

CARETAKER GOVERNMENT OF BANGLADESH: PERSPECTIVE AND FUTURE

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Abstract

The caretaker government of Bangladesh is a form of government system in which the country is ruled by a selected government for an interim period during transition from one government to another, after the completion tenure of the former. As the outgoing government hands over their power, the caretaker government comes into place. The main objective of the caretaker government is to create an environment in which an election can be held in a free and fair manner without any political influence of the outgoing government. The head of the Caretaker government is called the Chief Adviser and is selected by the President, and the Chief Adviser selects the other advisers. The administration is generally distributed between the advisers. The Chief Adviser and the other advisers are committed for their activities to the President.

Key words: *Caretaker government, Bangladesh, Election commission*

Methodology

This article has been made on the basis of secondary data.

History

A caretaker government was first introduced in 1990 when three party alliances jointly made a demand for it. It was constitutionalized in 1996 by the Parliament dominated by Bangladesh Nationalist Party. A Caretaker government is headed by a Chief Adviser who enjoys the same power as the regular prime minister of the country except defence matters. The Advisors function as Ministers. Since 1996, the Caretaker government has held the elections of 1996, 2001 and 2008.

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Chief Advisor

The Chief Advisor of the Caretaker Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh takes over as the Head of Government for 90 days during transition between one elected government to another. The Caretaker Government that is mandated only to hold the Parliamentary Elections in Bangladesh. The Chief Advisor heads an Advisory Committee comprising ten Advisors. With powers roughly equivalent to those of the Prime Minister of elected governments, his executive power is constrained with certain constitutional limitations. He, as well as the other advisors, are selected so as to be acceptable to all major political parties.

a. List of Chief Advisors of Bangladesh

	Name	Portrait	Entered office	Left office	Date of Birth and Death	Political party	Birth Place
01	<u>Habibur Rahman</u>		<u>31 March 1996</u>	<u>23 June 1996</u>	<u>17 October 1935</u>	Non-party	<u>Gopalganj</u>
02	<u>Latifur Rahman</u>		<u>15 July 2001</u>	<u>10 October 2001</u>	<u>1 March 1936</u>	Non-party	<u>Jessore</u>
03	<u>Iajuddin Ahmed</u>		<u>29 October 2006</u>	<u>11 January 2007</u>	<u>1 February 1931</u>	Non-party	<u>Munshiganj</u>
04	<u>Fazlul Haque</u>		<u>11 January 2007</u>	<u>12 January 2007</u>	1938	Non-party	
05	<u>Fakhruddin Ahmed</u>		<u>12 January 2007</u>	<u>6th January 2009</u>	<u>1 May 1940</u>	Non-party	<u>Munshiganj</u>

Source: (3)(4)

b. Caretaker Government of 1990

In Bangladesh the demand for neutral caretaker government largely originated from a lack of general agreement among the competing parties to maintain legitimate means of changing government and uphold unbiased election system. During the pre-independence days, the elections of 1954 and 1970 were widely acclaimed as fair polls having significant impact on the people's movements which ultimately led to the emergence of sovereign Bangladesh in 1971.

In the period since independence, there was, however, a gradual public alienation from the election process owing to alleged electoral malpractices. As such, election results were always a foregone conclusion rendering no positive effects on the political process. The crisis

of people's confidence in the stage-managed election system reached its peak during the rule of General HUSSAIN M ERSHAD. Restoration of democracy through fair polls was ultimately transformed into a united anti-Ershad movement by the combined opposition parties with a forceful demand for a neutral caretaker government. Opposition formula for the formation of neutral caretaker government was categorically mentioned in the 1990 Joint Declaration of the three (political) Party Alliances. The Declaration specified inter alia that the political alliances would participate in the elections only when conducted by a neutral non-partisan caretaker government; but before that Ershad government would have to be forced to resign and an interim caretaker government would be formed; thereafter, ELECTION COMMISSION would be reconstituted by the caretaker government to hold free and fair election. (9),(10),

In the face of the anti-government public outburst and mass upsurge, General Ershad had to yield to the movement. As such the framework for the formation of caretaker government advanced when the Joint Declaration was translated into reality on 6 December 1990 through the handing over state power to the nominee of the combined opposition Justice SHAHABUDDIN AHMED, the CHIEF JUSTICE of Bangladesh. Earlier, the then Vice President Moudud Ahmed resigned and Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed was installed as the Vice President. Then General Ershad stepped down from the presidency giving his charge to the Chief Justice emerging as the country's Acting President and head of the neutral caretaker government. Subsequently, 17 Advisers of the caretaker government were appointed.

It may be mentioned that the neutral caretaker government of 1990 was constituted without any prior constitutional amendments. It was understandable that there was indeed a difficulty in convening the existing JATIYA SANGSAD owing to shortage of time.(1) The caretaker government of Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed, however, had the basis of support from the general people and parties and thus the legality of its activities was never questioned. All measures taken by the caretaker government were thus subsequently ratified in 1991 by the popularly elected Fifth Jatiya Sangsad.

c. Caretaker Government, 1996

In 1990 the demand for caretaker government was raised by the mainstream opposition political parties with the immediate objective of removing Ershad government from power and restoring democracy through fair polls.(7)(8) Thus any future necessity for such caretaker administration during elections was not considered by the Joint Declaration of the opposition. Although there was a proposal from the left parties for conducting subsequent three elections under a caretaker government, this was not supported by the two major parties, AWAMI LEAGUE and BANGLADESH NATIONALIST PARTY (BNP).

In 1991, the restoration of parliamentary system on the basis of consensus marked a positive development. But soon disagreements on major national issues, mutual intolerance and lack of trust among the competing parties confirmed that the issue of caretaker government became the central theme of Bangladesh politics only two years after the reintroduction of parliamentary democracy.(5) The opposition through sustained boycott of the Sangsad and frequent hartals tried to force the ruling party to accept their demand.

At the initial phase of their movement, opposition parties did not have unanimity with regard to the framework of the proposed caretaker government. This was visualised by three separate bills submitted by the JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI BANGLADESH, Awami League and JATIYA PARTY to the parliamentary secretariat in 1991, October 1993 and mid November 1993 respectively. The essence of these bills was more or less similar, but differed on selection of the head of the caretaker government. While Awami League was in favour of appointing the Chief Justice as the head of the interim government, Jatiya Party proposed for selecting a neutral person as the head of the caretaker government, and Jamaat-e-Islami demanded for forming an advisory council headed by a neutral person to be appointed by the PRESIDENT.(3)(4) These bills, however, were not placed in the Jatiya Sangsad because of opposition boycott of the Sangsad and government's reluctance to consider the case. This made the three major opposition parties to come closer and materialise their caretaker demand through agitation and hartals. To press the ruling party, they went to the extent of submitting en masse resignation of 147 opposition parliamentarian on 28 December 1994.

In the face of continuous agitation of the combined opposition, the Fifth Sangsad was dissolved and preparations were underway for forming the Sixth Sangsad to enact constitutional amendment for caretaker government. Having failed to convince the mainstream opposition, the ruling BNP moved unilaterally to legalise the caretaker government after the Sixth Jatiya Sangsad was constituted on 19 March 1996. Thus on 21 March 1996 the Thirteenth Amendment bill was raised in the Sangsad, and on 26 March 1996 it was passed by 268-0 vote.

With the passage of Thirteenth Amendment, Articles 58(B) (C) (D) (E) were included in the CONSTITUTION which keep the following major provisions regarding caretaker government: (a) after the dissolution of the parliament there will be an 11-member non-party caretaker government headed by the Chief Adviser; (b) the caretaker government will be collectively responsible to the President; (c) the Chief Adviser will be appointed by the head of the state while other ten Advisers will be selected as per advice of the Chief Adviser; (d) the Chief Adviser will hold the status of PRIME MINISTER while an Adviser will enjoy the status of a minister; (e) the non-party caretaker government will discharge its functions as an interim government and will carry on routine jobs, except in the case of necessity it will not make any policy decisions; (f) the caretaker government will assist the Election Commission to hold general polls impartially, fairly and peacefully; (g) this caretaker government will be dissolved on the date a new Prime Minister assumes his office. (2)(3)(4)(5)

Composition of the Non-Party Care-taker Government

- (1) Non-Party Care-Taker Government shall consist of the Chief Adviser at its head and more than ten other Advisors, all of whom shall be appointed by the President.
- (2) The Chief Adviser and other Advisors shall be appointed within fifteen days after Parliament is dissolved or stands dissolved, and during the period between the date on which Parliament is dissolved or stands dissolved and the date on which the Chief Adviser is

appointed, the Prime Minister and his cabinet who were in office immediately before Parliament was dissolved or stood dissolved shall continue to hold office as such.

(3) 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.

(4) 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 this 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.

(5) 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 are qualified to be appointed as Advisers under this article. (6) Notwithstanding anything contained in this Chapter, if the provisions of clauses (3), (4) and (5) cannot be given effect to, the President shall assume the functions of the Chief Adviser of the Non-Party Care-taker Government in addition to his own functions under this Constitution.

(7) The President shall appoint Advisers from among the persons who are- qualified for election as members of parliament; not members of any political party or of any organisation associated with or affiliated to any political party; not, and have agreed in writing not to be, candidates for the ensuing election of members of parliament; not over seventy-two years of age.

(8) The Advisers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Chief Adviser.

(9) The Chief Adviser or an Adviser may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the President.

(10) The Chief Adviser or an Adviser shall cease to be Chief Adviser or Adviser if he is disqualified to be appointed as such under this article.

(11) The Chief Adviser shall have the status, and shall be entitled to the remuneration and privileges, of a Prime Minister and an Adviser shall have the status, and shall be entitled to the remuneration and privileges, of a Minister.

(12) The Non-Party Care-taker Government shall stand dissolved on the date on which the prime Minister enters upon his office after the constitution of new parliament. (9)

After formalising the measures for caretaker government and in the midst of massive opposition agitation, the controversial Sixth Jatiya Sangsad was dissolved on 30 March 1996.

Subsequently a caretaker government was formed under the Thirteenth Amendment and the former Chief Justice, Justice MUHAMMAD HABIBUR RAHMAN, took over the charge as the Chief Adviser. Four days later on 3 April 1996, ten distinguished personalities were sworn in as the Advisers of the caretaker government. (1)The caretaker government successfully discharged its duty of holding the free and fair seventh constitutional parliamentary election on 12 June 1996, and continued in office till 23 June 1996, when the newly elected Awami League led by SHEIKH HASINA formed the government.

Caretaker Government of 2001

Following the provision for caretaker government through Thirteen Amendment of the Constitution the third caretaker government was formed on 15 July 2001 and the former Chief Justice, Justice Latifur Rahman, took over charge as the Chief Adviser. After two days, ten Advisers of the caretaker government were sworn in. The caretaker government discharged its prime duty of holding the eighth parliamentary election on 1 October 2001, and continued in office till 10 October 2001 when the new elected BNP government led by BEGUM KHALEDA ZIA assumed state power.(2)

The neutral caretaker governments 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 Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution in 1996, Bangladesh has founded a unique example in the existing parliamentary systems.

Caretaker Government of 2006-08

The national election of Bangladesh was held on 29 December 2008 under the Caretaker government formed with Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed as the Chief Adviser on 13 January 2007. This was the third Caretaker government formed after the tenure of the government of prime minister Khaleda Zia ended in October 2006. The Caretaker government of Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed functioned without legislative authority as it continued to function after its scheduled tenure of 120 days ended on 12 May 2007. (2)All decisions taken after this date must be ratified by the parliament for the sake of legitimacy.

The Caretaker government of Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed was a military controlled and has made extensive use of the military to stymie the chaos that preceded the 11th of January, 2007. From the very outset however, the government made it clear that they were there not only arrange a free and fair election, but also to make sure that all aspects that are connected to it are reviewed properly. (3)This meant major reforms in the election system, but also making sure that corrupt candidates could not take part in the election.

The task was however an enormous one, since Bangladesh is regarded as one of the most corrupt nations in the world. Therefore, the government had exceeded its mandated term, which according to the constitution allows it to stay only for 90 days.

In defiance of the Constitutional provision the Caretaker government of Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed postponed the national election 29 December, 2008.

a. Background of this Caretkader Government

The Bangladesh National Party (BNP), which came to power in 2001, completed its term on October 28, 2006 amidst violent protests that saw 24 people losing their lives. Rejecting the BNP's nominee for the post of Chief Adviser of the caretaker government, the 14 party opposition alliance led by the Awami League (AL) called for a strike to press for an alternate Chief Advisor as well as for electoral reforms. A political crisis has, however, been averted by the country's President, who assumed the additional responsibility of the Chief Advisor. As Dhaka limps back to normalcy, expectations of free and fair elections and transfer of power now rest entirely on President Iajuddin Ahmed.

The mechanism of Neutral Caretaker Government (NCG) is a constitutional innovation in Bangladesh. Its role is to conduct and supervise elections in a free and fair manner. In 1990 when the Ershad military regime was forced to hand over power due to popular resistance, an independent neutral body to conduct elections came to be considered necessary to ensure that the military's influence over the governmental machinery was nullified.⁽¹⁾⁽²⁾

The agitating political parties led by the Awami League, the Bangladesh National party and the Jamaat-e-Islami issued a joint declaration, which stated that "the head of the interim caretaker government must be a non-partisan neutral person who will not be associated with any political party directly or indirectly, or he would not be contesting for the posts of President, Vice President or member of parliament. No minister of his caretaker government will participate in any elections." The caretaker government that was eventually formed was headed by Chief Justice Mr. Shabuddin, around whom a consensus had evolved. The neutral, efficient and free and fair manner in which the 1991 elections were conducted was a watershed in Bangladesh after years of military rule. This experience later formed the basis for institutionalising the mechanism of caretaker governments before elections.

The restoration of parliamentary democracy and the assumption of power by Begum Khaleda Zia in 1991 brought to the fore the conflicting dynamics of the Mujib and Zia political lineages. The bitter past came to dominate their relationship and polarised society to a large extent. Not only did personal animosity assumed political colour, but also frequent boycotts of Parliament and hartal came to mark the new democratic political order. The lack of democratic practices and non-co-operation between the two major political parties hampered the consolidation of democracy. The reported rigging and malpractices in the by-elections in Mirpur in 1993 and in Magura in 1994 undermined the credibility of the Election Commission as well as of the BNP government. Under these circumstances and given the prevailing mistrust and suspicion, the institutionalisation of caretaker government to conduct free and fair elections was demanded. When the ruling BNP rejected this demand, the Awami League, the Jatiyo Party and the Jamaat Islami resigned from the 147 parliamentary seats that they together held. Though the speaker refused to accept their resignation, the opposition parties ceremonially vacated their seats and continued with their boycott. In spite of the opposition's refusal to participate in the electoral process, the BNP went ahead with the conduct of elections in February 1996 and even formed a government. But it was soon brought to its knees when government officials including civil servants expressed their inability to carry out orders given by an illegitimate government. Thereupon the BNP stepped

down and accepted the holding of fresh elections for the seventh parliament under a neutral caretaker government.

Before the elections were held, however, on March 21, 1996, the sixth parliament approved a bill granting constitutional status to the NCG under Chapter 2, A of the constitution, which stated that the non-party 'neutral' caretaker government shall be collectively responsible to the President. It would be headed by a Chief Advisor and would consist of ten advisors. Article 58C, clause 3 reads: "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 advisor..." It also lays down that if the retired Chief justice is not available or is not willing to hold this office, the President should appoint as Chief Advisor the person who among the retired Chief Justices of Bangladesh retired immediately before the last Chief Justice. (5) As an alternative, if no retired Chief Justice were to be available, the President could appoint as Chief Advisor a person who among the retired judges of the Appellate Division retired last, and in case even he is not available or not willing the President shall appoint the retired judge of the Appellate Division who retired immediately before the last such retired judge. The Awami League and the BNP won the elections in 1996 and 2001, respectively, and each time the losing party accused the NCG of facilitating the other party's victory.

The current constitutional crisis had its genesis when it became clear that retired Chief Justice K. M Hasan, who was earlier associated with the BNP in 1979, is going to take over as head of the caretaker government. His appointment was confirmed when the government brought in a constitutional amendment to increase the retirement age of judges, thereby making Hasan the last retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The Opposition's rejection of his candidacy and pressure from the civil society led him to decline the post of Chief Advisor. (6) It was the resulting vacuum that forced President Iajuddin to take over as Chief Advisor to the caretaker government. The Bangladesh Constitution indeed provides for the President to assume such a responsibility, though Iajuddin's move generated controversy because he had not exhausted all other options available to him under the constitution.

The Awami League, which had earlier opposed the President taking over as head of the NCG, has decided to adopt a wait and watch policy. It submitted an 11-point demand to the President and has given a deadline for its fulfilment, which, it feels, would prove the President's neutrality. What made the AL accept Iajuddin as the chief of NCG was the fear that if it continues with its street demonstration strategy there was a possibility of the President employing the armed forces to restore law and order - a cause for apprehension given Bangladesh's history of military rule. There are reports that some Western donor countries also played an important role in persuading the political parties to be accommodative in this regard.

Three issues have assumed importance and have a direct bearing on the electoral process: (1) the Election Commissioner who is considered a BNP sympathizer, (2) the issue of the voters list, and (3) the administrative reshuffle carried out by the previous BNP government.

The Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) played an important role in preparing a fresh voters list, ignoring the High Court's direction to update it. There were allegations that the enumerators deliberately excluded the names of some members of the minority community and other AL supporters. The earlier list prepared by the CEC contained 9.13 crore voters. But this was struck down by the Supreme Court, which directed the EC to update the already existing list. The current list, after the court's direction, stands at 9.30 crore. The 2001 report of the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics states that if all the people above 18 are listed and no death has occurred, the current voters list should be 8.02 crore. There is hardly any time left to correct the voters list and an election held on the basis of this list is likely to be controversial.

Before relinquishing power, the BNP government undertook an administrative reshuffle. Newspapers have reported that most of the 700 posts to which the BNP appointed its own sympathizers are related to election activities. It often becomes a problem for the caretaker government to transfer and reappoint these officials. Appointments are made in such a fashion that if one officer were to be replaced there is a chance that the succeeding officer could be a BNP sympathiser. Though the caretaker Chief has made some changes in the administration, a lot more needs to be done. After taking over, the interim caretaker government has transferred some top officials. But it is alleged that this reshuffle would not have much of an impact since some of these controversial officers have been placed in better positions to influence the elections. For example, two key secretary level positions in the administration - that of the home and establishment ministries - have been given to officials whose closeness to the immediately preceding government is well known and sources fear that these vital new appointments might influence the next election in favour of the parties from which they had obtained benefits. Moreover, the Establishment Secretary will be in charge of all transfers and appointment, which proves to be crucial for the forthcoming elections.⁽³⁾⁽⁸⁾ It is important to mention here that the government appointed a total of 328 candidates as Upazilla Election Officers on September 21, 2006. Out of these, 150 are leaders or activists of the Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal (JCD), the student organisation of the BNP.

The most controversial issue is the reconstitution of the Election Commission, which is a prerequisite for free and fair elections. M. A. Aziz, the current Chief Election Commissioner, is a controversial figure and one of the Opposition's demands has been to remove him from the post. Efforts are being made to persuade him to resign so as to avoid a constitutional crisis. With the BNP and its allies openly supporting him, the Chief Election Commissioner has refused to resign.

Restructuring the Election Commission remains an important issue. Since the post of the EC is a constitutional position, the caretaker government does not have the authority to replace him. The NCG is trying to avert a political crisis by appointing four additional commissioners to neutralise the four politicised commissioners, including the Chief Election Commissioner, and thus make the functioning of the EC less arbitrary and more consensual. Similarly, there is hardly any time left for correcting the bloated voter's list and remove the names of fake voters.⁽²⁾⁽³⁾ As Bangladesh gears for another political

impasse and uncertainty over these issues, the two major political parties are preparing for yet another showdown in the streets, which is likely to be violent and bloody and probably would be just one of the many incidents that will characterize the political scene in the run up to the forthcoming

b. Reforms

There has been a major change in the election system as the caretaker government has introduced Voter ID cards (with photograph) for the first time. The Bangladesh Army including members of other military forces were deployed throughout the nation including the remotest areas. They were equipped with laptops, and small digital cameras in an effort that would result in the most orderly voter's list in Bangladesh's history.

The government had also made significant advances in their drive to bring corrupted politicians to justice. The anti-corruption unit of the government known as Durniti Domon Commission (DUDOC) were able to incriminate a large number of politicians including former Prime Ministers and Chairpersons of the two major parties - Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina.

c. Reactions

Initial reactions of the public were welcoming. The arrests of corrupt prominent politicians led many to believe that a new political age was imminent. However, no new major parties came into the scene, and now the work of the anti-corruption unit is coming undone as many of the politicians are being released from prison. This has also ended prospects for reform within the major parties since the old leaders have returned to their former positions, and positively gotten rid of reformers.

People who had opposed the government's prolonged stay have mostly been members of the two major parties. Members of the public in general understood the reasons and necessity for the government's actions.

The television media has reported events throughout the term in a mostly robotic manner. There has been little questioning of the leaders who have been incriminated with an array of corruption charges, and who are now on the verge of returning to power.⁽⁵⁾ It should be noted that almost all of the nation's television channels are owned by members from one of the two major parties.

Future of Caretaker Government

After a free fair election on 29th december 2009, Awami League lead grand alliance come into power with the brood marority. A number of leaders of Awami League and other parties of grand alliance started to raise some debate about caretaker government from the very beginning of their current term. Recently Awami League government indirectly clear that

they want to eliminate the Caretaker Government Provision from the constitution. Their are trying to take reference from the activities of the last caretaker government headed by Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed .(1)

Actually, Initial reactions of the public to the caretaker government of 2008-2009 were welcoming. The arrests of corrupt prominent politicians led many to believe that a new political age was imminent. However, no new major parties came into the scene, and now the work of the anti-corruption unit is coming undone as many of the politicians are being released from prison. This has also ended prospects for reform within the major parties since the old leaders have returned to their former positions, and positively gotten rid of reformers.

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In fact, People who had opposed the government's prolonged stay have mostly been members of the two major parties. Members of the public in general understood the reasons and necessity for the government' actions. Now Awami League want to say that if caretaker government provision will be continued , I/11 will come again and again in Bangladesh.

On the other hand, the opposition parties mainly Bangladesh National Party (BNP) takes very strong position against the ruling party's mentality about caretaker government issue. BNP said that the governments want to remain in the power forever. They also said the political culture of Bangladesh is not favorable to arrange a national election under a political government and the politicized election commission (EC)

I think two major parties of Bangladesh take opposite stand about caretaker government from their political consideration. We have to think this matter in our national interest context more broadly. Caretaker government introduced in Bangladesh to fulfill its time and situation demanded need. So, caretaker government should not eliminate just now. But, we can not continue it for long time. Caretaker government system directly shows our lack of confidence on our political government and Election Commission. Therefore, we have to think about our Election Commission before thinking about caretaker government.

The election commission of Bangladesh is constitutionally independence. But it has not got absolute freedom yet. The Secretariat of EC is in the Prime Minister office. We have empowered our EC Largely and also relive it from any types of political mechanism. EC also has to increase its manpower and supervisory actions. They have to make some time demanded chance in their rules and regulation. Moreover, the Election Commissioners have to increase their ethical values in a large volume. Similarly our Political parties also change their mind setup. They should make every thing a political matter. In total, at first all stakeholders of Caretaker government should make a positive change among themselves and then take corrective actions to eliminate the caretaker government provision.



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