

**Illocutionary Forces in ‘Address to the Nation’:A Critical
Analysis of Muhammad Yunus’s Speeches**



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**Illocutionary Forces in ‘Address to the Nation’:A Critical Analysis of Muhammad
Yunus’s Speeches**

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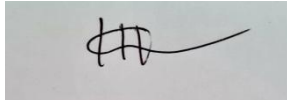
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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

I hereby declare that this thesis is the student's own work and effort. All sources of information incorporated here have been duly acknowledged. This thesis has been submitted with my approval.



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DECLARATION

This thesis is a presentation of my original research work. Wherever contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly, with due reference to the literature, and acknowledgement of collaborative research and discussions.

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Dedication

To my friends and family who taught me never to give up.

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to explain the illocutionary forces in the ‘address to the nation’ selected speeches delivered by the current Chief Adviser of Bangladesh, Muhammad Yunus. The specific illocutionary forces studied were the assertives and the commissives. The study focused on three specific objectives. The two objectives of this study are to identify assertives and commissives in the speeches. Followed by investigating how the assertives and commissives helped the interim government in the construction of a particular program or agenda. In this qualitative discourse analytical study, three speeches were analyzed: the inaugural, one-month, and 100-day speeches. The three speeches were “addressed to the nation.” The researcher explained the use of assertives in narrativizing the past and nation-building through narratives, and next, the use of commissives in offering an alternative in a post-revolutionary era. Findings revealed an interplay of diagnosis and prognosis in the speeches. The assertive speech acts diagnosed the past shortcomings, while the commissives prescribed concrete solutions. In all the speeches delivered were not just mere descriptions instead they were the performative actions. Ultimately leaders use language for moulding reality as well as to establish credibility and reinforce themselves as the righteous authority. The theoretical implication lies in speech acts and critical discourse analysis together aids revealing power and ideology in political discourses.

Chapter ONE

Introduction

1.0. Outline of the Introduction Section

This section is divided into six key sections, each serving unique functions. They are: (1) **Background of the Study**: in this section the broader context and rationale of the study will be elucidated thus demonstrating its importance in the present-day academic and political landscape, (2) **Statement of the Problem**: this section will identify the research gap that this particular study intends to address, (3) **Research Aim**: in this section the researcher will articulate the overall goal of the study, (4) **Objectives of the Study**: in this section the researcher will break down the aim into smaller specific, and actionable components (5) **Research Question**: this section outlines the questions that will be answered in succeeding section, And lastly, (6) **Scope and Limitations**: as for the scope section, the researcher will set the parameters for the research, and in the limitations section, the researcher will acknowledge possible constraints encountered while the study was carried out.

1.1. Background of the Study

Political speeches function to “produce and reproduce beliefs, opinions, and ideologies,” (Wodak, 2004), which makes them a unique form of discourse. These speeches are intentionally crafted to serve specific functions and convey meaning beyond their literal interpretation (Jamieson, 1988). The language used by political leaders in their addresses serves various functions, from inspiring citizens to building unity in particular moments of the nation’s history (Adair, 2002). In the Bangladeshi context, such a situation emerged when the autocratic regime fell, and thus an interim government was formed.

Protests began all across Bangladesh in early July 2024, due to widespread frustration over quota systems in the job sectors that favored the families of the 1971 Liberation War veterans. The students demanded the abolition of such an advantage. Their demands resonated with people from all walks of life. Even though the Supreme Court rescinded the quota, there was outrage amongst the public. In the middle of July, the protest grew violent, and many were silenced by tear gas or were fired at with rubber bullets, and the internet was completely disconnected for a prolonged time. By August, the situation had escalated, with many injured and losing their lives. On August 5, Sheikh Hasina resigned and fled the country to India along with her sister, which prompted the formation of an interim government led by Muhammad Yunus.

Language had become one of the key tools for establishing credibility and regaining public trust, following that moment of unrest. Muhammad Yunus was sworn in as Chief Advisor to the interim government on August 8. Muhammad Yunus delivered his inaugural address on August 25, “addressing the nation.”. Subsequently, he again addressed the nation on several key

milestones during his tenure. The speech he delivered relied on several speech acts, which are communicative actions performed through language. Here, utterance leads to an action. Different speech acts serve unique functions. Although there are five speech acts: assertives, expressives, commissives, directives, and declaratives, this research will focus on examining assertive and commissive speech acts. Although assertive and commissive speech acts serve distinct functions, they work together in political speeches to mold political narratives. In an assertive act, we find the speaker to “commit” to the truth of what is said by the speaker, through assert, aver, boast, claim, or report. On the other hand, in a commissive act, the speaker commits “to some action in the future” whereby the speaker may insert the performative verbs like promise, undertake, offer, or threat. In political speeches, speakers/producers of the speeches would, in general, assert and promise. In other words, these two speech acts may be present as political leaders are interested in constructing narratives for a target population/ audience, and they need to promise some future action to establish their specific ideologies, and so on.

The research will particularly delve into the assertive and commissive speech acts employed by the interim government on three key pivotal moments and how they helped the interim government to form a particular program or agenda. The three key moments are the inaugural address, a speech marking the month anniversary of the interim government, and lastly, a speech commemorating 100 days of the interim government.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The analysis of speech acts employed by political leaders in their speeches has garnered widespread attention in academia. Various studies have been conducted on different types of

speeches, including inaugural addresses, campaign speeches, and speeches delivered during moments of crisis, among others. A study was conducted to investigate the speech acts employed by Rodrigo Duterte, the President of the Philippines, within the Asian context. Findings revealed that assertive speech acts were the most dominant, whereas directives were the least used (Yang & Wang, 2020). Similarly, in the African context, a study was conducted to investigate the speech acts employed in President Muhammadu Buhari's inaugural address. Findings revealed that assertives dominated, accounting for 60%, and declaratives were the least prevalent, making up only 20% of the speech (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012). In the European context, a study was conducted to investigate speech acts employed by British Prime Ministers in their inaugural speech. Findings reveal a contrasting picture, as Rishi Sunak employed assertive and commissive speech acts by explaining how legitimacy is constructed through credibility and the use of fear to influence people, unlike Liz Truss, who built her speech based on promises in the moment of crisis and threat. Despite research on speech acts being a growing body internationally, it is established from the foregoing discussion that the speech act analysis of political speeches in the Bangladeshi context has received little to no scholarly attention. Thus, this study aims to bridge the gap in the existing literature on speech act analysis in speeches by focusing on the speeches that "address the nation" in the Bangladeshi context.

1.3. Research Aim

This study aimed to explain the illocutionary forces in the selected speeches delivered by the Chief Adviser. The specific illocutionary forces studied were the assertives and the commissives.

1.4. Objectives of the Study

- To identify the assertive speech acts used in the speeches delivered by the chief advisor
- To identify the commissive speech acts used in the speeches delivered by the chief advisor
- To investigate the use of these speech acts, which helped the chief advisor in the construction of specific political agendas or programs

1.5. Research Questions

The following research questions guide the research:

1. What were the assertive speech acts used in the speeches delivered by CoA?
2. What were the commissive speech acts used in the speeches delivered by CoA?
3. How did the use of these speech acts help the CoA to construct a specific political agenda or program?

1.6. Scope and Limitations

This research investigated the first three political speeches delivered by the chief advisor of the interim government during their tenure, which were specifically addressed to the nation. The three speeches were the inaugural address, the speech delivered on the occasion of the first month anniversary of the interim government, and lastly the speech delivered on the occasion of the hundred days anniversary of the interim government. The analysis of the political speeches was limited to assertive and commissive speech acts, and critical discourse analysis was employed as the theoretical framework. The analysis of the speeches was a rigorous process,

which was elaborated in detail in the methodology section.

The analysis of the speeches was a manual process without the use of any computer software. The speeches were translated by the researcher, who had very little exposure to the Bengali language, as her schooling was based on the English Medium of Instruction. As a result, the translation of the speeches might have suffered from unintentional loss of linguistic nuances and idiomatic expressions, although they were done very meticulously. These were the two aspects that account for the study's limitations

Chapter TWO

Review of Relevant Literature

The research aims to analyze the illocutionary forces in selected speeches delivered by the current Chief Adviser of Bangladesh, Muhammad Yunus, to “address the nation.” The study primarily focuses on assertive and commissive speech acts as means of performing illocutionary acts. It further seeks to examine how speech acts function collectively in building a particular program or agenda. The study adopts the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), specifically Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional model (1992, 2000, 2013). Selected features of Teun A. van Dijk’s discourse analytical model (2015) are also incorporated to complement Fairclough’s model. The literature is organized thematically to facilitate a coherent interpretation of scholarly works drawn from academic sources. A thorough review of the existing literature has been conducted, which helped identify key research gaps. The chapter is divided into four core themes: (i) the theoretical framework, (ii) empirical studies on speech acts in political inaugural speeches, (iii) empirical studies on critical discourse analysis in political inaugural speeches, and (iv) the research gap.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

The study adopts Critical Discourse Analysis as the primary framework. Prominent scholars in this field include Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak. Critical Discourse Analysis is defined as an interdisciplinary approach that analyzes spoken and written language to investigate how power relations shape social dominance and inequality in society and politics (van Dik, 2015).

The study primarily adopts Norman Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model. It comprises three interconnected stages: textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice.

a)textual analysis-This is the micro level of the analysis. This stage involves a detailed investigation of the linguistic structures found in the text. To complement this model, several features from van Dijk's discourse analytical model are incorporated in the textual analysis. These include utterances(syntax), metaphor, lexicon, and pronoun reference.

Pronoun Reference: Politicians use pronouns to reveal underlying ideologies and construct many identities. They build self and collective identity as well as self and other identity (Mustafa, 2023). They depict distinct selves in a way that constructs a reality, framing themselves in a positive light and others in a negative light (Bramley,2001). Pronoun Reference is used to analyze the construction of in-group solidarity, for example, (we, us) with the out-group (they, them), thereby molding collective identity and credibility. **Metaphor:** A linguistic device in the form of a word or phrase that is used to represent one concept instead of another to either show resemblance or compare them. Metaphors are also used to uncover underlying meaning. Speeches are made more memorable as metaphors can inject vigor into the message, thereby evoking an emotional response from the audience (Anja, 2024). They also play a crucial role in shaping both social and political realities (Lakoff and Johnson,1980). **Syntax** is the study of how words are initially joined to form phrases, clauses are formed when phrases are combined, and finally, when multiple clauses are joined, they form sentences or utterances. (Jegede, 2020). Syntax is a set of rules that governs the structure of sentences in a specific language (Andrew, 2006).In this research, structural and functional sentences, along with the use of modality for commissive speech acts, were examined. **Lexicon:** a set of words used in a

specific subject or language. In political narratives, emotive words can be categorized into two types: value-laden words and emotively loaded words. Value-laden words name the entities (things and their properties) that are perceived by the entire speech community as either inherently positive or negative. Emotively loaded words represent the entities (things and their properties) that the speakers assess as either positive or negative by a distinct speaker. These words serve to construct ideologies, evoke emotional appeal, frame policies, and establish credibility.

b) Discursive Practice- This is the meso level of the analysis or the interpretation stage. It focuses on interpreting the connection between the text and the discursive process involved in its production and distribution. It examines how texts are shaped by and contribute to broader discursive practices, encompassing intertextuality and framing.

c) Social Practice - This is the macro-level of analysis. At this stage, discourse is analyzed within broader social, cultural, and political contexts. Discursive practices are examined to figure out the ways to sustain or challenge existing power relations, ideologies, and social hierarchies.

2.2. Empirical Studies on Speech Acts in Political Inaugural Speeches

Political leaders establish legitimacy, assert authority, and articulate a vision for governance and national identity through inaugural speeches. A growing body of research has examined how illocutionary acts function in political speeches to persuade, inspire, commit, and legitimize political authority, drawing on Searle's Speech Act Theory. Speech acts are defined as "utterances" (Richards, Platt, & Weber, 1985, p. 289) that serve as functional units in communication. Each utterance carries two types of meaning, locutionary and illocutionary. The

locutionary act refers to the actual process of producing sounds, words, and sentences with a specific meaning. In contrast, the illocutionary act refers to the speaker's intended actions that the speaker performs. Searle (1969) categorized speech acts into five distinct types: assertives (or representatives), commissives, directives, declaratives, and expressives.

Assertives, also known as representatives, are used to describe or convey information about the world, such as assertions, claims, or reports. Commissives involve commitments to future actions, including pledges, promises, and offers. Declaratives are utterances that bring about a change in reality simply by their utterance. Directives are used to instruct the listener to act. The actions are either commanded, requested, or suggested by the speaker. Expressives are used to convey the speaker's feelings, emotions, and attitudes towards a particular aspect.

This section synthesizes findings from 15 studies that apply Speech Act Theory to political inaugural speeches, which are organized around two key sub-themes: (i) Dominance of Assertive Speech Acts, (ii) Political Commitments and Commissive Acts.

2.2.1 Dominance of Assertive Speech Acts

In political discourse, assertive speech acts go beyond their conventional function of making statements, claims, or reports. They serve to affirm ideological positions, define national issues, and construct a reality aligned with leadership objectives. Existing literature reveals that assertives play a dominant role as rhetorical devices in shaping political narratives.

In countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, and Egypt, within the West African and Northeast African contexts, assertive speech acts have become one of the most prevalent types of speech acts employed by presidents in their inaugural speeches. Such speech acts serve to establish political authority and embed political narratives within national and spiritual values. However,

in countries like Egypt, there is a variation of speech acts employed that are not only moulded by cultural values but also by specific political circumstances. A study was conducted by Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) to identify speech acts in President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's inaugural speech within the Nigerian context. The study used speech act theory as the theoretical framework. A total of ten speeches were selected, five from the beginning and five from the end. To ensure clarity, they were labelled A and B. Firstly, the speech act types were identified, and their percentage was calculated based on sentence count. The findings revealed that the overall relative frequency pattern demonstrated that assertive speech acts accounted for 60% of the speech acts used, marking the highest percentage of any type of speech act used. They were used to assert his authority and exercise his power as the President. Okoro and Odogwu (2017) examined the two speeches of Muhammadu Buhari, the former President of Nigeria. The study employed a quantitative and descriptive analysis method, analyzing twenty sentences from his inaugural addresses. The findings revealed that assertive speech acts were used in 70% of all acts, making them the most frequent. Anyanwu (2023) employed a qualitative research design to investigate the speech acts used by President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the former President of Nigeria, in his inaugural speech. Findings revealed that he employed various assertives, which accounted for the highest in his speech. The assertive speech acts were factual statements. A study by Franck Amoussou et al. (2024), which examined the pragmatic-stylistic features of Tinubu's inaugural speech, revealed that assertives accounted for 49.6% of Tinubu's speech. Tahrom et al. (2013) analyzed the victory and inaugural speech of President Goodluck Jonathan, who was the former president of Nigeria, and found corroborative evidence that revealed assertives made up 65% of the speech, thus being used more frequently than the other speech

acts. In another study conducted by Ibrahim (2020), the analysis of Buhari's inaugural speech revealed that assertives accounted for 28.5% of the speech, which was the second-highest speech act employed. A similar pattern was observed in a study conducted by Demuyakor (2021) to investigate the forms of speech acts in Ghanaian President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's inaugural address. The study was qualitative, with 70 statements from his second inaugural address. The findings revealed that assertive comprised 40.5%, which was the most frequent type of speech act used. This increase reflected statements and suggestions that built credibility and helped align him with the expectations of the Ghanaian electorate. Lastly, a study conducted by Sameer (2017) investigated the inaugural speeches of Egyptian leaders from different periods. El Sisi delivered his speech in 2014, and El Sadat delivered his speech in 1970. A contrasting finding was uncovered where El-Sisi's speech had more assertives, unlike El-Sadat's speech, which focused more on commissives. Across the Asian context in countries such as the Philippines and Indonesia, assertive speech acts serve as a rhetorical device in inaugural speeches to construct national identity, express national truths, and ultimately legitimise leadership aligned with public statements. In a study, Yang and Wang (2020) inquired about the types of speech acts used by President Duterte. The study combined both qualitative and content analysis. A convergent finding was observed, whereby assertive speech acts accounted for 50.67% of President Rodrigo Duterte's inaugural speech. He served as the president of the Philippines. He employed a higher percentage of assertives to not only deliver a strong message but also ensure his statements aligned with the opinions of the public. A similar pattern was revealed upon analysing the speech acts of the five presidents' inaugural speeches, as conducted by Widiatmoko (2017), where national truths or beliefs were expressed through assertive speech

acts. In the American context, assertive speech acts are frequently used in the inaugural speeches of political leaders to unify the nation, affirm democratic values, and convey stability during moments of leadership transition. According to research conducted by Muhsen and Smeer (2022), which employed a mixed-methods approach in analyzing Ronald Reagan's inaugural address, it was demonstrated that assertives were used the most, i.e., 61%. Assertive speech acts are also utilised for unification in political speech. In a study conducted by Sekar Pratiwi Putri et al. (2018), where they particularly looked at two speech acts, which were assertives and commissives, in the political inaugural speech of Donald Trump, findings demonstrated that he showed unity amongst American citizens by asserting that people, regardless of the age group, shared the same dream and origin. A similar outcome was noted in a study conducted by Ahmed and Amir (2021), which examined the speech acts for Biden's inaugural address. The study employed a mixed-methods approach using Searle's speech act as a theoretical framework. The findings indicated the dominance of assertives that uncovered beliefs and facts, emphasising unity and America's strength.

Finally, assertive speech acts function as a rhetorical device for defining political realities, constructing national goals, and connecting the speaker with broader ideological narratives. The prevalence of assertive speech acts across studies is a marker of its value in building attitude and a common objective.

2.2.2. Political Commitments and Commissive Acts

The function of commissive speech acts is to commit to future actions. In political speeches, they serve a purpose beyond their primary function. In an inaugural address, leaders and citizens

establish rhetorical agreements to emphasize transparency and outline a vision for their governance. Commissives are used globally by political leaders.

Leaders from the Philippines and Indonesia employ commissive speech acts in their speeches, according to studies conducted in the Asian context. They signal commitment, promote trust, and articulate future policy directions. In a study conducted by Firdaus et al. (2020), focusing solely on commissive speech acts employed by the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo (also known as Jokowi), found that the use of commissive speech acts was more prominent in his second term, which was held in 2019 which was 15 unlike 2014 which only had 11. The nature of the commissives was mostly comprised of pledges, convictions, and threats. Commissive speech acts were used to cultivate the trust of the citizens. Further, in another study by Yang and Wang (2020), commissives accounted for 13.33%, although they were less dominant than assertives, which were used to inspire beliefs. Collectively, these studies demonstrate how commissive speech acts, albeit of varying frequency, are employed to reinforce trust between commoners and political leaders, emphasizing accountability in dynamic political contexts. Similarly, commissive speech acts were employed in the inaugural speeches of the West African region, specifically in Nigeria and Ghana. They serve as a tool to convey political commitments moulded by cultural norms and situational and political circumstances. In a study conducted by Anyanwu (2023), who studied President Tinubu's inaugural address. While employing other speech acts through his speech, he also employed commissive speech acts. Tinubu pledges to Nigerian citizens that Nigeria will be a nation with freedom of speech. He also committed to combat crime and terrorism, and youths will be provided with opportunities. Similarly, another study conducted by Okoro and Odogwu (2017) studied the inaugural speeches of Muhammadu Buhari. His findings

showed that commissive speech acts accounted for 60% of Buhari's speech. Similarly, the commissives were primarily in the form of promises, and he also mentioned how the burden lay solely on him to ensure that his administration fulfilled these pledges during its four-year tenure. The way commissive acts are used is also dependent on cultural and contextual distinctions. In a study led by Sameer (2017), the findings revealed that El-Sadat's speech primarily consisted of commissive speech acts, unlike El-Sisi's speech, which was mainly assertive due to the prevailing political environment. In another study, Tarhom et al. (2013) found that Goodluck Jonathan's commitment to national unity and transformation was articulated in a courteous tone, with democratic values foregrounding inclusion over authoritative command. Similarly, in another study by Ibrahim (2020), political leaders also employed commissives to demonstrate their willingness to collaborate with their citizens in collectively rebuilding a new Nigeria. Another study by Widiatmoko (2017) revealed that commissives were used to illustrate tangible policy commitments, as well as to promote unity following a democratic shift. Finally, commissive speech acts function beyond their conventional promises; they articulate future intentions, build public trust, strengthen democratic credibility, and align with the socio-political realities of political changes. In Western countries, particularly the United States and the United Kingdom, political leaders use commissives in their speeches to convey political promises, stabilize public sentiment in moments of crisis, and establish political confidence. In a study conducted by Ahmed and Amir (2021), it was revealed that Biden employed commissive speech acts in his inaugural address, which emerged as the third most dominant type of speech act. He used different verbs to commit to his future course of action, for instance, "give," "defend," "level," "guarantee," "fight," etc. As mentioned earlier, the use of commissives in political

speeches is used to establish a framework for national administration. In another study conducted by Sekar Pratiwi Putri et al. (2018), the findings demonstrate how Trump's commitment serves as a vehicle for the populist paradigm. He uses phrases like "We will make America great again." Likewise, commissives are further utilised to build commitments in moments of socio-economic crisis by building assurance, as revealed in a study conducted by Buczowski and Strukowska (2022), who examined the speech acts of British Prime Ministers Rishi Sunak and Liz Truss. It has been observed that the rhetorical approach employed by Rishi primarily revolves around assertive and commissive speech acts to establish credibility and strategically frame fear. Unlike Rishi, Truss's rhetorical approach leans toward a commitment to promoting collective leadership and unity. A project conducted by Muhsen and Smeer (2022) revealed that commissives account for 18% of the speech, which depicts commitment. In another study conducted by Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012), the findings showed that commissives accounted for 30% of the speech. Similarly, in an investigation led by Oktarini (2019), it was revealed that commissive was prominent in both terms of Barack Obama. To depict his future commitments, Biden employed a range of verbs, including "will," "pledge," and "vowed." His choice of verbs projected a leadership motive, stability, international cooperation, and national security. The use of the commissive function in rhetoric involves constructing trust and mobilising citizens to ensure cooperation toward enhancements and resilience.

In all these studies, they shed light on how political leaders use commissives to convey determination, establish public trust, and advance their political agendas during times of socio-political transition.

2.3. Empirical Studies on Critical Discourse Analysis in Political Discourse

The function of the presidential inaugural speeches is not limited to serving as a ceremonial address; instead, they serve as a key medium for political expression, persuasive dialogue, and ideological representation. This section of the literature review synthesises findings across 37 scholarly articles. It is grouped into sub-themes: i) National Unity and Identity Formation, ii) Populism, Polarisation, and the “Us vs. Them” Narrative, iii) Ideology, Leadership Agenda, and Legitimation, and iv) Linguistic Strategies and Discursive Tools. These studies employ Critical Discourse Analysis as their theoretical framework. The framework draws from the works of Norman Fairclough and Teun Adrianus van Dijk.

2.3.1. National Unity and Identity Formation

The state’s well-being and stability are supported when citizens establish a sense of belonging to one another through a process known as national unity. The process by which individuals and groups construct a sense of self based on shared values, beliefs, and goals is known as identity formation. Joining both of them together, national unity and identity formation occur when people are brought together through cultural, communicative, and social techniques. This process often relies on the symbolic assertion of language and imagery to unify different communities that share similar histories and ambitions. Political leaders employ various rhetorical devices to unify a large and diverse audience. They use them on several occasions, for instance, during the inaugural speech, in moments of crisis, or during pre-election speeches, and so on. An inaugural speech can be dissected based on the presence of two themes. They are calling for unity, followed by the invocation of a shared national identity. The rhetorical devices used shape

collective memories and appeal to a set of values and identity. These promote a sense of unified identity. Several studies have investigated this phenomenon and have reported findings.

Tran and Pham (2023) investigated the inaugural address delivered by President Biden. Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach was employed as the theoretical framework. Tran and Pham (2023) investigated the inaugural address delivered by President Biden. Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach was employed as the theoretical framework. The findings revealed that he willingly used antonyms, metaphors, and historical imagery to promote solidarity, intertextual references to past hardships, and build a collective sense of belonging. A similar finding was revealed by Raza, Imran, and Shah (2024). The usage of personal pronouns and active voice underscored empathy, unity, and action. Using modal verbs, for instance, "will" and "must" showed Biden's commitment and the responsibility of the citizens (Lodhi et al., 2018). The appeal to unity is not geographically constrained in the United States. Countries like Indonesia also follow this appeal to unity. Prabowo Subianto constructed the central themes of his speech by using formal language, advocating for religious inclusion, and drawing on historical references. He cultivated a sense of unified nationhood rooted in self-reliance and taking a stance against corruption at the local level. Additionally, by employing an inclusive tone, he addressed the audience both at home and abroad, thereby promoting democratic ideals (Mukminin et al., 2024). In the Philippines, Costales (2021) conducted another study to examine the inaugural address of President Benigno Aquino. To appeal to Filipino citizens and emphasize a model of governance, he used inclusive language and drew references to his family's legacy. In the African context, Ayaawan and Opoku (2020) investigated presidential inaugural speeches. Findings revealed how the National Patriotic Party and the Democratic Party framed citizens.

The former viewed citizens as economic units, and the latter views citizens as edenic figures. Thus reflecting on another distinct version of unity. A study conducted by Addae et al. (2022) in a similar African context revealed the employment of metaphors associated with both unity and nationalism. These framed Kwame Nkrumah as a unifying leader who builds solidarity, conceals agency, and asserts authority. Returning to the Indonesian context, Joko Widodo employed inclusive pronouns in his inaugural speech. Buhari from Nigeria used pronouns, for instance, “I”, “we”, and “our”, to emphasize the public mentality, which appeared to be more prevalent in his 2015 speech, unlike his 1984 speech. The reduced use of pronouns sheds light on his authoritarian stance (Ayang Winda Sri Widianingsih, 2020; Nnamdi-Eruchalu, 2022). Considering countries that are opposites to one another, such as France and Iran, the leaders utilise unity strategically as a foundational device. The former is a transitional society, unlike the latter, which is a polarised society. While Rouhani employed religious allusions and reformist language as rhetoric to appeal to the audience of two socio-economic classes (Sahragard & Moghadam, 2015), Macron’s speech, unlike Rouhani’s, highlights national unity and pride. He did so using pronouns and passive voice (Jin & Zang, 2023). To enhance moral unity, Obama drew on historical allusions.

Ultimately, considering all the studies together, political leaders employ pronouns and metaphors in their speeches as rhetorical devices to unify divided citizens, affirm their authority, and foster a unified public identity.

2.3.2 On Populism, Polarisation, and the “Us vs. Them” Narrative

Populism can be defined as a belief system that views society into two opposing and unified groups. One of them is the righteous and the ordinary, and the other is the corrupt elite. It insists

that politics should follow the collective will of the people (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017). On the other hand, polarisation is a discursive tool that intensifies ideological and moral gaps between groups, often legitimising the stance of one group as virtuous while portraying the other group as threatening (van Dijk, 2006).

The “us vs. them” narrative is constructed through populism and polarisation, framing society as divided between the moral and the immoral. Although the primary goal of an inaugural speech is unity, there are instances in inaugural speeches where binary oppositions of “us” vs “them” prevail. These binary oppositions create a division that reinforces populist legitimacy. One such instance where this dual strategy is evident is in Donald Trump’s speeches. He often employs these populist strategies. He uses metaphors, polarization, and victimization to portray his group as the victim and discredit previous administrations (Raza, Imran, & Shah, 2024; Hassan, 2018). In his speech, Trump employed repetition, passive voice, and relational cues, thus promoting a leadership style characterised by reformational and oppositional tendencies (Hassan, 2018). The populist narrative is not limited to the North American context; it is seen in the Philippines in Asia. Duterte’s speech can be segregated into two parts based on the themes present. The recurring theme and the prominent theme. The former focuses on crime, sovereignty, and loyalty, whereas the latter focuses on authoritarianism, binary moral framing, patriotic narratives, and populist positioning. An “us vs. them” narrative is produced by repetition, as well as antagonistic rhetoric that legitimizes authoritarian actions and marginalizes opposition. Utilisation of such strategies is backed by public support, while it reinforces authoritarian control. Thus moulding an image of governance that poses a threat to the democratic development in the Philippines. In Indonesia, Tinobu’s speech employed several rhetorical strategies, such as pronouns and

lexicalisation, to depict polarisation between the opposition and in-group members (Nwabunwene et al., 2024). The binary opposition is prevalent through the manipulation of pronouns. The selective usage of pronouns, for instance “we” and “you” and “they” served to mark ideological boundaries and strengthen a contrasting ‘us vs them’ (Wahyuningsih, 2018; Igiri, Okolie, & Nwankwo, 2021). A study was conducted by Biria and Mohammadi (2012), which examined the inaugural speeches of Bush and Obama using van Dijk’s Critical Discourse Analysis approach, the findings revealed a juxtaposition in the focus of the speeches. Obama’s speech promoted solidarity, unlike Bush’s speech, which was rooted in nationalism and a religiously charged narrative. Such speeches framed the external group as adversaries, thus creating a binary opposition of “us vs them” (Biria & Mohammadi, 2012). Such binary oppositions reveal underlying ideological tensions in the speeches of Biden and Trump (Demuyakor, 2021). While the former uses “we” for employing solidarity, the latter uses it for exclusionary means (Đelilbašić, 2021). This populist narrative possesses a distinct perception amongst the public. While supporters of Trump found it to be populist, critics viewed it as alienating (Yousfi & Mouhadjer, 2024). This discourse builds momentum over time by generating emotional support while intensifying the political divide. Tools like nominalization are employed to mask agency, sustain ideological narratives, and manipulate blame or recognition (Jawad, 2025). Fairclough’s model was used to analyze Trump’s 2025 inaugural speech. Findings revealed that he employed ethos, logos, and pathos to promote his populist appeal. The integration of logos was achieved by articulating key policy plans and employing pathos to evoke resilience and divine favour, as well as ethos through references to resilience and

power. These rhetorical strategies enhanced the speech's populist message and its narrative of national renewal, with anti-elite overtones (Hmouma, 2025).

The populist and polarizing features of inaugural speeches serve as a mechanism for constructing political legitimacy and excluding certain identities. Political leaders use these features to define moral boundaries and cultivate allegiance by identifying friends or foes.

2.3.3. On Ideology, Leadership Agenda, and Legitimation in Political Speeches

Various studies have been conducted to examine the aspects of ideology, leadership agendas, and legitimation in political speeches. Both Renaldo (2021) and Amir (2021) analysed the ways Biden's inaugural address both articulates and reinforces a consistent political ideology. The study conducted by Renaldo examined presupposition. The findings revealed that presupposition was categorised into three types. Lexical presupposition, which accounts for 50%, focused on the country's ongoing struggles and the need for unity and restoration. Factive presupposition, which accounted for 12% emphasised shared collective American values and historical references, and existential presupposition, which pointed to social problems and accounted for 38%. Collectively, Biden's reliance on these presuppositions conveyed his dedication to unity, democratic revitalisation, and addressing societal and political concerns. However, Amir (2021) revealed that the central theme of Biden's speech was referencing America's golden past and the use of tolerance, unity, and love as a rhetorical device to build national unity and assert ideological dominance. However, Trump's discourse presents a different ideological perspective. When his inauguration speech was studied by Hizbullah and Al Makmun (2019), findings showed that it was rooted in promoting nationalism, economic revitalisation, and tighter economic measures. Upon investigating the discursive elements of Trump's discourse, Raza,

Imran, and Hassan (2024) synthesised populist and national beliefs into a unified narrative of restoring the nation. In the African context, several researchers have studied the ideology expressed in the inaugural speeches of political leaders. In a study conducted by Ankrahi, Frimpong, and Opoku (2018), who studied the presidential inaugural addresses of Kuffour and Mills. Findings revealed a contrasting picture in terms of ideology. While Kuffor possessed a capitalist mindset, driven by economic means as well as an adversarial stance and urgency, Mills' ideology was rooted in hope, change over time, and a socialist leaning, along with a conciliatory stance. As for the presidential inaugural speech in Ghana, which was studied to see how governance ideology was built through agency and subject positioning. This analysis examined how Ghanaian presidential inaugurations construct governance ideologies through agency and subject positioning, as explored by Ayaawan and Opoku (2020). The results indicated that the national patriotic party had an ideology rooted in the sophistication of history, which was limited to people with specialised knowledge. The National Democratic Congress employed a populist narrative storytelling technique to make history accessible to ordinary people. Tinubu employed rhetorical and ideological strategies in his 2023 inaugural speech, outlining his vision for governance. The rhetorical strategies employed were ethos, logos, pathos, metaphors, and deixis. They invoked the themes of inclusivity, reform, and national revival (Eze, 2023). To distinguish between friends and adversaries, strategically pronominals and lexical choices were used. Thus, they root their values and beliefs in speech. (Nwabunwene et al., 2025). In the Philippines, the inaugural speech of Aquino reveals the distinct types of ideology: nationalist, populist, and democratic reform that are revealed through emphasis on transparency, accountability, and corruption-free governance, use of inclusive language and empathy, and his

reference to family legacy as revealed in a study conducted by Costales (2021). Elsewhere in Brazil, Christian values were employed via contrasting means by Lula and Bolsonaro. The former used it to unite people through social justice and inclusion, while the latter used it to justify division. Similarly, a study conducted by Sahragard and Moghadam (2015) found that conservative and reformist themes were explored to address the religious divide in Iran, avoiding radical positioning and focusing on modern and civic renewal. In Indonesia, Prabowo's inaugural speech was examined by Muhamad Saiful Mukminin et al. (2024), and the results revealed a nationalist ideology grounded in solidarity, achieved through religious inclusivity and moral leadership. In France, the inaugural speech of Macron was analysed with Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics by Jin and Zang (2023). The results depicted that Macron utilised national pride as an ideological construct, and by employing a strategic use of language to legitimise his authority and mobilise collective identity. In addition to that, key discursive elements, such as presupposition, omission, and nominalisation, are instrumental in reinforcing and validating ideological positions. In a study conducted by Afzal, Asghar, and Liaqat (2023) on the inaugural speeches of Bush and Obama, the findings revealed that Obama employed empathy, whereas Bush asserted dominance. Bush deliberately excluded unfavourable facts to emphasise core ideological messages at the forefront. Obama's liberal identity and the appeal for change are expressed through linguistic means, including modal verbs and repetition (Ali, 2016; Dastpak & Taghinejad, 2015). Through nominalisation, Trump's rhetoric served to obscure ideological narratives about crisis and control as revealed by a study conducted by Jawad (2025). In another study conducted by Koba (2020), the findings depict Zhumas'

inaugural rhetoric as moving from expressing plans to emphasising their implementation, marking a gradual legitimization of his governance and authority.

Taken together, these studies reveal that ideological messaging is not done through direct assertion, but rather it is intricately woven into language and context.

2.3.4 On Linguistic Strategies as Discursive Tools in Political Speeches

Political leaders employ a range of linguistic strategies in their political speech that serve distinct functions. A growing body of research has investigated the use of such techniques in inaugural speeches of political leaders globally.

Modality in political speeches sheds light on duty and determination. In Biden's speech, he employed a range of modal verbs, including "will," "shall," and "must," to emphasize his accountability and purpose (Lodhi, Shakir, & Awan, 2018). In contrast, Trump used the verb "will" to declare decisive actions, often embedding them with metaphors of crisis and rescue (Hassan, 2018). Similarly, the Indonesian president Widodo drew on verbs to depict the material and mental processes, which reinforced his dual persona as a compassionate yet action-driven leader (Widianingsih, 2020). The use of pronouns in speeches either helps to build rapport or create a sense of separation between political leaders and their intended audience. Obama, in his inauguration speech, used "we" to promote solidarity, and the frequent use of "I" showcases modesty and collective responsibility (Martika et al., 2022). Unlike Obama, Donald Trump uses pronouns strategically. He uses "we" to show inclusivity, "you" for engagement, and "they" for

oppositional rhetoric (Wahyuningsih, 2018). The findings reverberated in the conclusions of Buhari's speech and those of Nigerian leaders. Findings indicate that Nnamdi-Eruchalu (2022) experimented on the usage of pronouns in Muhammadu Buhari's inaugural speeches with a particular focus on pronouns. The results revealed that variation in pronoun choice indicates a transformation in leadership roles and how leaders connect with their audience (Ezeifeke, 2014; Nnamdi-Eruchalu, 2022). The analysis of transitivity sheds light on the distribution of agency and conveys accountability. Zuma's inaugural speech transitions from expressing intentions to emphasising outcomes (Koba, 2020). Unlike Macron's speech, which depicts how the strategic use of cohesion and thematic organisation promotes clarity and rhetorical legitimacy (Jin & Zang, 2023). Other tools, such as metaphor, lexicalisation, evidentiality, and nominalisation, play a significant role as discursive tools, enabling speakers to construct ideological framing. Using nominalisations like "carnage" and "rebuilding" that mould public perception and shift responsibility by obscuring agency. By employing metaphors and intertextuality, political leaders such as Obama and Nkrumah contextualize history as a foundation for a collective national purpose (Adde et al., 2022; Dastpak & Taghinejad, 2022).

In all the inaugural speeches delivered by political leaders, they are never neutral; they serve as a discursive mechanism for shaping perspectives, asserting identities, and establishing social roles.

2.4. Research Gap

A thorough literature review was conducted, from which two dominant themes emerged, branching into several subthemes, and revealing a research gap that the present study aims to address. Speech act analysis of political speeches is widely recognized in academia, but there is a notable lack of research in the Bangladeshi context. Therefore, this study aims to bridge the gap by conducting the study in the Bangladeshi context. The present study, hence, intends to use speech act analysis in the particular genre “addressed to the nation” employed by Muhammad Yunus.

Chapter THREE

Methodology

This section outlines the methodology chapter of the study. It comprises five essential components: i) research design, ii) data collection method, iii) description of the data, iv) data analysis technique, and, lastly, v) ethical considerations. This chapter aims to ensure the academic rigour of the study and provide credibility through providing a detailed yet transparent account of how the research was conducted. The methods employed are aligned with the research objectives and are well-suited for conducting a critical discourse analysis of political speeches.

3.1. Research Design

The genre, ‘Address to the nation’ (henceforth, AttN), is defined by two objectives: (1) to construct an account of national concerns and (2) to inform the addressees about the current and future initiatives by the addresser concerning the nation. The current thesis focuses on only the two objectives mentioned above. The other objectives that may become apparent during national crises, such as disaster outbreaks or wartime hazards. A qualitative study is grounded in exploration, which is why it provides insights into real-world issues. A qualitative research design with a theoretical foundation underpinned by critical discourse analysis is adopted, given the interpretative nature of the inquiry. In such studies, researchers examine elements in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret them in terms of the “meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3). It is particularly relevant in the investigation of how language constructs social meaning and power. The focus of the study was on identifying assertives and commissives from the speeches, “addressing the nation” (AttN) delivered by the

Chief Adviser; furthermore, navigating how these speech acts contributed to the building of a political agenda within the socio-political context.

3.2. Data Collection Method

To answer the research question, data were collected in the form of political speeches delivered by Dr. Yunus, the Chief Adviser of the interim government. The data were obtained from the official website of the Chief Adviser of the Government of Bangladesh, except for the inaugural speech, which was retrieved from the website of an online newspaper. Since assuming office, Muhammad Yunus has delivered six speeches addressing the nation. Out of these six speeches, the first three were selected. The selected speeches represent key milestones in the interim government's tenure. The chosen speeches for data analysis were his inaugural address, a speech marking one month's anniversary of the interim government, and a speech commemorating the 100-day anniversary of the interim government.

3.3. Description of the Data

The selected data were genre-specific, "addressing the nation." From the six addresses to the nation, only the first three were chosen as they depict the key milestones of his tenure and are relevant to the research aims and objectives. Below is a brief description of each dataset, including the type of data, when it was broadcast, the word count of the data, and an outline of the data provided. The available data was available in the Bengali language, which was translated into English.

The first speech was the inaugural address delivered on August 25, 2024. It was broadcast simultaneously at 7:30 PM on BTV, BTV World, and BTV Chattogram. It was delivered from the Office of the Chief Adviser. The word count of the speech is 2986.

The speech can be outlined as:

- 1) Opening, Inclusive Address, and Salutations to the Nation
- 2) Founding of New Bangladesh and Tribute to Martyrs
- 3) Remembrance of Flood Victims and Government Initiatives
- 4) National Crisis, Emergence of Leadership, and Collective Appeal
- 5) Heinous Account of Crimes Under the Fascist Regime
- 6) Visionary Call for National Rebuilding and Unity
- 7) Unity, Human Rights, and a Secular Democratic Future
- 8) Responsible Reform and Protection of Democratic Values
- 9) Remembrance and National Unity through Collective Memory
- 10) Restoring Law and Order and Rebuilding Trust in Public Administration
- 11) Financial Sector Reform and Economic Stabilisation
- 12) Rebuilding a People-Centered and Welfare-Oriented Bangladesh
- 13) Commitment to Transparency and Human Rights Accountability
- 14) Withdrawal of False Cases and Release of Political Prisoners
- 15) Government Commitment to Welfare and Healthcare for Revolution Martyrs and Injured
- 16) Establishment of Banking Commission
- 17) Judicial Reform, Accountability, and Justice for Past Atrocities
- 18) Police Reform for Accountability and Prevention of Authoritarianism
- 19) Media Freedom and Reform to Ensure Unrestricted Information Flow
- 20) Restoring International Media Access and Promoting Ethical Journalism
- 21) Commitment to Comprehensive Educational Reform and Restoration of Safe

Learning Environments

- 22) Democratic Empowerment and Comprehensive Institutional Reforms for Free and Fair Elections
- 23) Government's Anti-Corruption Commitment and Transparency Measures
- 24) Strengthening Government Accountability via Legal and Administrative Reforms
- 25) Safeguarding Agricultural Livelihoods and Honouring Migrant Workers
- 26) Commitment to Healthcare Reform, Accountability, and Equitable Access Across Bangladesh
- 27) Commitment to Sustainable Development and Environmental Protection with Youth Engagement
- 28) Commitment to International Cooperation, Human Rights, and Regional Stability
- 29) Promotion of National Unity, Inclusivity, and Protection of Marginalised Groups
- 30) Disaster Response, Relief Efforts, and Future Preparedness
- 31) Accountability and Reform in Law Enforcement
- 32) Justice, Accountability, and Healing after State Violence
- 33) Environmental Protection, Climate Change Mitigation, and Youth Engagement
- 34) Commitment to International Cooperation, Human Rights, and Regional Stability
- 35) Promotion of National Unity, Inclusivity, and Protection of Marginalised Groups
- 36) Exposure and Documentation of Corruption and Financial Crimes Under Previous Regimes
- 37) International Cooperation and Support for National Reconstruction
- 38) Recognition and Inclusion of the Bangladeshi Diaspora in Nation-Building

- 39) Empowerment and Support for Migrant and Expatriate Workers
- 40) Commitment to Eradicating Corruption and Promoting Integrity
- 41) National Unity, Equality, and Social Harmony
- 42) Public Dialogue, Protest Management, and Constructive Engagement
- 43) Legitimacy and Commitment to Democratic Transition
- 44) Inclusive Political Dialogue and Prioritisation for National Reform
- 45) Call for Inclusive Political Dialogue and Consensus-Building to Guide Reform and Negotiations
- 46) Safeguarding the People's Achievement Through Responsible, Inclusive, and Temporary Leadership
- 47) Religious Invocation for Divine Guidance and Collective Well-being

The second speech was delivered on the occasion of marking the one-month anniversary of the interim government. It was broadcast simultaneously at 7:30 PM on BTV and BTV World. It was delivered from the Office of the Chief Adviser. The word count of the speech is 4034.

The speech can be outlined as:

- 1. Opening, Inclusive Address, and Salutations
- 2. Tribute to the Martyrs and Heroes of the July Uprising and Resistance Against Fascism
- 3. Reiteration of Rehabilitation and Support for Martyrs' Families and the Injured
- 4. Establishment of the July Genocide Memorial Foundation to Honour Martyrs
- 5. Appreciation for Citizens and Armed Forces During National Crisis
- 6. Appreciation for the Bangladesh Armed Forces' Patriotism and Support
- 7. National Solidarity and Collaborative Relief Efforts during Flood Crisis

8. Balancing Public Protest and Maintaining Governance for Justice
9. Economic Stabilization vs. Labor Unrest
10. Call for Industrial Harmony and Economic Continuity
11. Revitalising Key Industries Through Worker-Employer Cooperation
12. Legal Reforms and Transitional Justice Post-Uprising
13. Judicial Reforms and Restoring Public Confidence
14. Repeal of Repressive Laws and Pursuit of Justice in High-Profile Cases
15. Ending Enforced Disappearances and Ensuring Justice for Victims
16. Education System Reforms for a Brighter Future
17. Leadership Renewal in Higher Education for Academic Revitalisation
18. Commitment to Press Freedom and Government Accountability
19. Diplomatic Success and International Support for the National Cause
20. Building Equal and Collaborative Relations with Neighbouring Countries
21. Anti-Corruption and People-Centred Development
22. Financial Sector Reform and Banking Governance Improvement
23. Inflation Control and Social Welfare Programs for Economic Stability
24. Rationalising Expenditures and Empowering Farmers
25. Exchange Rate Stabilisation and Strengthening Foreign Reserves
26. Responsible Aid Management, Sectoral Reallocation, and Economic Data Transparency
27. Revenue Reform and Capital Market Stabilisation

28. Stakeholder Collaboration to Stabilise Supply Chains and Essential Goods

Availability

29. Tariff Reductions and Subsidised Distribution for Low-Income Families
30. Ensuring Transparency, Accountability, and Reform in the Energy Sector
31. Price Regulation and Public Service Restoration
32. Anti-Corruption Measures and Accountability in Veterans' Affairs
33. Urban Development and Regulatory Enforcement
34. Protecting Democratic Values and Religious Tolerance
35. Administrative Reform, Meritocracy, and Transparency
36. Reconstruction and Restructuring of Public Administration Post-Autocratic Collapse
37. Remembrance and Preservation of Revolutionary Heritage
38. Environmental Sustainability and Pollution Control Initiatives
39. Collective Responsibility for National Reform
40. Building Broad-Based Support for Reform and Nation-Building
41. Preventing Autocracy and Realising Uprising Ideals
42. Preventing Tyranny Through Comprehensive Governance Reforms
43. Constitutional Reform and Inclusive Governance Through Expert Commissions
44. Strategic Leadership in Institutional Reform Initiatives
45. Collaborative National Dialogue for Reform Planning and Implementation
46. Empowering Youth and Promoting Inclusivity for National Progress
47. Call for Social Cooperation to Sustain Stability and Accelerate Progress
48. Determination and Public Trust as Pillars for National Success

49. Acknowledging Public Impatience While Committing to Careful Progress

50. Inclusive National Address and Invocation for Guidance

The third speech was delivered on the occasion of marking the hundred-day anniversary of the interim government. It was broadcast simultaneously at 7:00 PM on BTV and BTV World. It was delivered from the Office of the Chief Adviser. The word count of the speech is 3861.

The speech can be outlined as:

1. Inclusive Greeting and Unity Across All Demographics
2. Honouring Martyrs and Revolutionaries; Commemoration of Sacrifice
3. Transition and Nation Rebuilding After Crisis
4. Justice and Accountability for the Mass Uprising
5. Comprehensive Justice and Accountability Beyond the Uprising
6. Addressing Enforced Disappearances and Ensuring Victim Protection
7. Pursuit of Justice for Enforced Disappearances and Mass Atrocities
8. Strengthening Accountability and Human Rights through International Cooperation
9. Comprehensive Rehabilitation and Support for Martyrs and Injured Participants of the Uprising
10. Institutionalising Memory and Financial Support for Martyrs and Their Families
11. Restoration and Reformation of Law Enforcement
12. Public Patience and Responsible Restraint Amid Crisis
13. Managing Religious Minority Security and Countering Destabilising Narratives
14. Promotion of Religious Freedom and Ensuring Community Security
15. Effective Flood Management and Disaster Response

16. Post-Flood Economic Recovery and Market Stabilisation
17. Government Measures for Price Control and Inflation Management
18. Energy Reform and Economic Stabilisation Measures
19. Democratic Transition and Participatory Reform
20. Electoral Preparedness and Institutional Responsibility
21. Electoral Inclusivity and Preparatory Measures
22. Structural Reform and Participatory Governance
23. Electoral Reform and Democratic Ownership
24. Reform as a National Imperative and Generational Responsibility
25. Inclusive Electoral Reform through Constitutional Means
26. Patience and Commitment Toward Lasting Electoral Reform
27. Commitment to Principle-Driven Political Renewal
28. Progress Toward Democratic Elections Through Political Consensus
29. Balancing Reform and Electoral Timelines through Inclusive Dialogue
30. A Unified Call for National Vigilance and Continuity
31. Strengthening Judicial Capacity and Combating Corruption
32. Judicial Accountability and Anti-Corruption Measures
33. Administrative Reforms and Governance Improvements
34. Youth and Student Concerns: Dialogue and Public Order
35. Labour Rights and Economic Stability in the Garment Industry
36. Economic Recovery and Financial Management
37. Fiscal Challenges and Revenue Mobilisation

38. International Support and Diplomatic Engagement
39. Economic Stabilisation and Future Prospects
40. Vigilance Against Opposition and Assurance of Progress
41. Anti-Corruption and Economic Recovery
42. International Support and Diplomatic Engagement
43. Strengthening Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomatic Relations
44. Enhancing Private Sector Investment and Economic Development
45. Support and Welfare for Expatriate Bangladeshis
46. Diplomatic Efforts and Expatriate Welfare
47. Strengthening Regional and International Diplomatic Relations
48. Expanding Economic and Diplomatic Ties with Turkey
49. Religious Welfare and Financial Reforms in Hajj Pilgrimage
50. Environmental Sustainability and Biodiversity Conservation
51. Climate Change Challenges and International Cooperation
52. Transparency, Accountability, and Public Communication
53. National Unity Against Conspiracy and Corruption
54. Inclusive Greeting and Blessing to Citizens of all demographics

3.4. Data Analysis Technique

Critical discourse analysis, as outlined by Fairclough (2013) and van Dijk (2015), served as the theoretical framework for analyzing the data. Before data analysis, a translation was performed from Bengali to English. Bengali is written using the Devanagari script, unlike English, which uses the Roman script. The researcher categorized the speeches according to

themes. For instance, initial coding identified 47 themes in Speech 1, 50 themes in Speech 2, and 54 themes in Speech 3. Subsequently, the assertives and commissives were identified and were thematically categorized. Following this, the themes that were only present in the three speeches were identified. Finally, the identified themes were re-categorized into specific themes. In this way, 151 themes were categorized into 12 specific themes. The data analysis technique did not require any specialized software; instead, the identification of speech acts was performed manually by the researcher. For the analysis of these speeches, Fairclough's three-dimensional framework (Fairclough, 2013) was employed. In addition, selected features (i.e., metaphors, utterances (syntax), and lexicon and pronoun reference) from Van Dijk's discourse analytical framework (van Dijk, 2015) were adopted (see the flowchart below).

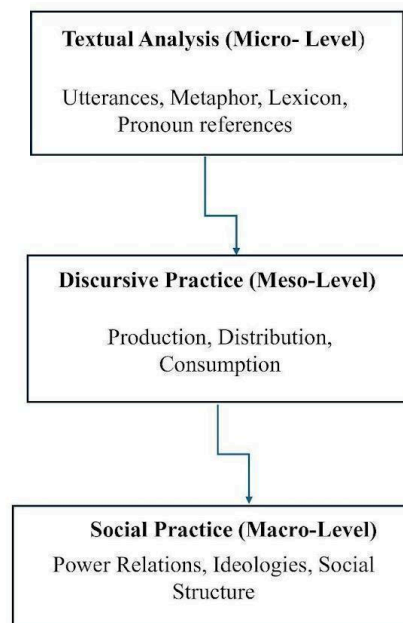


Fig. Framework used for analyzing the data.

3.5. Ethical Considerations

The speeches were obtained from the official website of the chief advisor, except the inaugural address, which was retrieved from a local online Bengali newspaper. As they are publicly accessible, there is no obligation to comply with copyright infringement laws when sourcing the data, as it falls under the fair use doctrine. To preserve the meaning, context, and tone of the chief adviser, the translations were done meticulously by the researcher. Finally, to acknowledge all the sources involved in the data, they were cited using the APA7 citation technique. This also helps in maintaining academic integrity.

Chapter FOUR

Data Analysis and Findings

This chapter presents the data analysis section of the thesis. It is organised into one main section: i) commonalities in the themes outlined in the corpus. It consists of three speeches delivered by Dr. Muhammad Yunus, the Chief Adviser of the interim government. These were delivered on three key occasions: the inaugural speech, the speech delivered on the first month anniversary, and the speech to celebrate the hundred days of the interim government.

4.1. Commonalities in the Themes Outlined in the Corpus

As previously noted, the three key speeches comprise 47, 50, and 54 themes, totaling 151 themes. The researcher categorized the speeches according to themes. For instance, initial thematic coding identified 47 themes in Speech 1, 50 themes in Speech 2, and 54 themes in Speech 3. Following this, the themes that were only present in the three speeches were identified. Finally, the identified themes were re-categorized into specific themes. In this way, 151 themes were categorized into 12 specific themes.

They are:

i)Tribute to Martyrs, Heroes, and Memorialization

STi)A 2,9,15

STi)B 3,4,37

STi) C 2,9,10

ii)Justice, Accountability, and Human Rights

STii)A 5,13,14,16,17,18,31,32

STii)B 8,12,13,14,15,41,42

STii)C 4,5,7,8,14,31,32

iii) Support and Rehabilitation for Victims and Families

STiii)A 3,15,30

STiii)B 3,6,9,10

STiii)C 6

iv)Public Security, Law Enforcement, and Rule of Law

STiv)A 10,18,31

STiv)B 13,14

STiv)C 11,13,14

v)Disaster Management and Flood Response

STv)A 3,30

STv)B 7

Stv)C 15,26

vi)Economic Stabilisation, Recovery, and Financial Reform

STvi)A 10,11

STvi)B 9,10,11,22,24,25,26,27,28,29

STvi)C 10, 16,17,18,22,35,36,37

vii)Judicial and Administrative Reform

STvii)A 16,17,24

STvii)B 12,13,14,35,36,43

STvii)C 19,23,31,32,33

viii)Electoral Reform and Participatory Governance

STviii)A 22,44,45

STviii)B 43,45

STviii)C 19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29

ix)Anti-Corruption and Transparency

STix)A 23,26, 36,40

STix)B 21,26,

STix)C 31,32,

x)International Cooperation and Diplomatic Engagement

STx)A 28,34,36,37

STx)B 19,20

STx)C 8,38,42,43,47,48

xi)Environmental Protection and Climate Change Initiatives

STxi)A 27

STxi)B 38

STxi)C 51

xii)National Unity, Social Harmony, and Political Legitimacy

STxii)A 4,7,8

STxii)B 34,39,41

STxii)C

4.2. Introduction to Findings and the Discussion Chapter

This section is divided into three sections. They are: i)the construction of the past, storytelling, and assertive speech acts, ii) the construction of ‘what we can offer’ and the use of

commissive speech acts, and iii) the ways speech acts aided the chief advisor in the construction of a particular program or agenda. The three answer the three research questions outlined in Chapter 01. The first two sections are straightforward, where assertives and commissives are identified from the 12 themes, and five highly relevant themes are chosen. The third section is tactical, where, firstly, critical discourse analysis is performed for the eight relevant themes for both speech acts, and then the CDA is used to answer the research question.

4.2.1. The Construction of the Past, Story-Telling and Assertive Speech Acts

One of the research questions inquired about the identification of assertives. Here, across 12 themes, five highly relevant assertive speech acts were selected from the three speeches.

a) Tribute to Martyrs, Heroes, and Remembrance

1. To preserve the memory of the martyrs of this mass uprising, the July Martyrs Memorial Foundation has been formally established and has already begun its work in earnest. **(Speech A)**
2. The government has provided a grant of 100 crore taka to support the foundation.
3. To honour the memory of the martyrs of the uprising, the government has taken the initiative to establish the July Genocide Memorial Foundation. **(Speech C)**
4. To this end, under the leadership of the Ministry of Health and with the assistance of two advisers representing the anti-discrimination student movement in the Advisory Council, a comprehensive list is being prepared. **(Speech A)**
5. Each martyr's family is being provided with 3 million taka by the government. **(Speech C)**

b) Justice, Accountability, and Human Rights

1. Corruption has seeped into every vein of our society.(**Speech A**)
2. We recently signed the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.(**SpeechB**)
3. We have already taken steps to seek international accountability for the disappearances, killings, and the July–August massacre.(**SpeechC**)
4. A list of 150 influential individuals accused of corruption and money laundering has been prepared, and investigations have been initiated against 79 of them. (**Speech C**)
5. As you are already aware, we have invited the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to visit Bangladesh and initiate a transparent investigation into the grievous incidents of violence and casualties that occurred during the mass uprising of July and August.(**Speech A**)

c)Support and Rehabilitation for Victims and Families

1. Each martyr's family is being provided with 3 million taka by the government. (**Speech C**)
2. For those who lost their eyesight to bullets, arrangements have been made to bring corneas from Nepal.(**Speech C**)
3. Those requiring further treatment are being sent abroad at the government's expense.(**Speech C**)
4. To alleviate the suffering of people in flood-affected areas, we have mobilized all available government mechanisms to ensure timely and appropriate support.(**Speech A**)
5. The government has provided a grant of 100 crore taka to support the foundation.(**Speech C**)

d)Public Security, Law Enforcement, and Rule of Law

1. Dear citizens, you have seen that from the moment we took office, we had to manage serious unrest in the law and order sector.**(Speech A)**
2. Assistance is being provided to ensure the prompt investigation and trial of five widely discussed murder cases, including the killing of journalists Sagar and Runi, with the highest priority.**(Speech B)**
3. Within two months of our assuming office, Durga Puja was celebrated at nearly 32,000 mandaps across the country.**(Speech C)**
4. We took extensive security measures around Durga Puja, allowing the Hindu community to celebrate the festival peacefully and without interruption.**(Speech C)**
5. When we assumed office, Bangladesh was a completely unprotected country.**(Speech C)**

e)Disaster Management and Flood Response

1. To manage the floods and support post-flood rehabilitation efforts, we have secured grant of \$250 million from the World Bank, along with over 1 billion taka in local donations.**(Speech C)**
2. To alleviate the suffering of people in flood-affected areas, we have mobilized all available government mechanisms to ensure timely and appropriate support.**(Speech A)**
3. Businessmen and affluent individuals spontaneously came forward with their financial support.**(Speech B)**
4. To boost the supply of eggs in the market, we have approved the import of 95 million eggs and granted necessary tax exemptions for this purpose.**(Speech C)**

5. Additionally, we have initiated discussions both within the government and with our neighbors to take collective precautions and prevent flooding.**(Speech A)**

f) Economic Stabilization, Recovery, and Financial Reform

1. The fascist government printed an additional 60,000 crore taka for plundering purposes, pushing the nation into severe inflation.**(Speech B)**

2. To protect ordinary citizens from rising prices, initiatives like the Open Market Sale (OMS), food-friendly programs, and the distribution of essential commodities at subsidized prices are ongoing.**(Speech B)**

3. To stabilise the exchange rate of the taka against the US dollar, the foreign exchange rate has been made market-based.**(Speech B)**

4. Over the past three months, without touching our reserves, we have managed to repay nearly \$2 billion in foreign loans.**(Speech C)**

5. We are pleased to announce that an 18-point comprehensive agreement has been signed between the owners and workers.

g)Judicial and Administrative Reform

1. Rebuilding a shattered public administration while considering those who had been compelled to resign or left idle without responsibilities during the 16 years of autocratic rule was one of our most difficult tasks.**(Speech B)**

2. To expedite the trial process for other crimes committed in the country, over a thousand prosecutors have been appointed across various districts.**(Speech C)**

3. Since the interim government took office, reforms have been undertaken in the judicial system.**(Speech B)**

4. The reformation of the Anti-Corruption Commission is nearing completion. **(Speech B)**
5. In the past, many candidates recommended by the BPSC from the 28th to the 42nd BCS were denied appointment due to not aligning with the ruling party's ideology. **(Speech B)**

h) Electoral Reform and Participatory Governance

1. Forming the state's structure is one of the core commitments of this interim government. **(Speech C)**
2. The election train has started its journey. **(Speech C)**
3. We came in response to the call of the students; they were our initial appointers **(Speech A)**
4. Our most important responsibility is to hand over power to an elected government through a free and fair election. **(Speech C)**
5. We have entrusted six distinguished citizens, selected for their expertise in relevant fields, with the responsibility of leading these commissions. **(Speech A)**

i) Anti-Corruption and Transparency

1. The reformation of the Anti-Corruption Commission is nearing completion. **(Speech A)**
2. The current government has taken a clear and uncompromising stance against corruption. **(Speech A)**
3. The Supreme Judicial Council has been reinstated to enable the disciplinary process of judges through a proper legal framework. **(Speech C)**
4. Initiatives have been taken to utilize the \$48 billion in previously allocated foreign

aid. **(Speech B)**

5. If we can move forward with even this task, this government will be remembered for making a significant contribution to the nation.**(Speech A)**

j)International Cooperation and Diplomatic Engagement

1. This reflects the EU's show of support and its interest in forging high-level economic cooperation with us.**(Speech C)**

2. They have all expressed renewed and wholehearted interest in supporting Bangladesh.**(Speech C)**

3. We have already initiated high-level bilateral discussions with India to cooperate on flood management.**(Speech B)**

4. When I attended the United Nations General Assembly session in September, I had the opportunity to meet with the heads of government from many countries, including the United States, the European Union, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, and the UN Secretary-General. **(Speech C)**

5. As part of that commitment, we have taken concrete steps, such as endorsing the International Convention on Enforced Disappearances..**(Speech A)**

k) Environmental Protection and Climate Change Initiatives

1. You are all aware of how climate change is posing a serious threat to our way of life.**(Speech C)**

2. Any development that destroys or pollutes our rivers, wetlands, hills, forests, soil, and air cannot be considered sustainable in the long term.**(Speech A)**

3. We have also begun efforts to stop the river pollution that has accumulated over the past few decades. **(Speech B)**

4. In the past year alone, Bangladesh has faced nearly 15 natural disasters. **(Speech C)**

5. The vision of development they aspire to is sustainable and environmentally responsible, not the kind that destroys nature. **(Speech A)**

I) National Unity, Social Harmony, and Political Legitimacy

1. As you are aware, the historic July mass uprising led by students, workers, and the people brought about the fall of the fascist regime at the cost of thousands of lives.

(Speech B)

2. A grand conspiracy funded by enormous sums is being carried out every moment, both globally and within the country, in every institution and location, to render this government ineffective and unsuccessful. **(Speech C)**

3. We have one goal: a liberal, democratic, non-discriminatory, and secular Bangladesh. **(Speech A)**

4. We hold that it is entirely unacceptable for elections to be used as a pretext for imposing majority tyranny or misrule upon the people, or for concentrating all power in the hands of an individual, a family, or a particular group. **(Speech B)**

5. The fascist head of government fled, temporarily leaving the country without leadership following the unprecedented mass uprising of students, workers, and the people. **(Speech C)**

4.2.2. The Construction of ‘What We can Offer’ and the Use of Commissive Speech

Acts

One of the research questions inquired about the identification of commissives. Here, across 12 themes, five highly relevant commissive speech acts were selected from the three speeches.

a)Tribute to Martyrs, Heroes, and Remembrance

1. The government will comprehensively cover the medical expenses of all injured students, workers, and citizens.(**Speech C**)
2. No martyr, injured student, or worker from the July uprising will be excluded from the treatment and rehabilitation plan.(**Speech C**)
3. The building will remain exactly as it was left in the wake of the uprising. (**Speech B**)
4. To permanently memorialise the anger and resistance of the students and the people,no further renovations will be carried out.(**Speech B**)
5. This is a solemn commitment of the interim government.(**Speech C**)

b)Justice, Accountability, and Human Rights

1. Not only will we prosecute the July–August killings, but we are also committed to ensuring justice for all crimes committed over the past 15 years.(**Speech C**)
2. No impunity will be displayed to the accused based on power and affiliation.
(**Speech C**)
3. Justice will be delivered for extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, murders, abductions, and the deeply reprehensible crimes committed under the fascist regime.(**Speech A**)

4. To establish a people-centric, non-partisan, and accountable law enforcement structure, a Police Commission will be established. **(Speech A)**

5. We are committed not only to reforming the judiciary but also to protecting all sectors of the country from the grip of widespread corruption. **(Speech C)**

c)Support and Rehabilitation for Victims and Families

1. To ensure justice, all families of the martyrs of the uprising will be rehabilitated. **(Speech A)**

2. Dear citizens, As I have said before, I say again today: every family of those martyred in the people's uprising will be rehabilitated, not a single one will be left behind **(Speech C)**

3. As soon as new information becomes available, the list will be updated. **(Speech A)**

4. No martyr, injured student, or worker from the July uprising will be excluded from the treatment and rehabilitation plan. **(Speech C)**

5. As soon as new information becomes available, the list will be updated. **(Speech A)**

d)Public Security, Law Enforcement, and Rule of Law

1. To establish a people-centric, non-partisan, and accountable law enforcement structure, a Police Commission will be established. **(Speech A)**

2. Under the leadership of this commission, necessary reforms will be implemented based on the UN investigative report, consultations with relevant agencies, and input from the public. **(Speech A)**

3. Measures will be put in place to ensure Bangladesh can never again be turned into a police state by any force. **(Speech A)**

4. We are committed to ensuring that not just the Hindu community but no citizen of this country becomes a victim of violence.(Speech A)

5. These laws will soon be repealed or amended where applicable.(Speech B)

e) Disaster Management and Flood Response

1. With everyone's cooperation, we aim to successfully complete the rehabilitation process..(Speech B)

f) Economic Stabilisation, Recovery, and Financial Reform

1. We will engage with both owners and workers to find a solution.(Speech B)

2. We will systematically identify and remove the barriers impeding their progress.(Speech B)

3. This initiative will continue in the days to come.(Speech B)

4. We are committed to elevating both sectors to their highest potential.(Speech B)

g)Judicial and Administrative Reform

1. Through a defined and transparent process, we are committed to ensuring the independence and accountability of the judicial system.(Speech A)

2. Justice will be delivered for the extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, murders, abductions, and the deeply reprehensible crimes committed under the fascist regime, including those likened to the horrors of the mirror chambers.(Speech A)

3. All those involved in such crimes will be brought to justice.(Speech A)

4. False cases will be withdrawn based on verified lists, and corruption, as well as illicit asset transfers, will be duly prosecuted.(Speech A)

5. For government officials, asset declarations will be made regular and mandatory.(**Speech A**)

h)Electoral Reform and Participatory Governance

1. To bring the people's student-led uprising to a successful conclusion, comprehensive reforms will be undertaken in the administration, judiciary, election commission and electoral process, law enforcement, and information channels, culminating in free, fair, and participatory elections.(**Speech A**)

2. We will ensure that the Commission remains prepared at all times to conduct free and fair election.(**Speech A**)

3. Within a few days, the Election Commission will be formed.(**Speech C**)

4. Reform proposals will be finalised based on a consensus of all stakeholder.

5. The Election Commission will be able to begin several tasks, including updating the voter list, which is directly related to holding a free and fair election.

i)Anti-Corruption and Transparency

1. All our advisers will publicly disclose their assets as soon as possible.(**Speech A**)

2. I promise to dedicate my whole strength to this cause.(**Speech A**)

3. Depending on their current implementation stage, we will consider cost reduction or even cancellation if necessary.(**Speech B**)

4. . We will give priority to projects that create employment opportunities.(**Speech B**)

j)International Cooperation and Diplomatic Engagement

1. We are firmly committed to international law, including human rights law.(**Speech A**)

2. Our government will continue implementing all regional and bilateral treaties

and agreements to which we are a party.(Speech A)

3. Our foreign policy will be grounded in mutual trust, respect, and cooperation. (Speech A)

4. We will maintain friendly relations with all countries (Speech A)

k)Environmental Protection and Climate Change Initiatives

1. Our government will give the highest priority to environmental and climate protection, and we will actively engage the youth in this mission. (Speech A)

l)National Unity, Social Harmony, and Political Legitimacy

1. Dear citizens, we are firmly committed to creating a democratic Bangladesh for you and our children.(Speech B)

2. We are committed to ensuring that no division can ever disrupt the dreams share. (Speech A)

3. We will leave in two days.(Speech C)

4.2.3.The Ways Speech Acts Aided The Chief Advisor In The Construction Of A Particular Program Or Agenda

Professor Dr. Muhammad Yunus delivered multiple speeches on various occasions while serving as the Chief Advisor of the interim government. His speeches employed multiple speech acts, serving different functions. From his speeches, only the first three were selected, and as for speech acts, assertive and commissive speech acts were chosen. To answer the question, the three speeches were disseminated into themes, which were further divided into broad titles. Out of the 12 broad titles, eight relevant broad titles were chosen. They were: a)Justice, Accountability, and Human Rights, b)Economic Stabilization, Recovery, and Financial Reform, c)Judicial and

Administrative Reform, d) Electoral Reform and Participatory Governance, e) Anti-Corruption and Transparency, f) National Unity, Social Harmony, and Political Legitimacy, g) Public Security, Law Enforcement, and Rule of Law h) International Cooperation and Diplomatic Engagement. By employing CDA as the theoretical framework across eight themes, it addresses the research question of how assertives and commissives intersect in the construction of a particular program or agenda.

Assertive Speech Acts:

a) Justice, Accountability, and Human Rights

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the majority of the sentences are declarative, which indicates factual statements. These utterances serve some functions. For example, they are used to criticize the previous government, and they also reinforce authority. The sentences are mostly in active voice, for instance: “Efforts have commenced to free the judiciary from corruption and partisan influence.” The use of the past tense in these utterances refers to an action that has been completed, unlike the choice of the present tense, which depicts an ongoing action. Some of the utterances are adorned with conceptual metaphors. They serve to intensify the emotional and ethical implications of injustice. For example, “Corruption has seeped into every vein of our society.” It is a disease that has infiltrated every part of society. Other examples include “puppets of the ruling party.” Here, puppets serve as a metaphor that suggests the law enforcement’s lack of agency and control. This means that they are under the control of the previous regime. “Education sector has been crippled” ... Here, crippled serves as a metaphor that suggests the condition of the education sector, which has been severely damaged. There are

three types of lexicons present, which include legal terms, such as “prosecutor”, “judiciary”, “trial”, “accountability”, and “legal framework”. Some lexicons condemn the previous government, such as “fascism”, “autocracy”, and “misrule” and “oppression”. Finally, lexicons related to humanitarian and emotive means, for instance, “sacrifices” and “heart-wrenching”, “healing”. The lexicons create a binary opposition between exploited citizens and corrupt oppressors, thereby forming a morally charged binary. As for pronoun reference across the utterance, there is a prevalence of “we” and “our”, which constructs a common identity between the interim government and the citizens, where both possess mutual responsibility towards collective goals. For example:...“we have invited the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights”. “You” is also used to direct address the audience and invoke emotions. For example, “you have seen how”...and lastly, “they” or “them” is used to blame the previous regime.

Discursive Practice:

At the interpretive stage (meso-level), it examines how the speech is constructed and interpreted within its communicative context. By using declarative syntax, active voice, and highly emotive lexicon, the chief advisor establishes a relationship with the audience. Various intertextual references are drawn from the liberation war, for example, “the Bangladesh we earned through the blood of millions of martyrs and the sacrifices of countless mothers and sisters has been destroyed by fascism and autocracy to mass uprisings”, framing the current government as an agent that operates with both the nation’s historical struggles and international justice narratives. Delivered during moments of institutional transitions (inauguration, one-month, and 100-day marks), the timing of the speech calls for both urgency in reform and

forward momentum. It's live broadcast, as well as public availability, for its transparency and inclusivity. Finally, the discursive practice reveals how the chief advisor skillfully employs language by drawing on interdiscursive references that depict them as a moral and democratic entity committed to justice, human rights, and the national healing of citizens.

Social Practice:

At the macro level, speeches emerge when there is a shift in power in Bangladesh, as the interim government seeks to recalibrate power dynamics from an authoritarian regime to one rooted in constitutional rights. The interim government, through condemning past corruption, abuse of human rights, and systematic decay, delegitimizes the previous regime and presents itself as the rightful custodian of justice. A binary opposition is created through the merging of inherent ideologies rooted in democratic rule, the rule of law, and restorative justice. Here, the past regimes' account of past events, where corruption permeated every aspect of society, and law enforcement was their puppet, creates a binary with the current regime, which is the restorer of justice. Lastly, in terms of social structure, it emphasizes the recreation of the core institutions to safeguard justice and human rights. It promotes accountability through investigations of past wrongdoings and the prosecution of those responsible, aiding in the restoration of citizens' trust in the legal and administrative systems.

Commissive Speech Acts:

a)Justice, Accountability, and Human Rights

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the utterances employ declarative sentences, which help convey transparent pledges in the active voice. For example, “we are committed to

identifying the criminals and ensuring their punishment,” OR “this investigation process will commence this week, and the first team has already arrived.” The sentences portray the chief advisor as the active agent, further amplifying reliability and authority. There are fewer instances of passive voice, too, in these utterances. For example, “false cases will be withdrawn based on verified lists, and corruption, as well as illicit asset transfers, will be duly prosecuted.” In such a sentence, there is a shift from actor to action, which indicates institutional accountability over individual will. There is a high predominance of modal verbs in these utterances, with the modal verb “will” dominating with the highest frequency. This modal verb acts as a signal to underscore the chief advisor’s commitment. For example, “during our tenure, we will do our utmost to resolve all issues.” There are instances of conceptual metaphors in these utterances. For example, ... “and this fight for justice will not be limited to our national courts “. Here, the conceptual metaphor is “fight for justice,” where justice is framed as a battle, implying conflict. Lexicons are primarily used in legal contexts. They are: “prosecuted”, “justice” and “perpetrators” “amended”. Lastly, talking about pronoun reference in these utterances. The majority of these utterances use “we” which depicts unity, collective responsibility between the government and its citizens. For example, “we are committed..”. A few utterances use “you” that focus on the narrative of the victim’s plight and signal solidarity and compassion. For example, “no one will dare to harm you again.”

Discursive Practice:

The speech produced by the chief advisor of the interim government frames themselves as the proactive agent concerned with reform, justice, and institutional transparency. The speakers construct a discourse rooted in commitment, certainty, and authority through the

frequent use of declarative sentences and the modal verb “will.” thus framing both responsibility in personal and institutional aspects. While the use “we” frames the government as a unified actor working collaboratively with the citizens, the use of you underscores empathy with the citizens. Intertextuality is when texts, in this case speeches, allude to previous works. The intertextual elements draw reference from recent uprisings and past injustices under the fascist regime; the speech validates the interim government’s justice agenda to be legitimate and grounded ethically. As the speech was delivered after a moment of political crisis, this intensifies the necessity and reception of these pledges. Through employing discursive strategies of accountability and institutional transparency, the speaker signals to the audience that they are collaborative agents and beneficiaries of the country’s driving agenda.

Social Practice:

A “us vs them” dichotomy is established where the interim government frames itself as the capable driving force aimed at administering justice, reforming judicial institutions, and promoting law enforcement responsibility, and the fascist government is framed as the “other” describing incidents of their past crime, creating an in-group vs out-group dynamic. The use of declarative sentences and commissive speech acts in the discourse underscores a reformist and transparent revolving ideology, reinforcing accountability, human rights, and institutional rights as the supporting values. Justice is positioned as an ethical and systematic obligation in the speeches. The speeches affirm the government’s authority while conveying a commitment to protect and unite the citizens. The functions of these speeches at the social structure serve to restore public trust, inspire shared accountability, and redefine citizens’ perceptions of governance.

Discussion:

The chief advisor constructed a reformist agenda through the tactical employment of a combination of both assertive and commissive speech acts. Assertive speech acts were used to diagnose the shortcomings of the previous regime. The conceptual metaphors “corruption has seemed” and “education system has been crippled” frame the systematic decay of the country. This legitimation was further amplified through binary opposition, which critical discourse analysis points out as a discursive move to reestablish legitimate moral governance. The commissive speech acts, at the same time, articulated a forward-looking vision of institutional reform and justice that is seen through the consistent use of the modal verb “will” and pledges using the declarative sentence. Intertextual references arise to the liberation war and mass uprisings at the meso level, which position commitment at a broader narrative of democratic struggle. Finally, the interim government is described as competent and just, unlike the previous government, which was oppressive and corrupt, as depicted through the interplay of these speech acts that is seen in the social practice level. Assertive and commissive speech acts construct a political agenda via prognostic framing. Assertive speech acts were employed to diagnose past wrongdoings and undermine the previous government. It serves as the factual and moral basis for the claims. The commissives, on the other hand, prescribed firm pledges and institutional initiatives. Thus projecting the interim government’s authority, responsibility, and credibility. In all these speech acts functioned performatively to legitimize government authority, rally public support, and enact a reformist agenda amid a critical moment of political shift.

Assertive Speech Acts:

b)Economic Stabilisation, Recovery, and Financial Reform

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the majority of the sentences are declarative, indicating factual statements that present data, report actions, and decisions made by the interim government. Sentences use the active voice, which depicts the interim government as the agent for conducting the actions. In a few sentences, there are temporal markers of time that indicate either continuity or urgency. Several conceptual metaphors are present in these utterances. For example, “when we began our work, the country’s economy was in a state of collapse”. Here, collapse serves as a metaphor for decline, suggesting that the economy is in a worse state. Other conceptual metaphors include, “banking sector has become the hub of looting.” Here, “hub” serves as a conceptual metaphor for an important location. This depicts methodical and pervasive corruption, “foreign currency reserves had hit rock bottom.” Here, the metaphor is used to add physical depth. This suggests that the performance is at its lowest possible level. As for the lexicon, there is a predominance of economic vocabulary. For example: “banking commission”, “exchange rate”, “foreign currency reserve” etc. There is a notable contrast in the words used to describe the actions of the past regime and the initiatives carried out by the current interim government. While the former government had carried out actions, for instance “looting”, “plundering” the current interim government has carried out actions, for example “reform”, “restructure”. As for the pronoun reference, “we” has been used consistently to construct the interim government as united and actively involved in handling economic responsibilities. For example, “we have taken steps to recover the funds that were looted and illegally transferred abroad”. There are instances of “you” and “your” across a few utterances to cultivate a sense

of solidarity and collective concern. For example, “however, if expressing that sorrow ultimately disrupts your very source of livelihood, that would be unfortunate.”

Discursive Practice:

At the interpretation stage (meso-level), the chief advisor employs declarative syntax, active voice, and temporal markers to establish a relationship between citizens. These discursive elements also evoke a sense of urgency and continuity. Intertextually, the interim government draws reference from the financial collapse under the previous regime and the reforms it has committed to. A binary opposition can be created from the intertextual allusions. The previous government is described using the terms “plundering” and “looting.” Unlike the current government, is positioned through the lens of accountability, reform, and renewal. The speeches were delivered after the crisis and were made available online and broadcast nationally. This emphasizes transparency and active civic participation. Ultimately, the use of discursive strategies by the chief advisor and intertextual references serves to affirm the credibility of financial policies and restore public trust amidst moments of national uncertainty.

Social Practice:

The power relations are transitioning from a corrupt regime to an interim government that emphasizes accountability and institutional reform. Thus, these speeches mirror a political and economic context in Bangladesh. They assert dominance over key institutions while delegitimizing the previous institutions and legitimizing their governance. The embedded ideology is a culmination of good rule, economic justice, and inclusive development. A contrast is created between the previous government and the interim government. The former is framed as corrupt, unlike the latter, who is the protector of ordinary people. Lastly, in terms of social

structure, the government prioritizes market stabilization and reforming fiscal policies to amplify resilience. Its commitment to transparent financial measures and effective oversight would aid in rebuilding public trust while promoting institutional legitimacy and equitable access to resources.

Commissive Speech Acts

b)Economic Stabilisation, Recovery, and Financial Reform

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the utterances use declarative sentences. Most of the utterances are simple sentences that convey clear intentions. For example, “we will engage with both owners and workers to find a solution.” To depict the agency of the interim government, the majority of the utterances in this theme use the active voice. As for the lexicon, it is formal and suggests a sense of development. For example, “engage”, “solution”, “foundation”, “potential”. As for pronoun reference, there is a prominence of the pronoun “we”, which identifies the interim government as the responsible entity. For example, “we will engage”..., the pronoun reference “our” is also employed but less frequently, for example, “as our government”. Collectively, the use of these pronoun references reflects joint responsibility, while showcasing the government’s proactive involvement.

Discursive Practice:

The speech produced by the chief officer of the interim government frames themselves as the proactive agent concerned with economic recovery and industrial harmony. The chief advisor constructs a discourse rooted in assurance, reliability, and responsibility through the repeated use of declarative sentences and employing commissive speech acts. The use of “we” identifies the interim government as the responsible entity, unlike “our”, which is used to reinforce

institutional accountability and sustained dedication to policy continuity. Intertextuality is when texts, in this case speeches, allude to previous works. The discourse alludes to economic development and labour management, underscoring hindrances in the historical sectors and the necessity of revitalized cooperation between workers and employees.

Social Practice:

The interim government uses active voice and commissive speech acts by positioning itself as the pivotal entity responsible for economic recovery and industrial harmony. The ideology of this discourse is rooted in reformist and developmental aspects. This emphasizes collaboration, communal obligation, and the long-term advancement of the country. These speeches portray the government as a proactive actor and collaborator through reinforcing credibility while encouraging shared responsibility across institutions and stakeholders. In the social structure, these speeches aim to unveil how the economy is positioned as a collaborative, forward-looking mission under competent and attentive leadership.

Discussion:

The speech acts under this theme do not simply elucidate policy; from a critical discourse analysis lens, they constitute an ideological project. Assertive speech acts build a narrative competence and urgent action. For example, “we have taken steps”.. Through the lens of CDA, these speech acts function as factual statements that delegitimize the previous regime while legitimizing the interim government by positioning them as an authoritative voice of reality.

The commissive speech acts, which mostly use the modal verb “will” are equally important. The commitments are not actions for the future, but rather are discursive strategies for legitimation. These frame the interim government as the architect of recovery, thus extending its

role beyond a caretaker. The use of pronouns “we” and “they” creates an in-group and out-group dichotomy. The use of “we” depicts the citizens and government as the co-partners within a shared project, and “they” shows unjust authority. These binaries do not strictly label authorities; instead, they produce a moral order where one side is just and the other corrupt. At the social practice level, this lens depicts how this discourse is embedded in broader ideology formation. The current government is portrayed as a guardian and facilitator of citizen needs, while delegitimizing the previous government by an ideology rooted in economic justice and inclusive development. For example, “we will reform banking sector” The integration of factual reports with explicit commitments enabled the chief advisor to transform urgent actions into a coherent and politically viable program. This aligns with policy actions driven by a comprehensive agenda of accountability, economic reform, and institutional reform. To elaborate, the use of these speech acts aided the interim government by constructing a specific political program and agenda, connecting past setbacks to future pledges. Assertive speech acts diagnosed the economic deterioration under the previous government, and commissive speech acts provided firm commitments. Taken together, the interplay of these speech acts shifted a governmental discourse from descriptive narration to a credible performative act.

Assertive Speech Acts:

c)Judicial and Administrative Reform

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the majority of the sentences are declarative. For example, “we began our journey with a public administration that had collapsed.” A majority of the utterances use the present perfect tense, which indicates finished actions, thus reflecting clear

direction and steady progress. A few utterances are also in passive voice. There are also a few instances of conceptual metaphors across the utterances. For example, “when we began our journey with a public administration that had collapsed”. The metaphor “collapsed” indicates the public administration is described as a physical framework that has fallen into disrepair. As for the lexicon goes, frequent use of evaluative and reformist language by the interim government establishes their moral authority and leadership credibility. The reformist language is used in both positive and negative contexts. Examples of the former include “implemented”, “approved”, “undertaken” and as for the examples of the latter include “collapsed”, “harassing” and “corruption”. There are a few instances of legal jargon present across these utterances. For example, “Digital Security Act”, the “Anti-Terrorism Act” and “Appellate Division”, “trial process”, “prosecutors”. Lastly, as for pronoun reference, “we” is used the most, which expresses the idea of coordinated effort, organizational unity, and collective obligation.

Discursive Practice:

In the interpretation stage (meso-level), by strategically employing the inclusive pronoun “we” and a formal tone, Muhammad Yunus establishes a relationship with the audience. The usage of evaluative language to build the president’s government as united, trustworthy, and committed to reform. Through referencing recent political turmoils, particularly the collapse of the previous government’s administration system, the speech positions the current government as a necessary as well as legitimate agent of restoration. The speech alludes to past actions through systematic corruption, politically motivated appointments, and disrupted institutional procedures. The speech was produced during the aftermath of a political transition and was strategically crafted for delivery at three key, distinct moments. This intentional timing functions discursively

to construct a forward momentum and authoritative governance. The speech was broadcast live and later made available online. This contributed to the creation of an inclusive and authoritative discourse that shaped public interpretation and advanced the current government's reformist agenda. These strategies ultimately position the interim government as reliable and proactive, thereby enhancing its credibility in implementing reforms to reinforce institutional stability, uphold justice, and restore public trust.

Social Practice:

The speeches reflect a moment of power shift in Bangladesh, where power relations have shifted to an interim government committed to transparency and institutional reform, following the politically corrupt previous government. It exposes the wrongdoings of the previous regime in terms of corruption and mismanagement, thus framing itself as the rightful custodian of administrative authority. Thus, delegitimizing the past government. The embedded ideology culminates in good rule, rule of the law, and accountability, which creates a binary opposition between them and the previous government. The focus on reconstructing key judicial and administrative institutions forms the basis of social structure. The government is framed as legitimate and the custodian of governance through the promotion of procedures and appointments, which enhance its institutional efficiency and authority.

Commissive Speech Act:

c)Judicial and Administrative Reform

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the utterances are declarative sentences and use the active voice. These are used to state pledges explicitly and future-oriented actions. For example,

“we are committed to ensuring”...The majority of sentences possess the modal verb “will” which is used to signal strong determination and certainty. For example, “these laws will soon be repealed or amended where applicable”.... The utterances are a blend of simple and compound sentences, which reflect clarity and directness. This set of utterances does not contain any metaphors. As for the lexicon, there are instances of legal lexicons. For instance: “prosecuted”, “ordinance”. There are a few highly emotive terms that carry negative connotations and are used to describe past crimes. For example, “extrajudicial killings” and “enforced disappearances”. Lastly, regarding pronoun reference, the pronoun “we” indicates collective responsibility and is used less frequently in this set of utterances. For example, “we are committed to ensuring the independence and accountability of the judicial system.”

Discursive Practice:

The chief advisor produces this discourse in a post-authoritarian context, thus framing himself as the driving force of anti-corruption measures, administrative integrity, and judicial independence. The speeches’ formal and authoritative tone presents the audience as active participants in advancing justice and transparency. The speech was made accessible to everyone by being broadcast live, creating an inclusive discourse that promotes citizen engagement. Intertextuality is when texts, in this case speeches, allude to previous works. It draws a reference to legal institutions reforms through Article 77 and the appointment of the ombudsman, and human rights discourse through referencing to heinous crimes under the fascist regimes, extrajudicial killings, and enforced disappearance, and anti-corruption discourse by alluding to declarations of assets.

Social Practice:

The interim government employs utterances that utilize commissive speech acts to frame itself as the primary entity responsible for enforcing judicial authority, administrative integrity, and anti-corruption measures, thereby asserting power over both state officials and former perpetrators of authoritarian rule. The ideology of this discourse is rooted in legal reforms, emphasizing openness and accountability while underscoring ethical administration and institutional duty, and reinforcing credibility through references to the constitution and human rights principles. The government legitimizes its authority and conveys assurance and obligation in reforming national institutions by positioning itself as an active agent and guardian of justice. Lastly, in the social structure, institutions are represented as accountable and transparent through the implementation of tools such as asset disclosure and the ombudsman, which reinforce ethical governance and administrative integrity.

Discussion:

A political agenda centered on judicial autonomy, anti-corruption measures, and effective administration was constructed through the use of assertive and commissive speech acts by the interim government. The use of assertive speech acts sheds light on the past failures and institutional abuse under the previous fascist regime. For example, “we began our journey when the public administration had collapsed.” while depicting the interim government as capable, reformist, and morally credible. Commissive speech acts emphasized reliability and a forward-looking commitment to institutional renewal by committing to prosecute corruption, withdraw false cases, etc. For example, ... “corruption, as well as illicit asset transfers, will be duly prosecuted”.

At the textual level, the government is positioned as an entity for reform by demonstrating authority and collective responsibility through the use of declarative sentences in the active voice and occasional pronoun reference, “we” and “our.” The moral credibility of the interim government is further elevated by using legal and highly emotive lexicons. Modal verb “will” along with temporal markers, conveys a sense of urgency, stability, and unwavering determination.

At the discursive level, references to past authoritarian abuse and anti-corruption frameworks validate the interim government’s authority and position it as a corrective force. This is further amplified through the binary opposition and the mode of circulation, which not only promotes public trust but also frames citizens as collaborators for institutional restoration.

Finally, at the social level, these ideologies create an ideology of accountability and ethical rule. The interim government positions itself as the dominant force within the country’s institutions, legitimizing its governance while discrediting the former government.

Taken together, these speech acts culminate in the stated facts, pledges, and moral framing, translating immediate actions into a structured framework of judicial and administrative reform, thus creating a reformist agenda that strengthens political legitimacy and institutional integrity.

Assertive Speech Acts:

d)Electoral Reform and Participatory Governance

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the majority of the sentences are declarative with little usage of the present perfect tense. For example, “we have initiated various reforms.” This

indicates recent or current achievement, emphasizing continuous progress and ongoing leadership. Few utterances also use modal verbs, such as “must.” For example, “however, the final decision must be a political one, and such a decision can only emerge through political dialogue.” The use of such modal verbs signals both necessity and adaptability. There is a handful of conceptual metaphors present across the utterances. For example, “the election train has started its journey”. This metaphor implies that the election process has already begun and is progressing towards its goal. There are two types of lexicon apparent here. The first comprises reform-oriented terminology. For example, “reform”, “renewal”, “structural reform”, “principle driven”, “national imperative”. The second focuses on terms related to institutions. For example, “election commission” and “constitutional reform commission”, “reform commissions” etc. There are two types of pronoun reference at play across the utterances. “We” is used predominantly across the utterances to convey shared efforts and institutional coherence. There are a few instances of “you” that indicate mutual understanding, reinforce transparency, and encourage public support for reform.

Discursive Practice:

In the interpretation stage (meso level), to establish a relationship between the audience and the interim government, the government strategically employs pronoun reference. While “we” is used to convey unity to affirm a morally grounded image within institutional cohesion and mutual obligation. Through the use of conceptual metaphors as an intertextual element, it constructs a sense of continuous advancement and collective national momentum. The speech draws its past reference to the July-August mass uprising, which happened due to student demands. The speech was tactically designed to serve three important functions. They are: to

reinforce political stability, to propose electoral reforms, and, lastly, to advocate for accountability. The speech is established as a call for unity and active public cooperation to affirm democracy through its live broadcast and the later availability of transcripts. Ultimately, the speech outlines reforms and plans to restructure the government's role to improve the election process and governance while maintaining public trust.

Social Practice:

The recalibration of power relations reveals a shift in power from an authoritarian regime to participatory governance. The interim government, which acts as a neutral entity, ensures free and fair elections. Three inherent ideologies are reinforced in this discourse. They are: democratic rule, inclusivity, and transparency. A contrast is created with the previous regime, where citizens had limited involvement. On the contrary, the interim government wants participation and accountability from the citizens. The interim government prioritizes reforming electoral institutions to ensure participatory governance and inclusivity in terms of social structure. Citizens are positioned as decision-makers, thereby promoting a discourse system in which accountability is ensured through commissions and structural reforms.

Commissive Speech Acts:

d)Electoral Reform and Participatory Governance

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the utterances are predominantly declarative sentences and use the active voice. The use of the active voice reinforces agency. However, there are a few instances of passive voice in the utterances. This type of sentence is used to show the direct commitment of the interim government. There are also instances of simple sentences. A

majority of these sentences also use the modal verb “will”. A few of the utterances use temporal markers, which suggests reform is a planned process that requires gradual progression. For example, “within a few days”, “once fully constituted”. There are a few instances of conceptual metaphors present in these utterances. For example “provide a roadmap for its implementation”. Here, reform is compared to an expedition. As for the lexicon, “corruption”, “looting”, these are the areas where reforms are going to be amended. Furthermore, there are words concerning political credibility and positive institutional values. For example, “accountability”, “free and fair elections”, “consultations” and “stakeholders”. Lastly, for pronoun reference, there is a dominance of “we”. Through this pronoun, it depicts the interim government as engaged, accountable, and truthful. There is “they” which is used to describe the previous government, thereby creating an in-group and out-group dynamic.

Discursive Practice:

The chief producer delivered this speech during a moment of political shift by framing himself as the driving force behind a new political order rooted in democratic transparency and participatory governance. The declarative utterance blended with commissive speech acts builds a discourse of competency in institutional competence and inclusivity, thus appealing to both citizens and politicians. Intertextuality is when texts, in this case speeches, allude to previous works. The intertextual allusions stem from mass uprisings leading to a shift in regime, as well as democratic scarcity underscoring reforms as a redirection towards more transparent and inclusive democratic governance. These allusions help to establish the reform agenda as both essential and time-sensitive. The speech was delivered after a period of political upheaval, which heightened the speech’s sense of credibility and urgency.

Social Practice:

In terms of power relations, there is a reconfiguration from an authoritarian regime to a new political order rooted in democratic transparency and participatory governance. An ideological narrative centered on moral and political credibility is depicted through the employment of “we,” who represent the reformists, and “they,” who are perceived as corrupt. In terms of social structure, the focus on institutional transparency, consultation with stakeholders, and free and fair elections mirrors an attempt to transform civic management and strengthen participatory governance, thereby promoting citizens’ trust in institutions.

Discussion:

The chief advisor, in his speeches, tactically employed assertive and commissive speech acts to construct a political agenda that undermined the legitimacy of the former regime while establishing the interim government’s own authority. At the textual level, the assertive speech acts revealed corruption, autocracy, and systemic decay by portraying them as objective realities, for example, “we have initiated many reforms”. This suggests that the country was in a state of decline, and the reforms were undertaken to address it, unlike the commissive speech acts, which complemented them through committing to the rule of law, electoral reforms, and economic restoration. For example, we will ensure that the Commission ... The use of active voice and temporal cues emphasized immediacy and certainty.

Finally, in the discursive and social practice, these speech acts functioned ideologically to embed a new vision of governance grounded in justice, accountability, and participatory democracy. These are the three pillars of the underlying political agenda. The government’s pledges were legitimized as both morally credible and historically precedent through referring to

past struggles and sacrifices. Assertive speech acts portrayed the crisis as inherited rather than self-created, and commissive speech acts reinforced the government's credibility and moral authority through connecting short-term actions to long-term goals. Altogether, these speech acts moulded public perception by crafting a political agenda rooted in restoration, reform, and legitimacy. These further reinforced the chief advisor's position as the rightful guardian of national renewal

Assertive Speech Acts:

e)Anti-Corruption and Transparency

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the majority of the sentences are declarative, with a majority in the simple present tense. These sentences mostly indicate ongoing action. The utterances do not possess any metaphors. As for the lexicon is concerned, there are three types of lexicons apparent here in the utterances. The first is related to anti-corruption. Examples include "money laundering" and "black money".The second is tied to transparency. Examples include "committee", "trial process". The final form of the lexicon is related to institutions..Examples include "megaprojects" and "allocation", "loan repayment", and "development partners".The pronoun "we" is used predominantly across most utterances, creating an inclusive language by the interim government, which presents itself as part of the collective authority working on behalf of the citizens. A few instances also use the pronoun reference "they" which indicates the previous regime as detached.

Discursive Practice:

At the interpretation stage, the speech delivered by Dr. Yunus reinforces the government's firm dedication to anti-corruption efforts and the promotion of transparency. It was revealed from the textual analysis that the majority of the utterances employ declarative sentences in the simple present tense. This projects an image of persistent engagement that sheds light on urgency and relentless progress. The speech draws intertextual reference from a 15-year autocratic regime, during which a series of wrongdoings occurred. This creates a binary opposition with the current interim government, which is rooted in restoration and reform. The use of a formal, authoritative tone further enhanced its reach. A wider audience was reached through the live broadcast of the speech and through making the transcripts available online. The speeches serve to inform as well as to simultaneously legitimize the interim government and rally support for anti-corruption initiatives through the discursive practice.

Social Practice:

The interim government is portrayed as a trustworthy and capable entity that can restore control from the autocratic regime. It positions the previous regime as corrupt through asserting moral and institutional authority to combat corruption and promote accountability. The underlying ideologies promote accountability, the rule of law, and a public-oriented approach, thus contrasting with those of the previous government. In terms of social structure, the government focuses on reforming institutional frameworks and regulatory frameworks. This is due to reinforce integrity, rebuild public trust, and promote institutional accountability.

Commissive Speech Acts:

e)Anti-Corruption and Transparency

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the utterances are predominantly declarative sentences using the active voice. The majority of sentences use simple sentences. Modal verb “will” is prevalent across these utterances, signalling promises. There is a presence of one conceptual metaphor “my whole strength”. The metaphor suggests the speaker is going to give full focus and unwavering support to the cause. There is a lexicon of transparency present. For example: “disclose”, “publicly”. As for pronoun reference, “we” appears to be predominant across the utterances, signalling a unified official policy. However, the use of “I” makes the commitment more personal. For example, “I promise”...

Discursive Practice:

The interim government’s speeches embedded within the transitional agenda present anti-corruption as both a top policy priority and a moral duty. The commissive statements build a narrative that intertwines accountability at both individual and institutional levels. Pronoun references are tactically employed while “I” is used to connect the commitment to the speaker, underscoring their accountability, and the pronoun reference “we” is used to show that the fight against corruption is a collaborative effort. Intertextuality is when texts, in this case speeches, allude to previous works. By drawing on allusions to the corrupt practices of the fascist regime and contrasting them with their reformist stance, the speaker creates a binary opposition. Thus, framing the current government as an agent for reform and integrity. Also, the timing of when the speeches were delivered frames it as urgent and credible.

Social Practice:

The broader power relations in post-authoritarian Bangladesh are reflected through the anti-corruption discourse in these speeches. This positions the interim government as an agent of

reform and a moral entity. The ideology of this discourse revolves around reformism. It revolves around transparency and emphasizes national rejuvenation. This contrasts with the previous regime, with the current interim government, which positions itself as an agent of integrity. The interim government utilizes these commitments as tools to establish credibility for the transitional authority. It is designed to rebuild institutional confidence and mobilize citizens on moral grounds. At the social structure level, reformed law enforcement bodies are framed to serve two important aspects. They are impartial. Accountability thus shields society from authoritarianism and protects citizens.

Discussion:

The interim government employed assertive and commissive speech acts to construct a political agenda centered on combating corruption, enhancing transparency, and rebuilding trust in institutions. Assertive speech acts delegitimized the previous government. For example, : A committee has been formed to prepare a white paper detailing 15 years of corruption, money laundering, and anti-public-interest contracts and plunder under the guise of project.” This depicts corruption as a factual statement. The use of commissives built legitimacy through future-oriented commitments. For example, “all our advisers will publicly disclose their assets as soon as possible”.

At the textual level, a declarative sentence demonstrates urgency and continuity, and employs anti-corruption lexicons directed towards institutional reform. The combination of pronouns “we” and “I” depicted inclusivity and individual leadership, respectively. The government’s recalibrated agenda is evident in the discursive practice of speech acts, which are often accompanied by anti-corruption rhetoric. A binary opposition is created between the

current and previous governments, where the current is portrayed as an entity for moral renewal and the previous is portrayed as an entity for corruption.

Finally, at the social level, this discourse framed the interim government as the credible custodian for accountability. Assertive speech acts portray corruption as inherent and systematic, while commissive speech acts position reform as a future-oriented endeavor. Taken together, these speech acts did not simply present factual statements or future-oriented commitments regarding corruption; they constructed a political agenda focused on anticorruption and transparency.

Assertive Speech Acts:

f) National Unity, Social Harmony, and Political Legitimacy

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the majority of the sentences are declarative. These sentences indicate objective facts, assessments, and underlying beliefs. The sentence structures are mostly simple sentences. As for the lexicon, there are three types of lexicons prominent across the utterances. They are: politics. For example: “regime”, “misrule”, “democratic.”. The second set of lexicons is tied to national identity and unity. They are: “secular”, “liberal”. As for the third set of lexicons, they are closely tied to crisis. They are: “mass uprising”, “conspiracy”, “alarming situation”. , “fascist regime” etc. As for the pronoun reference, “we” is used an ample number of times to indicate how the interim government and the citizens are within a collective political initiative. This creates solidarity amongst the government and its citizens. Sometimes the pronoun “you” is used to directly address citizens, which intensifies engagement and credibility by aligning the speaker with the speaker’s knowledge.

Discursive Practice:

At the interpretive level, the chief advisor tactically employs “we” to establish a relationship with the audience, promoting unity while framing the government as a representative body accountable to its citizens. A few utterances also use “you” which directly addresses the audience and builds trust. From an intertextual standpoint, the speech draws reference from the July uprising and the subsequent collapse of the fascist regime, thus using these references to create a sense of urgency and justify reforms. These references bolster the speaker’s appeal to national unity and legitimize government authority. The speech was broadcast after a moment of political unrest and was widely circulated via various means. The speech was strategically framed to establish it as a voice of authority and inclusivity.

Social Practice:

At the macro level, there is a recalibration of power in terms of power relations, shifting from an autocratic regime to an interim government, which is rooted in collective accountability and leadership for citizens. The interim government is a neutral and credible entity whose purpose is to restore order and guide national reform. The inherent ideology is grounded in secularism, democracy, and public-oriented rule, which is further emphasized by the past allusions made to the uprisings. Their moral credibility is established through contrast, where the previous government is labeled as corrupt. In the social practice stage, the interim government focuses on reforming the social and political institutions. This would promote unity and collective decision-making. The interim government enhances its legitimacy by adhering to democratic and social principles. This involves citizens in participatory structures that reinforce social harmony.

Commissive Speech Acts:

f) National Unity, Social Harmony, and Political Legitimacy

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the utterances are mostly declarative sentences, which are simple sentences that use the active voice. Lexical items of ambition are present in these utterances. For instance, “aspiration”, “dreams”. There are instances of metaphors present. For example, “dreams we share.” This conceptual metaphor frames national dreams as a collective one, thus emphasizing unity. As for pronoun reference, there are four types of pronoun reference. “We” is used to describe the interim government to reflect a consistent set of pledges. The pronoun reference “they” refers to the citizens of the mass uprising that brought the transition. “You” is used to depict the connection between the interim government and citizens, and lastly with the use of “our” which creates solidarity on common grounds.

Discursive Practice:

The interim government’s speeches, which are delivered within the context of the transitional agenda, position themselves as the architects of national cohesion and democratic renewal. Intertextuality is when texts, in this case speeches, allude to previous works. Through alluding to the political unrest and calling for systematic transformation by positioning the interim government’s leadership as a legitimate expression of the people’s intention and popular legitimacy.

Social Practice:

The interim government emphasizes unity and shared ambitions aims to strengthen its political legitimacy in a delicate moment of political shift. The use of pronoun reference “we”

and ‘our’ frames the interim government as the guardian and the architect of the country’s future. The ideology is driven by democracy. Governance is depicted across social structure as ethical and responsible. This combines personal and institutional transparency to restore credibility and reestablish public trust.

Discussion:

The use of assertive and commissive speech acts positioned unity and political legitimacy as the key agenda of the interim government. Assertive speech acts are used to depict authority, unlike commissive speech acts, which are used to commit to future protection. In the textual analysis, pronoun reference either signaled solidarity or engagement. The lexical choices, however, create a contrast between the previous and current government. The discursive aspects revealed how the interim government was the voice of the citizens, which was evident in the broadcast. The intertextual aspects further legitimized the government by linking to mass uprisings. The political agenda of unity, secularism, and credibility is revealed in the social practice section. The assertive speech acts focused on inherent crises, unlike commissives, which are committed to stability

Assertive Speech Acts:

g) Public Security, Law Enforcement, and Rule of Law

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the majority of the sentences are declarative. Such types of sentences are an indication of an expression that emphasizes accountability, leadership, and institutional presence. A vast majority of these sentences are in active voice with the present perfect tense, which signals an ongoing process of reform. There are also instances of past tenses

that narrate misgovernance in association with the previous autocratic regime. There are a few instances of conceptual metaphors present in these utterances. For example, “our patriotic armed forces, police, Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB), and Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) has been tarnished by allegations of enforced disappearances and torture”. The metaphor “have been tarnished” is a metaphor that is used to elucidate the harm caused to the armed forces and related organizations in terms of credibility and integrity. There are three key domains of lexicons present throughout the utterances. The first one is tied to legal aspects. Some examples include “Digital and Cybersecurity Act,” and “Anti-Terrorism Act.”, “executive powers”. The second set of lexicons is tied to law enforcement and hierarchical rankings. For example, “Border Guard Bangladesh”, “Rapid Action Battalion”, “Chief Justice”, “Attorney General”. The third set of lexicons is tied to morality, crisis, and transparency. For example, “unrest”, “mass violence”, “tarnished”, “destabilize”, “repressive laws”. As for pronoun reference, “we” is used frequently, which serves the function of inclusivity by portraying the interim government as the representative of the citizens, promoting collective responsibility and dedication.

Discursive Practice:

The interpretation stage reveals how Dr. Yunus carefully shapes his public security agenda to rebuild trust and strengthen legitimacy. Textual analysis shows that the utterances were expressed in declarative sentences using the present perfect tense, which employs the active voice, conveying the dual message of current reforms and admissions of past mismanagement. A contrast is created between the former regime and the current interim government, where the former misused power, unlike the latter, which makes corrective efforts to restore institutional integrity and public confidence. The credibility of the speech is reinforced by its mode of

distribution and circulation. As it was delivered live, it reached an audience of all demographics. These discursive practice reflects the government's broader goal of stabilizing governance institutions as well as promoting national unity amid political transition.

Social Practice:

In terms of power structure, there is a transition from an autocratic regime to an interim government that seeks to restore both public confidence and institutional legitimacy. The interim government is portrayed as a neutral entity that serves to rectify the abuses of the previous government. The underlying ideology creates a contrast between the past government and the current one, while the former is labeled as corrupt, whereas the latter is concerned with reformist measures. Lastly, in terms of social structure, it encompasses the protection of minority communities and strengthening law enforcement as the key focus of the interim government to maintain stability.

Commissive Speech Acts:

g)Public Security, Law Enforcement, and Rule of Law

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the utterances are mostly declarative sentences, which also contain the modal verb "will" that signals commitments or future courses of action. As for the lexicon, it can be categorized across two domains. The first domain is concerned with reform in legal and institutional means. Some examples include "amended", "criminal", "accountable, and "commission". The second domain is associated with reflecting ethical grounding. For example, "people-centric" and "non-partisan". This set of utterances does not contain conceptual metaphors. As for pronoun reference, the majority of these utterances use

“we” which indicates collaborative obligation and institutional transformation. For example, “we have done utmost..”

Discursive Practice:

The speeches are delivered by the chief advisor in the context of the aftermath of authoritarian government, thus positioning himself as the driving force of law, public order, and institutional transparency. The use of “we” frequently reinforces the sense of collective accountability and leadership, thus positioning the government as attentive to the public’s needs. Intertextuality is when texts, in this case speeches, allude to previous works. The interim government employs intertextuality by alluding to the fall of the previous regime and the public outcry for justice.

Social Practice:

The interim government frames itself as an agent of justice, rather than an oppressor like the previous regime, by making pledges. They achieve this by reforming law enforcement and preventing the resurgence of authoritarianism. This mirrors broader power relations. The ideology is grounded in democratic transparency, human rights protection, and inclusivity, which are grounded in social practice.

Discussion:

The use of assertive and commissive speech acts employed by the interim government in his speeches revolved around rebuilding security, improving law enforcement, and safeguarding against authoritarianism. At the textual level, assertive speech acts were used to identify the shortcomings of the previous regime as factual statements. Unlike commissive speech acts, which are used to commit to a course of action. At the discursive level, a stark contrast is evident

between the current and previous governments. References to past authoritarianism and public outrage are rooted in the pledges in shared history and legitimize reform as both necessary and publicly mandated. At the social level, the interim government is positioned as the custodian for justice and minority protection. Furthermore, power relations are recalibrated from autocracy to participatory governance. Taken together, these speech acts did not merely recall past abuses or pledges to reform, but also forged a new vision. They outlined a political program focused on reforming law enforcement, protecting minorities, and preventing a return to authoritarianism.

Assertive Speech Acts:

h)International Cooperation and Diplomatic Engagement

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the majority of the sentences are declarative. They are in active voice, which indicates the chief advisor as the active agent, maintaining active cooperation with the global community. The tense used is the present and past perfect tenses, which reinforces a pattern of diplomatic efforts and growing external recognition. As for the lexicon, it is categorized across collaboration and legitimacy. For example, “endorsed” “support” , “assured” “bilateral cooperation”. In this set of utterances, there is ample use of “I” as a pronoun reference, which portrays the chief advisor of the interim government as an active actor. “We” is used frequently to convey coordinated efforts taken by the government, reflecting a sense of shared responsibility. This set of utterances does not possess any metaphors.

Discursive Strategies:

By emphasizing ongoing diplomacy and cooperation, the interim government establishes its global presence, as outlined during the interpretation stage. By using pronoun references “I”

and “we” the chief government functions to construct a discourse of both personal leadership and collective governmental transparency, reinforcing a narrative of coordinated and active diplomacy. The declarative sentence using active voice conveys authority and emphasizes the government’s dedication to building legitimacy and securing global support for rebuilding the nation. The lexical choice revolving around collaboration and legitimacy aims to portray the current interim government as credible and trustworthy. The past reference is drawn from collaboration with the US, bilateral allies, and the International Criminal Court. This positions Bangladesh within global discourses on human rights and diplomacy. The speeches were delivered after the moment of political crisis. The chief aim was to reassure citizens of the government’s active role in international engagement and the measures taken to secure external support. These are further reinforced by the availability of speeches online and those delivered live, which account for accountability and ensure transparency. Ultimately, through a discourse rooted in authoritarianism and inclusivity, this speech frames Bangladesh within the international community.

Social Practice:

The discourse portrays the interim government as an actor possessing multiple qualities. They are trustworthiness, activity, competence, and engagement with various international institutions. The interim government is perceived as moral and credible. Due to its underlying ideology, which promotes global cooperation and transparency. A contrast is created with the previous government through support from international institutions. Lastly, in terms of social structure, this molds Bangladesh’s foreign policy, establishing it as a global participant in the

international market. The legitimacy of the government is enhanced through international partnerships, and the citizens perceive the administration as capable and reliable in diplomacy.

Commissive Speech Acts:

h)International Cooperation and Diplomatic Engagement

Textual Analysis:

At the textual analysis (micro level), the utterances are mostly declarative sentences, which use the active voice. This demonstrates active involvement and active agency. In these utterances, there is a predominance of the modal verb “will”. For example, our government will continue implementing all regional and bilateral treaties and agreements to which we are a party. This conveys ongoing commitment and deliberate planning. The lexicons are categorized into unification terms. For example, “mutual trust”, “cooperation”. The second set of lexicons is related to the legal institution means. For example, “treaties”, “agreements”, “human rights law”. There is, however, no presence of conceptual metaphors throughout the utterances. The pronoun reference uses “we” as the dominant one, and “our” is employed occasionally. To demonstrate coordinated efforts and shared accountability on the international stage.

Discursive Practice:

The speeches delivered by the chief advisor frame themselves as responsible and collaborative, and grounded in legal aspects. The interim government establishes a relationship with the audience by mostly using declarative sentences in the active voice and demonstrating innovative and forward-looking governance. Intertextuality is when texts, in this case speeches, allude to previous works. The intertextual reference draws from the mass uprising, including the Rohingya situation. Set against the backdrop of a regime shift, the speech aims to assure and

reinforce confidence in continuity, stability, and ethical foreign relations. Transparency is evident through the distribution and circulation of the speeches, as the speech was available online and broadcast live, providing easy access. The speech positions the interim government's external policies within legal responsibilities and humanitarian priorities.

Social Practice:

The interim government's speech on foreign cooperation tactically reframes Bangladesh as a proactive and responsible entity in both regional and global affairs. The government constructs legitimacy as a vehicle to advance ethical conduct. It is grounded in ideologies of mutual trust, humanitarian responsibility, and adherence to the law. This commitment is expressed through various means. Such as treaties, bilateral partnerships, and human rights initiatives. Such a practice represents a social phenomenon that reveals the interim government's strategic use of diplomacy to stabilize foreign relations and manage humanitarian crises. In all, it represents Bangladesh as a responsible and trustworthy entity on the global stage.

Discussion:

The chief advisor employed assertive and commissive speech acts commonly used by the interim government in his political speeches to establish an agenda centered on human rights, credibility, and global cooperation. The use of assertive speech acts positioned recognition, and the commissive speech act focused on continuity. At the textual level, collective leadership and personal leadership are marked by the use of pronoun reference and declarative sentences in the active voice. In the discursive level, the intertextual reference draws from the mass uprising, including the Rohingya situation, which contrasts with the fascist regime's isolation. Finally, at the social level, the interim government's tactical strategy was to stabilize foreign relations and

address humanitarian emergencies, thereby presenting Bangladesh as a law-abiding and credible entity on the international stage. Together, the agenda constructed by the speech acts is rooted in diplomacy and global rule.

Chapter FIVE

Conclusion

5.1. Assertive and Commissive Speech Acts Across the Speeches

Overall, in comparison to commissive speech acts, there was a dominance of assertive speech acts. Assertive speech acts were generally employed to serve various purposes, including establishing legitimacy and dominance by presenting factual accounts. They were also used to depict the shortcomings of the previous regime and advocate for the current government. Unlike commissive speech acts, which were used to signal future aspirations not simply through descriptions, but via performative means.

5.2. The Construction Of Political Agenda By The Speeches through Speech Acts

The findings of the eight condensed themes reveal a case of prognostic framing. The assertive speech acts diagnose past shortcomings, mainly those that arose under the previous regime, while the commissives prescribe concrete, future-oriented solutions across the eight themes.

5.3. Recommendations

The study of ‘address to the nation’ enables us to understand the political goals set by important leaders, such as the Head of an Interim Government, the Prime Minister, and the President. One of the most effective ways to measure their objectives and goals is to examine the illocutionary forces employed in their speeches. The current study analyzed only two types of speech acts. In the future, researchers may focus on the remaining speech acts, i.e., expressive,

directive, and declarative. They can also conduct comparative studies that highlight differences across political leadership in the country and its regions. For studying large corpora of political speeches from different genres, researchers can also utilize tools such as corpus linguistics and multimodal discourse analysis, among others.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Assertive Speech Acts:

i)Tribute to Martyrs, Heroes, and Memorialization

Speech A:

9)Memorialization and National Unity through Collective Memory

Assertive: To preserve the memory of the movement and the martyrs of the mass uprising, the government is now in the final stages of establishing the July Genocide Memorial Foundation.

Assertive: I have personally accepted the position of Chairman of this foundation.

15)Government Commitment to Welfare and Healthcare for Revolution Martyrs and Injured

Assertive: To this end, under the leadership of the Ministry of Health and with the assistance of two advisers representing the anti-discrimination student movement in the Advisory Council, a comprehensive list is being prepared.

Speech B:

3)Government Responsibility and Welfare for Revolution Victims

Assertive: The Ministry of Health has compiled a comprehensive list of those who require the long-term and costly treatment of the wounded, as well as those who need care for the families of the martyrs.

4)Memorialization and Public Engagement in Post-Revolution Care

Assertive: To honour the memory of the martyrs of the uprising, the government has taken the initiative to establish the July Genocide Memorial Foundation.

Assertive: The foundation has now been established and is taking responsibility for supporting the families of the martyrs as well as providing the best possible treatment for the injured.

10) Economic Stabilization vs. Labor Unrest

Assertive: To preserve the memory of the movement and the martyrs of the mass uprising, the government is now in the final stages of establishing the July Genocide Memorial Foundation.

37) Memorialization and Preservation of Revolutionary Heritage

Assertive: The principal target of the student-worker-people's revolution was Gonobhaban, the epicentre of autocratic rule.

Assertive: Many valuable items taken by the people during the movement have already been voluntarily returned.

Assertive: Some items are still missing.

Assertive: It is worth noting that while these items were taken in a moment of collective outrage, after the victory, the same people have shown deep respect by returning many of them to the museum.

Speech C:

2) Honouring Martyrs and Revolutionaries; Commemoration of Sacrifice

Assertive: It was they who helped rescue the nation from the grip of a brutal autocracy.

9) Comprehensive Rehabilitation and Support for Martyrs and Injured Participants of the Uprising

Assertive: Under the leadership of the Ministry of Health, a comprehensive list has been prepared to ensure long-term and high-cost medical care for the injured and to support the families of the martyrs.

Assertive: Each martyr's family is being provided with 3 million taka by the government.

Assertive: For those who lost their eyesight to bullets, arrangements have been made to bring corneas from Nepal.

10) Institutionalising Memory and Financial Support for Martyrs and Their Families

Assertive: To preserve the memory of the martyrs of this mass uprising, the July Martyrs Memorial Foundation has been formally established and has already begun its work in earnest.

Assertive: The government has provided a grant of 100 crore taka to support the foundation.

Assertive: In addition to ensure the complete rehabilitation of the families of those martyred in the July–August uprising and to provide the best possible medical treatment to the injured, the Ministry of Social Welfare has proposed an allocation of 5 million US dollars, which has been submitted to the World Bank through the Economic Relations Division.

ii)Justice, Accountability, and Human Rights

Speech A:

5)Condemnation of Autocracy and Systemic Corruption

Assertive: Dear citizens, the Bangladesh we earned through the blood of millions of martyrs and the sacrifices of countless mothers and sisters has been destroyed by fascism and autocracy.

Assertive: You have seen how they have dismantled every institution.

Assertive: Corruption has seeped into every vein of our society.

Assertive: Our nation has been transformed into a place where even a peon under autocratic rule could amass 400 crore taka through unchecked corruption.

Assertive: The education sector has been crippled; the banking and stock markets have been looted, project costs have shattered global records, wealth continues to flow abroad without

restriction, law enforcement has been turned into puppets of the ruling party, freedom of speech and human rights have been stripped away; this is just the tip of the iceberg.

Assertive: To cling to power, the fascist regime has diminished the people's constitutional powers and rights.

Assertive: Misrule, injustice, and sham trials in the name of justice have gravely endangered public safety.

Assertive: People are subjected to persecution, deprivation, and discrimination.

Assertive: Year after year, the voting rights of millions, including the new generation, have been systematically denied.

13)Commitment to Transparency and Human Rights Accountability

Assertive: As you are already aware, we have invited the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to visit Bangladesh and initiate a transparent investigation into the grievous incidents of violence and casualties that occurred during the mass uprising of July and August.

14)Withdrawal of False Cases and Release of Political Prisoners

Assertive: We have already withdrawn most of the hundreds of false and harassing cases that were filed to suppress the student and people's revolution, and we have arranged for the release of the detained students and citizens.

18)Judicial Reform, Accountability, and Justice for Past Atrocities

Assertive: Efforts have commenced to free the judiciary from corruption and partisan influence.

31)Accountability and Reform in Law Enforcement

Assertive: Dear fellow citizens, our patriotic armed forces, police, Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB), and Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) have been tarnished by allegations of enforced disappearances and torture.

Assertive: These forces are the pride of our nation.

32)Justice, Accountability, and Healing after State Violence

Assertive: To regain the trust of the people, law enforcement and defense agencies are provided with the necessary instructions.

Speech B:

8)Balancing Civil Protest and Governmental Authority

Assertive: We have been working tirelessly day and night to improve law and order.

Assertive:Many brothers and sisters, expressing their pain accumulated over the past 16 years and demanding justice, had been holding daily demonstrations in front of my office and the Secretariat, disrupting our work.

Assertive: Although they heeded my appeal and suspended their sit-in protests, they have continued to cause disruptions by protesting elsewhere, affecting public movement.

12) Legal Reforms and Transitional Justice Post-Uprising

Assertive: We carry a profound responsibility.

Assertive: Between July 1 and August 5, criminal cases filed to suppress the student and mass uprising, excluding those involving murder, have been withdrawn.

Assertive: All individuals arrested in connection with these cases have been released.

13)Judicial Reform and Restoration of Public Trust

Assertive: Since the interim government took office, reforms have been undertaken in the judicial system.

Assertive: The appointment of a highly qualified individual as Chief Justice has inspired renewed hope among the people.

Assertive: Several other key appointments, including justices to the Appellate Division and the Attorney General, have also been completed.

14) Repeal of Oppressive Laws and Accountability for High-Profile Crimes

Assertive: False and harassing cases filed under the Anti-Terrorism Act and the Digital and Cybersecurity Act are being withdrawn.

Assertive: A comprehensive list of all repressive laws in Bangladesh, including the Cyber Security Act, has been compiled.

Assertive: Assistance is being provided to ensure the prompt investigation and trial of five widely discussed murder cases, including the killing of journalists Sagar and Runi, with the highest priority.

15) Commitment to Human Rights and Addressing Enforced Disappearance

Assertive: We recently signed the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.

Assertive: This marks our international commitment to ending the culture of enforced disappearances established under autocratic rule.

Assertive: The notorious Aynagar facilities have been shut down, and the stories of pain and suffering endured by the victims of enforced disappearances under the fascist Hasina regime are now coming to light.

41) Preventing Autocracy and Realizing Uprising Ideals

Assertive: As you are aware, the historic July mass uprising led by students, workers, and the people brought about the fall of the fascist regime at the cost of thousands of lives.

Assertive: This uprising has ushered in an unprecedented moment and opportunity to realise its message and aspirations.

Assertive: At the heart of these reforms lies the urgent need to establish a fair electoral system and ensure good governance grounded in public ownership, oriented toward welfare, and dedicated to the public interest.

42) Preventing Tyranny Through Comprehensive Governance Reforms

Assertive: Since we firmly believe in the people's right to vote and public ownership, electoral reform occupies a central place in our overall agenda for reform.

Assertive: We hold that it is entirely unacceptable for elections to be used as a pretext for imposing majority tyranny or misrule upon the people, or for concentrating all power in the hands of an individual, a family, or a particular group.

Assertive: Ensuring free and fair elections requires urgent reforms of four key institutions: the police administration, public administration, judicial administration, and the Anti-Corruption Commission.

Speech C:

4) Justice and Accountability for the Mass Uprising

Assertive: We inherited a country gripped by chaos after the July-August uprising.

Assertive: To preserve autocratic rule, law enforcement agencies had been turned against the people.

Assertive: During the revolution, approximately 1500 individuals from different walks of life, be it students, workers, or civilians, were martyred.

Assertive: A total of 19,931 people were injured during this uprising..

Assertive: Medical treatment has been arranged for them in 13 hospitals in Dhaka, as well as in various specialised healthcare facilities across the country.

Assertive: Every day, new names are being added to the list of martyrs, those who lost their lives facing the wrath of the fallen autocrat.

Assertive: The initiative we launched to investigate and prosecute the killings of July–August is progressing steadily.

5)Comprehensive Justice and Accountability Beyond the Uprising

Assertive: During this time, countless people have been forcibly disappeared and murdered.

7)Pursuit of Justice for Enforced Disappearances and Mass Atrocities

Assertive: As reported by the members of the commission on enforced disappearances, we have received testimonies made by the victims, which were truly heart-wrenching.

Assertive: The reflection of grief and defiance was reflected in the words that students filled across cities and ports during the July and August uprisings.

Assertive: The individuals who had fallen to the victims of forced disappearance had been left behind haunting messages on the walls of secret detention centers.

Assertive : These are witnesses of unbearable suffering.

Assertive: We have already taken steps to seek international accountability for the disappearances, killings, and the July–August massacre.

Assertive: I have personally spoken with Karim Khan, Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, regarding this matter.

8) Pursuit of Justice for Enforced Disappearances and Mass Atrocities

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Assertive: I have personally spoken with Karim Khan, Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, regarding this matter.

31) Strengthening Accountability and Human Rights through International Cooperation

Assertive: To ensure that no member of law enforcement agencies or anyone else can become involved in crimes such as murder or enforced disappearance, we have signed the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.

Assertive: As you have seen, Volker Türk, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, recently visited Bangladesh.

Assertive: The UN has extended its support in investigating the July–August killings.

Assertive: They have pledged to hand over their report to us in the first week of December.

Assertive: We are also maintaining regular communication with them regarding investigations into past cases of enforced disappearance.

Assertive: To strengthen human rights protection, the UN has proposed increasing its personnel in Dhaka, and we have accepted this proposal.

31) Strengthening Judicial Capacity and Combating Corruption

Assertive: To expedite the trial process for other crimes committed in the country, over a thousand prosecutors have been appointed across various districts.

Assertive: Additionally, 23 new judges have already been appointed to the High Court.

Assertive: Every possible effort is being made to eliminate bribery and corruption from the judiciary.

32) Judicial Accountability and Anti-Corruption Measures

Assertive: The Supreme Judicial Council has been reinstated to enable the disciplinary process of judges through a proper legal framework.

Assertive: The reformation of the Anti-Corruption Commission is nearing completion.

Assertive: A list of 150 influential individuals accused of corruption and money laundering has been prepared, and investigations have been initiated against 79 of them.

Assertive: The provision allowing black money to be legalized by paying a 15% income tax has been abolished.

iii) Support and Rehabilitation for Victims and Families

Speech A:

3) Flood Recovery and Preventive Governance

Assertive: To restore the lives of those affected by the flood to normalcy, several measures have been taken at both the government and non-governmental levels.

15)Government Commitment to Welfare and Healthcare for Revolution Martyrs and Injured

Assertive: To this end, under the leadership of the Ministry of Health and with the assistance of two advisers representing the anti-discrimination student movement in the Advisory Council, a comprehensive list is being prepared.

30)Disaster Response, Relief Efforts, and Future Preparedness

Assertive: To alleviate the suffering of people in flood-affected areas, we have mobilized all available government mechanisms to ensure timely and appropriate support.

Assertive: Our advisers have already been assigned to various regions and have begun visiting the affected areas to oversee relief efforts.

Assertive: A central coordination cell has been established in my office to closely monitor the situation.

Assertive: We have also initiated post-flood recovery measures, and steps are being taken to determine a comprehensive action plan for future flood management and prevention.

Speech B:

3)Government Responsibility and Welfare for Revolution Victims

Assertive: The Ministry of Health has compiled a comprehensive list of those who require the long-term and costly treatment of the wounded, as well as those who need care for the families of the martyrs.

Speech C:

6) Addressing Enforced Disappearances and Ensuring Victim Protection

Assertive: We have formed a commission to investigate cases of enforced disappearance.

Assertive: The head of the commission has informed me that, as of October, they have documented information on 1,600 such cases.

Assertive: They estimate the actual number could exceed 3,500.

Assertive: Due to fear of retaliation by the accused, many people are hesitant to come forward and register complaints.

9)Comprehensive Rehabilitation and Support for Martyrs and Injured Participants of the Uprising

Assertive: Under the leadership of the Ministry of Health, a comprehensive list has been prepared to ensure long-term and high-cost medical care for the injured and to support the families of the martyrs.

Assertive: Each martyr's family is being provided with 3 million taka by the government.

Assertive: For those who lost their eyesight to bullets, arrangements have been made to bring corneas from Nepal.

Assertive: Those requiring further treatment are being sent abroad at the government's expense.

10)Institutionalizing Memory and Financial Support for Martyrs and Their Families

Assertive: To preserve the memory of the martyrs of this mass uprising, the July Martyrs Memorial Foundation has been formally established and has already begun its work in earnest.

Assertive: The government has provided a grant of 100 crore taka to support the foundation.

iv)Public Security, Law Enforcement, and Rule of Law

Speech A:

10) Restoring Law and Order and Rebuilding Trust in Public Administration

Assertive: Dear citizens, you have seen that from the moment we took office, we had to manage serious unrest in the law and order sector.

Assertive: With your cooperation and support, all patriotic law enforcement agencies have stepped forward to serve the nation.

Assertive: Due to the extreme politicisation under the fascist regime, a large number of officials and employees were subjected to years of discrimination.

Assertive: We have already begun implementing corrective measures.

Assertive: However, making the administration more dynamic and ensuring sound decisions through a structured and accountable process will take time.

31) Accountability and Reform in Law Enforcement

Assertive: Our patriotic armed forces, police, Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB), and Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) have been tarnished by allegations of enforced disappearances and torture.

Speech B:

13) Judicial Reform and Restoration of Public Trust

Assertive: Since the interim government took office, reforms have been undertaken in the judicial system.

Assertive: The appointment of a highly qualified individual as Chief Justice has inspired renewed hope among the people.

Assertive: Several other key appointments, including justices to the Appellate Division and the Attorney General, have also been completed .

14) Repeal of Oppressive Laws and Accountability for High-Profile Crimes

Assertive: False and harassing cases filed under the Anti-Terrorism Act and the Digital and Cybersecurity Act are being withdrawn.

Assertive: A comprehensive list of all repressive laws in Bangladesh, including the Cyber Security Act, has been compiled.

Assertive: Assistance is being provided to ensure the prompt investigation and trial of five widely discussed murder cases, including the killing of journalists Sagar and Runi, with the highest priority.

Speech C:

11) Restoration and Reformation of Law Enforcement

Assertive: The fallen autocrat used the police as if they were party loyalists.

Assertive: Many officers were compelled to take part in acts of mass violence.

Assertive: They became the target of public outrage, which was part of a natural consequence that had a severely detrimental effect on their morale.

Assertive: Significant improvements have already been made in this regard, which are now visible.

Assertive: To support the restoration of order, certain executive powers have also been delegated to the Bangladesh Army, which has made a noticeable contribution to stabilizing the situation .

13)Managing Religious Minority Security and Countering Destabilizing Narratives. Assertive: When we assumed office, Bangladesh was a completely unprotected country. Assertive: During this time, attempts were made to spread unnecessary panic among religious minorities.

Assertive: In a few instances, they were indeed subjected to violence.

Assertive: However, the narrative surrounding these events was greatly exaggerated. Assertive:
The limited incidents of violence that did occur were primarily political.

Assertive: However, efforts were made to frame them in religious terms in an attempt to
destabilize the country once again.

Assertive: With everyone's cooperation, we were able to contain the situation firmly.

14)Promotion of Religious Freedom and Ensuring Community Security

Assertive: Within two months of our assuming office, Durga Puja was celebrated at nearly
32,000 mandaps across the country.

Assertive: An additional public holiday was declared by executive order, significantly enhancing
the festive atmosphere.

Assertive: We took extensive security measures around Durga Puja, allowing the Hindu
community to celebrate the festival peacefully and without interruption.

Assertive: Since taking office, we have launched investigations into the few isolated incidents of
violence that occurred.

Assertive: We took extensive security measures around Durga Puja, allowing the Hindu
community to celebrate the festival peacefully and without interruption.

v)Disaster Management and Flood Response

Speech A:

3)Flood Recovery and Preventive Governance

Assertive: To restore the lives of those affected by the flood to normalcy, several measures have
been taken at both the government and non-governmental levels.

Assertive: Additionally, we have initiated discussions both within the government and with our neighbors to take collective precautions and prevent flooding.

Assertive: Additionally, we have initiated discussions both within the government and with our neighbors to take collective precautions and prevent flooding .

30) Disaster Response, Relief Efforts, and Future Preparedness

Assertive: To alleviate the suffering of people in flood-affected areas, we have mobilized all available government mechanisms to ensure timely and appropriate support.

Assertive: Our advisers have already been assigned to various regions and have begun visiting the affected areas to oversee relief efforts.

Assertive: A central coordination cell has been established in my office to closely monitor the situation.

Assertive: We have also initiated post-flood recovery measures, and steps are being taken to determine a comprehensive action plan for future flood management and prevention.

Speech B:

7) National Compassion and Collective Action in Crisis Response

Assertive: The flood revealed another profound dimension of our public life.

Assertive: An unprecedented wave of active compassion surged across the country.

Assertive: Businessmen and affluent individuals spontaneously came forward with their financial support.

Assertive: Likewise, ordinary people from all corners of the nation, including school, college, and university students, surged forward with whatever resources they could muster like a tidal wave.

Assertive: Many rushed to aid the flood victims immediately.

Assertive: NGOs from various areas also responded swiftly with assistance.

Assertive: Inspired by their efforts, I held meetings with NGO leaders to develop a structured framework for coordinating government initiatives alongside their work.

Assertive: The floodwaters have now receded, but the challenging task of rehabilitation lies ahead.

Speech C:

15) Effective Flood Management and Disaster Response

Assertive: As you are aware, various regions of Bangladesh experienced six floods this year.

Assertive: We were able to respond effectively to these disasters with your support. Assertive:

The patriotic armed forces of Bangladesh stood shoulder to shoulder with the people in responding to the floods.

Assertive: To manage the floods and support post-flood rehabilitation efforts, we have secured a grant of \$250 million from the World Bank, along with over 1 billion taka in local donations.

16) Post-Flood Economic Recovery and Market Stabilization

Assertive: The floods have destroyed crops and disrupted the supply chain in many areas.

Assertive: During the post-flood period, the prices of essential goods, including vegetables, have increased, posing hardship for all of you

Assertive: To boost the supply of eggs in the market, we have approved the import of 95 million eggs and granted necessary tax exemptions for this purpose.

Assertive: Additionally, steps have been taken to reduce the influence of middlemen, allowing egg producers to supply eggs directly to the market.

vi) Economic Stabilization, Recovery, and Financial Reform

Speech A:

11) Financial Sector Reform and Economic Stabilization

Assertive: We have launched initiatives to ensure good governance in the banking sector, which had become a hub of looting and corruption.

Assertive: Skilled professionals are being appointed to strengthen efficiency in this area

Assertive: We are also taking steps to restore order in banking, foster a business-friendly environment, and ease the burdens of daily life by stabilising the prices of essential goods and controlling inflation.

Speech B:

9) Economic Stabilization vs. Labor Unrest

Assertive: To preserve the memory of the movement and the martyrs of the mass uprising, the government is now in the final stages of establishing the July Genocide Memorial Foundation.

10) Call for Industrial Harmony and Economic Continuity

Assertive: Our worker brothers and sisters carry deep grievances.

Assertive: The damage to the national economy would be severe, and none of us want that.

11) Vision for Industrial Revival Through Worker-Employer Unity

Assertive: The pharmaceutical and ready-made garment industries are a source of national pride.

Assertive: Through their skill and dedication, our workers have captivated the world. Assertive:

Yet, the momentum of these industries has recently stalled .

Assertive: Weakening them is not an option.

Assertive: All of this is possible if we can establish a dependable and harmonious relationship between workers and employers.

Assertive: This is a shared aspiration across the country.

22) Financial Sector Reform and Anti-Corruption Measures

Assertive: We have taken steps to recover the funds that were looted and illegally transferred abroad.

Assertive: To restore order in the financial sector, we have initiated the formation of a banking commission.

Assertive: The boards of directors of several banks have already been restructured.

Assertive: Over the past month, significant progress has been made in the banking sector, something many of you have surely noticed.

Assertive: We have made progress in establishing governance and discipline in this field.

Assertive: However, much work remains.

Assertive: In the first month, we focused on the most urgent tasks, and many follow-up actions are still ahead.

23) Economic Stabilization and Inflation Control Measures

Assertive: The fascist government printed an additional 60,000 crore taka for plundering purposes, pushing the nation into severe inflation.

Assertive: To this end, the policy interest rate has been raised to 9%.

Assertive: To protect ordinary citizens from rising prices, initiatives like the Open Market Sale (OMS), food-friendly programs, and the distribution of essential commodities at subsidized prices are ongoing.

Assertive: In the current fiscal year, allocations include 5,800 crore taka for rice and wheat imports, 8,900 crore taka for domestic procurement, and 7,360 crore taka for three food subsidy programs.

Assertive: Additionally, meetings with various stakeholders are being held to identify practical measures to control inflation.

24)Rationalizing Expenditures and Empowering Farmers

Assertive: Measures have been taken to reduce both operational and development expenditures rationally.

Assertive: To ensure the necessary supply of foreign currency for importing fertilizers, measures are underway.

Assertive: Additionally, several initiatives have been launched to ensure that genuine farmers can access agricultural loans, and the volume of such loans has increased .

25)Exchange Rate Stabilization and Strengthening Foreign Reserves

Assertive: To stabilise the exchange rate of the taka against the US dollar, the foreign exchange rate has been made market-based.

Assertive: The unethical provision permitting the whitening of black money has been revoked.

Assertive: To increase foreign currency reserves, budgetary support has been requested from various development partners.

Assertive: Requests have been made for an additional \$3 billion from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), \$1 billion from the World Bank, and \$1 billion from JICA.

Assertive: The Ministry of Finance is currently in negotiations with the Russian Federation regarding advance payments and outstanding dues for the Rooppur Nuclear Power Plant construction project.

26) Transparent Management of Foreign Aid and Economic Cooperation

Assertive: Initiatives have been taken to utilize the \$48 billion in previously allocated foreign aid.

Assertive: Alongside efforts to stop corruption under the guise of megaprojects, plans have been made to increase allocations to the health and education sectors.

Assertive: To reduce pressure on foreign currency reserves, requests have been made to Russia and China to lower interest rates and extend the repayment period on their loan. Assertive:

Efforts are also underway to strengthen ties with all development partners. 27) Financial Transparency and Institutional Modernization

Assertive: Steps have been taken to reconcile the differences between the revenue data of the National Board of Revenue (NBR) and the Finance Division.

Assertive: Plans are underway to automate the operations of the NBR.

Assertive: The Securities and Exchange Commission has been restructured to bring stability back to the capital market .

28) Ensuring Availability of Essential Commodities Through Coordinated Action

Assertive: Meetings have been held with business leaders, industrialists, and business organizations to ensure a regular supply of essential commodities.

Assertive: Based on their feedback, various measures are being implemented.

Assertive: Relevant ministries, departments, and agencies have been directed to resolve issues in import procedures, transportation systems, ports, and wholesale markets after assessing current stock levels, shortages, and projected demand.

Assertive: Additionally, consultations have been held with major producers of oil, sugar, eggs, and meat.

29)Price Regulation and Social Welfare Measures

Assertive: Necessary instructions have been issued to the NBR to reduce existing tariffs, thereby lowering the prices of essential commodities such as onions and potatoes .

Assertive: The NBR has already issued SROs reducing import duties on onions, potatoes, and certain pesticides and in some cases, has withdrawn regulatory responsibilities. Assertive:

Additionally, one crore low-income families are receiving essential goods at subsidized prices through TCB, including 5 kg of rice, 2 kg of soybean oil, and 2 kg of lentils per family per month.

Speech C:

16)Post-Flood Economic Recovery and Market Stabilization

Assertive: The floods have destroyed crops and disrupted the supply chain in many areas.

Assertive: During the post-flood period, the prices of essential goods, including vegetables, have increased, posing hardship for all of you.

Assertive: To boost the supply of eggs in the market, we have approved the import of 95 million eggs and granted necessary tax exemptions for this purpose.

Assertive: Additionally, steps have been taken to reduce the influence of middlemen, allowing egg producers to supply eggs directly to the market.

17) Government Measures for Price Control and Inflation Management

Assertive: 57 lakhs out of 1 crore low-income family cards have been converted to smart cards through the Trading Corporation of Bangladesh (TCB)

Assertive: To help people purchase agricultural products at affordable prices, the government is selling selected items at designated spots, including in the capital city.

18) Energy Reform and Economic Stabilization Measures

Assertive: The price of fuel oil has been reduced, even if slightly.

Assertive: Initiatives have been taken to increase the gas supply to industrial factories, ensuring that local production is not disrupted and exports remain unaffected.

Assertive: A decision has also been made not to raise electricity and gas prices through executive orders without public hearings.

Assertive: Efforts are underway to put an end to extortion in the transport sector.

Assertive: Arrangements have been made to import hydroelectric power from Nepal.

35) Labour Rights and Economic Stability in the Garment Industry

Assertive: In recent days, there has been considerable unrest in our primary export sector, the garment industry.

Assertive: As several privileged garment factory owners aligned with the former fascist regime fled the country, uncertainty arose over workers' wages and benefits

Assertive: In many other factories as well, workers were deprived of fair wages and other entitlements

Assertive: To protest their long-standing deprivation and escape uncertainty, the workers took to the streets.

Assertive: We were able to bring them to the negotiating table.

Assertive: Without any major violence, we were able to resolve the labor unrest

Assertive: The workers have returned to production, and this vital export-oriented industry of Bangladesh has come back to life.

Assertive: Despite various challenges, our exports increased by nearly 21% in October.

36) Economic Recovery and Financial Management

Assertive: When we began our work, the country's economy was in a state of collapse.

Assertive: Foreign currency reserves had hit rock bottom.

Assertive : Over the past three months, without touching our reserves, we have managed to repay nearly \$2 billion in foreign loans.

Assertive: We have also reduced the outstanding dues for fuel imports from \$478 million to \$160 million.

37)Fiscal Challenges and Revenue Mobilization

Assertive: The fallen regime left behind a fragile economic situation, making it highly challenging to the National Board of Revenue to accelerate revenue collection.

Assertive: Despite this, there has been an 8.75% growth in revenue collection from the negative trends of July through to October.

Assertive: The revised budget of the previous fiscal year had a significant revenue shortfall, which led to a substantial increase in this year's revenue targets from the outset.

Assertive: As a result, even with the 8.75% growth in the three months following the fall of the autocratic regime, a shortfall of over 23% remains against the target.

vii)Judicial and Administrative Reform

Speech A:**17)Judicial Reform, Accountability, and Justice for Past Atrocities**

Assertive: Efforts have commenced to free the judiciary from corruption and partisan influence

Speech B:**12)Legal Reforms and Transitional Justice Post-Uprising**

Assertive: Between July 1 and August 5, criminal cases filed to suppress the student and mass uprising, excluding those involving murder, have been withdrawn.

Assertive: All individuals arrested in connection with these cases have been released. 13)Judicial Reform and Restoration of Public Trust

Assertive: Since the interim government took office, reforms have been undertaken in the judicial system.

Assertive: Several other key appointments, including justices to the Appellate Division and the Attorney General, have also been completed.

14)Repeal of Oppressive Laws and Accountability for High-Profile Crimes

Assertive: False and harassing cases filed under the Anti-Terrorism Act and the Digital and Cybersecurity Act are being withdrawn.

Assertive: A comprehensive list of all repressive laws in Bangladesh, including the Cyber Security Act, has been compiled .

Assertive: Assistance is being provided to ensure the prompt investigation and trial of five widely discussed murder cases, including the killing of journalists Sagar and Runi, with the highest priority.

35)Administrative Reform, Meritocracy, and Transparency

Assertive: In the past, many candidates recommended by the BPSC from the 28th to the 42nd BCS were denied appointment due to not aligning with the ruling party's ideology.

Assertive: Since August 8, 259 of these candidates have been appointed.

36) Reconstruction and Restructuring of Public Administration Post-Autocratic Collapse

Assertive: We began our journey with a public administration that had collapsed

Assertive: Many senior officials who held top positions in the ministries had either resigned or, although still formally in office, were unable to carry out their duties due to pressure from colleagues.

Assertive: Some were forced to step down.

Assertive: Rebuilding a shattered public administration while considering those who had been compelled to resign or left idle without responsibilities during the 16 years of autocratic rule was one of our most difficult tasks.

Assertive: Our greatest achievement in the first month has been solving these challenges and successfully establishing a new administrative structure.

Assertive: Despite beginning operations with very limited manpower, we processed and approved numerous proposals from ministries and departments promptly, adhering to all legal formalities.

Assertive: In just one month, 198 critical decisions were made across various ministries and departments.

Assertive: In public administration, we promoted 135 Additional Secretaries, 227 Joint Secretaries, and 120 Deputy Secretaries.

Assertive: District Commissioners (DCs) from 59 districts were withdrawn, and 59 new DCs were appointed.

Assertive: The contractual appointments of 67 officers were canceled.

Assertive: Ten Joint Secretaries, eight Additional Secretaries, and six Secretaries were made Officers on Special Duty (OSD).

Assertive: In the Bangladesh Police, 110 officers, including 80 Deputy Inspector Generals (DIGs) and 30 Superintendents of Police (SPs,) were promoted.

Assertive: One DIG, one Additional DIG, and four SPs were reinstated.

Assertive: In total, 297 officers, including the Inspector General of Police (IGP), 10 Additional IGPs, 88 DIGs, 21 Additional DIGs, and 177 SPs, were transferred.

Speech C:

31) Strengthening Judicial Capacity and Combating Corruption

Assertive: To expedite the trial process for other crimes committed in the country, over a thousand prosecutors have been appointed across various districts.

Assertive: Additionally, 23 new judges have already been appointed to the High Court.

32)Judicial Accountability and Anti-Corruption Measures

Assertive :The reformation of the Anti-Corruption Commission is nearing completion. Assertive:

A list of 150 influential individuals accused of corruption and money laundering has been prepared, and investigations have been initiated against 79 of them.

33)Administrative Reforms and Governance Improvements

Assertive :Cases filed under this act that were related to freedom of expression have been withdrawn.

Assertive: In addition, 133 laws and regulations have been formulated or amended, and 353 major policy decisions have been implemented.

Assertive: Import duties on rice have been reduced due to flood-related disruptions in rice production.

Assertive: To ensure stable supply and pricing of daily essentials during the upcoming Ramadan, various government agencies are regularly holding meetings with business leaders. Assertive: We have nothing to hide when it comes to prices.

Assertive: All inflation data is being transparently shared with the public.

Assertive: Several policy decisions have been implemented to curb inflation, including high interest rate adjustments, removal of LC limits on food imports, and shortening of the supply chain.

viii)Electoral Reform and Participatory Governance

Speech A:

44)Legitimacy and Commitment to Democratic Transition

Assertive: We came in response to the call of the students; they were our initial appointers

Assertive: The broader public later endorsed our appointment.

45)Inclusive Political Dialogue and Prioritization for National Reform

Assertive: We have initiated various reforms.

Assertive: However, the final decision must be a political one, and such a decision can only emerge through political dialogue.

Speech B:

20)Electoral Preparedness and Institutional Responsibility

Assertive: The question of when the election will be held is on everyone's mind, including ours.

Assertive: As you have noticed, we are taking the necessary steps to arrange the election.

Assertive: From that point onward, the responsibility of organizing the election will rest with them.

43)Constitutional Reform and Inclusive Governance Through Expert Commissions

Assertive: In addition, we recognize the need for constitutional reforms to ensure representation and protect the interests of people from all sectors of society, as well as to embody the message of the July mass uprising.

Assertive: We have entrusted six distinguished citizens, selected for their expertise in relevant fields, with the responsibility of leading these commissions.

Speech C:

19) Democratic Transition and Participatory Reform

Assertive: Alongside day-to-day governance, we are also focusing on building the future of Bangladesh.

Assertive: As you all know, our most important responsibility is to hand over power to an elected government through a free and fair election.

Assertive: We have maintained regular communication with political parties

Assertive: We are seeking their opinions on various issues, and those perspectives are significantly reflected in our decision-making.

20)Electoral Preparedness and Institutional Responsibility

Assertive: The question of when the election will be held is on everyone's mind, including ours.

Assertive: As you have noticed, we are taking the necessary steps to arrange the election.

22)Structural Reform and Participatory Governance

Assertive: However, we do not believe that our responsibility to arrange the election ends with the formation of an Election Commission

Assertive: It is a mandate you have entrusted to us.

Assertive: The six reform commissions we established at the outset have already made significant progress

Assertive: You have seen updates on their activities through various media outlets

Assertive: Several of these commissions have developed digital platforms

23)Electoral Reform and Democratic Ownership

Assertive: Among the initial six reform commissions, one is the Electoral Reform Commission.

Assertive: Its recommendations are crucial for organizing the election.

24) Reform as a National Imperative and Generational Responsibility

Assertive: Reform is the long-term life force of a nation.

Assertive: It is what will empower our people, especially the youth, to create a new world.

25)Inclusive Electoral Reform through Constitutional Means

Assertive: The commission responsible for recommending reforms essential to organizing elections, which must incorporate the opinions of political parties and all citizens, is the Constitutional Reform Commission.

26)Patience and Commitment Toward Lasting Electoral Reform

Assertive: In response to student demands, the age limit for government jobs has already been raised to 32.

Assertive: We are aware that you have many other needs as well.

Assertive: However, when roads are blocked and public suffering is caused, it creates difficulties for everyone.

27)Commitment to Principle-Driven Political Renewal

Assertive: The interim government was formed to bring politics within the framework of principles, driven by a deep desire to create a new environment for politics.

28)Progress Toward Democratic Elections Through Political Consensus

Assertive: The election train has started its journey.

Assertive: But along the way, we have many tasks to complete.

29)Balancing Reform and Electoral Timelines through Inclusive Dialogue

Assertive: Apart from the election, achieving consensus on other vital reforms may require additional time.

Assertive: Some reforms may take place during the election process.

Assertive: The election may also be delayed by a few months to accommodate necessary reforms.

i)Anti-Corruption and Transparency

Speech A:

23)Government's Anti-Corruption Commitment and Transparency Measures

Assertive: The current government has taken a clear and uncompromising stance against corruption

36)Transparency and Accountability in Governance

Assertive: A committee has been formed to prepare a white paper detailing 15 years of corruption, money laundering, and anti-public-interest contracts and plunder under the guise of project.

40)Commitment to Eradicating Corruption

Assertive: If we can move forward with even this task, this government will be remembered for making a significant contribution to the nation.

Speech B:

21)Anti-Corruption and People-Centered Development

Assertive: National planning should be centered on the people rather than any individual leader or political party

Assertive: We have witnessed the implementation of projects under the autocratic Hasina regime, involving the unnecessary expenditure of billions of taka on projects that served not the interests of the people but instead reflected self-glorification and massive corruption. Assertive: We have already begun reviewing all ongoing and proposed development projects. Assertive: The people of this country will no longer be deceived

26)Transparent Management of Foreign Aid and Economic Cooperation

Assertive: Alongside efforts to stop corruption under the guise of megaprojects, plans have been made to increase allocations to the health and education sectors.

Assertive: To reduce pressure on foreign currency reserves, requests have been made to Russia and China to lower interest rates and extend the repayment period on their loans. Assertive: Efforts are also underway to strengthen ties with all development partners.

Speech C:

31) Strengthening Judicial Capacity and Combating Corruption

Assertive: To expedite the trial process for other crimes committed in the country, over a thousand prosecutors have been appointed across various districts.

Assertive: Additionally, 23 new judges have already been appointed to the High Court.

Assertive: Every possible effort is being made to eliminate bribery and corruption from the judiciary.

32)Judicial Accountability and Anti-Corruption Measures

Assertive: The Supreme Judicial Council has been reinstated to enable the disciplinary process of judges through a proper legal framework.

Assertive: The reformation of the Anti-Corruption Commission is nearing completion. Assertive:

A list of 150 influential individuals accused of corruption and money laundering has been prepared, and investigations have been initiated against 79 of them.

Assertive: The provision allowing black money to be legalized by paying a 15% income tax has been abolished.

Assertive: In the ongoing reform process, each of their views is being actively considered.

Assertive: For the first time, the government is also working to ensure that Bangladeshi expatriates can exercise their right to vote through postal ballots.

x)International Cooperation and Diplomatic Engagement

Speech A:

28)Commitment to International Cooperation, Human Rights, and Regional Stability Assertive:

Several nations and the United Nations have already expressed their support for the current government's agenda.

Assertive: As part of that commitment, we have taken concrete steps, such as endorsing the International Convention on Enforced Disappearances.

34)International Relations and Commitment to Global Cooperation

Assertive: Several countries, including the United Nations, have already expressed their support for our government's programs.

Assertive: As part of this commitment, we have ratified international agreements related to enforced disappearances.

Speech B:

19)Diplomatic Success and International Support for National Cause

Assertive: After assuming office, I received congratulatory phone calls and messages from the heads of government of various countries.

Assertive: Several ambassadors and high commissioners personally met with me and assured increased bilateral cooperation.

Assertive: Several of them have already returned home.

20)Building Equal and Collaborative Relations with Neighboring Countries

Assertive: Among the heads of government with whom I have spoken by phone are Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Pakistani Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif.

Assertive: We have already initiated high-level bilateral discussions with India to cooperate on flood management.

Speech C:

8)Strengthening Accountability and Human Rights through International Cooperation Assertive:

As you have seen, Volker Türk, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, recently visited Bangladesh.

Assertive: The UN has extended its support in investigating the July–August killings. Assertive:

They have pledged to hand over their report to us in the first week of December. Assertive: We are also maintaining regular communication with them regarding investigations into past cases of enforced disappearance.

38)International Support and Diplomatic Engagement

Assertive: I have held extensive meetings with the heads of major international aid organizations, including the World Bank, the IMF, and the UNDP.

Assertive: They have all expressed renewed and wholehearted interest in supporting.

Bangladesh.

Assertive: In a private meeting with the Chinese Foreign Minister, China has also assured us of comprehensive support from their side.

42)International Support and Diplomatic Engagement

Assertive: During Bangladesh’s time of crisis, nearly all of them have extended a helping hand.

Assertive: When I attended the United Nations General Assembly session in September, I had the opportunity to meet with the heads of government from many countries, including the United States, the European Union, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, and the UN Secretary-General.

Assertive: They have spontaneously committed to support us..

Assertive: I have had the opportunity to speak with the heads of government from Nepal, the Maldives, Pakistan, and other neighboring countries, where I discussed revitalizing SAARC.

43) Strengthening Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomatic Relations

Assertive: After returning to the country, ambassadors from various nations who took the initiative to meet with me in Dhaka reaffirmed the commitments made by their respective heads of government.

Assertive: They have already begun drafting new frameworks of support for us.

Assertive: Some ambassadors who are based in Delhi even traveled from there to meet with me.

Assertive: Out of the 27 ambassadors from the European Union (EU), 20 reside in Delhi and 7 are posted in Dhaka.

Assertive: In the coming days, all 27 EU ambassadors are scheduled to gather in Dhaka to hold a joint meeting with me.

Assertive: Never before have all 27 EU ambassadors come together for talks with the government.

Assertive: It is also unprecedented for such a large group of ambassadors to travel from Delhi for a single meeting.

Assertive: This reflects the EU's show of support and its interest in forging high-level economic cooperation with us.

Assertive: In addition, I have already met with ambassadors from Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Brazil, Turkey, Russia, Finland, Singapore, Libya, and several other countries.

Assertive: They have expressed a strong interest in expanding bilateral cooperation, trade, and investment.

47) Strengthening Regional and International Diplomatic Relations

Assertive: As you may know, Malaysia is set to assume the chairmanship of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) next year

. Assertive: We have already applied for membership in ASEAN.

Assertive: The Prime Minister of Malaysia has assured us that our application is being actively considered.

Assertive: We have received similar assurances from Indonesia as well.

Assertive: The Indonesian government has also invited me to undertake a state visit to their country.

Assertive: Many countries, including Saudi Arabia, have proposed to strengthen cooperation with us.

Assertive: I have also had a telephone conversation with the President of Türkiye, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

48) Expanding Economic and Diplomatic Ties with Turkey

Assertive: At the COP29 conference, he and his wife had very cordial discussions

Assertive: He repeatedly expressed his strong support for Bangladesh.

Assertive: A trade delegation from Turkey has already visited Bangladesh.

Assertive: Turkey has announced plans to establish an office of the Turkish Investment Authority (TICA) in Dhaka to boost economic relations.

Assertive: For this purpose, a high-level delegation from Turkey is scheduled to visit Bangladesh later this month.

xi) Environmental Protection and Climate Change Initiatives

Speech A:

27)Commitment to Sustainable Development and Environmental Protection with Youth

Engagement

Assertive: Today's generation is highly aware and well-informed about the changes taking place across the globe, and not only are they aware, but they are also leading those changes. Assertive: The vision of development they aspire to is sustainable and environmentally responsible, not the kind that destroys nature.

Assertive: GDP alone cannot be the sole measure of a nation's development.

Assertive: Any development that destroys or pollutes our rivers, wetlands, hills, forests, soil, and air cannot be considered sustainable in the long term.

Speech B:

38)Environmental Sustainability and Pollution Control Initiatives

Assertive: Initiatives have already been taken to stop the use of polythene shopping bags in superstores.

Assertive: We have also begun efforts to stop the river pollution that has accumulated over the past few decades.

Speech C:

51)Climate Change Challenges and International Cooperation

Assertive: You are all aware of how climate change is posing a serious threat to our way of life.

Assertive: In the past year alone, Bangladesh has faced nearly 15 natural disasters.

Assertive: I mentioned our concern to the world leaders at the climate conference held in Azerbaijan.

Assertive: I have had the opportunity to cross paths with the UN Secretary-General and heads of state from numerous countries across Europe, Asia, and Africa.

xii)National Unity, Social Harmony, and Political Legitimacy

Speech A:

4)Revolutionary Legitimacy and Inclusive Call to Action

Assertive: Dear citizens, at this critical moment in our nation's history, I have been entrusted with a vital responsibility by the revolutionary student movement

7)Unity, Human Rights, and a Secular Democratic Future

Assertive: The youth have created a historic opportunity for the nation

Assertive: We have one goal: a liberal, democratic, non-discriminatory, and secular Bangladesh.

8)Responsible Reform and Protection of Democratic Values

Assertive: It has only been two weeks since the new government assumed office

Speech B:

39)Collective Responsibility for National Reform

Assertive: The reform of a nation cannot be achieved solely by the government

41)Preventing Autocracy and Realizing Uprising Ideals

Assertive: As you are aware, the historic July mass uprising led by students, workers, and the people brought about the fall of the fascist regime at the cost of thousands of lives

Assertive: This uprising has ushered in an unprecedented moment and opportunity to realise its message and aspirations.

42)Preventing Tyranny Through Comprehensive Governance Reforms

Assertive: Since we firmly believe in the people's right to vote and public ownership, electoral reform occupies a central place in our overall agenda for reform

Assertive: We hold that it is entirely unacceptable for elections to be used as a pretext for imposing majority tyranny or misrule upon the people, or for concentrating all power in the hands of an individual, a family, or a particular group

Assertive: I believe these reforms will also play a crucial role in establishing a state founded on public ownership, accountability, and welfare.

Speech C:

3)Transition and Nation Rebuilding After Crisis

Assertive: We have now completed the first 100 days of the interim government. Assertive: You are well aware of the grave and difficult circumstances under which we had to assume responsibility.

Assertive: The fascist head of government fled, temporarily leaving the country without leadership following the unprecedented mass uprising of students, workers, and the people.

Assertive: During this time, the police and administration became entirely inactive, creating a deeply alarming situation.

53)National Unity Against Conspiracy and Corruption

Assertive: A grand conspiracy funded by enormous sums is being carried out every moment, both globally and within the country, in every institution and location, to render this government ineffective and unsuccessful.

Assertive: One of their primary strategies is to sow division among us.

Assertive: The leaders of the ousted regime, who laundered vast sums of money abroad, are now empowered by those very funds and attempting to return to power.

Appendix B

Commissive Speech Act:

i)Tribute to Martyrs, Heroes, and Remembrance

Speech A:

2) Revolutionary Legitimation and National Rebirth through Sacrifice

Commissive: Bangladesh, which is built upon ultimate sacrifice, is a nation we took a solemn vow to rebuild.

Speech B:

3)Government Responsibility and Welfare for Revolution Victims

Commissive: Dear citizens, I have informed you before, and I am telling you again that the families of the martyrs who lost their lives in this revolution will be rehabilitated. Commissive: The government will cover the medical expenses of all injured students and workers.

37)Memorialization and Preservation of Revolutionary Heritage

Commissive: To permanently memorialise the anger and resistance of the students and the people, no further renovations will be carried out.

Commissive: The building will remain exactly as it was left in the wake of the uprising.

Speech C:

9)Comprehensive Rehabilitation and Support for Martyrs and Injured

Commissive: Dear citizens, As I have said before, I say again today: every family of those martyred in the people's uprising will be rehabilitated, no single one will be left behind.

Commissive: The government will comprehensively cover the medical expenses of all injured students, workers, and citizens.

Commissive: No martyr, injured student, or worker from the July uprising will be excluded from the treatment and rehabilitation plan.

Commissive: This is a solemn commitment of the interim government.

ii)Justice, Accountability, and Human Rights

Speech A:

13)Commitment to Transparency and Human Rights Accountability

Commissive: This investigation process will commence this week, and the first team has already arrived.

14)Withdrawal of False Cases and Release of Political Prisoners

Commissive: Gradually, we will take similar measures for all fabricated and phantom cases to relieve people from unbearable suffering.

17)Judicial Reform, Accountability, and Justice for Past Atrocities

Commissive: Through a defined and transparent process, we are committed to ensuring the independence and accountability of the judicial system.

Commissive: Justice will be delivered for the extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, murders, abductions, and the deeply reprehensible crimes committed under the fascist regime, including those likened to the horrors of the mirror chambers.

Commissive: All those involved in such crimes will be brought to justice.

Commissive: False cases will be withdrawn based on verified lists, and corruption, as well as illicit asset transfers, will be duly prosecuted.

18)Police Reform for Accountability and Prevention of Authoritarianism

Commissive: To establish a people-centric, non-partisan, and accountable law enforcement structure, a Police Commission will be established.

Commissive: Under the leadership of this commission, necessary reforms will be implemented based on the UN investigative report, consultations with relevant agencies, and input from the public.

Commissive: Measures will be put in place to ensure that Bangladesh can never again be turned into a police state by any force.

31)Accountability and Reform in Law Enforcement

Commissive: We are committed to identifying the criminals and ensuring their punishment.

32)Justice, Accountability, and Healing after State Violence.

Commissive: A comprehensive list of victims will be prepared, and efforts will continue to bring solace to their families.

Commissive: Although words cannot heal their pain, we pledge to restore peace to their lives.

Speech B:

8)Balancing Civil Protest and Governmental Authority

Commissive: I assure you that your legitimate demands will not be forgotten.

Commissive: We are committed to addressing all injustices.

Commissive: During our tenure, we will do our utmost to resolve all issues.

14)Repeal of Oppressive Laws and Accountability for High-Profile Crimes

Commissive: These laws will soon be repealed or amended where applicable.

Speech C:

4)Justice and Accountability for the Mass Uprising

Commissive: We will also seek the extradition of the ousted autocrat, Sheikh Hasina, from India.

5)Comprehensive Justice and Accountability Beyond the Uprising

Commissive: Not only will we prosecute the July–August killings, but we are also committed to ensuring justice for all crimes committed over the past 15 years.

6)Addressing Enforced Disappearances and Ensuring Victim Protection

Commissive: No one will dare to harm you again.

7)Pursuit of Justice for Enforced Disappearances and Mass Atrocities

Commissive: No impunity will be displayed to the accused based on power and affiliation.

Commissive: We are determined to bring every perpetrator to justice.

Commissive: And this fight for justice will not be limited to our national courts.

32)Judicial Accountability and Anti-Corruption Measures

Commissive: We are committed not only to reforming the judiciary but also to protecting all sectors of the country from the grip of widespread corruption.

iii) Support and Rehabilitation for Victims and Families

Speech A:

3)Government Responsibility and Welfare for Revolution Victims

Commissive: As soon as new information becomes available, the list will be updated.

15)Government Commitment to Welfare and Healthcare for Revolution Martyrs and Injured

Commissive: To ensure justice, all families of the martyrs of the uprising will be rehabilitated.

Commissive: The government will bear the full cost of treatment for all injured students and citizens.

Speech B:

3)Government Responsibility and Welfare for Revolution Victims

Commissive: The government will cover the medical expenses of all injured students and workers.

Commissive: As soon as new information becomes available, the list will be updated.

Speech C:

9)Comprehensive Rehabilitation and Support for Martyrs and Injured Participants of the Uprising

Commissive: The government will comprehensively cover the medical expenses of all injured students, workers, and citizens.

Commissive: No martyr, injured student, or worker from the July uprising will be excluded from the treatment and rehabilitation plan.

Commissive: Dear citizens, As I have said before, I say again today: every family of those martyred in the people's uprising will be rehabilitated, not a single one will be left behind.

iv)Public Security, Law Enforcement, and Rule of Law

Speech A:

18)Police Reform for Accountability and Prevention of Authoritarianism

Commissive: To establish a people-centric, non-partisan, and accountable law enforcement structure, a Police Commission will be established.

Commissive: Under the leadership of this commission, necessary reforms will be implemented based on the UN investigative report, consultations with relevant agencies, and input from the public.

Commissive: Measures will be put in place to ensure that Bangladesh can never again be turned into a police state by any force.

31) Accountability and Reform in Law Enforcement

Commissive: We are committed to identifying the criminals and ensuring their punishment.

Speech B:

14) Repeal of Oppressive Laws and Accountability for High-Profile Crimes

Commissive: These laws will soon be repealed or amended where applicable.

Speech C:

14) Promotion of Religious Freedom and Ensuring Community Security

Commissive: We have done our utmost and will continue to do so to maintain peace and security for all.

Commissive: We are committed to ensuring that not just the Hindu community but no citizen of this country becomes a victim of violence.

v) Disaster Management and Flood Response

Speech B:

7) National Compassion and Collective Action in Crisis Response

Commissive: With everyone's cooperation, we aim to successfully complete the rehabilitation process.

vi) Economic Stabilisation, Recovery, and Financial Reform

Speech B:

10) Call for Industrial Harmony and Economic Continuity

Commissive: We will engage with both owners and workers to find a solution.

11) Vision for Industrial Revival Through Worker-Employer Unity

Commissive: We will systematically identify and remove the barriers impeding their progress

Commissive: We are committed to elevating both sectors to their highest potential.

Commissive: As our government completes its first month in office, we now look to the second month as the beginning of a renewed worker-employer partnership, one that will form the foundation for building a new Bangladesh.

24) Tariff Reductions and Subsidized Distribution for Low-Income Families

Commissive: This initiative will continue in the days to come.

vii) Judicial and Administrative Reform

Speech A:

17) Judicial Reform, Accountability, and Justice for Past Atrocities

Commissive: Through a defined and transparent process, we are committed to ensuring the independence and accountability of the judicial system.

Commissive: Justice will be delivered for the extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, murders, abductions, and the deeply reprehensible crimes committed under the fascist regime, including those likened to the horrors of the Aynaghars.

Commissive: All those involved in such crimes will be brought to justice.

Commissive: False cases will be withdrawn based on verified lists, and corruption, as well as illicit asset transfers, will be duly prosecuted.

24) Strengthening Government Accountability via Legal and Administrative Reforms

Commissive: For government officials, asset declarations will be made regular and mandatory.

Commissive: Gradually, measures will be implemented at all levels of government, including the enactment of an ordinance to appoint an ombudsman, as committed under Article 77 of the Constitution, to institutionalise anti-corruption efforts.

Speech B:

12)Legal Reforms and Transitional Justice Post-Uprising

Commissive: These laws will soon be repealed or amended where applicable.

viii)Electoral Reform and Participatory Governance

Speech A:

22)Democratic Empowerment and Comprehensive Institutional Reforms for Free and Fair Elections

Commissive: To strengthen democracy, local government institutions will be empowered, and decentralisation of power will be ensured.

Commissive: To bring the people's student-led uprising to a successful conclusion, comprehensive reforms will be undertaken in the administration, judiciary, election commission and electoral process, law enforcement, and information channels, culminating in free, fair, and participatory elections.

44)Legitimacy and Commitment to Democratic Transition

Commissive: We will leave when they ask us to.

Commissive: We will ensure that the Commission remains prepared at all times to conduct a free and fair election.

Speech B:

43)Constitutional Reform and Inclusive Governance Through Expert Commissions

Commissive: We will continue to form additional commissions as necessary to address various other national matters.

45) Collaborative National Dialogue for Reform Planning and Implementation

Commissive: The names of other commission members will be finalised in consultation with the respective commission heads.

Commissive: Based on the commission reports, the government will organise consultations with major political parties in the next phase.

Commissive: Advisors, representatives of the student-worker-people's movement, members of civil society, and representatives of political parties will be present at the commission's meetings and consultations..

Commissive: In the final stage, a broad-based consultation lasting three to seven days will be held involving representatives of students, civil society, political parties, and the government.

Commissive: This consultation will finalize the outline of the reform plan and provide a roadmap for its implementation

Speech C:

19) Democratic Transition and Participatory Reform

Commissive: We will then enter into continuous dialogue with political parties based on those recommendations.

Commissive: Reform proposals will be finalised based on a consensus of all stakeholders.

20). Electoral Preparedness and Institutional Responsibility

Commissive: Within a few days, the Election Commission will be formed.

22) Structural Reform and Participatory Governance

Commissive: Reforming the state's structure is one of the core commitments of this interim government.

25)Inclusive Electoral Reform through Constitutional Means

Commissive: Meanwhile, the process of updating the voter lists will continue simultaneously.

26)Patience and Commitment Toward Lasting Electoral Reform

Commissive: We aim to build an electoral system that will be looked forward to for years to come.

29)Balancing Reform and Electoral Timelines through Inclusive Dialogue

Commissive: Discussions on the recommendations of other reform commissions will continue.

Commissive: We will continue to pose questions to the citizens, especially to the political parties, about which reforms they would like to see completed before the election.

ix)Anti-Corruption and Transparency

Speech A:

23)Government's Anti-Corruption Commitment and Transparency Measures

Commissive: All our advisers will publicly disclose their assets as soon as possible.

36)Transparency and Accountability in Governance

Commissive: I promise to dedicate my whole strength to this cause.

Speech B:

21)Anti-Corruption and People-Centred Development

Commissive: Depending on their current implementation stage, we will consider cost reduction or even cancellation if necessary.

Commissive: We will give priority to projects that create employment opportunities.

x)International Cooperation and Diplomatic Engagement

Speech A:

28)Commitment to International Cooperation, Human Rights, and Regional Stability

Commissive: We will maintain friendly relations with all countries

Commissive: Our foreign policy will be grounded in mutual trust, respect, and cooperation

Commissive: We are firmly committed to international law, including human rights law

Commissive: Our government will continue implementing all regional and bilateral treaties and agreements to which we are a party.

34)International Relations and Commitment to Global Cooperation

Commissive: We will maintain friendly relations with all nations based on mutual trust, confidence, and cooperation.

Commissive: Our government will continue to implement all relevant regional and bilateral agreements and work closely with the international community to find a realistic and lasting solution to the Rohingya crisis.

xi)Environmental Protection and Climate Change Initiatives

Speech A:

27)Commitment to Sustainable Development and Environmental Protection with Youth Engagement

Commissive: Our government will give the highest priority to environmental and climate protection, and we will actively engage the youth in this mission.

xii)National Unity, Social Harmony, and Political Legitimacy

Speech A:

7)Unity, Human Rights, and a Secular Democratic Future

Commissive: And we are committed to ensuring that no division can ever disrupt the dreams we share.

Speech B:

34)Protecting Democratic Values and Religious Tolerance

Commissive: Dear citizens, we are firmly committed to creating a democratic Bangladesh for you and our children.

Speech C:

30)A Unified Call for National Vigilance and Continuity

Commissive: We will leave in two days.