has an incentive to extract the maximum possible surplus from the whole society and to use it for his own purposes” It is seen that still now 19% of the world's countries are

military governed (Geddes, Frantz & Wright, 2014) which is quite alarming as well.

According to (Schoolworkhelper.net, 2015) features of an autocratic government includes total control of society and media, one political party, transfusion of fear by power and force, absence of rule of law. But there are few dictators in the world whose didn't had a prideful end as mentioned in (The Daily Beast, 2011) in a list of Fallen Dictators in their gallery photos, where Egypt's Hosni Mubarak has been mentioned, who has been in power since 1981 but was forced to resign because of the Arab Spring and later in 2011 was put on trial in Egypt. In the list there is also Muammar Gaddafi as the longest-reigning tyrant in the Arab world who was brutally killed by the Libyan rebels in 2011. Another fallen dictator in the list is Zine-al-Abidine Ben Ali who rules Tunisia for 23 years but strong protest in 2011 ended his regime and he had to fled to Saudi Arabia with his family to save himself.

Windsor defined autocrats as "Autocrats are mostly well known for their callous brutality, not for their sympathy" (Windsor, 2013, p. 12) and I agree to this fact as in the study it further says that Autocratic politicians face fewer institutional restriction than Democratic leaders, having no accountability and transparency; whereas Democratic Leaders are committed to have transparent institutions as they have a mandate to face public. (Ait.org.tw, 2015) listed down the fundamentals of democracy which included constitutionalism, democratic elections, rule of law, independent judiciary, freedom of media, public's right to know and so on. Further democracy can be classified into two main types – Parliamentary and Presidential. "Parliamentary democracy is the type of government where the public vote government into power and parliamentarians are

representatives of the people” (Rahman, 2014, p. 152) In Bangladesh since 1990 Parliamentary democracy is followed where Prime Minister is the Head of Government where on the other side Presidential democracy was followed during Ershad`s regime. The difference between the two systems is that in Parliamentary democracy head of state and head of government are two separate persons whereas in Presidential democracy it is a single person (Rahman, 2014). ALO (2012, p. 90) mentioned that “In democratic political contexts, the intention of aspirant leaders is to attract the potential followers to themselves through their policies” and this can be achieved by persuading the citizens through political communication as “Political speeches have been regarded a major part of American democracy, and they have been so throughout history” (Irimiea 2010:2) mentioned in (Håkansson, 2012, p. 01). This actually endorses the importance of speeches in political communication.

2.1.3 Relationship between Verbal Communication and Politicians. Any relationship explains the bonding between two variables, for this paper it is Verbal Communication and Political Positions. Political language can be defined as something like “Political language has become a representative language of politicians. They can manipulate language according to the context.” (Baseer, Alvi & Naz, 2012, p. 129). In their study the authors used discourse analysis and found how Pakistani leader Benazir Bhutto used to play with her linguistic ability in order to pull together people`s positive look over her and her party policies. This is so valid for the natives of South Asian countries where political speeches seem to be very appealing to the people and they are easily driven away into the words of politicians.

Windsor (2013) strongly endorsed the strategic use of language by autocratic leaders during the time of crisis period in order to stay longer in power. The results of the study showed how much inclusive, narrative, coherent and emotional language were present in the speeches of the autocrats. For instance, Post (2003) also found Iraqi President Saddam Hussain as a cold, invasive speaker who used courageous verbal expressions while addressing to the people of Iraq as Saddam wanted to portray himself as a brave Arab leader to the rest of the world. In another study, Bayram (2010) critically analyzed one particular speech of Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and found how he used language to represent his characteristics, which showed his attitude and linguistic behavior like a particular social group who were positive towards him. This shows how “Leaders select their words to insulate themselves from blame, to unify the country, and to help citizens create an integrated meaning of the events and resources, which reinforces their position as a strong authority figure with the ability to lead the country through difficult times” (Windsor, 2013, p. 05)

2.1.4 Analysis of Verbal Communication of World Leaders. There has been some important study and methods for analyzing verbal communicational patterns of global leaders. The mission of political discourse analysis is “to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect and almost all levels of linguistics are involved” (Wilson, 2001) cited in (Pu, 2007, p. 206).

By analyzing political speeches of George W. Bush, Pu (2007) found President Bush as an appealing, skillful, positive speaker who is very much aware of his essential

American values, where as in another study; Baseer and Alvi (2012) found President Obama as a dependable, motivating and persuading political speaker. Similarly, Al-Harashseh (2013) used CDA method to find political discourse of Palestinian leader Khalid Mashaal and used three political speeches as sample size. In the analysis it is seen that words such as 'Palestine', 'Israel', and 'Arab' were the high frequency words and words such as 'terrorism', 'faith' were the low frequency ones. Further the author found emotional appeal, use of alliteration to arouse the feelings of his audience in Marshaal`s speeches.

To have a different perspective, “researchers that have done studies and articles written about how politicians use pronouns in a strategic way to show power, solidarity or authority” (Brozin, n.d., p.04). Håkansson (2012) said how the politicians intentionally use a huge chunk of personal pronouns in their speech for showing off their positive characteristic as well as negative sides of their opponents. Sharififar & Rahimi (2015) have studied the political speeches of US President Barack Obama and Iranian President Hassan Rouhani at the UN conference in 2013 and surprisingly found that President Obama used the first person pronoun ‘We’ almost six times more than President Rouhani. However the authors also mention that the pronoun ‘We’ has two interpretations i.e. sometimes it refers to ‘I and You’ to shorten the distance between the speaker and listener; and sometimes it refers to ‘I and others’ which signifies authority by the speaker and his team. The justification of using personal pronouns such as (Li, 2002) mentioned in (Sharififar & Rahimi, 2015, p. 347) states that “one of the roles of personal pronoun is that it has an interpersonal function in discourse and it makes a kind

of link between the speaker and the listener in a speech.” Håkansson (2012, p. 08) endorse the fact that the “pronoun I implies a personal level, and makes it possible for the speaker to show authority and personal responsibility as well as commitment and involvement.” Also “The pronoun you is used by the speaker to address parts of, or the entire audience” (Håkansson, 2012, p.08). “They are used in political speeches to create an image of other and to divide people in groups” (Bramley 2001:262) mentioned in (Håkansson, unpub., p 9). Brozin (2010) studied three speeches of President Obama at three different contexts and found how Obama strategically use the pronoun ‘I’ according to different context. Like while dealing with American citizens, Obama uses ‘I’ more than he does when he talks for a global context. It is the pronoun ‘We’ which Obama uses the most no matter what the context is for uniting American people to bring a change. This actually helped me on how to design my study in studying the verbal communicational patterns within the speeches of Ershad.

2.1.5 Past Studies on HM Ershad. Regarding the case of H.M. Ershad’s Verbal Communicational approaches, there is not yet any academic research done on this particular topic, so there is a void in this arena. For example, Alam (2008) only talks about the military media relations during the regime of H.M. Ershad which gives a little idea on how Ershad used to dominate and control media but it was not completely focused on Ershad’s own communication, rather it was a study on the relationship between his military government and mass media. Plus it did not focus on Ershad particularly and cases of General Zia ur Rahman were also brought in it. Other studies by (COI Service, United Kingdom Border Agency (UKBA), 2011), Bhattacharjee

(2011), Kabir (2013) simply talked about the brief political history of Bangladesh and the overall political environment during Ershad`s leadership, touching some basic points regarding H.M. Ershad`s regime and his party politics but doesn`t particularly focuses on Ershad`s verbal communicational acts. So it shows that there is a big gap in this field of political communication of HM Ershad, thus this study can be a break thorough study as it provides a unique study focus on HM Ershad`s communicational acts throughout his political career.

2.2 Study Framework

I have also developed a framework for my study where it shows that political phases of Ershad have an impact on the speeches, both spoken and written, of Ershad.

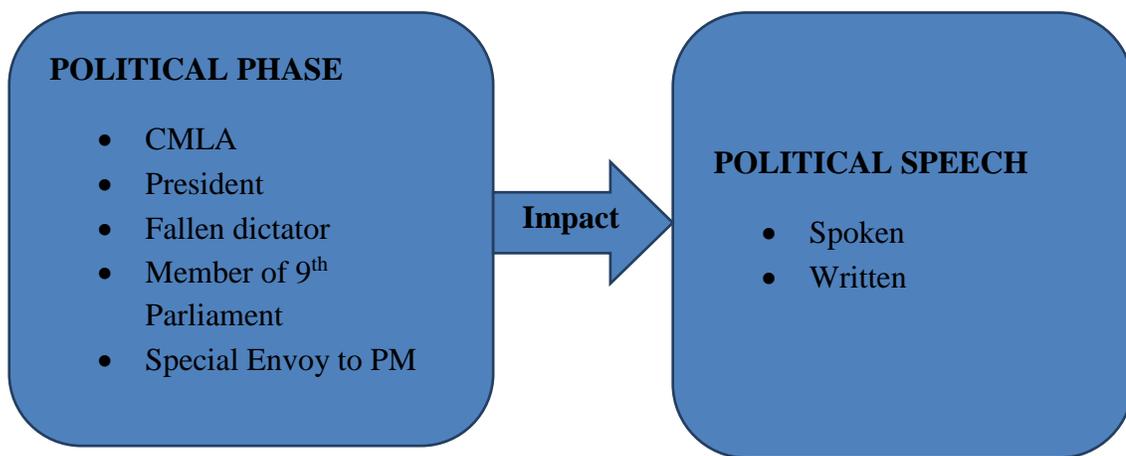


Figure 1. Framework of the Study

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

Previously I have mentioned that the primary objective is to find the verbal communication patterns of H.M. Ershad in-order to justify his claim to be transformed from a dictator to a democrat. Earlier chapters of this research paper have developed background for this research and in Chapter II several research papers, journals, newspaper articles on Political Communication, Discourse were reviewed for the literature. After reviewing the literature, describing key concepts, theoretical and conceptual framework for the study, this Chapter III represent the research design and method, used for the study.

3.1 Type of Study

Methodology is defined as a scientifically appropriate way to create and express knowledge (Dangreau, 2012). As this research seek explanations or answers to the research questions, so I have used the Qualitative Approach for this study which helped me to explain, gain insight and understand the phenomena through intensive collection of narrative data. Since the study focuses on the transformation of communicational acts of H.M. Ershad so, qualitative approach is more appropriate than quantitative approach as the focus of the study will be on situational concepts with non- statistical approaches, which will allow more freedom for data choice (Dangreau, 2012). One of the biggest

advantage in this Qualitative Approach is the wide range of qualitative methods I have used to track down Ershad's corresponding communication pattern.

3.2 Research Method

This research is an accumulation of Content Analysis which is defined by Matos (n.d.) as “an appropriate method to identify for instance words or labels in advertisements; phrases of themes in political speeches; paragraphs of space in newspapers...” Supporting this Aktaruzzaman (2011) said that Content Analysis is usually referred to analysis of existing documents such as magazines, newspapers, books, internet .So in the study; I have looked for relevant speeches of H.M. Ershad to track down his rhetorical terms.

There are three types of Qualitative Content Analysis- Conventional, Directed and Summative Content Analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). For my research, I have used both Conventional and Summative Content Analysis. Hsieh & Shannon (2005, p. 1283) mentioned that “a study using a summative approach to qualitative content analysis starts with identifying and quantifying certain words or content in text with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words or content.” In the same paper, the authors stated that study of Conventional Qualitative Content Analysis starts with observation where codes are defined during data analysis.

3.3 Variables

There are mainly two Variables in this research- Political Phases of Ershad and Verbal Communication i.e. Speeches. Political phases of Ershad are the independent variable whereas Verbal Communication (Speeches) is the dependent variable.

3.4 Population and Sampling

It is important to select the population and sample of any research in a systematic way to make it credible and indicative. For this study, I have used Stratified Purposeful sampling as it helps to have a deeper understanding of the research problem. “Using this sampling method, the researcher presents the widest range of samples, including the unusual ones, to “represent diverse cases and to fully describe multiple perspectives about the cases” Creswell (1997, p.129) mentioned in Chang (2008).

All data were generated by reviewing Secondary materials i.e. political speeches of HM Ershad. Overall 5 speeches were taken as sample size i.e. one speech per political phase of HM Ershad based on the importance of the context and situation of the speech in which they were delivered which is illustrated in Table 1:

Table 1: Sample Speech Justification

Political position of Ershad	Period	Importance of the speech
Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA)	May 1982	Peak period of Ershad`s autocratic regime right after the declaration of Martial Law by General Ershad
President	November 1986	Withdrawn of Martial Law and passing of Seventh Amendment in the Parliament by President Ershad
Fallen Dictator	March 2006	The year 2006 was the final year of BNP-Jamaat government and there was a dispute among all political parties regarding the caretaker government system and the whole election commission, process.
Member of 9 th Parliament	November 2013	Speech delivered just one and a half month before the 10 th Parliamentary election
Special Envoy to Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina	6 th January 2015	Speech delivered after one year of being in the position as Special Envoy and since 5 th January 2015 there was a deadly conflict between the government and opposition party BNP so it was a crucial period.

The speech during his time as CMLA was collected from *The Bangladesh Times* newspaper and Ershad`s speech as the President was collected from *The Bangladesh Observer* newspaper. Collections of the English text of the speech from both the newspapers were photocopied from National Achieves of Bangladesh, located in Agargaon, Dhaka. The other three speeches and statements of HM Ershad as a fallen

dictator, MP of 9th Parliament and Special Envoy to PM were collected from Jatiya party office, Banani, Dhaka. These three speeches were in Bengali so it was translated by a professional translator. The timeframe of collecting the speeches and translating them is from February 2015 to May 2015.

3.5 Data Analysis Procedure

The data is analyzed using TagCrowd (<http://tagcrowd.com/>), Text Analyzer (<http://www.online-utility.org/text/analyzer.jsp>) and ATLAS_{ti} 5.2 software. For this study, I went to ICCDRB, Mohakhali, Dhaka to collect ATLAS_{ti} 5.2 software.

TagCrowd is used to generate Tag cloud for the speeches in-order to find the high and low frequency words. Speeches were put in the ATLAS_{ti} 5.2 software and then coded to find out the presence of Personal Pronouns in the speeches. The table below shows the how the personal pronouns were coded:

Table 2: Coding of Personal Pronouns

Coding of Personal Pronouns
First Person- I (1) , We (2)
Second Person- You (3)
Third Person- It (4) , They (5)
Possessive Pronoun- My (6) , Our (7) , Your (8) , Their (9)

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this Chapter, I will present my analysis of the political speeches of HM Ershad and share the research findings and results. The analysis of five different political phases of HM Ershad are classified into three main parts where in the first part, highlight of the speech are discussed followed by keyword analysis within the speech and lastly usage of personal pronouns in the speech. In the final section of this Chapter, the results will show a comparison and later on a summary of the findings will be discussed in the last Chapter V.

4.1 Analysis of Speech as CMLA

The speech is an address to the nation by Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) HM Ershad, delivered on 10th May 1982 which was broadcasted live in Bangladesh Betar and Bangladesh Television. The statistics of the speech are given in the table next page.

Table 3: Statistics of Sample Speech of CMLA

Statistical Terms	Sample speech
Number of words	4902
Lexical density	27.8050
Number of sentences	223
Number of syllables	8423

Table 3 shows that Ershad's speech includes 4902 words consisting of 223 sentences with a lexical density of 27.8050 and usage of 8423 syllables. As per (Grammarly.com, 2015) Lexical density is defined as a “term used in text analysis. It measures the ratio of content words to grammatical words. Content words are nouns, adjectives, most verbs, and most adverbs. Grammatical (sometimes called functional) words are pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, some adverbs, determiners, and interjections.”

Ershad begins the speech with a greeting “Dear countrymen. Assalamu Alaikum.” (Paragraph 01). The audience of the speech was all the nationals of Bangladesh and since people had no alternative radio or television channels other than Bangladesh Betar and Bangladesh Television so they had no choice but rather to listen to the speech. Besides, it has only one and half month that Martial Law was declared in the country; so people were also very curious to know what the CMLA had to put into

table for them. In other words, the situation was such that it was difficult to ignoring the speech of CMLA.

The speech is quite long where CMLA HM Ershad tries to justify his government and talks about the actions and objectives which he is inclined to. At the beginning of the speech, Ershad touches the point highlighting so many problems before the Martial Law was declared and how his government is tackling these problems step by step, which will eventually benefit the people.

He further mentions “This is why the entire people have greeted the Martial Law today with delight” (Paragraph 02). So it is Ershad who is himself claiming that people are very happy with the Martial Law where in reality it might be not as welcoming as he claims to be. So he is dominating the people`s choice by the realm of his power.

In the body of his speech, Ershad highlights the actions of his government like establishment of Martial Law courts to fight against corrupt politicians, giving responsibility to his high ranked army officials to make plans for rural development.

Ershad says “a number of leaders and government officials including others have been taken into custody on charge of corruption and cases have also been instituted against them in Martial Law courts” (Paragraph 04). This shows Ershad`s political dominance over other politicians and justice. Even though Ershad talks about development but he gives the authority to the armed forces to take decisions and plans, not to the elected people.

Ershad also mentions his main objective to reform old judiciary system in order to establish Rule of Law. But the question arises how can a CMLA maintain Rule of Law- by force, by power or by establishing Martial Law courts? Ershad further added his plans to retrieve national economy, to give better health service to the people and also about social reform including steps to invalidate dowry system from society. This showed how he tried to win the audience over his side which was a clever attempt to make his Martial Law government a little popular to the grass root people of the country.

In the later part of the speech, Ershad talks about establishment of Press Commission for reviewing newspaper industry which actually hinders the freedom of press and again showed his supreme authority and dominant nature. He also mentions the support and appreciation of Saudi King towards his government justifying foreign support towards him. Ershad further said “The most significant aspect of the Saudi trip was that the door of the Kabba was unexpectedly flung open for us and I offered prayer and munajat in the house of Allah for the peace, security and progress of Bangladesh” (Paragraph 39). This shows that Ershad is well aware of the sentiments of the people of Bangladesh and since majority of the citizens are Muslims so he makes this statement to win their hearts.

In concluding remarks, Ershad again said that his Martial law is for the interest of the country and its development and calls for unity between the people and the armed forces for full filling his objectives. He ends the speech by saying “Khoda Hafez. Bangladesh, Zindabad.”

Overall it is seen through the speech that how Ershad establishes supreme power and authority for both political and social dominance. His tone was such that it is he and his military government who could work for the benefit and development of the nation and the people. However throughout his speech, the authoritarian relationship between military and citizens are also established.



Figure 2. Tag cloud from Speech of CMLA

Figure 2 shows a Tag cloud generated for Speech using TagCrowd software. From this figure, table 4 is formed classifying high and low frequency words in the speech.

Table 4: Keywords from Speech of CMLA

High Frequency Words (Range 19-45 times)	Low Frequency Words (Range 07-10 times)
People National Law Administration Country Corruption Development	Public Justice Respect Responsible Activities Political Changes

Table 4 shows the usage of vocabulary in the speeches of HM Ershad during his time as a Dictator and the high frequency words such as ‘Corruption’, ‘Administration’, and ‘Development’ shows his intentions of establishing Martial Law in the country. Surprisingly even though the high frequency list shows words such as ‘People’, ‘National’ but on the other hand there are words such as ‘Justice’, ‘Activities’, ‘Political’ in the low frequency wordlist. This shows how Ershad was intolerant towards political activities, democracy, freedom even though he talked about nation, country and people.

Table 5: Pronoun usage from Speech of CMLA

Personal Pronoun		Sample Speech
First person	I	32
	We	47
Second person	You	18
Third person	It	20
	They	13
Possessive Pronoun	My	3
	Our	32
	Your	1
	Their	26

It is seen from Table 5 that the pronoun ‘**We**’ has been used the most in the speech and second to that are the pronouns ‘**I**’ and ‘**Our**’. The least use pronouns in the speech are ‘**My**’ and ‘**Your**’.

But now let’s have a look what these personal pronouns actually meant and who are they referring to. Quotations from the speech are taken as examples to find out the inner meaning of the personal pronoun usage.

The following examples show how **We** is used:

Example (1): “we are deeply respectful to the rule of law as a civilized nation and we are determined to punish all indulging in crimes through the process of justice.”

Example (2): “We have taken over the administration.”

Example (3): “We have decided to recast this mouth-eaten administrative system unsuitable for an independent country and we have taken steps for a number of changes in some important areas in the administration.”

From the three examples above, it is clear that the pronoun ‘**We**’ signifies authority by Ershad and his military.

The following examples show how ‘**I**’ is used:

Example (4): “i had directed all to submit their accounts just after the promulgation of Martial Law.”

Example (5): “I have asked to law enforcing agencies to apply law firmly.”

Example (6): “I believe the proper coordination between the private and the public sector is imperative.”

Example (7): “I have constituted the Press Commission...”

All of the above four examples indicate that the pronoun ‘**I**’ signifies Ershad’s authority, his own positional power and agenda. The speech becomes more subjective because of the usage of the pronoun ‘**I**’ and it shows how all decision are taken by Ershad himself, where every time he gives credit to himself for all the actions.

The following examples show how ‘**Our**’ is used:

*Example (8): “One of **our** main principles is to reach the over-all administration to the people”*

*Example (9): “One of **our** main objectives is to bring about a reform in the age old judiciary.”*

*Example (10): “The numbers of **our** Ministries have been brought down to 17 from 42 Divisions”*

The above examples show that Ershad refers to his military government by using the pronoun ‘**Our**’.

On the other hand, the pronoun ‘**Our**’ sometimes also refers to the society and country which is seen in the following examples:

*Example (11): “In **our** society justice had so long been neglected.”*

*Example (12): “One of the main reasons for **our** economic crisis is rampant corruption...”*

The following examples show how ‘**My**’ is used:

*Example (13): “I am expressing **my** gratefulness to the Almighty that the nation could be saved from the curse of a dreadful famine...”* This pictures Ershad as a person with belief and compassion.

*Example (14): “I will say something on **my** visit to Saudi Arabia.”* Here Ershad narrates his story of visiting to Saudi Arabia. But in reality it was a governmental visit to Saudi Arabia but Ershad made it personal to the people.

4.2 Analysis of Speech as President

The speech is an address to the nation by President HM Ershad, delivered on 11th November 1986 which was broadcasted live on Bangladesh Betar and Bangladesh Television. The statistics of the speech are given in the table as follows:

Table 6: Statistics of Sample Speech as President

Statistical Terms	Sample speech
Number of words	925
Lexical density	39.3514
Number of sentences	43
Number of syllables	1557

Table 6 shows that Ershad's speech includes 925 words consisting of 43 sentences with a lexical density of 39.3514 and usage of 1557 syllables.

Since it was an address to the nation and at that time there were no other bangla television, radio channels other than Bangladesh Television (BTV) and Betar so the audience were the entire population as people had no other alternative but to listen to the speech, plus since it was the declaration of lifting up Martial Law, so people were excited and keen to know what President Ershad had to say in this context.

Ershad begins the speech without any formal greeting by directly saying “Today, I like to say a few words on an auspicious moment of great significance...”

(Paragraph 01). In the next line he talked about passing the Seventh Amendment Bill, which was an approval of all the actions taken by Ershad and his government since they came to power in March 1982. This was actually a step taken by President Ershad and his members in the parliament to legalize everything of what they have done till 1986, which was a sure dominance to the political and social system of the country. Next he reminds the people of his promise to restore democracy in the country and gives thanks to the people and National Parliament for their support which made this transition easy. Now the question arises- did actually ordinary people supported Ershad in order to pass this Seventh Amendment Bill or it was his own people within the Parliament which made it possible just to save themselves from being accused of their actions after Ershad took over power through a bloodless coup in March 1982?

Ershad said “This is the era of democracy, the era of triumph of ensuring the rights of the people and era of progress traversing the path of democracy” (Paragraph- 3). He actually boosts up the passing of Seventh Amendment Bill and the withdrawn of Martial Law as an epoch for democratic movement but what about the basic fundamentals of democracy which included giving ultimate authority to people, political equality and free elections? Was democracy really established or there was still a superior domination by HM Ershad both in country and society?

Then Ershad points out his delay for this transition with the excuses of taking longer time to fulfill his government objectives, which he had set when he grabbed power in 1982 to stabilize the country's situation. But a question arises that if those objectives were for the welfare and benefit of people then why President Ershad

amended the constitution; legalizing all his deeds and actions? It might be that he had all the authority to do so bypassing other political parties.

In the last part of the speech, Ershad talked about the planting of the seed of democracy and calls out for multi-party democracy, role of opposition in a democratic system and respect for others` opinions. By this he actually wanted to portray himself as a pure democratic President of the country and his tone was quite amiable. He again classifies the day as a `historic` and `joyous moment` and ends the speech by saying “Khoda Hafez. Bangladesh, Zindabad.”



Figure 3. Tag cloud from Speech as President

From Figure 3, a table is formed classifying high and low frequency words in the speech.

Table 7: Keywords of Speech as President

High Frequency Words (Range 05-11 times)	Low Frequency Words (Range 02-03 times)
<p>Democracy</p> <p>Democratic</p> <p>National</p> <p>Co-operation</p> <p>Constitutional</p> <p>Country</p> <p>Party</p> <p>Parliament</p>	<p>Opinion</p> <p>Opposition</p> <p>Objective</p> <p>Responsibility</p> <p>Power</p>

Table 8: Pronoun usage as President

Personal Pronoun		Sample Speech
First person	I	14
	We	07
Second person	You	08
Third person	It	05
	They	00
Possessive Pronoun	My	11
	Our	12
	Your	04
	Their	01

It is seen from Table 8 that the pronouns ‘**I**’, ‘**My**’ and ‘**Our**’ have been used the most in the speech. ‘**We**’ is used half the times of ‘**I**’ is used.

The following examples show how **I** is used:

*Example (1): “The sacred pledge that **I** made to you four and a half years ago”*

(Paragraph 01)

*Example (2): “**I** got all our cooperation from my countrymen and from the National*

Parliament at every stage in the process of transition to democracy” (Paragraph 02)

In the above two examples, it is reflected such that Ershad is the supreme commander of everything and it was he himself who had committed and it is he whom the people and parliament supported.

Example (3): “I express gratitude to Allah, the merciful on this long cherished occasion and seek His blessings to give me the strength” (Paragraph 04). In this example Ershad portrays himself as a religious person.

Example (4): “I call upon all respective of party afflictions and operations, to place the country and the nation above everything” (Paragraph 10). Here Ershad portrayed him as a patriotic leader who loves his country and also directs other political parties to do the same.

The following examples show how **My** is used:

*Example (5): “All actions reform and law affected by **my** government since March 24, 1982 (Paragraph01)*

*Example (6): “I myself and **my** Government have put in our sincere efforts with utmost patience” (Paragraph 05)*

In the above two examples, it seems as President Ershad owns the government all by himself.

The following examples show how **We** is used:

*Example (7): “I pledged that **we** will return to democratic...” (Paragraph 05)*

*Example (8): “But **we** did not lose heart in our initiatives” (Paragraph 05)*

*Example (9): “**we** have no intention to prolong Martial Law for even a day...” (Paragraph 06)*

The pronoun ‘We’ clearly meant Ershad and his government whereas in democratic system ‘We’ denotes as people.

4.3 Analysis of Speech as Fallen Dictator

The sample speech is an address to the party members by HM Ershad, as the Chairman of Jatiya Party, on 1st March 2006 in a grand assembly at Paltan, Dhaka; which was organized by the party itself. The statistics of the speech are given in Table 9:

Table 9: Statistics of Sample Speech as Fallen Dictator

Statistical Terms	Sample speech
Number of words	3054
Lexical density	32.5475
Number of sentences	250
Number of syllables	4921

Table 9 shows that Ershad's speech includes 3054 words consisting of 250 sentences with a lexical density of 32.5475 and usage of 4921 syllables.

Ershad begins the speech with a greeting “Dear countrymen. AssalamuAlaikum.” (Paragraph 01). The audience of the speech was mostly the members of Jatiya Party as it was as party assembly and another thing to keep in mind

that in Bangladesh poor women and young boys are hired to join these kind of political party assemblies. The speech was delivered in the final year of BNP-Jammat lead government when there was a conflict regarding Caretaker Government Issue for the 9th Parliament general election. The speech is quite long where Ershad, as the Chairman of Jatiya Party, tries his level best to win people`s hearts with emotional appeal, promises and justification of his and his party stands. At the beginning of the speech, Ershad clarifies him not to be called an autocrat because of the presence of the giant crowd in the Paltan Assembly. He says “If I were an autocrat, then a sea of people will not appear here at my call. This huge crowd has proved that I am no autocrat and a darling of their heart” (Paragraph 01). He said that he had quit power for the people but now the result is such that those people are in great suffering. Following this he talked about the suffering of people due to crisis of electricity, fertilizer, price hike, unemployment and terrorism. This is how he linked up with the audience which was pretty tactful I would say.

After talking about crisis, Ershad talked about the ineffective and failure of the parliament by saying that “The country’s parliament is failing to provide neither any solution to these problems, nor any decision either” (Paragraph 06), followed by blaming the main opposition party Awami League for their inert participation in Parliament. Later while talking about terrorism he again blamed Awami League by saying that “The poison tree which was germinated during the last Awami League regime spread its branches during the regime of the present government” (Paragraph 09). He blamed Awami League (AL) for failed attempts like strikes which didn`t had

any public support according to Ershad who further said that AL's main goal was to go to power at any cost. The reason Ershad was so anti-AL in this case as it was the BNP-Jamaat government period and he had to save himself and his party so he couldn't go against them directly so the whole blame Ershad put was on the main opposition party at that time which was Awami League (AL).

At one point in his speech, Ershad started beating up his own drums by saying "History of the regime of the Jatiya party is the history of development, prosperity and the golden era of reforms" (Paragraph 01). This is the part where he talks his regime where he mentions about the development of Upazilla system, roads, agriculture and education sector. He further makes his emotional by talking about his own suffering in jail where he couldn't offer Eid prayer in congregation and also described how he suffered from jaundice in jail. All of these were done to win over the audience heart with development and emotional stories. In paragraph25, Ershad initially said that his party will not form any alliance with anyone and participate in the election all alone, yet in the next line he said "However, we may form an alliance of understanding of partnership to cope with the demand of time." This shows that there is no surety in his joining alliance or participate in the election all alone; thus there remains a possibility to go with the flow of time which portrays Ershad's unpredictable character.

In the last quarter of the speech, Ershad pleaded for forgiveness over his past mistakes and wanted a chance again to serve the country based on his previous

experience as being a President. This shows how desperate he is to go to power again. Then he introduces 15 points, a kind of election manifesto where he gives some promises to fulfill if he goes to power again. These points include freedom to introduction of full-fledged Upazilla system, judiciary, election commission and others. One of his promises was exempting “electricity and water bill in mosques, madrasah, temples and other places of worship” (Paragraph29). Ershad very well knew that most of the people in Bangladesh are very sentimental towards Islam so he made such statement to take them on his side. At the end he concluded his speech by telling that people have the power to change history once again by bringing Jatiya Party in power and ends the speech by saying “May Allah protect all”



Figure 4. Tag cloud from Speech as Fallen Dictator

Table 10: Keywords of Speech as Fallen Dictator

High Frequency Words (Range 19-33 times)	Low Frequency Words (Range 04-08 times)
Party	Autocrat
Country	History
Election	Nation
Power	Parliament
Alliance	Political
Government	Regime

By looking at the high frequency words such as ‘Party’, ‘Election’, ‘Alliance’ it can be noted that Ershad at that period as a Fallen dictator wanted to organize his party, prepare himself and his Jatiya Party for national election by forming alliances with other parties as he wanted to go to power again.

Table 11: Pronoun usage as Fallen Dictator

Personal Pronoun		Sample Speech
First person	I	64
	We	15
Second person	You	07
Third person	It	07
	They	18
Possessive Pronoun	My	24
	Our	04
	Your	1
	Their	09

It can be seen from Table 11 that the pronoun ‘I’ has been used the most in the speech i.e. 64 times and second to that is the pronoun ‘My’, which is used almost 3 times less than pronoun ‘I’. The Pronouns ‘We’ and ‘They’ have almost similar usage i.e. 15 and 18 times respectively. The pronoun ‘Our’ falls under the least usage category i.e. only 4 times. Quotations from the speech are taken as examples to find out the inner meaning of the personal pronoun usage.

The following examples show how ‘I’ is used:

Example (1): “I am further sad that over a hundred garments workers have been killed in two garments accidents in Chittagong and Dhaka over last few days. I pray for salvation of their soul, convey my deepest consolation to members of the bereaved families and call upon the government to give due compensation to the bereaved families” (Paragraph 02)

Here Ershad shows his compassion to the suffering and loss of people. Since most of his audience who came to Paltan belonged to the working class so this statement was made to touch their heart.

Example (2): “I turned Islam into the state religion, declared Friday as the weekly holiday and arranged for announcing ajan (call to prayer) over radio and on television. I have also built and repaired countless number of mosques and have exempted electricity and water bill of mosques, temples and other places of worship. I have developed madrasah education in coordination with modern education and have

arranged for monthly allowance to imams and muazzin across the country” (Paragraph 20)

In the example above, Ershad takes all credit to himself for the development of Islam in Bangladesh. Here he again used religion as a tool to win the sentiments of people.

Example (3): “The amount of development I have done is more than development done by all the rest of governments together” (Paragraph 21)

Here Ershad takes personal involvement and credit for all the development works that has been done in the Bangladesh throughout, which is quite debatable and questionable too. Thus it shows Ershad’s superiority nature within himself.

Example (4): “I had to suffer imprisonment for long 6 years at a stretch. I was barred from speaking with anybody for three and half a year. I could not perform prayer in congregation in 12 Eids. In 6 Ramadans I could not perform fasting by eating sehri. I was not supposed to keep alive. I was attacked with jaundice” (Paragraph 22). In this example, it shows how Ershad uses his own story of suffering and agony to make a mark into the people’s mind.

Example (5): “I declared that I would declare my decision as to join any alliance or vying in the election singly in the grand gathering” (Paragraph 23). This shows political dominance of Ershad over his party people as it says that is clearly his own decision in joining any alliance.

The following examples show how ‘**My**’ is used:

*Example (6): “**my** heart today leaps with joy” (Paragraph 01)*

*Example (7): “**My**heart becomes burdened with...” (Paragraph 06)*

The above two lines, Ershad uses ‘my’ to convey a poetic language by linking it with his heart.

*Example (8): “During **my** regime, the party...” (Paragraph 07)*

*Example (9): “**My** ministers were arrested...” (Paragraph 07)*

*Example (10): “Even then **my** party won 35 seats...” (Paragraph 07)*

*Example (11): “Then I and important ministers of **my** government could not win the election...”- (Paragraph 07)*

*Example (11): “during **my** time none could call **my** country a country of fundamentalism” (Paragraph 20)*

In all of the above examples, it is clear that Ershad think that he owns a kind of patent to Jatiya Party, cabinet ministers, and to the government.

The following examples show how ‘**We**’ is used:

*Example (12): “The nation has proved that **we** were not autocratic” (Paragraph 07)*

*Example (13): “Even after 15 years, **we** can show our sights of development (Paragraph 18)*

The above two statements show that Ershad was referring to his government as ‘We’ whereas other examples such as

*Example (14): “So I said that **we** have to be united with an alliance not only for power, **we** have to be in an alliance based on political programs” (Paragraph 23)*

*Example (15): “If **we** can come to power...” (Paragraph 29)*

*Example (16): “If **we** can go to power...” (Paragraph 29)*

In the above three examples, Ershad refers ‘We’ as he and his party. He takes about unity within his party as he was at the stage of a Fallen dictator so it was his agenda to unite his party. Simultaneously the hunger to come to power can also be seen via his above statements.

4.4 Analysis of Speech as Member of 9th Parliament

The sample speech is a press release, with a statement of HM Ershad, which was circulated on 10th November 2013. The press release was send to the News editors and Chief reporters of print and electronic media by Ershad`s Press and Political Secretary.

Table 12: Statistics of Sample Speech as Member of 9th Parliament

Statistical Terms	Sample speech
Number of words	350
Lexical density	53.4286
Number of sentences	15
Number of syllables	582

Table 12 shows that Ershad's speech includes 350 words consisting of only 15 sentences with a lexical density of 53.4286 and usage of 582 syllables.

Without any formal greeting or introduction, Ershad started his statement with anxiety regarding the future of democracy and highlights the fact that how he ended up his military rule but sadly the road for democracy which he paved through back on 10th November 1986 is in threat. He blames all the government which came after his period for not establishing the real democracy and practice democratic behaviors. The reason he mentioned are mainly political clashes, violent activities, jealousy among politicians for which he was worried about the future of democracy.

Ershad named 10th November as the 'Democracy Day' but from history we know it was the day when Ershad passed the Seventh Amendment Bill, with the help of his majority party members in the Parliament, to legalize his Martial Law actions. He further calls everyone for unity to establish 'peace, stability and democratic values.' In the end he takes responsibility for working towards establishment of democracy in the country along with the involvement of Jatiya Party. Throughout the speech Ershad's tone was such that he respects democracy and it is he who has established the real democracy and its fundamentals in the country; and the rest didn't live up to the mark. Since he marks his position as a Member of the 9th Parliament in that situation and the 10th Parliament election was less than two months ahead, so it was his strategy to pull out the trump card of 'democracy' to make his and party's image strong with full credibility.

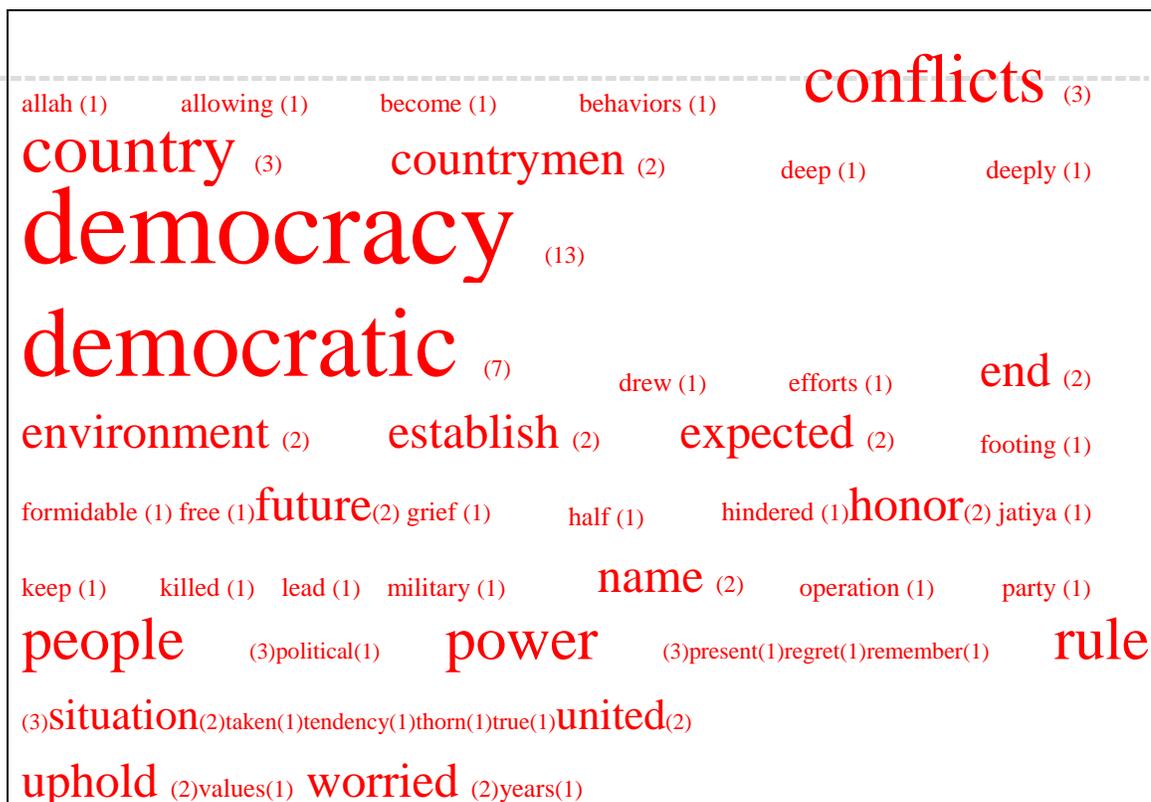


Figure 5. Tag cloud from Speech as Member of 9th Parliament

Table 13 is derived from Figure 5 where main keywords are listed down.

Table 13: Keywords of Speech as Member of 9th Parliament

High Frequency Words (Range 07-13 times)	Low Frequency Words (Range 01-03 times)
Democracy	Power
Democratic	People
	Regret
	Party

Table 14: Pronoun usage as Member of 9th Parliament

Personal Pronoun		Sample Speech
First person	I	09
	We	01
Second person	You	00
Third person	It	01
	They	00
Possessive Pronoun	My	05
	Our	00
	Your	00
	Their	00

It can be seen from Table 14 that the pronoun ‘**I**’ has been used the most in the speech which is almost double to the usage of pronoun ‘**My**’.

The following examples show how ‘**I**’ and ‘**My**’ is used in the speech:

*Example (1): “**I** have become deeply worried over future of much expected democracy”
(Paragraph 01)*

In this case, Ershad conveys his personal opinion of being worried.

*Example (2): “**I** call upon the democracy loving people and the democratic power...”
(Paragraph 02)*

*Example (3): “**I** would like to firmly assure the countrymen that I shall continue **my** struggle until end of my life...” (Paragraph 02)*

In Example (2), Ershad pictures himself as a sole individual where he calls out to other politicians with a sense of a responsible democratic leader who respects democracy.

In Example (3), Ershad promises emotionally to the people how he wants to work for democracy in the country till his last breath. His image here is like a sensible, dedicated leader who would do anything for the country. He made this image since it was the peak time for the 10th Parliament election which was scheduled in almost two months' time from November 2013.

4.5 Analysis of Speech as Special Envoy to PM

The sample speech is a statement of HM Ershad, which was circulated on 6th January 2015 from his Jatiya Party office.

Table 15: Statistics of Sample Speech as Special Envoy to Prime Minister

Statistical Terms	Sample speech
Number of words	315
Lexical density	51.54
Number of sentences	20
Number of syllables	531

Table 15 shows that Ershad's speech includes 315 words consisting of 20 sentences with a lexical density of 51.54 and usage of 531 syllables.

Without any formal greeting or introduction, Ershad started his statement regarding the political conflict in the country which resulted in the loss of lives of ordinary people. Ershad showed empathy towards them and mentioned that “conflict and democracy cannot work together” (Paragraph 01), which shows how he is against conflict and his support for indefinite democracy. Ershad in the next paragraph blames the main opposition party whom he also calls out as ‘election defaulters’ for their non-democratic protests. He simultaneously criticizes the government for stamping down the opposition and calls government as an ‘invader’. Finally he calls out to all the political parties for unity and dialogue in order to mitigate the crisis. Throughout the speech Ershad’s tone showed how he wanted to create unity, cohesiveness and togetherness for the sake of democracy. His position is such that he is the Chairman of the main opposition party in the 10th Parliament and also a Special Envoy to the Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina. So his vocabulary, tone and style of the speech should reflect his positional power which he fulfills it at its best.



Figure 6. Tag cloud from Speech as Special Envoy to Prime Minister

Table 16: Keywords from Speech as Special Envoy to Prime Minister

High Frequency Words (Range 03-06 times)	Low Frequency Words (Range 01-02 times)
Parties	Nation
Politics	Opposition
Conflicting	Democratic
Country	Suppressing
Government	Tolerate
Peaceful	Protest

From the tag cloud, table 16 is formed which shows the list of high and low frequency words in Ershad`s speech.

Table 17: Pronoun usage from Speech as Special Envoy to Prime Minister

Personal Pronoun		Sample Speech
First person	I	05
	We	02
Second person	You	00
Third person	It	00
	They	03
Possessive Pronoun	My	00
	Our	01
	Your	00
	Their	00

It can be seen from Table 17 that the pronoun ‘I’ has been used the most in the speech which is almost triple to the usage of pronoun ‘We’.

The following examples show how ‘I’ and ‘We’ are used:

Example (1): “I had proposed to all the political parties...”

Example (2): “I am again inviting all the political parties...”

These lines show that Ershad is an individualistic person and wants to take credit for his proposal and invitation for discussion to all the political parties.

Example (3): “We cannot tolerate either of these. The citizens want peace, security and they want strong democratic state. We believe for the sake of the citizens both parties have to be calm and peaceful.”

In this case Ershad refers ‘We’ to him and his Jatiya Party.

4.6 Comparison of Ershad’s political speeches

Table 18: Comparison of the Rhetoric Terms

Rhetoric Terms	CMLA	President	Fallen Dictator	Member of 9th Parliament	Special Envoy to Prime Minister
No. of words	4902	925	3054	350	315
Lexical density	27.8050	39.3514	32.5475	53.4286	51.54
No. of sentences	223	43	250	15	20
No. of syllables	8423	1557	4921	582	531

It is seen from table 18 that Ershad used to give longer speeches when he was CMLA compared to his present position as Special Envoy to Prime Minister (PM). The reason might be such that during his initial period, he talked about his personal objectives, promises to convince and win people`s heart so he gave longer speeches whereas in the later part of his political career he couldn`t because the context, his position didn`t demand for longer speeches. Lexical density of the speeches were the most when he was the Member of 9th Parliament and Special Envoy to PM compared to when he was CMLA and President of the country which mean his speech had more grammatical terms compared to simple words.

Table 19: Comparison of the high and low frequency words

Keywords	CMLA	President	Fallen Dictator	Member of 9th Parliament	Special Envoy to Prime Minister
High Frequency	People National Law Administration Country Corruption Development	Democracy Democratic National Co-operation Constitutional Country Party Parliament	Party Country Election Power Alliance Government	Democracy Democratic	Parties Politics Conflicting Country Government Peaceful
Low Frequency	Public Justice Respect Responsible Activities Political Changes	Opinion Opposition Objective Responsibility Power	Autocrat History Nation Parliament Political Regime	Power People Regret Party	Nation Opposition Suppressing Tolerate Protest

Table 19 lists down the vocabulary in Ershad`s speeches which shows quite an interesting trend i.e. there is a shift in the usage of words according to his political position but there is no sustainable shift.

When Ershad was the CMLA, he talked about administration, corruption, development because he grabbed power on the basis of reform so he talked about his objectives of restructure mostly whereas he talked less about justice, political activities as it was Martial Law period so it was not within his agenda to talk about it.

While being the President of the country, when he gave the declaration of withdrawing Martial Law, his main words were democracy, parliament, and constitutional as he wanted to portray his image as a democratic President. He wanted to uphold his image to the nation as a democratic leader but he talked less about opinion, opposition which kind of portrays his autocratic attitude. When he was a Fallen dictator, his mostly used words were alliance, party and power as he was desperate to go to power and wanted to re-organize his party and its members at any cost.

The word ‘Power’ was used least when he was the President but during his time as a Fallen dictator it was mostly used. Similarly the words ‘Election’, ‘Alliance’ were missing during his terms as CMLA and President which were present when he was a Fallen dictator. This showed during his term as CMLA and President, fundamentals of democracy such as election, alliance with other parties were missing. However again the word ‘Power’ was least used when he was the Member of the 9th Parliament (MP) and he talked more about democracy. This was because he and his party were in

alliance with the government so indirectly they were in power so he didn't had to think about power much and since he was an MP and the speech was given right before the 10th Parliament election thus for his own credibility and desire to come to power again, he talked about democracy and democratic behaviors. In other words his main objective of using such words was to take people's over his side and come to power again. As a Special Envoy to PM, he talked about 'peaceful', 'parties' more and he called out to every party for discussion to resolve conflict and criticized government for suppressing the opposition as well. With these words he wanted to create his image like a responsible leader of Opposition who is also the Special Envoy to the Prime Minister.

Table 20: Comparison of the usage of Personal Pronouns in the speeches

Personal Pronoun	CMLA	President	Fallen Dictator	Member of 9th Parliament	Special Envoy to Prime Minister	Total
I	32	14	64	09	05	124
We	47	07	15	01	02	72
You	18	08	07	00	00	33
It	20	05	07	01	00	33
They	13	00	18	00	03	34
My	3	11	24	05	00	43
Our	32	12	04	00	01	49
Your	1	04	1	00	00	06
Their	26	01	09	00	00	36

Another significant trend from table 20 can be seen in the usage of personal pronouns where it is seen that throughout Ershad`s political career, the most frequently used pronouns `I` compared to any other pronouns. The pronoun `I` has been used almost

double times than the pronoun **'We'** which is the second mostly used pronoun in all the speeches. This is a surprising finding as from the Literature Review it was shown that democratic leaders are very reluctant using the pronoun **'I'**. This shows that even though the vocabulary of Ershad makes mention of democracy, democratic behavior, election, unity of the all political parties but he is a solely individualistic politician who always thrives on his own personal power, agenda, loves to give credit to himself only, takes responsibility for everything whether it is the formation of the Press Commission during his Martial law period or for calling out the political parties for unity.

On the other hand the pronoun **'We'** was never used for the unity of people in Ershad's speeches; rather it always signified to either both Ershad and his military force when he was CMLA, or it signified Ershad and his government when he was the President, or it signified Ershad and his Jatiya party throughout the rest of his political career. Since **'We'** never reflected the people, the ordinary citizens of the country so does it actually justify Ershad's claim to be democratic? In a likewise manner, the pronoun **'My'** and **'Our'** also denotes the same thing where Ershad behaves as if he owns a kind of patent to his Jatiya party, his government, his ministers and so on. This again showed Ershad's despotic behavior and attitude even though he over the surface talks about democracy and democratic behavior.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Summary and Conclusion

As it was mentioned earlier, this article sought to answer two research questions RQ 01 - How are the verbal communication patterns manifested at the different stages of Ershad`s political career? And RQ 02- Has HM Ershad transformed from a dictator to a democratic leader according to his own claim? To get answers to these questions, the paper has used Content Analysis to five different speeches at five different political stage of Ershad. After the analyzing the speeches, few conclusions have been derived from the political discourse of Ershad:

When Ershad was CMLA and President, he always started his speech with a formal greeting of Salaam. But during his last two phases as an MP and the Special Envoy to Prime Minister, he went straight forward into his speech. The reason maybe is that in later phases, Ershad used to give statements in press releases whereas in the earlier periods, his speeches were broadcasted live on national television and radio. So the media through which the speeches have been delivered have changed accordingly.

Interestingly it was Ershad as CMLA who formed Press Commission to monitor them and now Ershad as Special Envoy to PM gives Press release to print and electronic media asking them to publish his statements. The relationship between Ershad and media did turn back.

One interesting finding is that when Ershad was the CMLA and President, he ended his speech saying “Khoda Hafez. Bangladesh, Zindabad.” But he never used this phrase again during the rest of his political career. The reason behind this is that the same buzzword is used by another opposition party BNP and perhaps at the beginning of Ershad`s political career he was somehow influenced by former President Zia but later on he moved away from this.

The tone of Ershad within the speeches varied according to his political position. Like when he was CMLA, he had a more directive tone, when he was the President his tone was amiable, when he was a Fallen dictator he had an emotional tone, as a Member of Parliament he had a democratic tone and as a Special envoy to PM; his tone is like a responsible leader. The contents of the speeches have also changed accordingly to the favorable time for Ershad which shows that he is a very tactful and skillful speaker.

When he was CMLA he dominated people`s choice by proudly announcing that people have greeted Martial Law whereas after Ershad`s autocratic regime; his language showed sympathy for the people for their loss and suffering.

When he was the CMLA, his language showed political dominance when he made mention of Martial Law courts for the trail of politicians. But now as a Special Envoy to PM, Ershad calls out to all political parties for discussion and reconciliation.

The language of Ershad always played a blame game throughout his political career. When he was CMLA, he blamed the immediate past government and politicians

for corruption. When he was a Fallen dictator, he blamed Awami League for their failure as opposition party in addition to being the main source of terrorism in the country. When he was the MP of 9th Parliament, he blamed all the government in the past for not having real democratic values and lastly when he is the Special Envoy to PM, Ershad blames the election defaulter which is BNP for their abominable protest. So it is clear that Ershad have this tendency to blame his opposition, during and after his dictatorship, for his own personal benefit and political agenda.

Ershad`s discourse also portrays him as a practicing, dedicated Muslim who takes credit for the development of Islam and Muslim community in Bangladesh. He talked about visiting Kabba, Mecca when he was CMLA and again when he was a Fallen dictator he promised to work for the development of mosques, madrassa. This also helped to win over people`s heart as majority of the population in Bangladesh belong to that community.

His speech showed political domination over opposition as CMLA and President. Besides that, his speech also showed political dominance over his own Jatiya Party as well because it was he who had the authority to make a call in going for alliance before the 9th Parliament election.

When he was the President, he used the Parliament to pass the Seventh Amendment Bill but later on as a Fallen dictator it was Ershad who blamed the Parliament to be ineffective. This shows that whenever Parliament was in favor of his political agenda, he appreciated it or else he didn`t.

During his earlier periods, he talked about development, reformation to win people`s hearts. After he had been ousted from power, he talked about election, votes to take people on his side. Interestingly before the 9th Parliament election in 2006, Ershad pleaded for votes, asked for forgiveness and wanted to have another chance to come to power. Again right before the 10th Parliament election, in his statement on November 2013, he talked about democracy and democratic behavior. This shows that Ershad is a cunning, ingenious speaker who knows what to say and what will suit the best in which situation. Thus Ershad`s language is unpredictable and changes according to time.

Ershad always used the pronouns `I`, `We` and `My` to cater his objectives, agenda to the people which shows his resolute authoritarian nature. None of his pronouns reflected people`s opinion, choice and unity. Rather it always served his political and personal messages.

Hence in the end it can be concluded by looking at the verbal communication patterns and discourse of HM Ershad, that the claim made by Ershad of being transformed into a democratic leader is a gimmick as even though his language shows that there is a transformation of wording but it`s not sustainable. His speeches were delivered intentionally and he has manipulated his words for his own survival and existence. In other words Ershad actually evolved according to the traditional power politics where his interest, speech style changed according to different political phase and situation. Ershad`s language shows that he is very much aware of people`s sentiments so he uses it as a tool to win their hearts. His speeches decoded the fact that

Ershad is well aware of the political demand and know what to say and when to make his position more credible to the people. His language before and after his time have a dominant and self-righteous flavor which is further explained by the usage of personal pronouns. The utmost important finding in the study is that even though his speeches have a transition of wording according to the political environment and his position but it was his use of personal pronouns which clearly pictured him as a potentate individual. Thus this study disapproves Ershad`s claim to be transformed into a democratic leader from an autocrat.

5.2 Recommendation

There are not enough researches done on political communication of Bangladeshi politicians therefore I would recommend that more study should be done in this area. Future researchers can use this study as a baseline to study Ershad`s verbal and non-verbal communicational approaches per political phase.

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ANNEX A: HM ERSHAD`S SPEECH AS CMLA

Dear countrymen.

AssalamuAlaikum.

After about one and a half month of the promulgation of Martial Law in the country I have come again before you. It is needless to say anything about the serious deadlock created in the social, political economic and administrative fields before the Martial Law. The problems in the sectors of the national life are so much critical and greater that overnight or instant solution is not possible.

That is why we are to advance stage by stage. Despite so many obstacles the present Government has quickly implemented quite number of pro-people programmes. I am lamentation of such programmes by resisting the vested interests is unprecedented in our contemporary history. This why the entire people have greeted the Martial Law today with delight. In the meantime you have become aware in which areas priorities have been given.

At the outset something must be told about corruption the principal enemy of the society. You know, this fortress of corruption has been built up by those powerful vested interests in the upper echelon of the society. That is why this hated disease is so much comprehensive in its intensity. All-out determined drive with a noble target to uproot this all embracing and powerful illness of corruption is under way.

No sector of the national activities whether in the government or semi-government autonomous or private will be spared from this drive a huge number of proofs and depositions in respect of corruption are being received by us hence this drive will gradually gain strength. You Know, a number of leaders and government officials including others have been taken into custody on charge of corruption and cases have also been instituted against them in Martial Law courts. I want to declare it without ambiguity that those who are responsible for corruption against national interests will be appropriately and severely punished. But that will be done through the process of the law as we are deeply respectful to the rule of law as a civilized nation and we are determined to punish all indulging in crimes through the process of justice. For that two special Tribunals and 34 other Martial Law courts have been set up in the country. Moreover wealth accumulated through the corruption will not be allowed to be enjoyed.

Those wealth's will be confiscated in the public interest.

Corrupt people will be condemned in the society and we must exercise alertness to see

that those corrupt people cannot use their wealth to increase their honour and influence in the society.

Colonial administrative system in this country is one of the main carriers of corruption. We have decided to recast this mouth-eaten administrative system unsuitable for an independent country and we have taken steps for a number of changes in some important areas in the administration. These changes would not only increase proficiency but there will be marked progress in the national economy which is overburdened with the system of top heavy administration. Already we have been successful in saving a significant amount of foreign exchange by rearranging the Ministry of Foreign affairs. Similarly the number of our Ministries have been brought down to 17 from 42 Divisions in the Ministries have been decreased to 47 from 52 in this way the number of sector corporations and boards will be decreased. There are 163 such boards in the country namely, the Cotton Board Horticulture Development Board Handloom Board and the Seed board etc. Those organizations eat up huge amount of revenue through their assistance in the field of production is almost nil. Those must be recognized interconnected offers will be amalgamated to reduce their number.

One of our main principles is to reach the over-all administration to the people. For that reason we have decided to take the administration to the thana level. The main goal of this extensive decentralization process is to build up each village as self-reliant, because without development of the villages the overall development of the country is never possible. We do not believe in the past policy of dazzling urbanity of the towns. That is why it has been decided that this pro-people administrative system will be introduced with a view to achieving welfare of the ninety per-cent of the people. Under this plan each thana will become the nucleus of administration when people of the area will not have to look up at someone's face for the implementation of the development programmes. Such-high ranking and responsible officials will be placed at the thana who will discuss with the representatives of the people in adopting development plans of the area and will be able to implement them. Each than in the country will become self-reliant through this process of decentralization of the power and authority. At the same time they will be made responsible as well as accountable for their activities to the people under system. In the fact this decentralization will be an important step towards restoration of power and rule the hands of the people.

Several administrative inquiry commission and committees have been set up with a view to improving management system and eradicating anarchy and irregularity from the different administrative organizations and institutions for example a board has been set up survey and spot the abuse and wastage in respect of the Government and semi government vehicles to find out a

permanent solution. We have been organizational weaknesses procedural red tapish and a sense of division of specific responsibilities in the ministries divisions and the directorates under them.

The excesses of red tape and created obstacles everywhere besides disparity and bad blood had been created amongst the different cadre services in the name of so called administrative reorganisation. Injustice had been done to many official and employees resulting in the creation of dissatisfaction amongst them. Considering the long-standing administrative bottlenecks a high-level administrative enquiry commission has been formed for its permanent solution. This committee would recommend radical change of the administrative system bring the administration to the door steps of the people, ensure the participation of the people and wipe out colonial legacies from the administration.

The functioning and the formation of the statutory corporations should be examined. As you know here are five bodies dealing with jute alone and that is why our golden fiber is such bad condition. There are two organizations for industrial loan the shilpa bank and the shilpaRinsangstha several others for yarns and cloths two for river transportation a number of organizations are being run for a single job. Only narrow party and individual interest of the powerful persons were behind this. Those leaders had sacrificed the interest of this country and the people without any hesitation. It has become necessary to wind up and reunite these organisations a view to minimizing expenditure and toattainefficiency, along with this corporations should without delay stop the way they are increasing.

As the nation cannot carry the burden of these debts, an inquiry committee has also been set up to examine the functioning's of the sector corporations. I have only mentioned about a few commissions and committees.

Steps for timely examination and corrective measures would be taken in the nationally important sectors. It requires time to modify the long standing indiscipline and mismanagement.

We have given due importance to minimize expenditure in administration. To check wastage and maintain austerity I called upon all government official employees and citizens to follow this principle in all walks of life. To follow this principle is the manifestation to love for the people and of patriotism. As you know crores of taka in foreign exchange are being saved through the check on the misuse of government vehicles. Expenditure in foreign currency has also been curtailed as a result of primary reorganization of the Foreign Ministry. This type of organization would made in the future. I have issued strict order to maintain the policy of minimum expenditure in all sectors and it would be possible to utilize the money in the development sector by minimizing huge revenue expenditure.

At the same time I would appeal to the official and employees of all government and semi-government offices to bring a new wave of working spirit and enhance the skill through discipline and punctuality.

let us create a new tradition of public servants in all offices and courts let the people observing our earnestness change their attitude towards us them say no more that people are only harassed and nothing worthwhile is done in the offices. You better earn appreciation and honour from the people through your deeds. Let it be the goal of all officers and employees of Bangladesh to glorify the administration as servants of the people.

Land Reform

The most important element of our economic growth is the development of agriculture and the prerequisite and main condition for agricultural development was land reform. You all are aware that the poor and small farmers are becoming landless peasants. This has broken the moral strength of our farmers are the real heroes of agriculture development. In reality they are not getting encouragement to boost production. That is why the main purpose of land reform will be the establishment and protection of the interests of the peasantry. I believe that if we could dispel disparity in the rural life, establish the right of the peasants and inspire them properly we can substantially increase production by appropriate use of limited inputs. Land reform is complicated issue governments in the past have failed to carry out land reforms because of a number of reasons. We are conscious about it and will not allow vested interest to create impediments in materialising this nationally important issue. To take necessary measures in this regard a land reform commission will soon be constituted after a thorough discussion of the matter. I want to assure the farmers that we will establish the rights of the peasantry as a matter of principle.

Judiciary

One of our main objectives is to bring about a reform in the age old judiciary. You all know that because of the colonial system of the judiciary most of our people are deprived of justice. We also know that because of complicity and sluggishness in the judicial system, the people have to undergo untold sufferings. That is why we are endeavouring to decentralize the judiciary so that the system becomes speedy and reaches peoples doorsteps. Under new system a bench of the High Court will be established in each division and that would come in to effect from June 15. Besides measures are being taken to relieve the village people from excessive cost this head and to ensure that the get justice quickly. The judiciary will be so stratified that the villagers get all facilities in seeking justice at their thana headquarter so that he may not be harassed and reduce to pauper by selling this moveable and immoveable properties to attend courts on different dates. We are

determined to bring about fundamental changes in the system which in the name of justice was actually exploiting the masses.

Rule of Law

In the mean-time some significant steps have been taken in the law and order sector as a result of which it was possible to arrest a large number of miscreants including hardened criminals, thieves and dacoits besides effective measures have been taken to recover illegal arms. There is no doubt that it is a matter of relief to notice the sign of peace and tranquillity in the rural and urban areas during this brief period of Martial Law because peace and discipline were the pre-condition of all kinds of development activities. On this point I would like to say in clear terms that we are firmly determined to suppress any miscreant with iron hand in the interest of law and order. In our society justice had so long been neglected. Many leaders and persons wielding power were involved in unlawful activities and obtained pecuniary benefits. Exerting influence they obstructed the law enforcing agencies. Being the rulers they showed utter disrespect to the rule of law. As a result, trend to obtain special privileges by defying law exploiting the pitfalls of law and even by breaking in some cases spread in the society. The influential their relations and others under their shelter used to remain above law. Carrying illegal arms these people used to undauntedly move about and repressed the innocent city dwellers. In any civilized society such a condition is deplorable because it weakens the law and other structure in the society.

The masses lose their faith and respect for the law and the society plunges into a stage of anarchy. This condition must have to be changed. No-body will remain above law. The policy to ensure justice and equal rights to all would be our basic principle in regard to law, and we determined to implement this firmly. I have asked the law enforcing agencies to apply law firmly. They will have to apply law remaining above all kinds of influences. I have asked the police force to work very sincerely and control the law and order with full dutifulness. All were warned that those failing to perform their duties would be severely dealt with. Even the police officers will be held responsible for thefts, dacoity and hijacking in their respective thanas and severe steps would be taken against the responsible persons. There are many honest and sincere persons in the police department. This firm step would be taken to protect them as well as greater national interest. Reforms in police department are also under active consideration in order to make the entire police administration more effective.

Food

As we know the country faced an acute food crisis in the past due to mismanagement and lack of farsightedness. Unbridled corruption and stagnancy in administration caused pilferage of thousands of mounds of food grains from the country's food godowns all though correct accounts written in

papers, incredible through it may sound the country would have plunged into serious famine if Martial Law was proclaimed a week later.

You all know this as well that news about death from hunger had started to be reported from the remote areas or Khulna prior to March 24. I am expressing my gratefulness to the Almighty that the nation could be saved from the curse of a dreadful famine—thanks to the timely steps taken in this regard. We have already taken adequate steps to ensure supply of food grain and meanwhile a committee has been appointed to streamline the procurement of food grains from home & abroad, arrange storage facilities, ensure their movement and proper distribution, control prices and identify corruption and irregularities as well as to take punitive action against people re possible for such misdeeds. I would like to give you firm assurance that there is sufficient stock of food grains at our disposal.

We have taken necessary measures to keep the prices of food grains stable. But our basic policy is to sustain an open market system keeping in view the economics of demand and supply. Because we started to reap the harvest of our liberal policy and as a result of withdrawal of control from internal movement of food grains and improvement of the transported system, prices have come down to the normal level. We have nulated over the price situation and I assure you that any corrupt practice or unfair business deal would be sternly dealt with.

My dear countrymen,

The political independence of the country is meaningless without economic emancipation. But in the past a dreadful catastrophe had befallen the economic life of the nation due to corruption unplanned expenditure, faulty management lack of decision and wastage. Life of the common people has been shattered as a result of the heavy burden of inflation due to low agricultural and industrial productivity and the rise of the prices of commodities. The present government have determined five objectives for retrieving the national economy as quickly as possible from this economic malaise to consolidate the national independence and sovereignty.

These objectives are: (1) to attain 7% growth rate (2) to check overhead expenditure in the public sector (3) to encourage private investment (4) to attain food sufficiency and (5) to make effective measure with regard to family planning and population control. We have imposed restrictions on foreign imports to protect and encourage expansion of the domestic industrial sector. It is our national responsibility to ensure the protection and expansion of the home industry in the interest of the national economic development. The slogan of attaining national self-sufficiency shall prove to be empty words if there is no attraction for the country's own industrial system and local products. So, it is the greater national interest that we will have to use the home-made commodities and save the home industry from the onslaught of foreign goods.

We will have to encourage private entrepreneurship that must be made to ensure qualitative development of the locally produced goods and boost production. And this was towards strengthening the economy and productive activities. Far-reaching changes have been introduced in the country's import-export policy -- fourteen items being already banned from the import list. Gradually the imports will be further reduced and industrialization accelerated.

The private sector will be given a more effective role to play for quicker industrialization of the country. The incentives and the facilities from the government for capital investment in the private sector being continued and newer sector shall be opened to the private sector. We cannot afford to continue to depend on foreign assistance for our economic development activities; we have to mobilize domestic resources. The government has given special opportunity for investment of secret income and unutilized capital in productive sector. A hope that everyone will declare their clandestine income having 15% interest without being faced with any sort of cross examination and thus will play their due role in national development activities. Otherwise, the culprits will be given secret punishment at a later stage.

The important role of the public sector in establishing basic industries will be made more effective side by side with giving incentive to the private sector. Production in the public sector industries could be increased and their condition could be improved if we could free the sector from corruption, redtapism and mismanagement. I believe the proper coordination between the private and the public sector is imperative.

Besides, research and innovation work are to be continued for improving the qualitative standard of products both in the public and the private sectors.

One of the main reasons for our economic crisis is rampant corruption and fraud in the banking sector. In many cases loans were sanctioned, violating the loan principles of Bangladesh Bank and without analyzing the project in a proper manner or without ascertaining its economic viability. Many an institution was in proper only. Most of them got this economic benefit for personal or group interest at the behest of party or leader for political reasons or of high-ranking officials and thus they squandered national savings deposited by the people. So I had directed all to submit their accounts just after the promulgation of Martial Law. Today the bank directors are giving account of themselves. They are unable to justify sanctioning of loans of thousand cores of Taka and there is a possibility that there is a few hundred cores of Taka will remain unrealised. Persons responsible for these deeds had only indulged in corruption and irregularities. They had betrayed the people in respect of the savings deposit of the people. The committee appointed in this respect has been reviewing the cases in detail and appropriate measures in this regard will be taken at the appropriate time.

As you know the principles that were formulated in the past in the health sector were urban oriented, as a result a handful of people enjoyed the benefits. On the other hand the vast population in the rural areas were deprived of the minimum medical facilities. We have taken a few important decisions in the health sector to remove this disparity and to reach the medical facilities to the rural people; it has been made compulsory for a doctor to stay in the country for five years after passing out from the collage as a precondition for employment abroad for a limited number of doctors. It has been ensured that they stay in the rural areas the fees for private practitioners have been fixed so that the people of low income group can get the benefit of treatment. One month stay in the village has been included in the M.B.B.S. Curriculum medical collages which exist in name only were established for evil political motives without considering the limited resources and national requirements. We are thinking to expand hospital facilities and establish new hospitals in those places where medical collages were set up for the interest of public health and providing proper treatment facilities. A few more important steps like there are under active consideration of the government which aimed at ensuring medical facilities for all the people of the country.

In the family planning sector there are no progress in reality, but only wastage of money and time as a result of rampant corruption and inefficiency in the past. The main problem facing the sector is to assure the people of its benefits but because of paucity of health facilities it was not possible in the past to make the people in the rural areas to believe of its necessity to limit the number of children. We have therefore, decided to reach the Medicare facilities to the remote corner of the villages. I have the confidence that as a result of this new arrangement the rural people will be able to enjoy the Medicare facilities and that be rid of fear and scepticism they will be voluntarily interested in the family planning programme.

Social Reform

Anarchy and mismanagement were prevailing in our social life as it was also witnessed in the political economic, and other spheres of our national life there was such an erosion of values in personal and social life that our existence as a self respecting nation was at stake corruption, exploitation and erosion of values had brought the social framework nurtured through the ages to the brick of destruction. So we have to face this situation with courage and patience we have taken a number of reformative steps in this regard the dowry system is identified as a festering sore in our society anti-dowry act of 1980 has already been made effective to stop dowry and it has also been ensured that the violators of this law will be prosecuted.

Restrictions have been imposed on the affluent section of the society so that they observe austerity and shun luxury. For the greater interest of the common people along with observing austerity, we have to ensure the dignity of labour in national life No work is beneath the dignity. We have to

honour those who give physical labour. I hope that our student community could enhance the dignity labour by engaging themselves in physical labour in between their study.

A call has been given to the government employees to build up the habit of going on their respective places of work by bus on cycle or on foot with a view of stopping the wastage of government resources. Directives have also been issued to strictly avoid the purchase of luxury goods for office use and dispense with pompous functions and entertainment. Instructions have also been given to enforce guest control order and stop entertainment at office.

Shops set up illegally on streets and footpaths have been evicted to ensure the safety of the pedestrians. At the same time various weekly and evening markets have been launched for the rehabilitation of the affected hawkers and vendors. Two hawkers, markets have already been established in Dacca. Decision has been taken to set up more hawkers markets in Dacca and Chittagong.

Orders have also been issued to the general customers of electricity, water and gas and other goods to clear all area bills. Strict order has been given to the corporations and organizations offering these services and goods send bills regularly and correctly. In fact, these organizations have totally forgotten that they are public welfare bodies created for the service of the people. These organizations are been made much more effective and we seek peoples, cooperation in this direction.

Press Commission and Advertisement Policy

The role of newspaper industry is significant in social reforms building national character and creating congenial political atmosphere. I have full confidence in the patriotism of journalists and their sense of responsibility and i hope that the journalists will act as true patriots with national outlook with the task of overall social reconstruction. I have constituted the Press Commission the long standing and neglected promise to journalist community for reviewing their problems. The Commission will review the present condition of newspaper industry, its development and its role in the field of national development. The Commission will submit its report within six months on the development of newspaper industry proprietorship management system, financial structure of this industry, legal framework on the freedom of Press, its role in the national development and establishment of a corruption and exploitation free and frugal society. A huge amount of public fund has been squandered every year on the head of advertisement. A three member committee have been constituted to review the government advertisement policy. The committee will submit its recommendation on additional arrangement and progress for maintaining frugality on advertisement keeping in view the interest of newspapers.

Foreign Affairs

In conclusion I will say something on my visit to Saudi Arabia. As you know with how much cordiality King Khaled welcomed us. We apprised him of our jihad against corruption and poverty I have explained the national objective for becoming self-reliant and reducing dependence on foreign aid phase by phase.

King Khaled expressed his high appreciation for our people and held out the assurance of full cooperation for the realisation of this objective. Elaborate discussions were held with him on bilateral matters regional and international situation and friendship between our two brotherly countries in the international field was firmly expressed. The most significant aspect of the Saudi trip was the door of the Kabba was unexpectedly flung open for us and I offered prayer and munajat in the house of Allah for the peace, security and progress of Bangladesh. The next day I went to the Rawia Mubarako of our dear Profet Hazrat Muhammed Sallallahu Alaihasalam and there also I offered dua for the overall national development, security, peace and discipline. As a Muslim I firmly believe that verily the blessings of Allah, the merciful, will be bestowed on Bangladesh. Our duty is to work for the establishment of the principle of justice as ordained by Allah and continue to work ceaselessly.

We shall have to embark on constructive work with the same sincere agility and teaching of sacrifice as we had demonstrated during the War of Liberation and established a glorious tradition of supreme sacrifice and sufferings. We have to work relentlessly to ensure our national identity and consolidate our hard-earned independence which was achieved at the altar of blood. You just review the contemporary history and you will see how many governments came and went. We have heard many speeches of ideology and principles and many pledges in the name of Allah and also in the name of people. You yourself say what you have got. What 90% of the country's common men-peasants, workers, students, soldiers, coolies and labourers, low-paid employees, small businessman have reserved. Has the condition of the masses improved or deteriorated? Have the people of Bangladesh achieved Independence and shed their blood and lost their honour for this? If this is the result of politics then I don't understand this politics nor do I intend to understand it. I am a straight foreword soldier. All soldiers of the country understand the simple truth that the common man have so long been suppressed, oppressed and exploited. The welfare of the common man is our task, objective and goal. The armed forces, therefore, have stood by the people in this period of crisis for establishing their rights rebuilding the social structure in their interest and for consolidating the national identity.

We have taken over the administration. I have been telling from the beginning that our Marital Law is different and exceptional in nature. This Martial Law is in the interest of nine crore people. What we need is to embark on the struggle untidily with firm determination capitalizing on the solidarity of the people and the soldiers. This struggle is for the economic emancipation of the people,

establishment of the rule of law and social justice, welfare of the masses and establishment of real democracy. However hard this struggle and whatever irresistible the barrier might be our united endeavours, with unshakeable faith in the Almighty Allah and inspiration of the patriotism, will be crowned with success. We all shall continue to work in the greater interest of the nation sharing the poverty and shunning the ominous dream of building individual property. The unity and united endeavours of the people and the Armed Forces will make us successful.

Khoda Hafez.

Bangladesh, Zindabad

ANNEX B: HM ERSHAD`S SPEECH AS PRESIDENT

“Today, I like to say a few words on an auspicious moment of great significance in the history of our nation and the country. It is a matter of great happiness that the Seventh Amendment Bill was adopted on Monday by the National Parliament which was elected by your active participation. All actions reform and law affected by my government since March 24, 1982 as of Monday have been approved through the adoption of this bill. The sacred pledge that I made to you four and a half years ago for the transition to democracy was fulfilled on Monday with the completion of the last phase of the process for establishing democracy. At the inaugural session of Third National Parliament of the country on July 10 I said, “I hope to get your cooperation for lifting Martial Law within the shortest possible time without creating any constitutional or legal vacuum or problem.

“That hope of mine has been fulfilled. I got all our cooperation from my countrymen and from the National Parliament at every stage in the process of transition to democracy. Elections to the National Parliament and to the President were held peacefully and in a disciplined manner. You expended spontaneous and massive support to me in the presidential election by approving the Seventh amendment to the constitution; the National Parliament has paved the way for reviving the constitution and establishing full democratic system in the country.

‘This is not only the success of untiring efforts on my part and that of my Government and the materializing of the dream natured in the core of my heart but also fulfilled the aspirations of lacks of martyrs of our Great War of Independence and wishes of the people. Today marks the beginning of a new era of history. This is the era of democracy, the era of triumph of ensuring the rights of the people and era of progress traversing the path of democracy.

“I express gratitude to Allah, the merciful on this long cherished occasion and seek His blessings to give me the strength to march foreword with firm steps as the fore-runner of this new journey. On this day of success marking by glorious triumph, I convey my felicitations and gratitude to you all.

‘My dear countrymen, while accepting the responsibility of running the administration of the country in March 1982 I pledged that we will return to democratic and constitutional rule within two years. But we could not accomplish that. It took four and half years to reach to this stage of today. You know the reasons behind the delay I myself and my Government have put in our sincere efforts with utmost patience for the last four and a half years for accomplishing that objective of ours in fulfillment of our pledge. The situation and atmosphere at many a time was not favorable. But we did not lose heart in our initiatives because the responsibility of attaining the great objective

that we assigned to ourselves was part of our belief. With your active cooperation, we have once again proved that if the goal is set and beliefs are firm that surely makes our bid a success.

“I have announced in the Jatiya Sangshad that we have no intention to prolong Martial Law for even a day more that it is required. I am announcing with happiness that today I have signed the necessary order with regard to the lifting the Martial Law and accordingly the Martial Law have been withdrawn.

“My dear countrymen, in the past you have extended all cooperation without any reservation. Today, on this auspicious occasion of transition to democracy, I seek more cooperation from you all. The seed of democracy from which has germinated today will, grow to full shape with our careful nurturing. Let us give the democratic structure which we have built a strong foundation and Permanency.

The people of Bangladesh want multi-party democracy. I myself and my Government also believe in multi-party democratic society. Despite differences of opinions, the prerequisites for unhindered growth of democracy are tolerance to others opinions and respect to each other. The society which has no tolerance cannot have the strength to preserve democracy. In a democratic society, a party or an alliance goes to power under the constitutional process, while others sit in the opposition bench. In democratic process, party in power changes, but the state and the government continue as the flow of river.

There are many party and opinions in our society and it will be there in future as well. History demands farsightedness from all of us. The opposition parties can glorify their positions as the force for stability and not otherwise. Today our most duty is to ensure a stable present, build a brighter future and play the role of fore-runner for the society based on democratic traditions and norms for posterity.

“My dear countrymen, on this auspicious day I call upon all respective of party afflictions and operations, to place the country and the nation above everything discarding malign confrontation revenge and narrow partition outlook. Let us prove our unfettered dedication and honesty towards people welfare and democratic values.

“Accept my felicitations on this joyous moment. It is for my satisfaction that by the grace of Almighty Allah, the merciful and with your sincere cooperation that the pledge I made to you for transition to democracy on March 24, 1982 has been fulfilled I express my gratitude to Allah and sincere thanks to you all.”

Khoda Hafez.

Bangladesh, Zindabad.

ANNEX C: HM ERSHAD'S SPEECH AS A FALLEN DICTATOR

Dear Countrymen, AssalamuAlaikum (peace be upon you),

01. My heart is filled to brim with feelings of contentment seeing a flood of people in the huge gathering in this historic Paltan maidan. But other side of my heart is heavily sorrow-stricken. Why this duality of feelings, I am now going to express to you. I have been called an autocrat and I resigned in the face of mass upsurge. If I were an autocrat, then a sea of people will not appear here at my call. This huge crowd has proved that I am no autocrat and a darling of their heart. So my heart today leaps with joy.
02. Why again I am burdened with sorrow? I gave up power in the hope of democracy and popular peace. Today I have to express sorrow that the masses for whose sake and for whose peace I gave up power are now suffering endless sorrow. So my heart is burdened with sorrow. I am further sad that over a hundred garments workers have been killed in two garments accidents in Chittagong and Dhaka over last few days. I pray for salvation of their soul, convey my deepest consolation to members of the bereaved families and call upon the government to give due compensation to the bereaved families.

Dear brothers and sisters,

03. The country is today emerged in a deep crisis. In no other country in the world history, so many crises have come together. Due to crises of diesel, fertilizer and electricity, the country is now in an impasse situation. People are now puzzled. Power failure has taken a serious turn. Almost all the time the country plunges in darkness. Even after 9 people gave life for power at Canset, the crisis has seen no solution. Over the past four years, the sole success of the government in power sector, that is Tongi power center has also closed down. Everyday the whole country including Dhaka is under constant shut down. Students to appear at the SSC examination are passing their days in great crisis.
04. Fertilizer is another major crisis vying with oil and electricity crises. Farmers are queuing for fertilizer day after day but with no trace of fertilizer.
05. Biman is the symbol of pride for any country. When in different countries of the world, flag bearing planes fly, name of Bangladesh is pronounced there. But that Biman has now fallen flat.
06. The country's parliament is failing to give any solution to these problems, nor any decision either. Then how to make the parliament effective? In a country where for failure to speak in the parliament a party in opposition spends nine and a quarter year out the parliament, and when despite two thirds majority in the ruling party the parliament almost every day faces quorum crisis, what solution can that parliament give to the country and the nation? My heart become burdened with seeing this distress of the country.
07. Now let me speak something of the past. During my regime, the party in opposition threw a challenge at me to quit power and come to election. I took that challenge. In a constitutional manner, I left power with justice Sahabuddin, nominated by the three party alliance by appointing him as the Vice-president. But the three party alliance did not keep their word. It is justice Sahabuddin who did to me the crucial injustice by breaking his promise made to me. In an interview with the BBC, I told that I would participate in the election and my election campaign will start from Tongi. This was my

offence in their language. So justice Sahabuddin arrested me illegally under the special power act which I cancelled as the president. My ministers were arrested and a proclamation was published in their name. Even then my party won 35 seats amidst a wide adversity. I took part in a by-election from the jail and won 5 seats, not for once, but twice. Vice-president, deputy prime minister, agricultural minister, home minister and all other important ministers win from the prison or being under a proclamation. The nation has proved that we were not autocratic. Then I and important ministers of my government could not win the election.

08. Then so as to bar me from vying in the president election, even the constitution has been changed. It is not me who introduced the presidential form of government. This was introduced by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. And this method has been nourished by President Ziaur Rahman, founder of BNP. I inherited this presidential form of government. Have those who have introduced the parliamentary form have been able to effectuate this system? Those who amend the constitution for the sake of any specific individual cannot be respectful to the constitution. The constitution has been amended even for retaining a certain person in service for 6 months.
09. The poison tree which was germinated during the last Awami League regime spread its branches during the regime of the present government. I have heard during the tenure of last government that terrorists will be nabbed from the underground even. But no terrorist was found underground. Rather the terrorists were seen in ministers' drawing room. As during regime of the present government, that terrorism took a horrible turn, the operation clean heart was required. This contaminated terrorism, but with passage of a short while, this took a serious turn again. As a result, to contain terrorism, formation of RAB became a necessity. That RAB operations have been successful is one of the greatest achievement of this government.
10. It is amidst RAB operations that sudden suicidal operations of the militants began. The most subtle situation in the history of the country was created due to militant operations. At that time, madrashas were exclusively blamed whereupon I told not to blame madrashas where children of the destitute families study without feeding themselves for two times a day and which are run by financial cooperation of man. Till date it is not proven that a madrashah is associated with militant activities.
11. People are having to strive hard to survive due to hike in prices of commodities. Prices have risen but life span of people has not. Each commodity is now beyond purchasing capacity of man.
12. Unemployment: As mills and industries around the country have been shut down, tens of thousands of workers have become unemployed. At present out of 4 crore youths, 3 crores are without any employment and of them 45 percent are illiterate. Each year 27 lac educated youths wait to enter the labor market. They get no opportunity of employment. Due to unemployment they suffer from frustration and get derailed.
13. Now let me speak about the opposition politics. The chief opposition party has demanded for reforms of the election commission and the caretaker government system and has declared that without such reforms they will boycott election. The government has said that they would not comply with this demand. As a result, there has arisen doubt as to next election.
14. Awami League has shown more failure in the opposition than they showed while in power. They gave a deadline up to 30 April as party of their tram card for forcing the

government into collapse. They could not declare any program for the sake of the country and the nation. Their sole objective was to occupy power by removing the government. For that purpose, they have waged one after another failed movements. The hartals they convened were all without any public support. They failed to create any appeal in the public. Rather they have increased sufferings of the own party.

Dear brothers and sisters,

15. Over the last 4 years, all Awami League did was to remove the government. Last of all, they declared program of movement for 2 months. The final program was a long march towards Dhaka. The whole nation thought that something significant will happen after the long march reaches Dhaka. The newspapers were published with broad headlines “Long march is approaching Dhaka. “ But what we saw was that the said approaching long march reached Dhaka and declared “We would go to the parliament.”

16. People now want change. They remember the regime of Jatiya party.

17. I was not supposed to be involved in politics, nor had I the wish to. After 2 years of coming into power, I restored order in the country and in 1984 I declared the general election. Then I had no political party. If the political parties took participate in that election, I would transfer power to the winning party and come back to the barrack again. But that day due to lack of farsightedness of the parties, I had to form a party which have reached this level through much trials and tribulations.

18. History of the regime of the Jatiya party is the history of development, prosperity and the golden era of reforms. Even after 15 years, we can show our sights of development. As a result of introducing new districts and upazillas through administrative reforms, people of 68 thousand villages around this country started to feel development and prosperity for the first time. You must have remembered of land reforms, distribution of khas land, establishment of group village, revolutionary policy in medicine, agricultural reforms and the like.

19. In my regime of 9 years, as many as 10 thousand kilometers of road has been made concrete. 15 thousand small and big size culverts have been built. There is no such sector

including agriculture, education, religion, implementation of spirit of war of liberation, diplomacy which was out of touch of my developments.

20. I turned Islam into the state religion, declared Friday as the weekly holiday and arranged for announcing ajan (call to prayer) over radio and on television. I have also built and repaired countless number of mosques and have exempted electricity and water bill of mosques, temples and other places of worship. I have developed madrasah education in coordination with modern education and have arranged for monthly allowance to imams and muazzin across the country. Despite so many development works, during my time none could call my country a country of fundamentalism.

21. The amount of development I have done is more than development done by all the rest of governments together. Still then movement has been carried out against me. During my regime, the opposition party ran hartals for an entire year. Even then they could not make development of the Jatiya party sloth.

22. No other politicians of this country has had to suffer so much sacrifice, oppression and injustice as I have had to. I had to suffer imprisonment for long 6 years at a stretch. I was barred from speaking with anybody for three and half a year. I could not perform prayer in congregation in 12 Eids. In 6 Ramadans I could not perform fasting by eating sehri. I was not supposed to keep alive. I was attacked with jaundice. My bilirubin rose up to 29 whereas if a patient's bilirubin rises to 18, he has a thin likeliness to live along. I survived miraculously. As regards being a member of any alliance I put up 12 points program.

23. I have set out my journey with the Jatiya party in the new life I was sanctioned. Today in politics of Bangladesh, the Jatiya party has added a new dimension. Towards later part of the last year, I declared that I would declare my decision as to join any alliance or vying in the election singly in the grand gathering to be held on 1st of March. I know and along with me the countrymen know that both the parties have equal failure in running the state. Yet I thought that necessity of a staying in alliance may arise for sake of democracy in the course of political events. So I said that we have to be united with an alliance not only for power, we have to be in an alliance based on political programs. I put up a 12 points program as regards entering into an alliance.

24. Despite unprecedented response to our program from the mass people, we got no response from any other party or alliance. Over the last three months, wherever in the country I have been, people have come up with a sonorous complaint that they no longer want the two parties. They want change. They want to see rise of an alternative power. Only the Jatiya party may be that alternative power. The countrymen have minutely analyzed nature of running of states by the three parties. This time they wish to see emergence of an alternative power led by the Jatiya party.

25. We cannot take charge of failure of any party. Before us, a new horizon has opened up. So we are not thinking of going into any alliance and preparing to singly take part in election in all 300 constituencies. However, we may form an alliance of understanding of partnership to cope with the demand of time.

26. Dear countrymen, you will be back to respective areas. Build impenetrable forts for the Jatiya party countrywide. Remember that the last struggle now is to sustain the existence of the party in which we must have to win.

27. Dear countrymen, to err is human and this mostly happens when a man is engaged in any job. I too am not above error. I also may have done error. If I do any mistake beyond my knowledge, then standing in this grand gathering I beg pardon of you my countrymen. I fervently request you to forget all failures and mistakes of the past and to unitedly struggle for the sake of the country. Let us bet our life and say 'do or die' to utilize the opened door of potentials.

28. Please give me another chance. I have reached the last stage of life. I have nothing else to want and get. But as long as I live, I wish to serve the nation and the country till the last drop of my blood. Let me try once more whether it is possible for me to see blooms of smile on human faces by protecting this endangered country.

29. If we can come to power by creating a tide in favor of the plough, which is a symbol dearer than our life then we are sure to see people of this country smiling again. If we can go to power, the programs to be implemented for the sake of the nation and the country are put up below:

One. To introduce full-fledged upazilla system including upazilla court and family courts. To strengthen the local government framework. Upazilla power to transfer to elected upazilla chairmen.

Two. To introduce provincial government.

Three. To give complete freedom to the judiciary.

Four. To give complete freedom to the election commission and to reform election commission to ensure elections free from violence, arms and black money.

Five. To give religious values the topmost priority. To exempt electricity and water bill in mosques, madrasah, temples and other places of worship.

Six. To supply fertilizer, diesel, insecticide to farmers at a subsidized rate and to exempt taxes and duties of agricultural tools. There will be no certificate case against the farmers. Agricultural loans will be provided on easy terms.

Seven. To restore the glory of the jute industry of the country, jute mills like Adamjee will be established and textile mills will be established. In each upazilla, BISCIC industrial estate will be established and along with it agriculture based industries will be set up.

Eight. Stricter laws will be formulated to contain terrorism, extortion and corruption.

Nine. Gas supply through pipe lines will be made across the country including the north Bengal. A balanced development will be ensured countrywide.

Ten. Group village, pothokoly trust will be re-established.

Eleven. Palli rationing will be launched.

Twelve. Initiatives to prevent famine in the north Bengal through taking necessary measures will be taken.

Thirteen. Government salaries and allowances will be increased keeping compatibility with the market prices. Pension equal to last basic salary will be provided.

Fourteen. Salary of non-government teachers will be raised to 100 percent from 90 percent.

Fifteen Study materials will be supplied at a cheap rate. Salary of registered primary schools and ebte dayee madrasah will be equaled to that of the government teachers.

30. If you have consent to this fifteen point programs, then please support me. I am not a politician who indulges in imagination. I have previous experience in running a state. I have formulated the program which is possible to be implemented for the country and the countrymen. I shall put up more public welfare oriented steps including well-advised programs to ensure wellbeing of woman and their empowerment.

Dear brothers and sisters,

31. There is no scope of doubts and hesitations. Leaders and activists of your Jatiay party will go door to door of people and solicit votes for them. Days of frustration of the Jatiya party have been over. In the next election we are sure to build a history.

32. History of elections of this country is very peculiar. In 1946, a leader like Sher-e-Bangla was defeated to Muslim League. Again in 1954, the Muslim League was defeated to the united front of Bhasani, Sohrawardi and Sher-e-Bangla. In 1970, all parties admitted defeat to popularity of the Awami League. In the election of 1979 after Bangabandhu's killing in 1975, that Awami League won only 39 seats out of all 300. Before the election of 1991, BNP had no organizational foundation. Then BNP's organizational stand was so weak that the Awami League leader said, BNP will not get even 10 seats in the election. But in 1991 election, BNP came to power. Awami League which came to power after through its success in the movement 21 years in 1996 with support of the Jatiya party , admitted defeat in 2001 election. It is the people of this country who are the creators of these histories. So with the confidence of creating a rare history in the next 2007 election, I now announce end of today's grand gathering.

May Allah protect all.

ANNEX D: HM ERSHAD`S SPEECH AS MP OF 9th PARLIAMENT

Jatiya Party (Party monogram) Office of the Chairman Date: 09 November 2013	Rajanigandha, House No. 75E, Road No. 17A Block-E, BananiModelTown, Dhaka-1213 Phone: 988177, Fax: 88-02-8813433 e-mail: ershad.hm@gmail.com website: www.jatiya-party.org
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The News Editor/Chief Reporter

Sir,

Hussain Muhammad Ershad, Chairman of Jatiya Party has made following statements on the occasion of “Democracy Day” tomorrow the 10th of November. We specially request you to publish/publicize the statement with due importance.

Sd/ Sunil Subhroroy

Press & Political Secretary of
former President Hussain
Muhammad Ershad.

Statements

I have become deeply worried over future of much expected democracy. Even if the democracy I made the country go back to through my lecture in the great parliament on 10 November 1986 is still in operation, democratic environment has been imperiled. The countrymen must remember that on that day I drew an end to my military rule and with a view to introducing a full-fledged democracy I said, "Foundation of democracy as people have expected have been laid today which none shall ever be able to destroy." But with a sense of deep grief and regret I am to say that despite democratic rule being in existence after my rule only in name, democratic behaviors and environment are being hindered for the last 22 years. Opportunities are being created to stop the way for transfer of power in a democratic way. Now in the name of democracy, violent activities, mutual quarrel and conflicts and a tendency to implement one's jealousy have been given a free play. As per newspaper reports, so far about two and half a thousand people have been killed in political clashes. It is posited that a democracy system will allow differences in opinions and ways, but those must not lead to conflicts. At present a conflicting situation has taken a formidable turn in the country. So I am worried over future of democracy.

To get rid of this situation, I call upon the democracy loving people and the democratic power on the occasion of this great day of democracy to make united efforts to establish a true democracy in the country. Let us establish peace, stability and democratic values by allowing rise of a united democratic power against those who have failed to uphold honor of democracy. I would like to firmly assure the countrymen that I shall continue my struggle until end of my life to keep the democracy which have gained a footing through the Jatiya party smooth and thorn less. We are committed to uphold honor of the Democracy Day, if Allah so wishes.

Hussain Muhammad Ershad

Chairman, Jatiya Party

ANNEX E: HM ERSHAD`S SPEECH AS SPECIAL ENVOY TO PM

জাতীয় পার্টি
চেয়ারম্যানের কার্যালয়



রজনীগন্ধা, বাড়ী ৭৫ই, সড়ক ১৭এ,
ব্লক-ই, বনানী মডেল টাউন, ঢাকা-১২১৩
ফোন : ৯৮৮১৭৭, ফ্যাক্স : ৮৮-০২- ৮৮১৩৪৩৩
e-mail : ershad.hm@gmail.com
sunilshuvoroy@yahoo.com
website : www.jatiyo-party.org

Date: 06 January, 2015

To,

Chief Reporter.

Dear Sir,

Please accept my gratitude. In the current political situation of the country following is the speech from the chairman of National Party, Ex. President Mr. Hussain Muhammed Ershad. You are cordially requested to extent/circulate this speech with utmost significance.

With regards,

Sunil Shubho Rae
Press and Political Secretary
Chairman-National Party

Speech

With deep anxiety I have noticed that our country is again proceeding towards extreme political conflict, unrest and dash. With the dawn of the New Year this conflicting politics began. Exactly like the strike and blockade of the aupanibesaka period pessimistic politics have risen again. On the other hand even the government has become intolerant and is also acting violent towards the opposition party. As a result the general people of the country are in extreme panic and uncertainty. An independent sovereign country cannot operate like this; and conflict and democracy cannot work together. For this conflicting politics the democracy is endangered. Due to this many lives are already lost. I am deeply miserable and shocked because of these situations.

On 5th of January the election defaulters has taken hostage many common population in the name of protest against the government. The government as well is acting as invaders in the name of suppressing the opposition. We cannot tolerate either of these. The citizens want peace, security and they want strong democratic state.

We believe for the sake of the citizens both parties have to be calm and peaceful. Through civilized discussion between all parties they have to come to a peaceful conclusion. They need to change the language of the protests. On the rally of January first, at the historical Sharwardi Uddan; I feared that concentrating on 5th January a conflicting situation might arise in the country. That fear of mine has been proven right. At that same rally I had proposed to all the political parties – Let us all join together for a convention of all parties to come to a comprehensive plan for the sake of the wellbeing of the country and the nation altogether. I am again inviting all the political parties – Please let's have a discussion on one table and find a way of solution for the crisis.



Hussain Muhammed Ershad
Chairman-National Party