Interview of Tofael Ahmed

BNP Never Wanted a Negotiated Settlement

by Masud Hasan Khan

Tofael Ahmed, a Presidium Member of Awami League is a leading figure of the opposition movement. He is known to exert tremendous influence in the thinking of the opposition leader. The Daily Star decided to have an in-depth interview of the famous student leaders of the Liberation War, to find out the future plans of the combined opposition, and especially of his own party, that virtually decides which way the movement will really go.

DS: The president has summoned the inaugural session of the Jatiya Sangsad, an announcement that has drawn vehement criticism from the Opposition.

TA: This is most unfortunate. After taking an initiative. the President all on a sudden gave this statement taking a side with his party. The statement again proved that he could not go above his party affiliation. He again proved himself to be a member of the

When President Biswas took the initiative, everybody hoped that two-year-long political impasse would come to an end. He talked to different political parties, former chief justices of the Supreme Court, eminent lawyers and constitutional experts to get their opinion.

The majority of the people met the President, almost everyone other than the ruling party members, suggested to him to seek Supreme Court's advice. They did it because the Prime Minister has agreed to accept the concept of a neutral non-party caretaker government. That means, indirectly she has agreed to resign. And this caretaker government cannot come into being until she steps down.

Begum Zia also agreed on the issue of holding elections within 90 days. And everybody knows that on February 15, no election, by any standard, took place in the country. This is a act, accepted locally and internationally. It was a totally rigged polls that was staged without participation of the people. The height of fraud surpassed the rigging pattern of the 1988 election. Virtually it was simply an election in which the government announced a list people who do not have any mandate from the

But our demand for a polls under a neutral caretaker government is not only the demands of a few political parties, it is a demand of the whole nation. We want that the election of February 15 be declared cancelled. Let a nonparty, neutral caretaker government arrange an election taking consent of all the political parties who have representation in the Parliament.

When this was the expectation of everybody that something good is going to come out of the presidential initiative, the President suddenly released the statement and closed the door for negotiation. President Biswas not only closed the door, but also summoned the parliament session.

Now, situation is again going to aggravate further and any move to mediate will be lot more difficult. Definitely, uncertainty among the people will increase.

We have declared March 19 a black day. There will be huge demonstrations by the opposition political parties all over the country. People are with us and they will never accept this Parliament. They are convinced that the February 15 polls was a highly rigged one.

So, if there is at all any com promise, first the February 15 polls has to go.

DS: You have just said that there will be lots of violence and uncertainty. But the opposition has already announced its final campaign programme. What else can you do?

TA: Already the non-cooperation is going on. We have relaxed the programme at some points considering the plight of the people. Definitely we'll sit again to decide how to exert more pressure on the government. Unfortunately, the people will have to suffer. the business community has to suffer, every body will has to suffer due to the ego problem of the government. This ego problem will eventually destroy everything. Now people are totally hopeless and frustrated.

DS: There were some news reports on the Opposition's plan for intensifying the movement. How do you plan to intensify your movement?

TA: There is no govern-

ment, at the moment, in the whole of Bangladesh. Even in the rural areas, people are closing markets, hats and bazars, unlike the previous times, responding to the opposition calls. This is the biggest political movement since 1971. It is even more intense than the one that unseated the Ershad regime. The movement against Ershad was urban-based. Nowhere in the country, could the PM hold any of her political meetings. She had to stop her political campalgn. That was before February 15, when she was still the country's prime minister. And now people no longer consider her a people's PM and her party a people's party.

DS: So, what type of programmes can we expect?

TA: If the government wants to remain in power using force, it will be a situation like one in 1971, minus the armed struggle. We are planning options such as civil disobedience. But our democratic political movement will continue vigorously. Anything may take place in that. Even there may be a civil war considering the way the government is now trying to use armed hoodlums. backed by law enforcing agencies, against the Opposition. Then the people will have no other option but to involve themselves in unlawful activities, which we do not want

DS: That means, your future programmes are going to be violent?

TA: The way the govern ment behaving, it is pushing us towards that. They are trying to create a civil war situation. The government has already started the violence. Everyday opposition activists are being killed by the ruling-party mastans under the protection of the law enforcing agencies. They have lots of weapons in their hands.

DS: Was there any time when the ruling party and the opposition came close to an understanding?

TA: To speak the truth, the

BNP government suffers from a serious ego problem. It also suffers from an inherent weakness that crops up from its widespread corruption and repression. From the prime minister down to the grass-root level workers this applies.

For this reason, they cannot ever imagine of quitting power. Whatever they discuss, their prime concern is how to hatch a conspiracy that helps prolong their rule. Buring my numerous dialogues with them. I have no-

ticed that they are not familiar with the reality. When they negotiate privately, they understand their faults and mistakes. But in any formal meeting. they always look at the face of the prime minister. Their whole concern is how to make the PM happy. Even they do not have the courage to inform the PM of any decision or agreement reached with us. As a result, nobody from that party can talk to the opposition taking full responsibility. They reach a decision jointly with us, but later phone us and say that the decision is cancelled. It has happened many times, both inside and outside the parliament. That is why, all negotiations ultimately failed.

They also agree to talk when the time is almost over. They always try to bluff. When we threatened to resign from the parliament by 28 December, '94 unless PM agreed to step down before elections, they sat for talks. In the meeting it was decided that the PM would resign one month before the elections. In the meeting they gave the conditions that we have to give written guarantee that we would not call for strikes and hartals. They did it fully knowing that we will never accept such proposal. They tried to prove it to the nation that they accepted the opposition demand. The next day, the PM announced that she would step down 30 days before elec-

Recently, she announced to form a caretaker government and hold elections by May, fully knowing that the opposition would not accept it keeping the February 15 polls. Earlier. she had said that she does not understand what is a caretaker government. Her moves are like General Ershad, when he announced to lift martial law by phases. But later he took some steps that forced the opposition not to participate in the elections.

tions, knowing that she does

not have to resign.

Yet another point. To resolve any political crisis, it is the responsibility of the ruling party to take the initiative. But they never liked to take this responsibility. They believe hat any movement against them will fizzle out when the opposition would become exhausted. But they do not understand that whole country is badly hurt by this process.

Lastly, we proposed to the government that on the basis of residuary power, the President can make an ordinance on the basis of Articles 93 and 48 (2) and of the third

schedule. Under such an ar-

rangement, BNP and its Chief would have equal power. If we could agree on this, the next question was resignation of the PM. It could come automatically after formation of the caretaker government. The whole package could be sent to the Supreme Court as reference for its advice. It could have legality in absence of the Constitution. Furthermore, if there was any gap in the ordi-nance, we could fill it up and ratify it in the next parliament.

This was the only way where an acceptable solution could be reached. President has said that he could move it to the SC if all sides agreed. In a way he admitted that it can be done. But you do not need all parties to agree on sending to the Supreme Court. Under Article 106, it is the prerogative the president where he can send the reference. Everyone agreed except the ruling party. That means, the ruling party is leading the country to a confrontation

We have to keep in mind a point that, if a broad national consensus is reached among all political parties, the Constitution never stands on the way to the solution as a stumbling block. The Constitution is for the benefit of the nation.

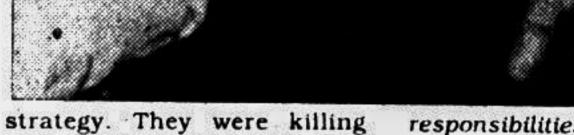
DS: We would like to know from which point in time the opposition-government dia logue began to show the signs of failure?

TA: We had set two principles before we started any ne gotiation with the government. Firstly, we will not go for talks if the government did not accept the demand of the caretaker government. Secondly, the prime minister has to step down. In the two consecutive dialogues on December 31, we gave our proposal to the BNP leaders at the residence of Ambassador Merrill. They also gave their proposal. We decided to sit on the next day to work out a compromise from both of the proposals. But he BNP leaders did not come on January 1. The reason they cited was reports published in the newspapers,

After that, when Mr Merril again met us, then we said that we would like to exchange written proposals. The proposal from the opposition was on the formation of a non-party caretaker government during the time of the election. The proposal also included the possible structure of the gov-

And ruling party's proposal for the formation of the interim government during the time of the elections. We gave this proposal on January 8, but did not get any reply. They informed that they would not give any written proposal. So. their stand was not to go beyond the constitution. That is why they avoided making any document. But on January 16, they suddenly proposed again to sit, a proposal we declined.

Then they accused that the opposition was not serious about resolution. But we then began to understand their



sat on the proposal. They had always the plan to accuse the opposition. Then, the prime minister in her speech said that she will not go beyond the Constitution. This proves that they were not serious at all about negotiating with the opposition. Again they wanted to bluff the people, as well as the donors. But at the end of the day it has been proved that BNP has not only failed to take the initiative to resolve this erisis but they were not at all DS: The Opposition has

been campaigning for the caretaker government for the last two or three years. Now. you are going to have it from the Sixth parliament. So, where is the problem in accepting it?

TA: The February 15 elec-

time. For long eight days they

tions has resulted into the killing of some 100 people and thousands arrested. This elections has been rejected by people from both home and abroad. If a Bill like the caretaker 'government fares through an illegal parliament which is the direct result of this farcical election, then, where goes our democracy? If the Bill is passed in such a way, it would mean that anyone in power can do anything to justify and wrong doing. We wanted the caretaker government not to unseat the Khaleda Zia government, but to install a system in the country that will help transition of power peacefully and only by ballots. This would also restore total accountability and transparency which is directed towards the welfare of the people. The Jatiya Sangsad will become the nucleus of al political activities. We wanted ballots should be the justice against any corruption and repression because in the present system, the majority of the people are ignored, only a handful enjoys all benefits. That is why we are demanding this caretaker government. We believe that the day we will install the caretaker government, we will also achieve political stability and economic emancipation and normalcy inpeople's lives. That is why we cannot allow this fake parliament to set up that government which will have longlasting effect on the nation, because it will also be model for other Third World countries.

DS: The non-cooperation programme is having a serious impact on the people. How far the Opposition would take its

responsibilities? TA: When the president

took the initiative, we became hopeful of a solution. When we called on him, if he would have said that he was forming a caretaker government and asked the opposition to suspend its programmes, the opposition would have seriously considered that kind of a call But he stepped back and echoed what his party had directed. Again, when we were considering to relax the programme, then all on a sudden, the President came up with his statement and summoned the parliament into session We do not have any way out Now this movement no longer belongs to any individual, or party, it belongs to the whole nation. So, the opposition do not have any power to suspend or withdraw before reaching its objectives. If we do that well be seriously misunderstood by the people. So. ou main objective is to take the campaign to it's target.

Of course, we are consider ing various options to alleviate people's sufferings. We'll chalk out those programmes in con sultation with all sections in the society.

DS: In the give and take process of negotiation, what was the opposition's offer to the ruling party?

TA: We shifted from our earlier stand of having no negotiation with the government if it did not accep in principle the concept of the caretaker government. We even exchanged the proposals on the caretaker government with the ruling party with president as the head of the body. Even after the February 15 polls. BNP would have equa power in the caretaker government. The BNP's existence could have been protected if they responded positively.

DS: For a long campaign like the non-cooperation, you need good stamina. How long can you keep your campaign going?

TA: Our workers in the remote areas are ready. We are confident that our movement will reach its goal. We have to keep in mind that when the people shed their blood for some cause, they stop only when it is achieved. The days of Khaleda Zia's government is numbered. It is only a matter of time. The government is sure to collapse. There is no reason that our movement will bog down.

DS: Thank you.

President's Statement: He Failed the Nation by A. Hasib

HERE are two things in the President's speech made on March 15, 1996. One is that he cannot, without amendment in the Constitution, set up a neutral caretaker government (NCG). The other is that if all parties agree, then he can sent the matter to the Supreme Court for its opinion. I shall in the article examine. the President's statement in the light of the various provisions of our Constitution to show how he failed to rise to the occasion at this critical hour of statesmanship which has re-ignited the political cri-

It is necessary to know the relevant provisions of Article 93 and Article 106 so that we can understand the scope of President's ordinance making power. Our understanding may vary or even be wrong but let us try to be right by being free from pride and prejudice and by being down-to-earth; for if we all imagine or fancy to be sitting on the cosy chairs of the presidential palace ignoring the events taking place around us, we are likely to

make unpardonable mistakes. "Article 93 (1): At any time when Parliament stands dissolved or is not in session, if the President is satisfied that circumstances exist which render immediate action necessary he may make and promulgate such ordinances as the circumstances appear to him to require, and any ordinance so made shall, as from its promulgation have the like force of law as an Act of Par-

Provided that no ordinance under this clause shall make any provisions — (i) which would not lawfully be made under this Constitution by Act of Parliament; (ii) for altering or repealing any provisions of this Constitution; (2) An ordinance made under clause (1) shall be laid before Parliament at its first meeting following the promulgation of the ordi nance and shall, unless it is earlier repealed, cease to have effect as the expiration of thirty days after it is so laid or if a resolution disapproving of the ordinances passed by Parliament before such expiration, upon the passing of the resolu

Thus it is clear that the President has power to pass the ordinance provided that such provisions could be lawfully passed by the Parliament and that the provisions must not alter or repeal provision of Constitution. It is also clear in clause (2) that such Ordinance under clause (1) includes (i and (ii) above. It must be laid before the Parliament and it will cease to have any effect after thirty days. Thus the Ordinance will

only fill in a void in the Constitution for a temporary period in circumstances peculiar to our case. It does not at all contradict the provisions in the Constitution. It is a temporary measure to meet an emergency. The emergency in our case is holding of election in May under NCG. Once the emergency is met by holding the election in May, details can be placed and discussed in the next Parliament representing all parties. For example, whether there should be a permanent body to hold the by-election which may occur due to death or vacation of seat by a member etc. Apparently, an Ordinance promulgated by the President now cannot contain all these provisions of the Constitution: Thus Article 93 can provide for what is not in the Constitution and what is agreed upon by all to fill in the void namely a law regarding NCG. This law regarding NCG is apparently different from law of election under an elected government and thus it does not alter law in respect of regular election. These will be taken care of after the election under NCG. This is what we need to know. The shape

flesh and blood of this NCG

will be all done and given by

the Parliament representing all shades of opinion: This will require time and participation of people through the elected representatives. The ordinance should not venture to provided all these, for it will not only delay the transfer of power through election in May but such a big issue of great public importance should be decided by Parliament through addition, alteration and amendment of the Constitution. The Parliament created

through the election of the

15th February cannot do this for two big reasons. One is that this is a big questionable Parliament brought in the being through media announcement and rigging. The other is that the time is short but art is long. If election is to be held in May, then an amendment of the Constitution, addition, alteration, participation and discussion by the representatives of the people as required by the Constitution cannot be done in such a short time. It is not like the amendmen bringing BAKSAL or passing the act in 1991 by BNP providing for open voting of the President violating Articles 152. 148, 119, 7 and all laws providing secret voting in all the election held by the Election Commission. NCG has to be given a sound shape, for it will be there either permanently or at least for a few elections. Thus serious thought has to be given to it. Apparently all those cannot be done by the Ordinance nor is there any scope for it, nor it is meant for it. It is, therefore, necessary

that in absence of consensus there should be a broad public opinion for the President to act boldly and decisively. And the broad public opinion was in favour of the President to promuigate such Ordinance to fill in the gap in the Constitution in respect of NCG and certainly not to alter or amend the Constitution in respect of regular election. This we need to understand. This was particularly so when BNP itself agreed to such NCG after realizing its necessity. The idea of NCG is an idea conceived by the opposition. It is not BNP's idea. But all on a sudden BNP became the champion to pass it in its Parliament formed through reportedly rigged election

The power to promulgate an Ordinance is clearly given in the Constitution. Strictly speaking, therefore, the doctrine of necessity and residuary power if any, need not be resorted to as has been canvassed by some learned lawyers. The President could act on the basis of the power clearly given to him in the Constitution. He has sadly failed. And we do not know where this failure will lead us

It is shocking that without appreciating the scope and purpose of Article 93 and idea has been conceived, contrived. surfaced and floated

trate the promulgation of Ordinance by the President without realising that such idea cannot stand the test of interpretation of Art. 93 when lawful mind will be applied prop-

Considering all aspects, it can be said that the President is wrong or he has been advised wrongly to think that he has limitations to promulgate such Ordinance for NCG to fill in the gap of this concept of NCG so that the 15th February election becomes valid without seemingly realising that by agreeing to NCG and holding of election in May, search for legitimacy will not be available.

Secondly, the President

stated that he is ready to refer the matter to Supreme Court if there is a consensus. It was naive of him to say like this when he knew that he was entrusted by all only because there was no consensus. Moreover, for sending reference he dose not require a consensus of political parties. He is to act unilaterally. Art. 106 provides "if at any time it appears to the President that a question of law has arisen or is likely to arise, which is of such a nature and of such public importance that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court upon it, he may refer the question to the the Appellate Division for consideration and the division may, after such hearing as it thinks fit, report its opinion there on to the President.

Thus mistake of the President in seeking consensus to refer the matter to Supreme Court is self-explanatory. It is most unfortunate that our President has done what he was not required by law to do and sadly failed to do what he was required to do !

A lot of critical things have already taken place on the question of NCG, the 15th February election. Ordinancemaking power, summoning of Parliament etc. and lot more is apprehended. We like to know what else would make our President realise that a question of law of public importance has appeared to him to refer for the opinion of the

The President has cast the dice by calling the JS session. It may be useless but then this writer urge the President to adjourn it now and refer to Supreme Court. History is replete with examples where last moment decision saved nations from catastrophe.

Supreme Court?

The writer is an ex-judge and a senior barrister of the Supreme Court.

Lingering Political Crisis: Need for Fresh Thinking by Tahmina Choudhury

LMOST all the citizens of Bangladesh and the I country's well-wishers at home and abroad are becoming increasingly concerned about the rapid deterioration of the country's economy and continued disruption of public life resulting from the failure of its leaders to resolve the lingering political crisis.

Neutral persons blame BNP. the ruling party, primarily for the political crisis which is continuing for more than two years. But they are also critical of the Combined Opposition for some of the excesses of their action programmes.

The demand for neutral caretaker government gathered momentum after the alleged rigging in the Magura byelection. The fact that the government has been obliged at long last to accept the demand has proved the fallacies of the ruling party's past policies in this regard. The low voter turnout and reportedly blatant rigging in many polling centres at different parts of the country during the recentlyheld opposition-boycotted parliamentary elections, have seriously damaged the credibility of the ruling party at home and

The country's economy and its unfortunate people would have been spared the great sufferings of the last two-anda-half years if this opportunity well-justified opposition demand was accepted without intransigence and delay - BNP will have to answer for this to

the people of Bangladesh. The public standing of the Complete a Opposition has gone the office dire acceptance of its that externand in principle by the preciong party. But most pointical observers are still critical of its long boycott of the 5th Parliament followed by resignation en masse. The

way in which some of its action programmes have been and are being carried on has rendered the opposition open to charges of irresponsible and democrat ically unacceptable political behaviour.

tion programme, following the opposition programmes which adversely affected economic activities during the major part of the last month, has caused immense damage to the country's economy and public suf fering is increasing at an accelerated rate. The lingering crisis is likely to have longlasting adverse effects on all sectors including industrial and agricultural production employment and export trade Foreign investment has already dried up - remittances from overseas Bangladeshis and for eign donors are also likely to shrink in the near future. The two stock exchanges of the country have been obliged to remain closed. Banks and financial institutions, under considerable pressure for a long time, are likely to encounter serious crisis when their borrowers, many already impoverished, start failing to honour their repayment commilments.

the country's economy and continued disruption of public life warrant immediate serious re-thinking on the part of all concerned. The apprehended collapse of the country's econ omy and further deterioration of its public life can still be averted if the country's politi car leaders rise above their narrow party interests and take hold steps in the glouder

interest of the country Consensus having already been achieved on the question of Neutral Caretaker Govern

fresh general election, the

The present non-cooperastand in this regard.

The rapid deterioration of

ment and an earliest possible

problem is now narrowed down essentially to the implementation procedure. The implementation procedure oflered by the governing party is based on constitutionality and deserve consideration in spite of the controversies surrounding the election of the 6th Parliament which the ruling party has already committed to replace by a freshly-elected Parliament within the shortest possible time. The implementation procedure demanded by the opposition, on the other hand, is of doubtful constitutional tenability and is likely to set up unhealthy precedents which may be misused by future autocratic rulers. The leadership of the Combined Opposition should re-examine in depth the rationality and long-term implications of their

The responsibility for solving the present political crisis rests more with the opposition because it represents the matority of the country's people. Putting the blame on the ruling party, which represents a minority of the population at present, cannot absolve the Combined Opposition of its great responsibility to the people who look up to it for leadership and public well-be-

Considering the above and the critical position of the country's economy and public of and taking into account . a) the opinion of neutral obse ers at home abroad, b) the re-capticating emergence of new forces like NGOs in the country's body politic, c) the possibility of anti-democratic

extra-constitutional intervention by interested quarters. and d) the practical difficulties to sustain a long-fasting noncooperation movement without greater loss of life and property, the opposition should carry out a thorough re-examination of its political strategy with a view to determining what fresh steps it can take at this stage to further its objec-The leadership of the

Combined Opposition, in the opinion of this analyst, can best serve the public cause under the present circumstances and, at the same time, put the ruling party on the spot nationally and internationally by a) suspending its non-cooperation movement with immediate effect, and b) accepting the implementation procedure proposed by the ruling party subject to the conditions that i) the details of the required constitutional amendment legislation shall be worked out jointly by all the political parties represented in the 5th Parliament under an agreed procedure, ii) the 6th Parliament shall be dissolved immediately after passing the agreed constitutional amendments within an agreed time frame, and iii) a neutral caretaker government shall be formed immediately thereafter to hold a fresh general election within the time limit allowed by the Constitution.

The suggested steps will earn the Opposition wide appreciation at home and abroad and will put the onus for honest implementation of the national accord squarely on the camp of the ruling party. If the

ruling party tries to deviate from its declared commitments, it will open itself to loss of credibility at home and abroad and the combined opposition will be free and well justified to resume it's move-

The time to act is NOW the situation will become much more complicated if the present stalemate continues for a few days more and the ruling party continues with its unilateral plans for constitu tional amendment.

Desperate Times, Desperate Measures These are difficult times for that they were going to smash

Bangladesh, and perhaps one of the best ways to see how our reality has turned upside down is to take a look at the lives of some of its inhabitants. A friend of a colleague of mine recently departed for a three month course in the UK Ino doubt with a sigh of relief!) Unfortunately, since he be longs to a rather traditional family, his mother insisted that he visit her in their ancestral village in Rangpur before his departure.

The poor man tried to explain how difficult that was going to be under the prevailing political circumstances, but to no avail. Finally, he was forced to go all the way to his village in a series of rickshaws. Farcical? Yes. But also true. Luckily he was able to fly back.

Recently, after five or six days of being housebound. three of my acquaintances became so desperate to go to their office for for that matter. anywhere!) that they set forth in a rickshaw van (all the way from Mirpur to Motifheel!) Passers-by stared in amazement to see all these women riding along in a van, and they began to feel increasingly embarrassed. But as if that wasn't bad enough they were then pursued by a roving photographer in a rickshaw, who kept weaving back and forth in front of them in order to get the best angle for his shot! Yet even that did not prompt them by Farah Ghuznavi

to go back home. Perhaps they were suffering from the same form of "cabin fever" that took several elderly ladies (in another rickshaw van!) to the Parliament building at Sher e-Bangla Nagar, in order to walk around for a bit outside that scenic (if not very effective) institution....

Meanwhile, another ac-

quaintance had the unfortunate experience of being mugged in Gulshan in broad daylight, a few yards away from one of the European Embassies. Two of the armed guards looked on silently, while he was badly beaten. When he had recovered somewhat, he returned to the spot, and asked them reprovingly. "How could you just stand by and let that happen? You even have guns!" In a response typical of our times, they retorted. "Why should we? Don't you, think we have any fear for our own lives?!" Sadly, I don't think most people would be particularly surprised at that response, either.

Perhaps the most extreme case of having to resort to desperate measures that I have heard of in recent times happened to someone who was unfortunate enough to get caught up in one of the recent mobs engaged in smashing and burning vehicles. He was instructed to climb out of his. car, and when he (rashly) inquired why, he was informed

his car. In addition to their desire to destroy the car, the youths concerned had also been eveing him with a great deal of hostility, and he was worried that they might attack him as well. He asked. "Are you really determined to break the car? Won't you please reconsider?" When he was assured that they most definitely planned to do so, he decided (fro reasons of self preservation), that his best option at dispelling their hostility when he couldn't beat them, was to join them. "If you're really going to smash it up, then why don't you let me do it? I've never smashed a car before," he said. So, to the huge enjoyment of the mastaans, the poor guy then smashed his own car to bits! Fortunately, he escaped with his person intact... The novelist Christopher

Hope once described his native South Africa as a lunatic asylum where the patients had taken over, and the doctors were all in straitjackets. That description seems equally appropriate for the situation we are now facing in Bangladesh. But since South Africa successfully brought down apartheid despite seemingly insurmountable obstacles, is it not worth questioning how and why we have created this monstrous situation in a country which had more than its fair share of problems already? ·