

The Struggle this Time is the Struggle for Our Independence: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Historic 7th March Speech

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ABSTRACT

Political speeches are not mere linguistic texts encoded in verbal or written form. They also carry covert ideologies which are embedded in a country's social, political and cultural context. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) can be used to investigate such interaction between discourse (speech/text), its covert ideology and the context. This paper sets out to analyse the historic 7th March, 1971 speech of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, which has lately been recognised by UNESCO as part of the world's documentary heritage. Based on the work of Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2001) and Halliday (1978, 1994), a shared, discursive analytical framework within the CDA paradigm was employed to carry out the investigation. The analysis of 94 clauses identified a mutual existence of multiple linguistic and ideological patterns and strategies including the personal pronouns, mood blocks, modality and tense, the reference of the then-socio-political situation as well as the depiction of power relations between the speaker and the audiences. These strategies were intertwined in a wholesome way, thus revealing the ingenuity of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's leadership and his rhetoric skill. The study, by analysing the selected speech, attempts to fill the gap in CDA-based linguistic studies of political texts in the Bangladeshi context. The author believes that this attempt, in tandem, will act as a motivation and centre of attention for further scholarly endeavor in this field.

INTRODUCTION

Language, or discourse, is a powerful tool to impart or interchange of thoughts, opinions or information either in speech, writing or signs. In the case of the human, the essence of discourse denotes communicative activity, where context plays a crucial role in preparing, controlling and influencing the pattern of the discourse. Political speech or discourse (in this paper the terms speech, text and discourse will be used interchangeably) performs one such activity, which, at one end is associated with the intended political effect (e.g., either struggle for power or to sustain it) and, on the other end, is ornamented with almost all levels of linguistics. Such an association between the purpose and the structure of political speech has also been termed as the interaction between political behavior and linguistic behavior (Schäffner, 1996). Connectedly, the analysis of political discourse has been labelled as a 'critical enterprise' (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 1). In this process, Fairclough (1992, 1996, 2001), Schäffner (1996), Sauer (1996) and Van Dijk (1993, 1995) have all regarded critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a comprehensive and integrated approach. Henceforth, they advocated carrying out the analysis as well as understanding of a political speech/discourse by relating its linguistic structures and strategies

to the larger context of communicative settings and political functions.

This paper, within the backdrop described above, presents an analysis of the most significant and powerful political speech in the history of Bangladesh, namely the historic 7th March (1971) speech of the father of the nation, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Appendix A and B). The study, taking Fairclough's (1989, 1992, 2001) three dimensions of CDA as the cornerstone, was guided by the following research questions:

- 1) *What are the prevalent linguistic and ideological patterns of the speech?*
- 2) *How do these patterns decode the then-socio-political context?*

Given the enormous domestic and international significance of the said speech during the eve of the Liberation war between what were then East Pakistan (now Pakistan) and West Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in 1971, the author regards this attempt to analyse the speech from the perspectives of CDA as crucial. Furthermore, according to the author's knowledge, there has been no methodical study on political speech in the Bangladeshi context. The current article is, therefore, no more than a beginning. It is worth mention-

ing that, on October 30, 2017, UNESCO announced this historic 7th March speech by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibar Rahman as part of the world's documentary heritage (UNESCO, 2017). The speech was also regarded in the book *We shall fight on the beaches: the speeches that inspired history* (Field, 2014) as one of the most influential and significant political speeches delivered in the last century.

The paper is divided into 5 sections. The introductory section sets the scene. The second section provides a brief theoretical background of CDA. The analytical framework employed in this study is presented in the following section. The fourth section presents and discusses the findings. The final section is a concluding note to the paper.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

This section briefly highlights the theoretical background of CDA. The purpose of the section is to develop analytical possibilities to guide the study by demonstrating how it was situated in the relevant theoretical and empirical literature (Maxwell, 2012). Following this, the review will include the elaboration of the term discourse, political discourse (PD), CDA and the relationship between political discourse and CDA.

Discourse

Before talking about PD, it is important to provide a brief view about discourse. The term discourse is a linguistic concept which literally refers to a formal talk, piece of writing or discussion. This reference implies the synonymy of discourse with a text, either in verbal or written form. Acknowledging discourse as 'a whole palette of meaning', Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter (2000) maintained that it is widely integrated with and used in other disciplines like Sociology and Philosophy. While discourse has been defined as a mere use of language in communication (Bayrman, 2010; Cook, 1992; Rymes, 2008), Fairclough (1989) and van Dijk (1977) added a critical linguistic perspective to it, which understandably, provided a wider connotation to discourse than text. To the later group, discourse is an integrated process of social and interpersonal interaction based on the context. Fairclough's (1995) later elaboration on discourse matches with the purpose of this current paper. He (1995) contended that discourses are socially constitutive, since language use is "always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and beliefs" (p. 195). In this regard, discourse analysis (DA), according to the definition given by Brown and Yule (1983), is the analysis of language in use, cannot be constrained within the description of linguistic forms or structures, but must be committed to an investigation of the purpose or communicative functions of the language. In van Dijk's (1985, p. 105) term, the investigation should be committed to analysing the 'structure', 'functionality' and 'reference' of the text within its context. Therefore, the term discourse, as an umbrella term, offers a range of sub-categories based on their structure, functions and reference; PD has gained intense attention in recent scholarship (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002). The following review focuses on PD in brief.

Political Discourse

Language/discourse and politics are inextricably connected. The dimension of this connection has not only been recognised by ancient philosophers like Plato and Aristotle (cf. Chilton & Schäffner, 2002), but also by the recent communication scholars (e.g., Shapiro, 1988; Gorsevski, 2012), cognitive linguists (e.g., Lakoff & Chilton, 2005; Lakoff, 2004) and discourse analysts (e.g., Fairclough, 1989; Pelinka, 2007; van Dijk, 1995; Wodak, 2001). Chilton and Schäffner (1997) more precisely asserted that, "It is surely the case that politics cannot be conducted without language, and it is probably the case that the use of language in the constitution of social groups leads to what we call 'politics' in a broad sense (p. 206). Political discourse (PD), by virtue of its linguistic and discursive features (Dunmire, 2012), comes as political campaign rally, party manifesto, speech, bill etc. The core of PD, therefore, is to understand the 'nature' and 'function' of the text (Schäffner, 1996; van Dijk, 1997). It is worth recalling Chilton's (2004) concern about establishing as well as understanding a 'socially concerned' linguistic framework to analyse political discourses, where the speakers "imbue their utterances with evidence, authority, and truth" (p. 23) in particular political contexts. The emerging concern was approached by Chomsky's generative framework and seen to be carried over by Halliday's (1978, 1994) social-semiotic and systematic functional linguistic framework. However, penetrating multiple stances of language study, the enterprise of analysing PD, which is also termed as political discourse analysis (PDA), has had a 'modest paradigmatic shift' (Dunmire, 2012, p. 736) called critical discourse analysis (CDA). The following two sections, hence, focus on CDA and how it addresses the enterprise of analysing PD theoretically and empirically.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a comparatively new branch of linguistics that appeared around the beginning of the 1990s (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). However, the term 'critical', implying hidden connections, causes as well as intervention of discourse or text (Fairclough, 1992), attributes a new dimension to discourse analysis. Stemming principally from the essence of Systematic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1978) and later the school of Critical Linguistics (Fowler, Hodge, Kress & Trew, 1979) and Theories of Ideologies (Fairclough, 1993), CDA studies the structures, patterns and functions of the text or speech in relation to the social context within which those are prepared and delivered. CDA has, therefore, not been regarded as a mere homogeneous model, school or paradigm but a shared perspective or approach to analysing linguistics, semiotic or discourse (Breeze, 2011; van Dijk, 1993).

CDA, according to van Dijk (1993), explores what and how the "structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communication" (p. 250) are embedded in the context, namely situations, institutions and societies. Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001), echoing van Dijk, also defined CDA as:

The study of talk and texts. It is a set of methods and theories for investigating language in use and language in social contexts. Discourse research offers routes into the study of meanings, a way of investigating the back and-forth dialogues which constitute social action, along with the patterns of signification and representation which constitute culture (p. i).

Put simply, CDA investigates the 'dialectical relationship' (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 352), underlying the ways of using language and the discursive nature of 'the social process' (Fairclough & Graham, 2002, p. 188), 'the relations of power' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258), and/or 'the social power, dominance and inequality' (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). The relationship implies not only that the use of language is subjective to its embeddedness within certain social, political or cultural context, but also that the said contexts are influenced and shaped by the use of language. This bi-directional notion of CDA, therefore, also premises a combination of linguistic, historical, ideological and inter-textual analysis of discourse, either of speech or written text (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Fairclough (1989) maintained CDA as a complex, multi-level process to study "how the ways in which we communicate are constrained by the structures and forces of those social institutions within which we live and function" (p. vi). He (1995) further asserted that the connection between "properties of texts and social processes and relations (ideologies, power relations) which are generally not obvious to people [...], and whose effectiveness depends upon this opacity" (p. 97). One of the key objectives of CDA, hence, is to provide a framework, given the aim of lessening the said opacity (Fairclough, 1995). At this point, the author of this paper aims to encapsulate the above-said principles of CDA by quoting a wholesome definition of CDA put forwarded by Fairclough and Wodak (1997), as:

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it. The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people (p. 259).

Political Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis

The study of political discourse from a CDA viewpoint entails a discursive enterprise which includes and so recognises

the "linguistic, discursive and symbolic dimensions of the enterprise" (Dunmire, 2012, p. 736). Asserting power, influence and authority as the key terms of politics, Hudson (1978 as cited in Dunmire, 2012, p. 736) opined that political speech functions as a 'screen' designed to expose the reality of struggles and present an image of national unity. It is also essential to adopt Luke's (2002) definition of CDA as an explicit inquiry into 'social, economic and cultural power' (p. 97). Therefore, the language used in a political discourse should be examined from a 'perceptual' yet 'critical' lens or vantage point (Bell, 1975, 1988; van Dijk, 1997) through which the interplay between the strategic use of linguistic modes, political goals, and its effects can be understood comprehensively and interestingly. Moreover, Fairclough (1985) recommended addressing the broader macro-level socio-political context to understand the micro-level linguistic behaviour. According to van Dijk (1990), analysis of a political discourse from a CDA stance, should consider a multi-disciplinary analytical approach to study the ways both the structures and strategies of the text and the context are conditioned by and embedded in each other. Towards this end, the next section provides the analytical framework adapted and employed in the current study.

THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The analytical framework employed in this paper is premised upon the scholarly work of Halliday (1978, 1994) and Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2001). The reason for doing so was to link between the context, linguistic features and the covert ideology of the text, thus providing "a solid and more tangible analytical grounding for the identification of moves and strategies" (Fairclough, 1992) embedded in the discourse (speech or text).

Following Halliday's work (1978, 1994), the analytical framework, in this regard, included the multifunctional theory of language namely Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) for analysing the selected speech (see Nur, 2015 for details). Fairclough (1989) also noted that SFL complements the CDA approach, because of its multifunctional, well adapted stance for text analysis as well as its concern with relating language to the social context. Furthermore, based on Batstone's (1995) theoretical conceptualisation of CDA, the analytical framework developed and employed in this paper also epitomises an attempt to deconstruct the covert ideology of the text in order to "reveal how texts are constructed so that particular (and potentially indoctrinating) perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly" (Batstone, 1995, p. 198).

Fairclough (1992) opined that any discourse or textual analysis should subsume two complementary types of analysis: linguistic and inter-textual. While linguistic analysis referred to extending from the traditional level of analysis of language (phonology, vocabulary, grammar, semantics etc.) to the structures and connections of sentences (inter-sentential cohesion), inter-textual analysis, within its dynamic and dialectic parameter, investigates how text selectively and crucially "mediates the connection between language and social context, and facilitates more satisfactory bridging

the gap between texts and contexts” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 195). From this perspective, language is considered as a social process, inferring that the actual nature and course of CDA is comprised of three dimensions: *description*, *interpretation* and *explanation*. These three dimensions, as Fairclough (1989) elaborated, analyse a discourse in terms of text (vocabulary, grammar, semantics, and cohesion), social conditions and socio-cultural practice accordingly. More specifically,

- Description is the stage which is concerned with the formal properties of the text.
- Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction – with seeing the text as a product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation...
- Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects (Fairclough 1989, p. 26).

Therefore, the main analytical tool employed in this paper reflected the three-dimensional method of discourse analysis: contextual analysis, linguistic analysis and ideological analysis in order to capture the “linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 97). The discursive framework presented in Table 1 thus allows for a more effective and comprehensive analysis leading to a more clear and succinct understanding of the selected speech. To avoid objections against using translated data for textual analysis (Fairclough, 1992), the original 7th March speech of Sheikh Mujib, which was delivered in Bangla, was used for the purpose of this paper (Appendix A).

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This section provides a comprehensive analysis and discussion of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib’s historic 7th March speech. The copy was collected from the website of the department of Films and Publications of the Government of the

People’s Republic of Bangladesh, meaning that the soft copy available in the website is also available to the public.

Contextual Analysis

Genre type

The analysed text is a verbal exposition. It belongs to the subtype of hortatory exposition as it attempts to inform, inspire, motivate and lead people to do what it argues.

The socio-cultural context of the text

- a. **Mode:** The historic 7th March Speech was delivered by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Bangla on 7th March, 1971 at Ramna Racecourse, Dhaka. It is Sheikh Mujib who eventually led the people of Bangladesh to independence in 1971.
- b. **Tenor:** Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibar Rahman, the father of the nation (Bangladesh), was the speaker. The delivered speech was an unwritten, extempore lasting for about 15 minutes and also known as the ‘historic 7th March speech of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman’. The speech survived in the audio as well as AV versions. Although he was physically in front of a mass rally, in reality, Sheikh Mujib was addressing all Bangladeshis.
- c. **Field:** The speech was concerned about the current (in the year 1971) political crisis prevailing between West and East Pakistan. The speech also emerged as an upshot of 23 years’ longstanding supra-national crisis and struggle experienced and endured by the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).

The speech effectively declared the independence of Bangladesh by documenting the ethnic, cultural, linguistic, political and socio-economic suppression being experienced by the people of Bangladesh. The speech also energised the entire nation, inspired and prepared its people for the forthcoming Liberation war. However, the roots of the speech’s context lie 23 years back. During the departure of the British regime, a division was put across the Indian subcontinent based on the grounds of religion: India and Pakistan (Hinduism and Muslim based respectively). Pakistan was divided further into two wings: East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and West Pakistan (now Pakistan). East Pakistan and West Pakistan were situated geographically miles apart. Bangla was the dominant language in East Pakistan, whereas West Pakistan was comprised of multilingual provinces where languages such as Urdu, Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, Balochi and Siraiki were spoken (Banu, 2002; Thompson, 2007).

East Pakistan was suffering from marginalisation in terms of linguistic (i.e. West Pakistan’s declaration to make Urdu as the state language of the whole of Pakistan), political (i.e. power sharing between the two wings of Pakistan), and economic (i.e. economic deprivation of East Pakistan) issues (see Thompson, 2007). For example, West Pakistan’s declaration of Urdu as the state language for the whole of Pakistan (including Bangladesh) led to the emergence of the 1952 Language Movement. There were several other occurrences

Table 1. Analytical framework (adapted and developed from Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2001), Halliday (1978, 1994))

Types of analysis	Parameters of analysis
Contextual analysis	Genre type Purpose/socio-politico-cultural context of the text Mode (Textual viewpoint) Tenor (Interpersonal viewpoint) Field (Experiential viewpoint)
Linguistic analysis	Use of pronouns, mood block, modality, tense
Ideological analysis	Explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes

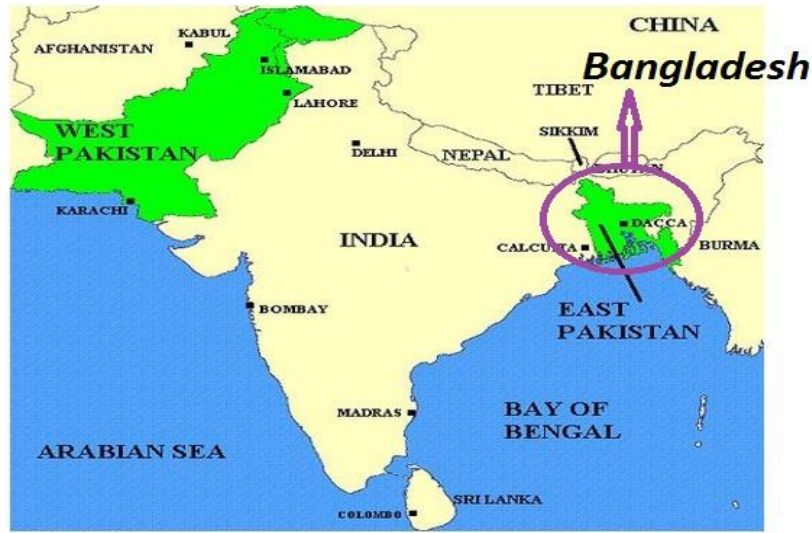


Figure 1: Map of East and West Pakistan.

and a considerable amount of bloodshed in 1954, 1958, and 1966 as repercussions of West Pakistan's socio-economic and political tyranny over East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib was also taken to jail charged with treason in the Agartala Conspiracy Case. The situation became worse when, in 1970, the general election was held across Pakistan. Though the Awami League, the Bengali national leader Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's party gained majority in the National Assembly of Pakistan, the Pakistani military rulers refused to uphold the results. Consequently, Sheikh Mujib summoned a mass rally in Dhaka and delivered this impromptu speech on March 7, 1971.

Systematic functional linguistic analysis

The systematic functional linguistics analysis of this speech identified the following lexico-grammatical features for realising the meta-function of the language.

Use of pronouns

The general purpose of using a pronoun in speech or writing is to substitute a noun in order to avoid monotony of its repetition. However, pronouns in political discourses play a significant role by extending the range of use from mere substitution to self-emphasis and self-responsibility towards, inclusiveness, solidarity and unity of purpose as well as amongst the speaker and the audiences. Pronouns carry correlative values of different sorts to show multiple aspects of the speaker's attitude, interpersonal communication strategies and social standing (Fairclough, 1989; Wilson, 1990). That is to say, based on the context, the speaker can use a range of personal pronouns in a political speech either to bring the audience together or to express his own belief.

As can be seen in Table 2, Sheikh Mujib's 7th March speech (the original Bangla version) showed a ubiquitous use of personal pronouns, particularly the personal pronouns I, My (mine), We, and Our. While I and My (mine) expressed his personal feelings, self-responsibility or reference, the

Table 2: The occurrence of pronouns in the original speech (in Bangla)

Pronouns	The frequency of appearance	The frequency of percentage
আমি (I)	20	23%
আমরা (We)	20	23%
আমাদের (Our)	14	16%
আমার (My/mine)	17	19%
আমাকে (Me)	2	2%
আপনি / আপনারা (You)	8	9%
তোমাদের (Yours)	3	4%
তিনি (He)	2	2%
তারা (They)	2	2%
Total	88	100%

pronouns We and Our denoted his sense of inclusiveness, unity, and solidarity towards the audience. For example:

আমরা আমাদের জীবন দিয়ে চেষ্টা করেছি (**We** tried with **our** lives)

আমি প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেবের সঙ্গে দেখা করেছি (Today **I** met President Yahya Khan)

আমাদের ন্যাশনাল এসেম্বলি বসবে, আমরা সেখানে শাসনতন্ত্র তৈরি করবো এবং এদেশকে আমরা গড়ে তুলবো (**Our** National assembly will sit. **We** will draw up the Constitution there. And **we** will build this country)

আমি, আমি প্রধানমন্ত্রিত্ব চাই না। আমরা এদেশের মানুষের অধিকার চাই। (**I** don't want Prime Ministership. **We** want to establish the right of the people of this country)

আমরা যখন মরতে শিখেছি তখন কেউ আমাদের দাবায়া রাখতে পারবেনা (Since we have learnt to die, no one can dominate us).

In the above excerpts, Sheikh Mujib used the personal pronoun I to express his responsibility as well as his personal feelings and vision regarding his political mission. On the other hand, the pronoun We, as could be perceived from the above statements, becomes a premise for inclusiveness, communality and unity of purpose in a more democratic tone, implying Sheikh Mujib and all the Bangladeshi people. The use of You/Yours also indicates Sheikh Mujib's concern about his country's people. To sum up, the use of pronouns, particularly I, My, We and Our, bring Sheikh Mujib and his audience closer to each other, showing the sharing of suffering and the struggle as well as the mutual responsibility of liberating the country.

Mood block

Finite and Subject together create the mood block of a sentence in a text or speech (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The mood block, through its structural and functional dimensions, provides a framework to reveal the adopted and embedded attitudes, opinions regarding the information contained in the text. While the Subject stands for the nominal group, the Finite encodes the mood of the clause in terms of declarative, interrogative and imperative. While a factual and conclusive expression and meaning is described by the Declarative mood, the Imperative mood, by deleting the subject, expresses authority and command in relation to the circumstances of and the participants involved in the discourse. The Interrogative mood, on the other hand, also reflects interpersonal relations of the participants with respect to their status and social roles (Kamalu & Tamunobelema, 2013). In this regards, the analysis of Sheikh Mujib's original speech (in Bangla) of 7th March identified three types of mood block: declarative, interrogative and imperative. Each of these types indicates different interpersonal functions of the speech.

The data analysis found the most frequent use of Declarative mood in Sheikh Mujib's historical 7th March speech. As political speeches are based on social reality, and communicative functionality, the demonstration of powerful language through the Declarative mood is very crucial in fulfilling the gap between the speaker and the audiences. Sheikh Mujib's use of 75 Declarative clauses out of 94 clauses indicated the strength and factual ground of his speech, which in turn established the speech's effective and time-bound appeal to the audience. Starting with exposing the oppression of the then West Pakistan towards East Pakistan (Bangladesh) in his speech, Sheikh Mujib through his declarative mood, gradually set the scene of reality and logic to declare the independence of Bangladesh as:

এবারের সংগ্রাম আমাদের মুক্তির সংগ্রাম, এবারের সংগ্রাম স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রাম (The struggle this time is the struggle for our emancipation. The struggle this time is the struggle for our independence).

Next, 13 clauses were identified as the Imperative mood. Having no Subject, Imperative clauses start directly with the process of expressing a command or request. The

configuration of the mood (either command or request) in the Imperative clause depends on the context and the demand of the realities. In political speeches, the use of the Imperative mood implicates the power hierarchy between the speaker and the audience. While using the Imperative mood, Sheikh Mujib in his 7th March speech served dual purposes. At one end, he requested the West Pakistan government to minimise their brutality against the Bangladeshi people and listen to some demands. Examples of such requests are:

কিন্তু আর আমার বুকের উপর গুলি চালাবার চেষ্টা করোনা (But do not ever try to pour bullets into my heart again).
আমি অনুরোধ করছি। আপনারা আমাদের ভাই। আপনারা এদেশকে একেবারে জাহান্নামে ধ্বংস করে দিয়োন না... আমি অনুরোধ করছি।
আমার এই দেশে মিলিটারি শাসন চালাবার চেষ্টা করবেন না (I am requesting you, you are my brothers. Do not make this country a hell and destroy it... That is why I am requesting you; do not try and run military rule in my country).

Concomitantly, Mujib commanded his country people to get ready for the Liberation war, as:

প্রত্যেক ঘরে ঘরে দুর্গ গড়ে তোল। তোমাদের যা কিছু আছে তাই নিয়ে শত্রুর মোকাবেলা করতে হবে (Build a fortress in each and every home. Face the enemy with whatever you have).
রাস্তাঘাট যা যা আছে সবকিছু আমি যদি হুকুম দেবার নাও পারি, তোমরা বন্ধ করে দেবে (In case I can't give you any further order, I tell you; close all roads and highway indefinitely).
আমাদের যেনো বদনাম না হয় (Ensure that our reputation is not smeared in any way).
তোমাদের যা কিছু আছে, তাই নিয়ে প্রস্তুত থাকো (Be ready with whatever you have).

The third found mood in the analysed speech is Interrogative. There were 6 Interrogative clauses in the speech, which were rather wh-question instead of yes/no questions. Sheikh Mujib's use of those wh-questions in his speech in a dialogical manner not only reinforced but also validated the use and force of other Declarative and Imperative mood clauses. These were:

কী অন্যায্য করেছিলাম আমরা? (What wrong did we commit?), কি পেলাম আমরা? (What did we get?), কিসের রাউন্ড টেবিল? (RTC for what?), কার সঙ্গে বসবো? (Who do we sit with?), যারা আমার মানুষের বুকের রক্ত নিয়েছে, তাদের সঙ্গে বসবো? (Shall we sit with those who spilled the blood of my people?), আপনারদের কি আমার উপর বিশ্বাস আছে? (Do you have faith in me?)

Upon delivering the first Interrogative clause, Sheikh Mujib briefly recalled the past 23 years' torture and suppression experienced by his country's people and thus drew the audience's attention to the ongoing tension between the two nations. The following extract exemplifies this:

১৯৫২ সালে রক্ত দিয়েছি। ১৯৫৪ সালে নির্বাচনে জয়লাভ করেও আমরা গদিত্তে বসতে পারি নাই। ১৯৫৮ সালে আয়ুব খান মার্শাল ল' জারি করে ১০ বছর পর্যন্ত আমাদের গোলাম করে রেখেছে। ১৯৬৬ সালে ৬ দফা আন্দোলনে ৭ই জুনে আমাদের ছেলেদের গুলি করে হত্যা করা হয়েছে। ১৯৬৯ এর আন্দোলনে আয়ুব খানের পতন হওয়ার পরে যখন ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেব সরকার নিলেন, তিনি বললেন, দেশে শাসনতন্ত্র দেবেন, গণতন্ত্র দেবেন- আমরা মেনে নিলাম।

তারপর অনেক ইতিহাস হয়ে গেলে, নির্বাচন হলো। (We gave blood in 1952. After winning the election in 1954, we couldn't even form the government. Proclaiming martial law in 1958, Ayub Khan made us slaves for ten years. During the 'Six Point Movement', my children were gunned down on 7th June 1966. After, the fall of Ayub Khan brought about the 'Mass Movement' of 1969 where Yahya Khan usurped power. He said he would give constitution and democracy to the nation. We Agreed. Thereafter the rest is history).

The next Interrogative clauses were followed by Sheikh Mujib's declaration of planning, appeal for unity and command for getting ready to face any adverse situation:

ভায়েরা আমার, ২৫ তারিখে এসেম্বলি কল করেছে। রক্তের দাগ শুকায় নাই। আমি ১০ তারিখে বলে দিয়েছি, ঐ শহীদের রক্তের ওপর পাড়া দিয়ে আরটিসিতে মুজিবুর রহমান যোগদান করতে পারেনা। এসেম্বলি কল করেছেন, আমাদের দাবী মানতে হবে (The Assembly has summoned on the 25th March. The marks of bloods have not yet dried. I had clearly said on 10th March that Mujib Rahman can't joint RTC, treading the bloods of martyrs. They have called the Assembly. They have got to accept my demands).

Modality

Modality expresses the probability of obligation which, in Halliday's (2001) view, is "grammar's way of expressing the speaker's or writer's judgement, without making the first person 'I' explicit" (p. 182). One of the most common ways of realising the presence of modality as a function of mood is through the use of the modal auxiliary verbs. Fairclough (1989) maintained that modality, in regard to the direction to which the speaker is oriented, has two aspects. Relational modality, which has been found pervasively in the analysed speech, depicts the status of the speaker's authority in the eyes of the audience. This type of modality is demonstrated by modal auxiliary verbs, e.g. may, must, should, can, will, would etc. On the other hand, expressive modality, according to Fairclough (1989), Downing and Locke (2006), deals with the speaker's authority in relation to the truth or possibility of a depiction of reality in the speech or text.

In this speech, relational modality was mainly found. It was particularly used to express the speaker's attitude towards or position on what was required for the Bangladeshi people to do at that time. By means of modal verbs, Sheikh Mujib performed both commissives and directives, the illocutionary acts. The expression of modalisation in the following extracts expressed his representation of leadership, his rightful demands to West Pakistan as well as his judgement of the capacity of his fellow people to follow his guidance:

সামরিক আইন, মার্শাল ল' উইথড্র করতে হবে। সমস্ত সামরিক বাহিনীর লোকদের ব্যারাক এ ফেরত নিতে হবে। যেভাবে হত্যা করা হয়েছে তার তদন্ত করতে হবে। আর জনগণের প্রতিনিধির কাছে ক্ষমতা হস্তান্তর করতে হবে। (First, martial law must be withdrawn; all army personnel must go back to the barracks; there has to be an inquiry into the way the killings were carried out; and the power has to be handed over to the people's representatives).

সরকারি কর্মচারীদের বলি, আমি যা বলি তা মানতে হবে। যে পর্যন্ত আমার এই দেশের মুক্তি না হবে, খাজনা, ট্যাক্স বন্ধ করে দেয়া হলো-কেউ দেবেনা। (My instruction to government officials is that you must obey what I say. From now on, tax will not be paid till such time as the freedom of our country is achieved; no one will pay anything).

যদিও আমরা শান্তিপূর্ণভাবে আমাদের ফয়সালা করতে পারি, তাহলে অন্ততপক্ষে ভাই ভাই হিসেবে বাস করার সম্ভাবনা আছে। (If we can solve things in a peaceful manner, we can at least live as brothers).

রক্ত যখন দিয়েছি, রক্ত আরো দেবো। এ দেশের মানুষকে মুক্ত করে ছাড়বো ইনশাআল্লাহ। (Bear in mind that since we have given blood, we will give more. By the grace of Allah, we will surely liberate the people of this country).

Tense

Tense denotes the time of a clause while speaking (Halliday, 1994). In this analysed speech, Sheikh Mujib used three types of tense—present, past and future.

The statistics in the table show that the past tense was used the most frequently (41%). Present tense was used 29% of the time, followed by future tense with an average percentage of 26%. The use of past tense by Sheikh Mujib in his speech was to recall the previous socio-political, economic and cultural struggles the Bangladeshi people endured. The use of the past tense, in this way, facilitated the creation of a ground of validation for his present stance and future plan of actions regarding the liberation of Bangladesh, which were expressed by Sheikh Mujib's use of present and future tense.

Ideological Analysis

One of the main functions of CDA is to chain linguistic categories to ideological functions of the text. Therefore, the analysis and interpretation of the ideological aspect of Sheikh Mujib's 7th March speech (hence verbal text) attempts to, on one hand, link his political discourse with the social processes and, on the other, decode the covert ideology of the text. The overall analysis identified three significant ideologies underpinning the historic 7th March speech of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib. These are—strong solidarity and inclusiveness, pragmatism, and humanitarian leadership.

Strong solidarity and inclusiveness

প্রিয় ভায়েরা আমার ... (My dear brothers). Opening with a vocative adjunct three times, the pattern of address used by

Table 3: Tense of sentences in the original speech (in Bangla)

Total number of sentences	Present tense	Past tense	Future tense
94	29 (31%)	39 (41%)	26 (28%)

Sheikh Mujib in his 7th March speech can be perceived as more inclusive and audience-oriented. His articulation to address the countrymen in an emphatic way included all ethnicities (Muslim-Hindu, Bangali-non-Bangali) and professionals. Sheikh Mujib also acknowledged and respected the people's wisdom by saying *আপনারা সবই জানেন এবং বোঝেন* (You know and understand everything). Before detailing the longstanding macro-level political crisis, he condemned the recent accounts, establishing the justification of the demand for independence. His use of temporal deixis 'today' gave an adamant indication of his de-facto declaration of Bangladesh's independence:

আজ দুঃখ ভারাক্রান্ত মন নিয়ে আপনাদের সামনে হাজির হয়েছি। আমরা আমাদের জীবন দিয়ে চেষ্টা করেছি। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় আজ ঢাকা, চট্টগ্রাম, খুলনা, রাজশাহী, রংপুর এ আমার ভাইয়ের রক্তে রাজপথ রঞ্জিত হয়েছে। আজ বাংলার মানুষ মুক্তি চায়, বাংলার মানুষ বাঁচতে চায়, বাংলার মানুষ তার অধিকার চায় (Today I appear before you with a heavy heart.We tried with our lives. But the painful matter is that now the streets of Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna, Rajshahi and Rangpur are stained with the bloods of my brothers. Now the people of Bangla want freedom. Today the people of Bangla want to live. The people of Bangla want to have their rights).

Mehan, Nathanson and Skelly (1990) suggested that the discourse strategies in public political speeches take the form of a conversation or dialogue. Sheikh Mujib's 7th March speech, which was fluent and extempore, also demonstrated this discourse quality. An adept adoption of conversational style was present in his speech while using question form in order to attract to and involve the country people in his venture of liberating Bangladesh from the tyranny of the then West Pakistan. There were six questions posed in a dialogic pattern (see section 4.2.2). As an undisputed leader, Sheikh Mujib's use of 'we' in almost every question also signified the desire of his subjugated people of Bangladesh to accomplish the long-cherished independence.

Pragmatism

The analysis of the speech has identified Sheikh Mujib's use of narratives of the longstanding political crisis and socio-economic suffering experienced by Bangladesh and its people. As a political discourse strategy, this is a standard procedure. By enumerating the previous accounts, and struggles, he not only informed and inspired his audience but also took a stance of pragmatism in order to legitimize his demand for justice, emancipation and liberation on behalf of his country's people. The following extracts demonstrate this assertion:

কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয়, আজ দুঃখের সাথে বলতে হয় ২৩ বৎসরের করুণ ইতিহাস, বাংলার অত্যাচারের, বাংলার মানুষের রক্তের ইতিহাস। ২৩ বৎসরের ইতিহাস মুমূর্ষ নর-নারীর আত্মনাদের ইতিহাস। বাংলার ইতিহাস- এদেশের মানুষের রক্ত দিয়ে রাজপথ রঞ্জিত করার ইতিহাস। (But it's a matter of great sorrow that today I have to tell painfully the pitiful history of the last twenty three years.....The history of the last twenty-three years is the history of the wailing of dying men and women. The history of Bangla is the history of the staining of streets with the blood of the people of this country).

সাত কোটি মানুষকে দাবায়া রাখতে পারবানা। আমরা যখন মরতে শিখেছি, তখন কেউ আমাদের দাবায়া রাখতে পারবানা (.....You can't keep seven crores of people subjugated. Since we have learnt to die, no one can dominate us).

Sheikh Mujib's stance of pragmatism was also depicted by his far-sighted concentration on emancipation. In his speech, he was seen to use the history of the Bangladeshi people's struggle as an interpretation of the urgency of accomplishing not merely a geo-political 'independence', but a comprehensive socio-economic and cultural 'emancipation' from the then West Pakistan. What signifies his ideology is that achieving political liberty only provides temporary freedom. To him, it is socio-economic and cultural emancipation that can bring in and accentuate the essence of the actual freedom. His following clear and precise elocutions exemplify such ideology:

*এদেশকে আমরা গড়ে তুলবো। এদেশের মানুষ অর্থনৈতিক, রাজনৈতিক, সাংস্কৃতিক মুক্তি পাবে (And we will build this country. The people of this country will have economic, political and cultural freedom).
আমরা এদেশের মানুষের অধিকার চাই (We want to establish the right of the people of this country).*

Humanitarian leadership

Sheikh Mujib's speech, particularly the last part, defines him as a souvenir of an undisputed leader. By means of putting an agenda in his speech, as political public speeches do, Sheikh Mujib from his strong sense of obligation was seen to concentrate on leading his people at the expense of the prime ministership, so that his people may live in peace. To be more explicit, he provided a complete guideline regarding the approaching account. The most unconventional and noteworthy point was Mujib's humanistic approach while deliberating the instructions. At one hand, he instructed to face the enemy with strong hands, and on the other he was also mindful of the sufferings of the masses and the poor people of his country. In addition, Sheikh Mujib appealed for unity by instructing the audience to take the responsibility of protecting Bangladeshi people regardless of religion or culture. His philosophical standpoint of democracy was also expressed in the following lines:

তোমাদের যা কিছু আছে তাই নিয়ে শত্রুর মোকাবেলা করতে হবে (Face the enemy with whatever you have).

গরীবের যাতে কষ্ট না হয়, যাতে আমার মানুষ কষ্ট না করে সেইজন্য যে সমস্ত অন্যান্য জিনিসগুলো আছে, সেগুলো হরতাল কাল থেকে চলবেনা। রিকশা, ঘোড়ার গাড়ি, রেল চলবে, লঞ্চ চলবে। শুধু সেক্রেটারিয়েট, সুপ্রিম কোর্ট, হাই কোর্ট, জজ কোর্ট, সেমি গভর্নমেন্ট দপ্তরগুলো, ওয়াপদা কোন কিছু চলবেনা (To ensure that no suffering is inflicted on the poor people, to ensure that my people do not suffer, from tomorrow the following things will be put out of range of the 'hartal'. Rickshaws and hackney carriages will work; railway trains and launches will run. But the Secretariat, Supreme Court, High Court, Judge's Court and semi-government offices like WAPDA (Pakistan Water Development Authority) will not function).

এই বাংলায় হিন্দু মুসলমান, বাঙ্গালী-নন বাঙ্গালী যারা আছে তারা আমাদের ভাই। তাদের রক্ষার দায়িত্ব আপনাদের উপর। আমাদের যেন বদনাম না হয়। (Hindus, Muslims, Bengalis and non-Bengalis, all those who live in this Bangla are our brothers. The responsibility of protecting them is on you. Ensure that our reputation is not smeared in any way).

Sheikh Mujib's philanthropic leadership quality can also be attributed to his cautious insights about addressing the forthcoming challenges. In his speech, Sheikh Mujib instructed his fellow party members and other capable persons to take care of the loss of the country's people, particularly those who were affected physically or financially while participating in protests during that time.

আর যে সমস্ত লোক শহীদ হয়েছে, আঘাতপ্রাপ্ত হয়েছে, আমরা আওয়ামী লীগের থেকে যত্নের প্যারি তাদের সাহায্য করতে চেষ্টা করবো। যারা পাবেন আমাদের রিলিফ কমিটিতে সামান্য টাকা পয়সা পৌঁছে দেবেন। আর এই সাত দিন হরতালে যে সমস্ত শ্রমিক ভাইয়েরা যোগোদান করেছেন, প্রত্যেকটা শিল্পের মালিক তাদের বেতন পৌঁছে দেবেন। (We, from Awami League, will try our best to help those who are embracing martyrdom and those who have received injuries. Those who are capable, please extend your monetary support, whatever you can to our relief fund. And every owner of industries will pay salaries to all workers who participated in the 7-day 'hartal').

The most powerful, turning point of the speech came with the last two statements. These statements, on one hand, ignited the emotions of a public having experienced adversity and suffering for 23 long years, and on the other, served as an effective note of declaration of independence of the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). Drawing upon the adverse struggles and heroic past of his countrymen, as delineated throughout the 7th March speech, Sheikh Mujib's catchphrase in his last two lines provided the mantra to unshackle themselves from the longstanding struggles and sufferings:

এবারের সংগ্রাম আমাদের মুক্তির সংগ্রাম, এবারের সংগ্রাম স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রাম। (The struggle this time is the struggle for our emancipation. The struggle this time is the struggle for our independence).

And the rest is the history: the history of a nine-month long war which gave the birth of a new nation named Bangladesh to the world map.

CONCLUSION

This paper has aimed to show the style and functionality of Sheikh Mujib's historical 7th March speech from the critical discourse analysis viewpoint. Accordingly, the contextual, SFL and ideological analyses were carried out in order to demonstrate a comprehensive meaning of the speech. The analysis, however, did not cover the ideational function or transitivity system (Halliday, 1978) of the speech, which the author admits as a limitation of the study.

The analysis identified that Sheikh Mujib's historical 7th March speech was ornamented with multiple linguistic and ideological strategies in such an inextricably intertwined way so that the speech could communicate multi-functionality towards its audience: the citizens of Bangladesh as well as the

government of West Pakistan. More specifically, through his diction and style of language, Sheikh Mujib served the purpose of a mirror for the audience to see and realise the suppression and domination of the then West Pakistan (Pakistan) and the struggles of East Pakistan (Bangladesh). His frequent and ubiquitous use of vocative adjuncts, multiple pronouns, mood blocks, modality, tense, rhetorical devices, and the cohesiveness of his paragraphs, while showing the past, the present and the future of Bangladesh made the speech more powerful, concrete, appealing and persuasive. As a whole, the speech, through its compact and dialogical form, not only demonstrated Sheikh Mujib's ingenuity both in oratory and leadership skills, but also echoed the suppressed Bangladeshi people's long-felt dream of being independent from the tyranny of political, social, economic and cultural domination. Finally, it can be claimed that the purpose of Sheikh Mujib's 7th March speech, to inform and convey the Pakistani government as well as to provide confidence, to encourage and to lead the Bangladeshi people, was well served.

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APPENDIX A: THE ORIGINAL BANGLA VERSION OF SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S 7TH MARCH SPEECH

ভায়েরা আমার,

আজ দুঃখ ভারাক্রান্ত মন নিয়ে আপনাদের সামনে হাজির হয়েছি। আপনারা সবই জানেন এবং বোঝেন। আমরা আমাদের জীবন দিয়ে চেষ্টা করেছি। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয়, আজ ঢাকা, চট্টগ্রাম, খুলনা, রাজশাহী, রংপুরে আমার ভাইয়ের রক্তে রাজপথ রঞ্জিত হয়েছে। আজ বাংলার মানুষ মুক্তি চায়, বাংলার মানুষ বাঁচতে চায়, বাংলার মানুষ তার অধিকার চায়।

কি অন্যায্য করেছিলাম? নির্বাচনের পরে বাংলাদেশের মানুষ সম্পূর্ণভাবে আমাকে, আওয়ামী লীগকে ভোট দেন। আমাদের ন্যাশনাল এসেম্বলি বসবে, আমরা সেখানে শাসনতন্ত্র তৈরি করবো এবং এদেশকে আমরা গড়ে তুলবো। এদেশের মানুষ অর্থনৈতিক, রাজনৈতিক, সাংস্কৃতিক মুক্তি পাবে।

কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয়, আজ দুঃখের সঙ্গে বলতে হয় ২৩ বৎসরের করুণ ইতিহাস, বাংলার অত্যাচারের, বাংলার মানুষের রক্তের ইতিহাস। ২৩ বৎসরের ইতিহাস মুমূর্ষু নর-নারীর আত্মনাদের ইতিহাস। বাংলার ইতিহাস- এদেশের মানুষের রক্ত দিয়ে রাজপথ রঞ্জিত করার ইতিহাস।

১৯৫২ সালে রক্ত দিয়েছি। ১৯৫৪ সালে নির্বাচনে জয়লাভ করেও আমরা গদিতে বসতে পারি নাই। ১৯৫৮ সালে আয়ুব খান মার্শাল ল' জারি করে ১০ বছর পর্যন্ত আমাদের গোলাম করে রেখেছে। ১৯৬৬ সালে ৬-দফা আন্দোলনে ৭ই জুনে আমার ছেলেদের গুলি করে হত্যা করা হয়েছে। ১৯৬৯ এর আন্দোলনে আয়ুব খানের পতন হওয়ার পরে যখন ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেব সরকার নিলেন, তিনি বললেন, দেশে শাসনতন্ত্র দেবেন, গনতন্ত্র দেবেন-আমরা মেনে নিলাম। তারপরে অনেক ইতিহাস হয়ে গেলে, নির্বাচন হলো।

আপনারা জানেন, দোষ কি আমাদের? আমি প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেবের সঙ্গে দেখা করেছি, আপনারা জানেন। আমি, শুধু বাংলা নয়, পাকিস্তানের মেজরিটি পার্টির নেতা হিসাবে তাকে অনুরোধ করলাম, ১৫ই ফেব্রুয়ারি তারিখে আপনি জাতীয় পরিষদের অধিবেশন দেন। তিনি আমার কথা রাখলেন না, তিনি রাখলেন ভুট্টো সাহেবের কথা। তিনি বললেন, প্রম সপ্তাহে মার্চ মাসে হবে। তিনি মাইন্যা নিলেন। আমরা বললাম, ঠিক আছে, আমরা এসেম্বলিতে বসবো। আমরা আলোচনা করবো। আমি বললাম, বক্তৃতার মধ্যে, এসেম্বলির মধ্যে আলোচনা করবো- এমনকি আমি এ পর্যন্ত ও বললাম, যদি কেউ ন্যায্য কথা বলে, আমরা সংখ্যাগরি বৈশি হলো একজনও যদি সে হয় তার ন্যায্য কথা আমরা মেনে নেব।

জনাব ভুট্টো সাহেব এখানে এসেছিলেন, আলোচনা করলেন। বলে গেলেন, আলোচনার দরজা বন্ধ না, আরো আলোচনা হবে। তারপরে অন্যান্য নেতৃবৃন্দ, তাদের সঙ্গে আলাপ করলাম- আপনারা আসুন, বসুন, আমরা আলাপ করে শাসনতন্ত্র তৈরি করবো।

তিনি বললেন, পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের মেয়ররা যদি এখানে আসে তাহলে কসাইখানা হবে এসেম্বলি। তিনি বললেন, যে যাবে তাকে মেরে ফেলা দেয়া হবে। যদি কেউ এসেম্বলিতে আসে তাহলে পেশোয়ার থেকে করাচি পর্যন্ত জোর করে বন্ধ করা হবে। আমি বললাম, এসেম্বলি চলবে। তারপরে হঠাৎ ১ তারিখে এসেম্বলি বন্ধ করে দেওয়া হলো।

ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেব প্রেসিডেন্ট হিসেবে এসেম্বলি ডেকেছিলেন। আমি বললাম যে, আমি যাবো। ভুট্টো সাহেব বললেন, তিনি যাবেন না। ৩৫ জন সদস্য পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান থেকে এখানে আসলেন। তারপর হঠাৎ বন্ধ করে দেওয়া হলো, দোষ দেওয়া হলো বাংলার মানুষকে, দোষ

দেওয়া হলো আমাকে। বন্ধ করে দেয়ার পরে এদেশের মানুষ প্রতিবাদমুখর হয়ে উঠল।

আমি বললাম, শান্তিপূর্ণভাবে আপনারা হরতাল পালন করেন। আমি বললাম, আপনারা কলকারখানা সব কিছু বন্ধ করে দেন। জনগণ সাড়া দিলো। আপন ইচ্ছায় জনগণ রাস্তায় বেরিয়ে পড়লো, তারা শান্তিপূর্ণভাবে সংগ্রাম চালিয়ে যাবার জন্য স্তির প্রতিজ্ঞাবদ্ধ হলো।

কি পেলাম আমরা? আমার পয়সা দিয়ে অস্ত্র কিনেছি বহিঃশত্রুর আক্রমণ থেকে দেশকে রক্ষা করার জন্য, আজ সেই অস্ত্র ব্যবহার হচ্ছে আমার দেশের গরীব-দুঃখী নিরস্ত্র মানুষের বিরুদ্ধে- তার বুকের ওপরে হচ্ছে গুলি। আমরা পাকিস্তানের সংখ্যাগুরু- আমরা বাঙালীরা যখনই ক্ষমতায় যাবার চেষ্টা করেছি তখনই তারা আমাদের উপর ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়েছে।

টেলিফোনে আমার সঙ্গে তার কথা হয়। তাঁকে আমি বলেছিলাম, জেনারেল ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেব, আপনি পাকিস্তানের প্রেসিডেন্ট, দেখে যান কিভাবে আমার গরীবের ওপরে, আমার বাংলার মানুষের বুকের ওপর গুলি করা হয়েছে। কি করে আমার মায়ের কোল খালি করা হয়েছে, কি করে মানুষকে হত্যা করা হয়েছে, আপনি আসুন, দেখুন, বিচার করুন। তিনি বললেন, আমি নাকি স্বীকার করেছি যে, ১০ই তারিখে রাউন্ড টেবিল কনফারেন্স হবে। আমি তো অনেক আগেই বলে দিয়েছি, কিসের রাউন্ড টেবিল, কার সঙ্গে বসবো? যারা আমার মানুষের বুকের রক্ত নিয়েছে, তাদের সঙ্গে বসবো? হঠাৎ আমার সঙ্গে পরামর্শ না করে পাঁচ ঘণ্টা গোপনে বৈঠক করে যে বক্তৃতা তিনি করেছেন, সমস্ত দোষ তিনি আমার ওপরে দিয়েছেন, বাংলার মানুষের ওপরে দিয়েছেন।

ভায়েরা আমার,

২৫ তারিখে এসেম্বলি কল করেছে। রক্তের দাগ শুকায় নাই। আমি ১০ তারিখে বলে দিয়েছি, ৩ই শহীদদের রক্তের ওপর পাড়া দিয়ে আরটিসিতে মুজিবুর রহমান যোগদান করতে পারেনা।

এসেম্বলি কল করেছেন, আমার দাবী মানতে হবে। প্রথম, সামরিক আইন-মার্শাল ল' উইথড্র করতে হবে। সমস্ত সামরিক বাহিনীর লোকদের ব্যারাকে ফেরত নিতে হবে। যেভাবে হত্যা করা হয়েছে তার তদন্ত করতে হবে। আর জনগণের প্রতিনিধির কাছে ক্ষমতা হস্তান্তর করতে হবে। তারপর বিবেচনা করে দেখবো, আমরা এসেম্বলিতে বসতে পারবো কি পারবো না। এর পূর্বে এসেম্বলিতে বসতে আমরা পারি না।

আমি, আমি প্রধানমন্ত্রীত্ব চাই না। আমরা এদেশের মানুষের অধিকার চাই।

আমি পরিষ্কার অক্ষরে বলে দেবার চাই, আজ থেকে এই বাংলাদেশে কোর্ট-ক্যাসারী, আদালত-ফৌজদারী, শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান অনির্দিষ্টকালের জন্য বন্ধ থাকবে। গরীবের যাতে কষ্ট না হয়, যাতে আমার মানুষ কষ্ট না করে সেইজন্য যে সমস্ত অন্যান্য জিনিসগুলো আছে সেগুলো হরতাল কাল থেকে চলবে না। রিকশা, ঘোড়ারগাড়ি, রেল চলবে, লঞ্চ চলবে- শুধু সেক্রেটারিয়েট, সুপ্রিম কোর্ট, হাইকোর্ট, জজকোর্ট, সেমি গভর্নমেন্ট দপ্তরগুলো, ওয়াপদা কোন কিছু চলবে না। ২৮ তারিখে কর্মচারীরা যেয়ে বেতন নিয়ে আসবেন। এরপরে যদি বেতন দেওয়া না হয়, আর যদি একটা গুলি চলে, আর যদি আমার লোককে হত্যা করা হয় - তোমাদের কাছে আমার অনুরোধ রইল, প্রত্যেক ঘরে ঘরে দুর্গ গড়ে তোল। তোমাদের যা কিছু আছে তাই নিয়ে শত্রুর মোকাবেলা করতে হবে এবং জীবনের তরে রাস্তাঘাট যা যা আছে সবকিছু -আমি যদি হুকুম দেবার নাও পারি, তোমরা বন্ধ করে দেবে। আমরা ভাতে মারবো, আমরা পানিতে মারবো।

তোমরা আমার ভাই, তোমরা ব্যারাকে থাকো, কেউ তোমাদের কিছু বলবে না। কিন্তু আর আমার বুকের ওপর গুলি চালাবার চেষ্টা করো না। সাত কোটি মানুষকে দাবায়া রাখতে পারবা না। আমরা যখন মরতে শিখেছি তখন কেউ আমাদের দাবাতে পারবেনা।

আর যে সমস্ত লোক শহীদ হয়েছে, আঘাতপ্রাপ্ত হয়েছে, আমরা আওয়ামী লীগের থেকে যুদ্ধের পারি তাদের সাহায্য করতে চেষ্টা করবো। যারা পারেন আমাদের রিলিফ কমিটিতে সামান্য টাকা-পয়সা পৌঁছে দেবেন। আর এই সাত দিন হরতালে যে সমস্ত শ্রমিক ভাইয়েরা যোগদান করেছে, প্রত্যেকটা শিল্পের মালিক তাদের বেতন পৌঁছে দেবেন। সরকারি কর্মচারীদের বলি, আমি যা বলি তা মানতে হবে। যে পর্যন্ত আমার এই দেশের মুক্তি না হবে, খাজনা ট্যাক্স বন্ধ করে দেওয়া হলো- কেউ দেবে না।

মনে রাখবেন, শত্রুবাহিনী ঢুকেছে, নিজেদের মধ্যে আত্মকলহ সৃষ্টি করবে, লুটতরাজ করবে। এই বাংলায় হিন্দুমুসলমান, বাঙালী-ননবাঙালী যারা আছে তারা আমাদের ভাই। তাদের রক্ষা করার দায়িত্ব আপনাদের ওপর, আমাদের যেন বদনাম না হয়।

মনে রাখবেন, রেডিও-টেলিভিশনের কর্মচারীরা, যদি রেডিওতে আমাদের কথা না শোনে তাহলে কোন বাঙালী রেডিও স্টেশনে যাবে না। যদি টেলিভিশন আমাদের নিউজ না দেয়, কোন বাঙালি টেলিভিশনে যাবেন না। ২ ঘণ্টা ব্যাংক খোলা থাকবে, যাতে মানুষ তাদের মায়ানা-পত্র নেবার পারে। পূর্ব বাংলা থেকে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানে এক পয়সাও চালান হতে পারবে না। টেলিফোন, টেলিগ্রাম আমাদের এই পূর্ব বাংলায় চলবে এবং বিদেশের সংগে নিউজ পাঠাতে হলে আপনারা চালাবেন। কিন্তু যদি এ দেশের মানুষকে খতম করার চেষ্টা করা হয়, বাঙালীরা বুঝে বুঝে কাজ করবেন।

আমি অনুরোধ করছি, আপনারা আমাদের ভাই। আপনারা এদেশকে একেবারে জাহান্নামে ধ্বংস করে দিচ্ছেন না। জীবনে আর কোনদিন আপনাদের মুখ দেখা দেখি হবে না। যদিও আমরা শান্তিপূর্ণভাবে আমাদের ফয়সালা করতে পারি, তাহলে অন্ততপক্ষে ভাই ভাই হিসেবে বাস করার সম্ভাবনা আছে। সেজন্য আপনাদের অনুরোধ করছি, আমার এই দেশে আপনারা মিলিটারি শাসন চালাবার চেষ্টা করবেন না।

দ্বিতীয় কথা, প্রত্যেক গ্রামে, প্রত্যেক মহল্লায়, প্রত্যেক ইউনিয়ন এ, প্রত্যেক সাব-ডিভিশন এ আওয়ামী লীগের নেতৃত্বে সংগ্রাম পরিষদ গড়ে তোল। এবং তোমাদের যা কিছু আছে, তাই নিয়ে প্রস্তুত থাকো। মনে রাখবা, রক্ত যখন দিয়েছি, রক্ত আরো দেবো। এ দেশের মানুষকে মুক্ত করে ছাড়বো ইনশাআল্লাহ।

এবারের সংগ্রাম আমাদের মুক্তির সংগ্রাম এবারের সংগ্রাম স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রাম। জয় বাংলা।

APPENDIX B: ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S 7TH MARCH SPEECH

The historical 7th March speech by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

(From the Department of Films and Publications- Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh)

(The crowd cheer at Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's arrival at the Racecourse)

Brothers of mine;

Today I appear before you with a heavy heart. You know and understand everything. We tried with our lives. But the painful matter is that now the streets of Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna, Rajshahi and Rangpur are stained with the bloods of my brothers.

Now the people of Bangla want freedom. The people of Bangla want to live. The people of Bangla want to have their rights.

What wrong did we commit? The people of Bangladesh cast their vote overwhelmingly for me, for Awami League. Our National Assembly will sit. We will draw up the Constitution there. And we will build this country. The people of this country will have economic, political and cultural freedom.

But it's a matter of great sorrow that today I have to tell painfully the pitiful history of the last twenty three years. The bloody history of Bangalis tortured in Bangla itself. The history of the last twenty- three years is the history of the wailing of dying men and women. The history of Bangla is the history of the staining of streets with the blood of the people of this country.

What wrong did we commit? The people of Bangladesh cast their vote overwhelmingly for me, for Awami League. Our National Assembly will sit. We will draw up the Constitution there. And we will build this country. The people of this country will have economic, political and cultural freedom.

We gave blood in 1952. After winning the election in 1954, we couldn't even form the government. Proclaiming martial law in 1958, Ayub Khan made us slaves for ten years.

During the 'Six Point Movement', my children were gunned down on 7th June 1966. After, the fall of Ayub Khan brought about the 'Mass Movement' of 1969 where Yahya Khan usurped power. He said he would give constitution and democracy to the nation. We Agreed. Thereafter the rest is history. There was an election. You know the fault was not ours.

Today I met President Yahya Khan and discussed everything with him. Being the leader of not only of Bangla but of the majority party of Pakistan, I requested him to convene the National Assembly of 15th February.

He didn't agree with me, rather he yielded to Mr Bhutto's demand to hold the assembly in the first week of March.

We said that was alright. We would sit in the Assembly. I went even to the extent of saying that if anybody, even a lone person proposed something reasonable, we, although the majority will accept the proposal.

Mr Bhutto came here. He conferred with us and said that the door for discussion was not closed. There would be more discussions.

Then we talked with other leaders and said 'please come and sit together; let's prepare the Constitution through discussion'.

Mr Bhutto said that if the members of West Pakistan came here, the Assembly would turn into a slaughter house. He said whoever would come would be killed.

If they came to the Assembly, then from Peshawar to Karachi, all shops will be closed down by force.

I said that Assembly would continue, then all of a sudden, the Assembly was closed on 1st March.

As President, Mr Yahya Khan had summoned the Assembly. I said that I would attend.

Mr Bhutto said that he won't. Thirty-five members from West Pakistan came here. Then all of a sudden, the Assembly was closed. The people of Bangla were blamed; I was blamed too.

Because of the closure, the people of this country burst into protest. I told them to observe 'hartal' (strike) in a peaceful manner I told them to close down all mills and factories.

The people responded. The people spontaneously came out on the streets. They firmly pledged to continue their resistance in a peaceful manner.

What did we get?

The weapons we bought at the expense of our money to protect the country from the invasion of foreign enemies, are now being used against the poor and unarmed people of our country; they are being shot down.

We are the majority of the people of Pakistan. Whenever we Bangalis tried to gain power; tried to rule this country as our own, they assaulted.

They are our brother; I asked them 'Why must you shoot your brother? You were deployed to protect this country from the attack of foreign enemies'.

Mr Yahya said that I had agreed that there would be a Round Table Conference (RTC) on 10th March. I said no such thing to him. I had a talk with him over the telephone.

I told him 'General Yahya Khan, you are President of Pakistan. Come to Dhaka and see the how my poor people, my people of Bangla are being shot down. How the bosom of our mothers are being emptied of their sons. How my people are being killed. You come, see and do justice and then finalise. That's exactly what I told him.

I told him long ago, RTC for what? Who do we sit with? With them... who spilled the blood of my people?

Without any consultation, with me or any discussion with us, suddenly after 5 hours of secret meeting, Yahya Khan delivered his speech, in which he dumped all the blame squarely on me, squarely on the people of Bangla. (*The crowds says shame, shame*).

I have said in the meeting, the struggle this time is our struggle for emancipation, the struggle this time is the struggle for our independence.

Brothers of mine.

The Assembly has summoned on the 25th March. The marks of bloods have not yet dried.

I had clearly said on 10th March that Mujib Rahman can't joint RTC, treading the bloods of martyrs.

They have called the Assembly. They have got to accept my demands:

First, martial law must be withdrawn;

All army personnel must go back to the barracks;

There has to be an inquiry into the way the killings were carried out;

And the power has to be handed over to the people's representatives.

Only then, we will consider whether we can sit in the Assembly or not. Before that we can't sit in the Assembly. The people have not given me that right.

Brothers of mine

Do you have faith in me? (*The crowds says yes yes*)

I don't want Prime Ministership. We want to establish the right of the people of this country.

I want to say in clear terms that from now on all courts, magistrates, offices and educational institutions in Bangladesh will remain closed sine die.

To ensure that no suffering is inflicted on the poor people, to ensure that my people do not suffer, from tomorrow the following things will be put out of range of the 'hartal'. Rickshaws and hackney carriages will work; railway trains and launches will run.

But the Secretariat, Supreme Court, High Court, Judge's Court and semi-government offices like WAPDA (Pakistan Water Development Authority) will not function. All employees will draw their salaries on the 28th of the month.

If salaries are not paid; if one more shot is fired and if my people are killed again then my request to you is; build a fortress in each and every home. Face the enemy with whatever you have.

Incase I can't give you any further order, I tell you; close all roads and highway indefinitely.

We will starve them to death. We will make them go without water and choke them to death.

You are our brothers. You stay in your barracks; no one will say anything to you. But don't ever try to shoot us. This will do you no good.

You can't keep seven crores of people subjugated. Since we have learnt to die, no one can dominate us.

We, from Awami League, will try our best to help those who are embracing martyrdom and those who have received injuries.

Those who are capable, please extend your monetary support, whatever you can to our relief fund. And every owner of industries will pay salaries to all workers who participated in the 7-day 'hartal'.

My instruction to government officials is that you must obey what I say. From now on, tax will not be paid till such time as the freedom of our country is achieved; no one will pay anything.

Listen and bear in mind, the enemy has penetrated us in order to create divisions amongst us and to start looting.

Hindus, Muslims, Bengalis and non-Bengalis, all those who live in this Bangla are our brothers. The responsibility of protecting them is on you. Ensure that our reputation is not smeared in any way.

The employees of the Radio and Television; please bear in mind that if our words are not broadcasted by the radio, then no Bangali shall go to the radio station.

If our news is not broadcasted by Television, then no Bangali will go to the Television station. The ban shall remain open for two hours every day so that the people can get their salaries.

But from East Bangla, a single paisa will not be allowed to be remitted to West Pakistan.

Telephone and Telegraph service will remain operative in our East Bangla. They shall keep on sending our news to foreign news media. But if there is any sinister move to annihilate the people of this country, the Bangalis, you will have to keep very careful watch.

I am requesting you, you are my brothers.

Do not make this country a hell and destroy it.

Do not make this country a hell and destroy it.

We will not see each other's face in the future.

If we can solve things in a peaceful manner, we can at least live as brothers.

That is why I am requesting you; do not try and run military rule in my country.

Secondly, in every village, every locality, every union and every sub-division establish 'Resistant Council' under the leadership of the Awami League.

And be ready with whatever you have.

Bear in mind that since we have given blood, we will give more. By the grace of Allah, we will surely liberate the people of this country.

The struggle this time is the struggle for our emancipation.

The struggle this time is the struggle for our independence.

'Joy Bangla'

7th March 1971

Ramna Racecourse, Dhaka, Bangladesh.