

Caretaker Government and the Politics of Bangladesh

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Abstract

The issue of caretaker government has become the focal issue after the passing of the 15th amendment to the constitution of Bangladesh. Earlier the Supreme Court had declared the Caretaker system as illegal and unconstitutional. At the same time the court also opined that the 10th and 11th general elections could be held under caretaker government. In the midst of a political impasse, the state of emergency was declared and a government backed by army assumed state power in January, 2007. It ruled the country for two years in an 'unconstitutional' way. In spite of an uncertain circumstance, the 9th parliament elections was held on the 28th December, 2008 and the 14 party alliance (Mohajote) government led by the Awami League (AL) won the election. Though Awami League did not say anything about the abolition of the caretaker system in its election manifesto it took the issue seriously when the Supreme Court declared the 13th amendment of the constitution as illegal. Finally, the Mohajote government led by AL abolished the caretaker government system through the 15th constitutional amendment. The opposition parties led by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) termed the decision of the ruling party as a conspiracy to remain in power for a long period of time. The opposition, led by BNP, started a movement demanding to reintroduction of the caretaker system. At present, the government and the opposition are confronting each other on this issue. If it is not resolved amicably it will create serious political confrontation. In this article an attempt has been made to review the content and consequences of the government-opposition confrontation on the issue of caretaker government. The article has also made some suggestions for the resolution of the problem.

Introduction

There is no mention of caretaker governments as such in constitutional law. Sir Ivory Jennings has described the Ministry that was formed by Winston Churchill in the United Kingdom after the World War- 2 and before the general election of 1945 as caretaker government (Huda, 1997,

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p-597). In Australia, there is a guidance on caretaker convention (Ahmed, 2004, p, 137). A caretaker government is a temporary government which normally takes care of state administration for an interim period until the regular government is formed. Such temporary government exists only to perform day to day administrative jobs and gives all out cooperation to the election commissions to organize a general election on a free and fair manner. In Bangladesh caretaker government was constituted in 1990 for the 1st time after the forced resignation of General Hussain Muhammad Ershad. This interim caretaker government was constitutionalised in 1996 by the 6th parliament through the 13th amendment of the constitution of Bangladesh. The main objective of this caretaker government was to create an environment in which an election could be held in a free and fair manner without any political and administrative influences.

Caretaker System Introduced

Bangladesh, the demand for a neutral caretaker government was raised by the political parties in the 1980s. After independence, a gradual public alienation from the election process was observed owing to alleged election malpractices. The lack of confidence of the mass people in the election process reached its peak during the rule of General Ershad. The post-liberation civilian regime and the post-1975 military regimes organized parliament election to earn legitimacy. All pre-1991 parliamentary elections were, more or less, rigged. It will not be an exaggeration to argue that “vote piracy”, “media coup” (media manipulation of election result) and “vote hijacking” became the integral feature of the electoral culture of Bangladesh (Hakim, 1993, p-3).

In 1991, after the formation of parliament, a “Bill for neutral caretaker government” for holding free, fair and impartial election in future, was placed in the 2nd Session of the 5th parliament by the Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh (JIB). But, the ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) did not allow the bill to be moved in the House. Then, in 1993, Bangladesh Awami League (AL) and Jatiya Party (JP) submitted two separate bills for neutral caretaker government in the parliamentary secretariat for introducing the same in the Jatiya Sangsad. But, the said two bills were never allowed to come before the House. In 1991, the restoration of parliamentary system on the basis of consensus marked a positive development. In 1994, BNP was in power and a by-election in Magura-2 constituency was rigged in favor of its candidate. After that the Awami League and its political allies began to campaign for the incorporation of the caretaker government provision in the constitution. They argued that the general elections would not be free and fair unless a non-partisan government is established. The opposition parties issued an ultimatum to the government to amend the constitution by June 26, 1994. (Huda, 1997, p-605) On July 3, 1994 the opposition parties came out in the street with

processions for attaining a Non Party Caretaker government and ousting BNP government. The political crisis was heightened. To resolve the crisis Ameca Anikui, the Secretary General of Commonwealth came to Dhaka. He could not make any head way. He was followed by his special envoy Sir Ninian, a former judge of Australia. He came on October 13, 1995 and he tried for 40 days to bring about a solution of the crisis. Before his departure he gave a formula of a caretaker government (Ahmed, 2004, p, 62-63). His idea was that Begum Zia should remain Prime Minister and she would form a caretaker government with five members from the ruling party and five members from the opposition parties. But the opposition parties found his proposal unacceptable and he left Bangladesh on November 20, 1995 without success. Though the idea of caretaker provision became increasingly popular, the then BNP government ignored the demand and held a farcical general election on February 15, 1996 which was boycotted by Awami League, Jatiya Party, Jamaat-e-Islami and other political parties. After election, parliament session was convened, but that lasted only 11 days. In the face of a fierce movement by the opposition, the 6th parliament had introduced the caretaker government system in the constitution. The 13th amendment bill of the constitution passed by the parliament on the night following 25th March, 1996 which was assented to by the President on March 28, 1996. As per the amended constitution the formation of the Caretaker government was as follows:

- a. The non-party Caretaker Government shall consist of the Chief Adviser at its head and not more than ten others advisers, all of whom shall be appointed by the President.
- b. The President shall appoint as Chief Adviser the person who among the retired Chief justices of Bangladesh retired last and who is qualified to be appointed as an adviser under this article. Provided that if such retired Chief Justice is not available or is not willing to hold the office of Chief Adviser, the President shall appoint as Chief adviser the person who among the retired Chief Justices of Bangladesh retired next before the last retired Chief Justice.
- c. If no retired Chief Justice is available or willing to hold the office of Chief adviser, the President shall appoint as Chief adviser the person who among the retired judges of the Appellate division retired last and who is qualified to be appointed as an adviser under his article. Provided that if such retired judge is not available or is not willing to hold the office of Chief adviser, the President shall appoint as Chief adviser the person who among the retired judges of the Appellate division retired next before the last such retired judge.

- d. If no retired judge of the Appellate division is available or willing to hold the office of Chief Adviser, the President shall, after consultation, as far as practicable, with the major political parties, appoint the Chief Adviser from among citizens of Bangladesh who is qualified to be appointed as advisers under this article.
- e. Notwithstanding anything contained in this chapter, if the provisions of clauses mentioned above cannot be given effect to, the President shall assume the functions of the Chief Adviser of the non-party Caretaker Government in addition to his own functions under this constitution (Huda, 1997, p. 601-602).

Elections under Caretaker Governments

As per constitution the Non-party Caretaker Government shall give to the Election Commission all possible aid and assistance that may be required for holding the general election of members of Parliament peacefully, fairly and impartially. The neutral caretaker government of Bangladesh had been the products of intense opposition movement centering on the forceful demand for free and fair general polls. By legalizing caretaker government through the 13th amendment of the constitution in 1996, Bangladesh has founded a unique example in the existing parliamentary system. After inclusion of the caretaker government in the constitution, former chief justice Md. Habibur Rahman took oath as Chief Advisor for the 1st constitutional caretaker government. According to the 13th amendment, the 7th Jatiya Sangsad election was held in June 1996. The Awami League won the election and the party leader Sheikh Hasina became Prime Minister of a government of 'consensus.' AL formed a government for the first time since 1975; 21 year after the brutal assassination of the first president of Bangladesh and architect of the nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The elections of the 5th Parliament for the first time was held under a neutral interim caretaker government with an unprecedented degree of enthusiasm by the political parties and the mass people. The elections were held throughout the country in an atmosphere of unprecedented peace except for some stray incidents at some places of the country. Local and foreign observers found the elections most peaceful, fair and free in the 20 year history of independence of Bangladesh. (Hakim, 1993, P- 53). The 4 member election observer team of the British parliament, the Japanese team and 4 country SARRC team visited many polling stations throughout the country on the election day and found the polling to be "free, fare and impartial" (Ittefaq, March 2, 1991). There was a speculation that AL would emerge as the largest party in the fifth parliament. But the election result was not in line of speculation. The BNP emerged as the single largest party with 140 seats. AL was not

psychologically prepared to sit in the opposition bench, but had to face the reality. It won only 88 seats (Hakim, 1993, p-54). Despite the fact that the election of 1991 was widely appreciated at home and abroad, AL alleged that ‘sukhkhochuri’ (subtle rigging) took place to have BNP in power (The Daily Star, 11 May, 2011). The 7th parliament elections were held under the 1st constitutionalised Caretaker Government and the AL won in the election as single majority party. BNP rejected the results alleging ‘pukur churi’ (massive rigging). In 2001 again BNP won the election under 2nd caretaker government. But AL dismissed the results as an outcome of ‘sthulo korchuri’ (crude rigging). In the 3rd election under caretaker government in 2008, the AL won a landslide victory. The reactions of the parties were as usual (The Daily Star, May 11, 2012). It has been observed that the elections under the caretaker governments were hailed at large by the observers at home and abroad, but the defeated major party rejected the results alleging subtle or massive rigging.

Controversy Started

The controversy regarding the caretaker system started in 2004 when the opposition AL demanded the reform of the system in its central executive committee meeting on 12 October, 2004. This became vital when BNP government increased the retirement age of the Supreme Court judges to ensure Justice KM Hasan to be the chief of the caretaker government. AL alleged that Justice Hasan (the probable Chief of the Caretaker) was the secretary of International affairs of BNP (The Bhorar Khagoj, January 4, 2005). The move led the country into a deep political turmoil and eventually delayed the election of 9th parliament by two years.

The 9th parliament election was scheduled to be held on 22 January, 2007. But it did not take place on that day. The caretaker government of President Iajuddin Ahmed was accused of by Sheikh Hasina and her coalition of having BNP bias. The political crisis started to deteriorate since January 3, 2007 after the AL led grand alliance’s declaration to boycott and resist the January 22 elections. The grand alliance also announced a series of agitation programmes including blockades, hartals and sieges programmes. Donor agencies and diplomats continued to mount pressure on the Caretaker Government and the political parties to resolve the ongoing crisis. They also warned that the elections would not be acceptable without the participation of all political parties. Amid political crisis over election, President Iajuddin Ahmed resigned from the post of chief adviser to the caretaker government, declaring a state of emergency in the country on 11 January, 2007 (popularly known as 1/11).

The declaration of the state of emergency came after daylong hectic negotiations among the political parties, diplomats and caretaker government advisers to resolve the ongoing political crisis following Iajuddin's assumption of the office of chief adviser on October 29, 2006. It may be mentioned that in face of 'political disaster' former Chief Justice KM Hasan, scheduled to be the Chief Adviser, as per constitution, expressed his unwillingness to assume the post of Chief Adviser of a Caretaker Government. Amidst serious political crisis President Iajuddin Ahmed assumed the office of the Chief Adviser in addition to his responsibility as president. After resignation of Iajuddin Ahmed from the post of Chief Adviser, the former governor of Bangladesh Bank and a World Bank official, Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed, took oath as the chief Adviser. The Fakhruddin's Caretaker Government was a military backed government. In an interview with a newspaper national professor and leading political scientists professor Dr. Talukder Muniruzzaman said, it was first said that 1/11 was just the reflections of a political disaster. But now it is said it was really done by armed forces with civilians' help (The Daily Star, October 18, 2008).

Caretaker System Declared Illegal

On 10th May, 2011 the Supreme Court has prospectively declared void the 13th amendment to the constitution that had made provision for an election time caretaker government (The New Age, 11 May, 2011). The seven member Appellate Division bench, headed by the then chief justice ABM Khairul Haque, also said that the next two general elections could be held under caretaker governments. The court also said that the parliament, however, in the meantime, is at liberty to bring necessary amendments excluding provision for making for former Chief Justice or the Appellate Division judges to be the head of the non-party caretaker government. The Chief Justice pronounced the short order of the judgment in the appeal against the High court verdict delivered on August 4, 2004 declaring lawful the 13th amendment to the constitution. "The appeal is allowed by majority without any order as to costs" the chief justice said in short order. Introduced in 1996 through the 13th amendment to the constitution by a 'farical' elected parliament, the system of non-party caretaker government has seen the holding of three successful parliament elections in 1996, 2001 and 2008 which were considered free and fair by both local and foreign observers.

Earlier, the Supreme Court heard 10 days opinion and arguments from eight amice curiae (friends to court). Out of the 8 amice curiae, only Ajmalul Hossain placed arguments against the caretaker government system. The verdict regarding caretaker government triggered mixed response among lawyers also. Senior lawyer Barrister Rafique-Ul Haq and Khandhaker Mahbub Hossain, the immediate past president of the

Supreme court Bar association, termed the Supreme court verdict “self contradictory”, saying the supreme court declared the 13th amendment illegal but suggested holding next two parliamentary elections under this law (The Daily Star, 11 May, 2011). Some former advisers to caretaker governments and some civil society members believe that there would be no alternative to the interim government system until the political culture of the country is changed. Former adviser to a caretaker government, M. Hafiz Uddin, told that although the caretaker system contradicts the democratic system, the situation that necessitated the system has yet to be changed. Another former adviser Dr. Akbar Ali Khan said, although the judgment did not eliminate the caretaker system for at least two general elections, it did create an uncertainty about the role of the system. He also pointed out that the uncertainty will not fade away unless the constitution is amended and the provision of caretaker government in the constitution should be amended in light of the judgment (The Daily Star, 11 May, 2011). Attorney General Mahbubey Alam argued that the provision could not be declared illegal as it was necessitated on the historic demand of the people in order to restore their voting rights and to protect democracy. He said that the system of caretaker system was still necessary, but if required any amendment or ratification, parliament can play its role (The New Age, 11 May, 2011). Eminent constitution expert Dr. M Zahir said the Supreme Court (SC) observed that the parliament may amend the law regarding caretaker government and it is now the matter of the parliament whether it will accept the observation or not. Another eminent lawyer Barrister Rokan Uddin Mahmud said if the parliament does not amend the related constitutional provisions, the next two elections will be held under caretaker government system. He also said the parliament is not bound to implement the SC observation (The Daily Star, May 11, 2011). In other reactions Attorney General Mahbubey Alam expressed his concern that if the next two general elections are not held under caretaker governments, chaos and unrest will envelope the country, the credibility of those elections will be questioned. The ruling party Bangladesh Awami League welcomed the judgment of the Supreme court. BNP standing committee member and former law minister Barrister Moudud Ahmed in his personal opinion said, the court ruling would push country into further constitutional and political crises (The New Age, May 11, 2011). Regarding the verdict of SC, BNP chairperson Begum Khaleda Zia at a press conference said, the court verdict is not mandatory on parliament but the government is conspiring to implement its own plan using court verdict. She also said, “we along with the people will not accept any arrangement for holding elections under a political government or any pretext including court verdict” (The Daily Star, June 5, 2011).

Caretaker Government System Abolished

The caretaker system came under fire in 2007 after a military backed caretaker government stayed beyond its mandated 90 days period and delayed the elections by about two years (AP News, June 30, 2011). On 21st July 2010, Prime minister Sheikh Hasina brought a motion to form a special committee under section 266 of the rules of procedure of Jatiya Sangsad to chalk out a constitutional amendment proposal. Before proposing the 15 member special committee Prime minister and the leader of the House Sheikh Hasina said the amendment to the constitution is “necessary for upholding democracy and for blocking the way for usurpation of state power through imposition of martial law in future”. In defense of the move, the Premier said the constitution, the supreme law of the land, was damaged in the name of amendment through martial law proclamation during about four years following the brutal assassination of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on 15 August of 1975. After her speech she proposed the names of the members and chief of the committee. The 15 member committee headed by Deputy Leader of the House Syeda Sajada Chowdhury consisting lawmakers from AI, Jatiya Party, Workers Party and Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal. Though BNP declined to nominate a representative following an invitation from the ruling party, no provision was kept for opposition representative either (The Daily Star, 22 July, 2010). The special committee designed to advise about the constitutional amendment held 27 meetings during 10 months since its formation and recommended 51 proposals for consideration of the House. To prepare proposals for constitutional amendment, the committee discussed with 10 constitution experts and senior lawyers, three former chief justices, 18 eminent citizens, Editors of 18 newspapers and with the representatives of the political parties except BNP, JI, BJP and LDP. But, the committee did not give due respect to the proposals of the above mentioned personalities and parties (Akhter, 2012, p-33).

The special committee finalized its proposals on the 5th of June 2011 and placed the report on the 8th of June before the House. With other issues, the committee included the issue of caretaker system and recommended to abolish the system. After completing the procedures the House passed the 15th amendment bill of the constitution on the 30th of June, 2011 in the 12th Session of the 9th parliament. Through this amendment, the caretaker system was finally abolished from the constitution. In her address in the 12th session of the 9th parliament, Prime minister Sheikh Hasina said that it was necessary to hold elections under Caretaker Governments when polls were massively rigged. She said, “but the Election Commission is now working independently and neutrally”. She strongly opposed the idea that the caretaker government system is essential to holding a free and fair parliamentary election (The Daily Star, July 1, 2011). Prime minister Sheikh Hasina also argued that the system

of caretaker was scrapped through an amendment to the constitution in line with a Supreme Court verdict. The Parliament abolished the caretaker system through the 15th amendment allowing the general elections to be held under elected partisan government. The main opposition party BNP, and its allies said that the ruling party Awami League has thrown the country in to a political confrontation. BNP has been reiterating that they would not participate in the upcoming (10th) parliament election under the AL led government, fearing that the incumbent will manipulate the poll in its favor.

Reactions of Different Parties and Civil Societies

After abolition of the Caretaker Government system through the 15th amendment to the constitution, political parties are facing confrontation with each other. While the ruling party serious about holding the next Jatiya Sangsad election under the amended constitution, the oppositions are determined not to participate in any elections under government. They repeatedly demand for reintroduction of the caretaker system in the constitution. In the meantime the opposition BNP expanded its four party alliances to 18 parties and have started anti-government movement under the banner of new alliances. Opposition parties other than the 18-party alliances are also maintaining same opinion as of BNP regarding the issue of caretaker government. Even some strong partners of grand alliances like the Jatiya Party, Workers party and Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal, believe that to continue the democratic rule, there is no alternative at least for next 10 years but to hold Jatiya Sangsad elections under somekind of caretaker government. Former advisers to different caretaker governments, eminent citizens, leading NGOs, donor agencies and diplomats of various countries including USA, India, European Union have urged political parties not to create instability in the country on the issue of the interim government and suggested that they should find a solution on the basis of mutual understanding. They warned that disputes among political parties over holding the next general elections might lead to another political unrest, threatening continuation of democracy and public safety. The civil society members, donor agencies and diplomats stressed the need for a dialogue between AL and BNP to overcome possible political instability. But the dialogue among political parties must be sincere and constructive. Otherwise the nation has to face another 28 October (2006), another 1/11 even worse situations than those dark events. The people of Bangladesh have experienced an insincere and unproductive dialogue between BNP and AL in 2006 which led the country in to a 'political disaster.'

Except ruling AL all major Parties are demanding for a non-party interim government during the next parliament elections. Before

scrapping the caretaker government system, AL also admitted the necessity of the system to the parliamentary special committee for the constitution amendment (The Daily Star, June 2, 2011). After declaring the caretaker government system illegal by the court, General Ershad, chairman of the Jatiya Party said, “I respect the verdict; but at present I support caretaker government because of the existing political realities of the country. He also added “the country may face another political crisis if the next two general elections are not held under this system” (The New Age, May 11, 2011). In another interview with a newspaper General Ershad said that under party government free and fair election is not possible (The Daily Samokal, May 5, 2012). In a consultation with the honorable president Md. Zillur Rahman on formation of the Election Commission, political parties reiterated for an interim non-party government for election time. Out of 21 political parties that have met the president, 12 parties including some in the ruling coalition have called for Caretaker Government to be revived (The Dhaka Courier, 13 January, 2012). Partners of ruling alliance also want to solve the issue of interim government during the election time (The Prothom Alo, February 25, 2012).

The chief of ruling party and Prime Minister, Sheikh Hasina, has repeatedly mentioned that they had no alternative but to follow the verdict of the Supreme Court. Interestingly, Awami League did not consider the essence of the short verdict. They did not follow the observations of the court. They only considered a part of the verdict which fit in its planning.

Whether parliament is bound to comply with the verdict, is another question to be discussed. Some lawyer and experts expressed their opinions stating that the verdict is not mandatory for the parliament as it is the exclusive authority for legislation. The parliament is sovereign and the constitution is the supreme law of the country. So parliament has every right to accept or reject the judgment of the court. The Supreme Court declared the Caretaker system void but at the same time they have also given two important directives for the safety of the state and its people. These are: a) The next two general elections could be held under caretaker governments, b) The parliament is at liberty to bring necessary amendments excluding the provisions of making the former Chief Justices or the Appellate Division judges as the head of the non-party caretaker government.

The Prime Minister said in the parliament that unwanted events had happened during the tenures of all caretaker governments since its inception in 1996. There had been a coup attempt during the tenure of justice Habibur Rahman led caretaker government. Besides, incidents of killing and torture took place during the tenure of justice Latifur Rahman’s

Caretaker Government. And the last caretaker government ruled the country for two years (The Daily Star, 30 June, 2011). Recently, Sheikh Hasina termed the Caretaker Government as 'monster' and said that this type of government would not be re-established. The Prime Minister mainly referred to the activities of last caretaker government. But it was not a Caretaker Government in the true sense of the term. It was a government backed by army. Dr. Akbar Ali Khan, an adviser to a caretaker government said, "they (the last Caretaker of Fakhruddin) did bad things using emergency act (The Daily Star, October 6, 2011). Begum Khaleda Zia, leader of the opposition in 9th parliament said, now Prime Minister wants to expose the 'unconstitutional' government of emergency as Caretaker Government and giving arguments against the caretaker government system stating their misdeeds and illegal activities (The Daily Naya Diganta, July 1, 2011).

The leaders of the AL repeatedly mentioned that the abolition of caretaker government system was done as per the verdict of the court. But the members of civil society said that the authority of the court is not unlimited. The court has right to interpret and explain the constitution but they cannot make the constitution. The amendment to the constitution would be determined by the parliament not by the court (The Daily Naya Diganta, August, 2, 2010). BNP clearly said that they wanted to settle the issue of caretaker government system through referendum (The Daily Naya Diganta, May 4, 2011).

Speaking against the restoration of the caretaker system Prime minister Sheikh Hasina said the Election Commission was now working independently and neutrally. All 5175 polls, including mayoral elections of three city corporations that were held under her political government were free, fair and neutral. But members of civil society and political parties opined that the national election was different from local elections. In a press conference, Dr. Kamal Hossain, an expert on constitution and the president of the Gono Forum said that the defeat of the ruling party in by-election of parliament of 2/4 constituencies means "free and fair election is possible under a party government" is not logical (The Daily Samokal, May 4, 2012). One cannot equate national governments with the local governments. Consequently, national election is the most important election for a nation. Dr. Akbar Ali Khan, eminent economist and former adviser to a caretaker government said the caretaker system is not an issue of law; rather it is a social agreement, which cannot be voided one, sided on the pretext of legal obligation.

In a press conference prime minister Sheikh Hasina said that Khaleda Zia must come in the election without caretaker government (The Naya Diganta, October 2, 2011). On the other hand BNP is determined not to

participate in national elections under a party government. Any layman can predict the consequence of the quite opposite stand of the ruling party and the oppositions. It is the political party that can only save the country from political anarchy. BNP said, “A deadlock (over the caretaker issue) will be over if the government just announces that the system of Caretaker Government will continue (The Daily Star, June 5, 2011). The ruling AL can solve the crisis by taking positive decision regarding non-party interim government. They have absolute majority in the parliament to change any clause of the constitution at any time. In a survey conducted by the Daily Star shows that about 73% of the respondents voiced against the abolition of caretaker government, while 25% supported it. And an equal number (73%) opined that the next general election will not be free and fair if not held under a caretaker government (The Daily Star, 6 January, 2012). The election without participation of oppositions will not be acceptable to the donor agencies and the world community. If AL goes for elections under a party government, it will invite another round of political impasse which may lead to an unexpected situation worse than that of 1/11. Eventually, the nation in general and the leaders of political parties in particular, have to pay incalculable cost.

Conclusion

Disagreements over the issue of caretaker government system can have a destabilizing effect for Bangladesh. The prospect of another 28 October (2006) scenario (the anarchic situation which compelled justice K M Hasan to express his unwillingness to be the chief adviser) is indeed scary. For the people of Bangladesh, time is running out to save them from an imminent political disaster. In this regard the following suggestions are being placed before the government and political parties concerned.

1. The prime Minister can make a call for a “National Dialogue” to discuss the issue of non-party interim government to cooperate the election commission for holding a free, fair and credible parliament election.
2. A special committee would be constituted with members from all parties.
3. To start with good intention, the leader of the ruling party and the leader of the opposition alliance would sit in a “good will” discussion in the parliament house.
4. The special committee would discuss the issue of appointment of Chief Adviser and Advisers in accordance with the observation of the verdict with the representatives of all parties, eminent lawyers and

constitutional experts, journalists, former advisers to the previous Caretaker Governments and members of civil society.

5. The chiefs of two major parties would give up the extreme and provocative speeches. They should respect each other while they speak.
6. If the Prime Minister and the ruling party do not agree with the above mentioned proposals they should arrange a referendum to get opinions of the nation. The result of the referendum must be obeyed by the political parties and the government.

Opposition parties have already organized several countrywide hartals, long- marches, strikes, road marches, mass hunger-strikes, public meeting in Dhaka and other programs to materialize their demand for a Caretaker Government. In the meantime, foreign diplomats and investors expressed their concerns over political confrontations. The economy of Bangladesh must be affected by the political impasse. So for the sake of political stability of Bangladesh, the ruling and opposition parties should settle the issue of interim Caretaker Government system without any delay.

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