



‘New Bangladesh’ Tracking the First 100 Days after the Fall of the Authoritarian Regime

Executive Summary

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‘New Bangladesh’

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Context

- The student led quota reform movement transformed into anti-discrimination movement eventually led to the fall of the authoritarian government on August 5, 2024. Following this, the 12th Parliament was dissolved on August 6, 2024. This was achieved at the cost of unprecedented loss of lives and sacrifice.
- An Interim Government took over the responsibilities of government on August 8, 2024. The Advisory Council consists of a Chief Adviser, 25 Advisers, and three special positions under the Chief Adviser.
- The principal aspirations of the movement's activists are state reform and new settlement of a political framework to create a 'New Bangladesh' characterized by non-discrimination, equal rights, and inclusiveness. The main objectives of the aspirations include radical reforms in public representation, government, and administrative systems and practices, ensuring that the government operates based on public mandate and the authority entrusted by the people, with effective accountability to the people.

The specific objectives of state reform and new political contract

- Rule of law – ensure the rule of law by controlling law and order situation, conducting proper investigations, and ensuring justice for all criminal offenses and human rights violations during and before the anti-discrimination movement. Additionally, prepare an accurate list of movement victims and provide them with assistance and rehabilitation
- Economic stability – control inflation specially prices of essential commodities, salvaging the banking sector, increase the forex reserves, recover laundered money
- Accountable and corruption free state and administration
- Promote employment opportunities for young people
- Reform in state, politics and electoral system – constitution, political parties, electoral/voting system, etc.
- Reform in sectors and institutions – constitutional and statutory institutions (Election commission, Anti-Corruption Commission, etc.), Judiciary, Public Administration, Law Enforcing Agencies, Financial Sector, Education, Health, Local Government, Power and Energy, Environment, Transport, etc.
- Hand over power to the elected government through a free, fair, and inclusive election subject to completion of the reform process.

Rationale of the study

- The main goal of TIB is to promote an enabling environment for establishing democracy, governance, and control of corruption. As part of its continuous efforts, TIB conducts research and evidence-based advocacy on these, including assessing the effectiveness of relevant institutions.
- Previously, TIB assessed the progress in fulfilling the government's commitment on good governance, democratic advancement and controlling corruption.
- TIB proposed a set of strategic policy recommendations to the Interim Government and other stakeholders on 28 August targeting necessary reforms in state structure to control corruption and to establish democracy, good governance, and integrity. As part of these efforts, TIB continues to provide sector and institution-specific policy recommendations with the relevant authorities and stakeholders.
- Recognizing the importance of regularly monitoring the role and activities of the Interim Government and other stakeholders in meeting public expectations for state reform, TIB initiated this study to track progress and challenges during the first 100 days following the fall of the authoritarian regime.

Objective of the study

The main objective of the study was to assess the roles of the Interim Government (IG) and other stakeholders and other affairs/incidents during the first 100 days following the fall of the authoritarian government. The specific objectives are:

1. To assess the initiatives taken by the Interim Government regarding reforms in state structure, control of corruption, and the establishment of democracy, good governance, and integrity;
2. To evaluate the role of other stakeholders in state reform;
3. To identify the challenges faced by the Interim Government in implementing reforms and performing regular activities.

Scope of the study

Under the scope of the study, the following issues are included:

- Political perspective
- Administrative and institutional reforms
- Rule of law and human rights
- Control of corruption and money laundering
- Economic stability
- Freedom of mass media and right to information
- Local government system
- Other sectors (education, health, power and energy, environment, labour migration, etc.)

Research methodology and timeline

- Identifying the activities taken by the Interim Government and other stakeholder regarding reform, control of corruption, establishment of democracy, good governance, and integrity.
- Qualitative data was collected and analyzed using qualitative methodologies; however, quantitative data was also used in some cases.
- The authenticity, reliability, and accuracy of the collected primary data were verified using various primary and secondary sources.
- **Data collection and analysis methods:** Published data and information were gathered from different sources and analyzed.
- **Sources of information:** Relevant government circulars, orders, rules (draft/final), published news from electronic and print media, articles, published interviews, and websites of government offices and relevant organizations.
- **Study timeline:** Information was collected and analyzed from August to November 2024.
- **Reference period:** The first 100 days following the fall of the authoritarian regime (August 5 to November 16, 2024).

Study Findings

Roles and activities of Interim Government

1. Political perspective

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dialogue with different political parties on issues regarding state reform and the election roadmap. • The Interim Government lifted the ban on the Jamaat-e-Islami party. • A few political parties received registration from the Election Commission (Gono Odhikar Parishad, AB Party, Nagorik Oikko, Ganosonghati Andolon). • The government imposed a ban on Awami League's student wing Bangladesh Chhatra League, listing it as a banned entity. • Decision was taken that no opportunities for resettlement or political programme will be given to Awami League and its allies before the completion of the tribunal process and judgment against their anti-humanity crimes. • A decision was made to transform 'Ganobhaban' into the 'July Movement Memorial Museum.' • It was decided not to observe eight days at national level, including the historic 7th March. • 33 educational institutions imposed a ban on student politics (19 public universities, 4 colleges, and 10 government medical colleges), while 27 educational institutions banned political activities by teachers and employees. • It has been decided to remove Sheikh Mujib's image from four bank notes. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The decision-making process of lifting the ban on one party and imposing a ban on another was criticized. • The decision not to observe eight days nationally was also criticized. • Political activities are continuing in some universities despite the restrictions. • No position was taken on active politics of different professional groups and politics in various offices. |

2. Administrative and institutional reforms

Appointment and relocation in government offices

| Observations | Comments |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After fall of the authoritarian government, office Chiefs or other officials resigned from their position. The offices or institutions include National Parliament (Speaker), Judiciary (Chief Justice), Law Commission, constitutional and statutory bodies (Chairman or Commissioner of Public Service Commission, Election Commission, Anti-Corruption Commission, National Human Rights Commission, Information Commission), Universities (Vice Chancellors), Colleges (Principals), Bangladesh Bank (Governor, Adviser, Chief of BFIU), state owned and private commercial Banks, Energy Regulatory Commission, Bangladesh Securities and Exchange Commission | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some office heads and other officials were forced to resign, while others resigned voluntarily. • The basis on which contractual officials were recruited is unclear, as specific |

| Observations | Comments |
|---|--|
| <p>(BSEC), Dhaka and Chittagong Stock Exchange, Business Associations, Sports Associations, etc.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government undertook several initiatives for administrative relocation as part of depoliticizing certain institutions. These initiatives included promotions, postings, forced retirements, cancellation of previous contractual appointments, and the appointment of new contractual positions. These relocations occurred in constitutional and statutory institutions, public administration, the judiciary, law enforcement agencies, financial institutions, and service sectors (health, education, local government, etc.). • The government raised the maximum age for applying for public service jobs to 32, and candidates will not be allowed to sit for the BCS exams more than four times. • The interim government recruited 259 candidates who had received recommendations for recruitment from the PSC during the previous government's tenure but were not employed. On the other hand, 99 candidates who passed the 43rd BCS examination and were recommended for recruitment during the previous government's tenure were not hired. • A total of 369 Sub-Inspectors (SI) undergoing training at the Bangladesh Police Academy in Sarda, Rajshahi, were controversially discharged on allegations of indiscipline. • The process of verifying the political affiliation of police officers appointed during the Awami League era from six BCS batches is underway. | <p>recruitment criteria and transparency in the process were absent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some decisions were reversed or modified due to pressure from opportunistic groups. • Contradictory decisions were made regarding recruitment. • The practice of verifying background based on political considerations continues. • Transparency in the decision-making process is lacking. |

Reform initiatives

| Observations | Comments |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In two stages, ten reform commissions were formed. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In the first stage six reform commissions were formed – public administration, judiciary, electoral system, constitution, police, anti-corruption commission. ○ In the second stage, four commissions were declared – health, mass media, labor rights, and women's affairs. • A committee was formed to establish a legal structure for naming government institutions; however, before that, the names of 20 institutions, which were named after the Sheikh family, were changed. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reform initiatives in various sectors and institutions, including public administration, the judiciary, the election commission and electoral system, and the police, were undertaken. • It was alleged that the reform commissions were not representative. In the six commissions formed in the first stage, representatives from religious and ethnic minorities were absent, there were very few female members, a high number of former bureaucrats, and dominance by teachers from one university. • Inactivity was caused by the resignation of top officials from various commissions or institutions. New recruitment initiatives (Election Commission and ACC) were taken before the completion of the work of the Reform Commission. • No reform commission has been formed on health despite its public importance. The private sector has not been given due importance. |

Public Administration

| Observations | Comments |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A large number of officials deprived due to political considerations during the previous government were promoted (501), appointed or transferred (285), appointed or promoted through the Superior Selection Board (SSB) (221), or appointed/transferred on deputation (473). • The government withdrew some newly appointed officials – for instance, 59 District Commissioners (DCs) were appointed, and later the circular for the appointment of 9 DCs was canceled due to departmental protests, and 4 DCs were relocated. • Unprecedented instances of anarchy in the Secretariat over promotions and postings were observed. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some of those promoted officials have been accused of involvement in corruption and irregularities in the past, convicted in departmental cases, or acting as accomplices in Awami League misdeeds. |

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instructions have been issued to update job-related information for officials from the level of Assistant Secretary to Secretary/Senior Secretary under the Government Employee Management System (GEMS) of the Ministry of Public Administration. • Five instructions have been circulated for the officials of Ministry of Public Administration and under its jurisdiction, and field administration, including safeguarding the confidentiality of government information shared via WhatsApp or any other communication medium. • A list of more than 850 officials from various ministries is being scrutinizing for the purpose of postings. • The interim government appointed new secretary in 27 ministries and departments after took over the responsibilities. • The operations of various ministries including the Ministry of Public Administration and development projects are slow in progress-a shortage of secretaries and equivalent positions, delays in the appointment of field-level administrators (divisional and DC office), the SSB meeting for promotions to the posts of Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary has been postponed for four months despite prior notifications, domestic and foreign training programs have nearly stopped, and various development and social safe net programmes have been disrupted. • Controversial actions by certain officials include visiting the house of the late President Ziaur Rahman after assuming the role of Deputy Commissioner (DC) of Bogra; dismissal of an official for posting negative comments against the government and the Chief Adviser. • Participation of freedom fighters was often discouraged in various areas in light of government directives on officials attending any events at the local level. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Retired officials are being preferred for contract-based appointment. • The officials who were deprived during the previous government have become disappointed with the appointment of retired officials to senior positions. • Allegations have been raised regarding the failure to adhere to specific criteria for promotions or demotions. • A lack of professionalism in public administration. • Discrimination in actions taken regarding controversial activities. • Complaints about the persistent influence of the falling government's allies on the bureaucracy. |

3. Rule of law and human rights

Assistance to the victims of the movement and the withdrawal of filed case for harassment

| Observations | Comments |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A UN fact-finding team began investigating 15 types of human rights violations, including crimes against humanity, that occurred in the country in July and early August. The report will be submitted to the government at the end of November and subsequently released. • A draft list of casualties in the anti-discrimination student movement and mass uprising has been published. • Formulation of policies to provide assistance to the martyrs and injured in the mass uprising: medical facilities were provided to injured activists based on the recommendations of the medical board, and financial support was extended to the legal heirs of those martyred during the period from July 16 to August 5. Additionally, 30 to 40 activists were sent abroad for advanced treatment with the support of public and private institutions. • A decision was made to pay Tk 300 thousand to the families of each person killed in the mass uprising. • A committee was formed to ensure medical care for those injured in the anti-discrimination student movement, with central assistance and monitoring. • The 'July Shaheed Smriti Foundation' was established; a total donation of Tk 1 crore 71 lakh 42 thousand 50 from the foundation to 176 injured individuals has been made up to October 13. • Employment and financial assistance were provided to some of the family members of martyrs. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An investigation into the use of force and casualties in the uprising is ongoing • Initiatives taken to withdraw the cases filed against the participants in the movement • Delay in release of final and complete list • Variation in the number of casualties as government and lists prepared by other organisations* • Initiatives are being taken to rehabilitate the families of the martyrs and cover the medical expenses of all the injured students and individuals. However, it is alleged that these efforts are insufficient. |

| Observations | Comments |
|---|----------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nearly all the harassing cases filed across the country during the anti-discrimination student movement (from July 1 to August 5) were withdrawn. | |

***The variation in the number of casualties in government and others lists.**

| Institutions | Number of Deaths | Number of Injured persons |
|---|------------------|---------------------------|
| Ministry of Health | 872 | 19,931 |
| Newspapers | 767 | More than 22 thousands |
| Human Rights Support Society | 986 | More than 30 Thousands |
| Health Sub-committee (Anti-discrimination student movement) | 1,581 | More than 31 Thousands |

Prosecution of perpetrators involved in mass killing

| Observations | Comments |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cases have been filed against government officials of the former government and businessmen—253 cases were filed against former Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, including 213 murder cases (as of November 17). In most of these cases, apart from Sheikh Hasina, former ministers, Awami League leaders, the former Inspector General of Police, former government officials, lawyers, businessmen, and journalists are also accused. 80 individuals in leading positions from various professions, including ministers, members of parliament, and journalists, have been arrested. A total of 1,695 cases have been filed in various police stations across the country against those who directly attacked the movement or provoked and instructed the murders. (As of October 13) 3,195 people have been arrested in connection with these cases, including 74 top Awami League leaders. An initiative has been taken to amend the International Criminal (Tribunal) Act. More than 80 charges have been filed with the International Criminal Tribunal against those involved in the massacre during the anti-discrimination student movements and mass uprisings (as of November 4). Arrest warrants have been issued for 46 people, including the former prime minister and the general secretary of the Awami League. An order has been issued to arrest 14 individuals, including Sheikh Hasina, and present them before the tribunal by November 18. Punishments have been imposed for involvement in various offenses at different universities, including temporary suspension, and suspension from classes and examinations for varying terms. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The trial of those involved in the July-August massacre has begun. In some cases, false and baseless charges were filed. Individuals were arbitrarily named as defendants in cases. There are allegations that some profited from filing cases and making arrests. It is also alleged that, in some cases, people misused the situation to file cases against former political opponents or enemies for harassment or extortion. Additionally, there are allegations of extortion in the name of offering exemptions from cases. Police filed cases without proper investigation under certain pressures. There was misinformation regarding the arrests of various individuals, with multiple propagandas circulating about arrests from different locations. The practice of arrest and remand continues, following the previous culture. Assault on the defendant's lawyer. Human Rights Violations: Arrested Awami League leaders and activists were attacked by a mob in court. A female Chhatra League leader, who came to take an exam, was humiliated in front of law enforcement officers. Prosecution began without amending the International Criminal (Tribunal) Act. Controversy and criticism surround the appointment process of judges and prosecutors to the International Criminal Tribunal, with questions raised about their skills, experience, and political affiliations. |

Law and Order

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The image of the police has deteriorated due to their negative role in the movement. People attacked police stations across the country before and after the fall of the government, resulting in the deaths of 44 policemen in various incidents of violence. After the government's fall, the policing system was absent throughout the country, and arms and ammunition were looted from police stations. The restoration of police activities is progressing slowly, with delays in ramping up police operations. Some police officers have not yet resumed their duties. • A few cases have been filed against police officers for their involvement in the massacre. • There has been mass relocation within the police force, including dismissals, promotions, postings, and transfers. • A deterioration in the law and order situation has been observed.¹ • Movements emerged over various demands from different groups and professionals, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Protests by Ansar members blocking the Secretariat – Movements demanding the postponement of the HSC examination – Demands to pass those who failed the HSC examination – A countrywide 'Complete Shutdown' program by 'Palli Vidyut Samiti' in protest against the dismissal of some officials and the filing of cases against others – A four-point strike by doctors and medical students in response to attacks on doctors – A movement by rickshaw pullers. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action has begun against members of various forces involved in the massacre during July-August, but the focus remains on promotions, postings, and transfers. • Police indifference and disinterest in duty, coupled with a lack of professionalism, have been observed. |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious and ethnic minorities, marginalized communities, and those with dissenting opinions have become victims of violence. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Six people died, and hundreds were injured in clashes and arson incidents between Bengalis and tribals in Khagrachari and Rangamati. ○ According to Oikya Parishad, 2,010 incidents of communal violence occurred between August 5 and 20, resulting in the deaths of 9 minority individuals, while newspapers reported that 1,068 facilities were attacked. ○ More than 50 small and large shrines belonging to a Muslim group were attacked and set on fire in different parts of the country, leaving at least one person dead and 43 injured. ○ Security concerns were raised during Durga Puja celebrations. • Cultural activities faced disruption, including attacks on Shilpakala Academies in 22 locations across the country. In response to protests, drama exhibitions at Shilpakala Academy were halted, fairs were banned, and a launch of a commercial program by an actress was cancelled. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of effective initiatives to identify, verify, and investigate allegations of violence against religious minorities, indigenous peoples, marginalized communities, and those with dissenting opinions, as well as to take appropriate action. |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Top terrorists, such as Subrata Bain, 'Picchi Helal,' and 'Killer Abbas,' have been released from jail and have subsequently resumed criminal activities. • The Bangladesh Army was granted special executive magistracy powers for two months across the country, including the capital. Later, similar powers were extended to the Navy and Air Force. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Questions have been raised about the process of releasing top terrorists from prison. |

¹ These include:

- Over 600 people have been killed, and 10,000 injured across the country since the fall of the authoritarian government.
- There is a growing tendency to take the law into one's own hands ("mob justice"), resulting in deaths from mass beatings.
- Industrial workers have been killed during various agitations.
- Incidents of theft, robbery, and snatching have increased.
- Casualties, prisoner escapes, protests, and violence have been reported in nine prisons across the country.
- Industrial unrest persists, with agitations in garment and pharmaceutical factories over unpaid wages and other demands. The attack and arson at the Gazi tire factory have resulted in deaths and missing persons.
- Violence, vandalism of houses, vehicles, and businesses, as well as arson and looting, have occurred. Political leaders and workers from various parties have been killed in attacks by miscreants attempting to assert dominance across the country.

| Observations | Comments |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Police, Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), Joint Forces, and Narcotics Control Directorate conducted multiple joint operations and arrested several individuals for criminal offenses. • Out of 126 identified weapons holders alleged to have fired gunshots during the movement, 19 people were arrested from 12 districts, including Dhaka. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special Executive Magistracy powers were granted to the Bangladesh Army without clarification regarding accountability. • Extrajudicial killings continue during operations conducted by various forces. |

Human rights

| Observations | Comments |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sign the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (ICPPED) to safeguard people from enforced disappearances. • A commission has been formed to investigate disappearances and ensure justice for the victims. • Some individuals have been rescued from 'Ayna Ghar,' a so-called prison of the DGFI. There are allegations against the DGFI and police regarding the destruction of evidence. • Approximately 1,600 complaints have been lodged with the Disappearance Commission to inquire into cases of abduction and disappearances that occurred over the past one and a half decades. • Discussions are underway regarding establishing an office of the United Nations Human Rights Council in Dhaka. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important initiatives regarding human rights have been undertaken. • Advisers have made contradictory statements about establishing an office of the United Nations Human Rights Council in Dhaka. • There is a lack of initiatives to reform intelligence agencies such as the DGFI, DB, NSI, and NTMC, which have contributed to institutionalizing authoritarianism, violating fundamental rights, engaging in extortion, and serving as primary tools for capturing state institutions, including financial institutions. |

Judiciary

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resignation of the Chief Justice and other justices following the fall of the authoritarian government. • New appointments in the judiciary: The Chief Justice, Supreme Court Appellate Division Judges, Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, Assistant Attorney General, and Public Prosecutors have been appointed. • The appointment of 17 Special Public Prosecutors in the BDR rebellion case has been canceled. • The Chief Justice issued 12-point instructions to simplify services for the public and ensure transparency and accountability among officers and employees. • The Supreme Judicial Council has been reinstated to handle the removal of judges. • A directive has been issued to form a high-level task force comprising experienced individuals from various organizations to investigate High Court cases. The task force has been ordered to report to the court within six months after completing the investigation. • A task force has been formed to investigate the murder case of journalist couple Sagar Sarwar and Mehrun Runi, with an order to submit a report within six months after completing the investigation. • Two committees have been formed at the district and ministry levels to make recommendations for the withdrawal of cases filed against political leaders and innocent individuals targeted for harassment, political revenge, or other reasons. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The process of freeing the judiciary from corruption and political influence has begun. • There are allegations of political considerations in the appointment of law officers. • The rules for the appointment of judges have not yet been formulated; however, law officers and judges were appointed prior to this. • Questions have been raised about the process of granting exemptions from cases and verdicts given during the previous government, along |

| Observations | Comments |
|--|----------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exemptions from cases and verdicts during the previous government were granted to the BNP Chairperson, Acting Chairman, Secretary General, Senior Joint Secretary General, and Standing Committee Members. These included exemptions from defamation cases, cases under the Information and Communication Technology Act and the Digital Security Act, and waivers of penalties in some cases. | with waiving of penalties. |

4. Prevention of irregularities and corruption and Money laundering

| Observations | Comments |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiatives/measures taken by the ACC in light of corruption allegations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) has initiated investigations against influential figures from the former government. Investigations have been launched against 179 individuals, including 30 former ministers and state ministers, accused of illegal wealth acquisition and money laundering. However, only two cases have been filed, and restrictions have been imposed on their travel abroad. Reconstruction of the Inter-Agency Task Force for the repatriation and management of money laundered abroad, with calls for international cooperation from concerned countries. Investigating allegations of money laundering involving various institutions and individuals. In response to news reports in some dailies and on social media regarding corruption related to DC recruitment, an Advisory Council committee has been formed to investigate the allegations. Accounts of around 50 suspects, their family members, and business establishments have been suspended by the Bangladesh Financial Intelligence Unit (BFIU). Taking into consideration the allegations of corruption against a judge, the bench was dissolved, and a new bench was formed by the Chief Justice. The High Court issued an order to submit a report on the security expenditure, properties, and benefits provided to former Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, her sister, and other members of the Bangabandhu family. It became mandatory to submit income and asset statements for advisers to the Interim Government and persons of equivalent status. To prevent corruption among government employees and ensure transparency and accountability, instructions were issued requiring all government officials to submit asset declarations through a specified format by November 30. Directions were also issued to submit asset declarations for all judicial officers. Several investigation committees have been formed to investigate corruption in the Aspire to Innovate (A2I) program. A list is being prepared of those who used fake freedom fighter certificates to secure jobs under the quota system. The ACC chairman and commissioners resigned from their positions, creating an obligation to fill these roles before the reformation of the ACC. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Criticism of the ACC has been raised despite its recent initiatives, citing political and bureaucratic influence on the institution, lack of goodwill, and inefficiency of its officials. Questions have also been raised about the ACC's ongoing investigations and the case withdrawal process. Concerns have been raised regarding the interruption of the reformation process, as initiatives were taken to appoint the ACC chairman and commissioners before the reforms were implemented. |

5. Financial Stability

| Observations | Comments |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A committee on the White Paper on the Economy has been formed to highlight the overall economic situation of the country. A task force has been formed to develop strategies to boost the economy and mobilize resources for equitable and sustainable development. The task force was asked to prepare a report on re-strategizing the economy and mobilizing resources for equitable and sustainable development by December 2024. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formation of various committees and task forces for financial sector reforms. Growth in exports: Goods exports worth US\$ 1,579 crores from July to October 2024-25, which is a 10.8% |

| Observations | Comments |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decisions were made to drop economically less important and unnecessary development projects that were initiated based on political considerations. • A decision was made to review the rationale for seven ongoing mega projects. • The metro rail service was restarted in the shortest time and at the lowest cost. • The owners of ready-made garment industries have agreed to implement the 18-point demands of the garment workers, including a monthly attendance bonus, an increase in tiffin and night allowances, and the implementation of a minimum wage, among others. | <p>increase over the same period in the previous fiscal year.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slow progress in the implementation of the Annual Development Plan (ADP): Only 4.75% of the ADP allocation was implemented in the July-September quarter of FY 2024-25. • Ongoing chaos in the ready-made garment industry. |

Reform in Banking Sector

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appointment of the Governor and reorganization of the Board of Directors of Bangladesh Bank. • A Banking Sector Task Force has been formed by Bangladesh Bank. • Reorganization of the Board of Directors of State-Owned Commercial Banks. • Six banks were rescued from being taken over by a business group. The beneficiaries of the previous government were removed from the boards of directors of various private commercial banks. • Bangladesh Bank prohibited the sale of shares of certain banks and also plans to establish an asset management institution for the risk management of certain banks. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Banking Commission was supposed to be established for long-term reforms in the sector, but no initiative has been taken in this regard. |

Controlling inflation

| Observations | Comments |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To reduce inflation, Bangladesh Bank took steps to decrease the supply of money in the market by untying controls on interest rates. • Price of essential daily commodities were set. • Duties on the import of rice, onions, and potatoes were reduced and withdrawn. It was decided that large egg production companies and small farmers would send eggs directly to wholesalers at government-set prices. • It was also decided that daily commodities could be imported without a letter of credit (LC) or LC margin, and there would be no limit on borrowing from banks for companies importing food, daily commodities, and fertilizers. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The increase in interest rates and the dollar exchange rate has raised the cost for commodity traders. • Although several initiatives have been taken to control the prices of essential daily commodities and inflation, price control remains unachievable. High inflation, especially in food prices, continues to be a concern. |

Revenue Collection

| Observations | Comments |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An Advisory Committee has been formed to reform the National Board of Revenue (NBR). • A task force has been formed to review the National Board of Revenue (NBR) Income Tax Act 2023 and propose recommendations for reform. • The opportunities for whitening black money have been formally abolished. The provision allowing the legitimization of illegal income by levying a 15 percent tax on assets, including cash, bonds, securities, deposits, financial schemes, and machinery, has been canceled. • An investigation into tax evasion by five leading businessmen in the country has begun. • The tax exemption for Grameen Bank has been reinstated until 2029, following its cancellation during the Awami League ruling period. Additionally, tax exemption for As-Sunnah Foundation has been granted until 2029. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is still an opportunity to legitimize illegal income or black money without facing any questions when buying apartments and land. • During the first four months (July-October) of the current financial year, the shortfall in customs and tax collection stands at Tk 30,768 crore. There has been a failure to meet revenue collection targets |

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> An online return filing system has been launched for the current tax year 2024-25 to facilitate easier filing and tax compliance, with reduced fees and expenses for return filing. It has been made mandatory to submit online income tax returns for government employees, bankers, employees of mobile operator companies, and officers and employees of six major companies located in income tax circles within four city corporations. | <p>each month. Import duties, Value Added Tax (VAT), and income tax in any of these three sectors have not met their targets.</p> |

Stock Exchanges

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reorganization of the Bangladesh Securities and Exchange Commission, Dhaka Stock Exchange PLC, and Chittagong Stock Exchange PLC. A five-member task force has been formed to improve the stock market, increase investor confidence, ensure good governance to international standards, and has made recommendations for capital market reforms. An investigation committee has been formed to determine the reasons for the fall in share market prices. Another committee has been formed to investigate the irregularities in the share market involving Salman F. Rahman and S Alam. The capital gains tax has been reduced to 15 percent. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The share market is still unstable. |

6. Freedom of mass media and the right to information

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Chief Adviser called upon the media to be outspoken in reporting the government's mistakes. A commission on media reform has been formed. A committee has been formed to monitor the cases filed against journalists to harass them during the previous government. The Cyber Security Act has been abolished, and initiatives have been taken to withdraw all cases filed under the Act and its predecessors. A decision was made to expedite the withdrawal of the cases related to speech offenses (cases for free expression) under the Cyber Security Act. Cases filed under the Cyber Security Act against individuals who made negative comments and death threats on social media against the Chief Adviser, Information Adviser, and Chief of the Army, but an order was issued not to take any action or arrest anyone in these cases. The press accreditation cards of 167 journalists were arbitrarily canceled based on allegations of opposing the movement or acting as allies of the authoritarian government. There have been observations of intentional activities, including threats and attacks, aimed at shutting down certain media houses. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Questions have been raised about cases filed under the Cyber Security Act even after August 5. Threats to media freedom. |

7. Local government system

| Observations | Comments |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1,416 UP chairmen out of 4,580 union parishads across the country have been absent from office since August 5, creating difficulties in finalizing the list of actual beneficiaries under the social safety net programs. The removal of elected representatives and the appointment of administrative officers at all levels of local government institutions have been implemented. This includes the removal of a total of 1,876 public representatives across four levels of local government, including mayors of 12 city corporations, chairmen of 60 Zilla Parishads, and the chairmen, vice chairmen, and women vice chairmen of all 493 Upazila Parishads, as well as municipal mayors nationwide. A directive was issued to the Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC) to conduct birth and death registration activities through the central birth and death | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stagnation in the functioning of local government institutions. Adverse effects on social safety net programs, leading to increased suffering for beneficiaries. Disruption in regular dengue control |

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|---|--|
| <p>registration server. Additionally, it was instructed to submit all registration information from South City to the central server.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The eligibility of listed beneficiaries for various allowances has been verified. | <p>activities, hindering effective operations.</p> |
|---|--|

8. Other Sectors

Education

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Following the resignation of 42 Vice-Chancellors, appointment of Vice-Chancellors in 41 universities has been made. Academic activities have resumed in most universities after overcoming the effects of the movement. • The authorities imposed a ban on student politics in various universities. The 'mass common room' culture has been abolished, and the accommodation/seat allocation for students in a systematic way has started. • Questions have been raised regarding the removal of two members from the coordination committee formed to oversee the revision and editing of textbooks, following objections from some religious groups against the members of the committee. • Several decisions have been made, including the return to the 2012 curriculum by 2025 at the secondary level, the reinstatement of science, humanities, and business education at the secondary level, the discontinuation of the half-yearly assessment, and the decision to conduct assessments through an annual written examination, as was done previously. • The Private Educational Institutions Tuition Fee Policy 2024 has been issued, determining all fees, other than salaries/tuition fees, for MPO and non-MPO private schools and colleges. • Taking into consideration the forceful demand of HSC students, the HSC results were published without exams for some subjects. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Questions have been raised regarding the criteria and transparency of the appointment of vice-chancellors. • The decision to remove the members of the coordination committee was criticized as an expression of surrender to undue pressure. • Although education is a priority sector, no commission has been formed for the reform of this sector. |

Health

| Observations | Comments |
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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A committee was formed for health sector reforms with the inclusion of some experts, but the chairman later resigned from the committee. • The Health Reforms Commission has been declared. • A group of doctors has been accused of influencing appointments, cancellations, transfers, and postings in health administration, medical education, and district-level healthcare institutions. • Fourteen hospitals and six medical colleges in the country have been renamed after the names of districts, excluding the names of individuals. • A few doctors at government hospitals have become victims of attacks/violence. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chaos is ongoing in the health sector due to pro-party politics among health professionals and associations. |

Power and Energy

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A decision was made not to renew quick rental contracts under the controversial 'Quick Enhancement of Electricity and Energy Supply (Special Provision) Act 2010.' Two national committees have been formed to review contracts on power and energy under this Act. • A decision has been made to cancel the clause allowing electricity price increases by executive order. • The provisions relating to immunity and sole powers of the Ministers of Power and Energy under the 'Quick Enhancement of Electricity and Energy Supply (Special Provision) Act 2010' have been ruled illegal. • A decision has been made not to import liquefied natural gas (LNG) from India, and the Bangladesh-India gas pipeline construction project is likely to be canceled. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Due to existing laws and various contracts in the power and energy sector made by authoritarian governments, financial losses and risks to power and energy supply are evident. |

| Observations | Comments |
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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The term sheet signed with the US company Accelerate for the construction of a floating terminal at Payra in Patuakhali to convert imported LNG and supply it, has been canceled. • Proposals, initiatives, and incentives are being promoted to increase renewable energy production and use. • Adani Power owes \$846 million due to non-payment on time and has threatened to halve the power supply. | |

Conservation of Environment

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The court issued an order for the immediate cessation of destructive activities and the removal of illegal shrimp farms from the mangrove forest in Cox's Bazar's Maheshkhali's Sonadia Island and surrounding areas. • The allotment of 700 acres of land approved for the Public Administration Academy in the 'reserved' forest in Cox's Bazar has been canceled. • The safari park project in the Lathitila protected forest of Juri Upazila, Moulvibazar, has been canceled. • A gazette was published listing 17 single-use plastics. Initiatives have been launched to stop the use of single-use plastics in all government offices in the country. The use of plastic bags in super shops has been banned, and instructions have been issued to stop the use of listed single-use plastics and banned polythene bags in hotels, restaurants, and all court premises in the country. • Initiatives have been taken to control tourism on St. Martin's Island. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Several steps have been taken to protect the environment. • There are risks and barriers to the implementation of the decision regarding the ban on plastic due to a lack of alternatives. |

Overseas employment

| Observations | Comments |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The investment ceiling of Taka 1 crore in the 'Wage Earner Development Bond' has been withdrawn. • The opportunity to invest in Wage Earner Bonds has been reintroduced for non-resident Bangladeshi seafarers, pilots, and cabin crew working in overseas offices of foreign-owned shipping or airline companies. • A decision has been made not to require employment permits from the Ministry of Expatriates' Welfare & Overseas Employment for sending workers abroad. • An initiative has been taken by the Chief Adviser to free 57 immigrant workers who were jailed in the United Arab Emirates for protesting in support of the anti-discrimination movement. The initiatives have been taken to rehabilitate them after returning to the country. • A decision has been made to provide VIP services for workers returning from the Middle East at the airport. An expatriate lounge has been launched at Dhaka's Hazrat Shahjalal Airport. • Initiatives have been taken to reopen the Malaysian labor market. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growth in expatriate income: Remittance receipts in the July-October period of FY 2024-25 were \$8.93 billion, compared to \$6.87 billion in the same period of the previous fiscal year, marking a 30 percent increase. |

Bangladesh Army

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Bangladesh Army played a positive and important role in the final stage of the movement that led to the fall of the authoritarian government. • The Bangladesh Army is considered one of the pillars of power in the interim government. • The Bangladesh Army has pledged to stay away from politics. • Initiatives have been taken to investigate human rights violations by personnel of the Army and related agencies. • There have been reshuffles and dismissals at the highest levels of the Army. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Army has not played the expected role in maintaining law and order following the fall of the authoritarian government. • Despite having central authority in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, there is a noticeable deficiency in fulfilling the expected role in ensuring peace and maintaining law and order. |

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Army played an important role in maintaining law and order, especially in the wake of the moral breakdown of the civil administration, particularly the police. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Army Chief's announcement regarding the election deadline has been controversial. |

Political Party

Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)

| Observations | Comments |
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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The BNP proposed 31 reform proposals for state restructuring. The BNP is continuing dialogue with political parties involved in the July mass uprising. The BNP has formed six shadow committees in alignment with the six commissions established by the interim government for state reforms, including constitutional reforms. The BNP controversially claims credit for the fall of the authoritarian government, asserting that 422 of those killed during the movement were their activists. The BNP criticized the interim government's activities, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ambiguity over the term of the interim government and the timing of elections. Failure to announce an election roadmap. 'Slowness' in administrative proceedings. Inability to bring the prices of essential commodities under control. Failure to restore full order in the administration. Failure to publish a complete list of martyrs and injured individuals from the July-August events. Lack of a clear roadmap for reforms. Leaving unclear what specific changes will be implemented. The party's top leader emphasized on democracy, secularism, and reforms. Instructions were issued to party leaders and workers not to engage in any kind of controversial or criminal activities. Despite these instructions, some leaders and activists have engaged in criminal activities, including assaults, extortion, encroachment, strife, and riots to gain control over various areas after the fall of the government. Various measures were taken against 1,023 leaders on specific charges, including the dissolution of committees, dismissal from positions, and issuance of show-cause notices. Some party leaders and activists have been accused of seizing control of various ministries, government institutions, educational and health institutions (such as medical universities and colleges and the health department), local government bodies (such as city corporations), and the road transport sector. Several disputes and instances of violence occurred between BNP supporters, affiliates, and members of opposition parties during this time. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The BNP continues to create pressure on the interim government regarding elections, raising questions about the government's sincerity and demanding an election roadmap. Democratic practices and necessary reform initiatives within the party remain absent. A culture of usurpation, extortion, and dominance exists within the party. |

Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami and other Islamic parties

| Observations | Comments |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proposed 10-point reform agendas for the government to reform the state. These reforms include changes to law and justice, parliament, the electoral system, law and order, the RAB, public administration, anti-corruption measures, the constitution, education and culture, foreign affairs, and the Ministry of Religion. Public demonstrations and open activities by Bangladesh Islami Chhatra Shibir have been observed in educational institutions and other government organizations. Meetings with various Islamic parties and religious leaders are being held to form electoral alliances among Islamic parties. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing influence of religion-based politics. Public activities of Hizb ut Tahrir are becoming more visible. Propaganda and campaigns have intensified through digital media and social media. |

| Observations | Comments |
|---|----------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extremist groups exhibit a tendency to impose harmful and discriminatory agendas on religious, gender, ethnic, and sexual minority communities. | |

Other Political Parties

| Observations | Comments |
|---|----------|
| Other political parties demand that elections be held only after necessary reforms, ensuring that they do not exert pressure on the government regarding the timing of the elections. | |

Bangladesh Awami League

| Observations | Comments |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Flight of top politicians after the fall of the government – no visible participation in politics. Spreading misleading and provocative messages through video statements and interviews, including claims such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awami League cannot be eliminated. India will ensure elections in Bangladesh within the next 90 days. Sheikh Hasina did not resign as Prime Minister before leaving for India. Awami League will participate in the next election, which must be held within three months. Sheikh Hasina committed no wrongdoing. Sheikh Hasina did not order violence against protestors. Sheikh Hasina will return to the country when democracy is re-established. Awami League protests over the banning of Chhatra League. Demonstrations by former Chhatra League leaders demanding the withdrawal of cases against Sheikh Hasina. Allegations of attacks on Hindus and minorities in Bangladesh.; Petition campaigns against Muhammad Yunus. Complaints filed in the International Court of Justice against the Chief Adviser, his council, and coordinators. Proposal for compromise with BNP to establish democracy in Bangladesh. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not admitting responsibility or showing any regret for corruption, irregularities, money laundering while in power, committing crimes against humanity, suppressing freedom of speech and mass killing during anti-discrimination movements. |

Anti-discrimination student movements

| Observations | Comments |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engaging in activities as a subsidiary force of the government, which includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Playing an active role in the resignation of the former Chief Justice and other judges of the Supreme Court. Controlling the Ansar movement. Returning weapons looted from the police station. Managing traffic control and street cleaning in Dhaka. Participating in flood relief activities. Launching 'profitless shops' to break market syndicates. Publishing an audit report on the accounts of the collected relief funds for flood victims. Continuing pressure on the government on various issues, including the imposed ban on Awami League and Chhatra League, demanding the removal of the President, appointing advisors, and removing Sheikh Mujib's photo from state offices. Extorting using the identity of anti-discrimination movement organizers. Vandalizing and setting fire to Jatiya Party offices. Forcing the resignation, dismissal, and suspension of teachers in various educational institutions, including universities, by labeling them as supporters of certain political parties. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In some cases, they abuse their power and play a controversial role. |

| Observations | Comments |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representatives of the anti-discrimination student movement visited 44 districts of the country from September 8-18 and exchanged views with students and citizens on various expectations for state reform. An exchange meeting was also held in Dhaka. • The movement announced plans to outline how politics will unfold in Bangladesh. • Two separate writ petitions were filed in court seeking to keep the ousted Awami League and some of its allied parties out of politics and declare the 2014, 2018, and 2024 elections invalid. However, the decision was later made not to pursue the writ. • All Chhatra Shakti activities were suspended due to two advisers of the interim government being members of the political organization Democratic Chhatra Shakti. • New committees were formed by disbanding the old ones, with committees being set up in different districts. • As part of the formation of a new political party, the National Citizens Committee began forming committees at the upazila level. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accusations have been made against the anti-discrimination student movement in various areas for not addressing several issues, including prohibiting party-based student politics, the trial of those involved in the July killings, and remaining silent on compensation claims of the injured and affected persons. On one hand, it is seen as a power base for the government, while on the other hand, it is perceived as a government-supported organization. |

Civil Society

| Observations | Comments |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerns have been raised about party conflicts, the fight for control over different areas, extortion, and other issues. • A call has been made for the formulation of strategies and roadmaps for state reforms immediately after taking charge of the government. • There are calls for justice under the initiatives of the United Nations, against the violent repression of the movement and the multi-dimensional human rights violations. • Concerns have been expressed over the deliberate propaganda, rumors, and disinformation spread by the Indian media regarding the recent mass uprising and subsequent developments in Bangladesh. • Recommendations from various civil society organizations and coalitions have been made for the government to reform various sectors and institutions, including politics, the constitution, elections, the economy, anti-corruption measures, and the establishment of good governance. • A survey has been published on elections, government acceptance, popularity, and an evaluation of the initiatives taken by various organizations. • Evaluation/criticism of the government by civil society includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Actions taken by the government ○ Lack of strong public statements ○ Failure of the Law Division to perform its duties with due transparency ○ Slowness and lack of transparency in decision-making ○ Lack of effective action against 'mob justice,' and vandalism in temples and shrines • Civil society protests on various issues, including the detention of individuals who supported the movement and the abolition of the Education Curriculum Committee due to undue pressure from certain groups. • Various demands raised by civil society to the government. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative reaction followed after statements were made regarding the incident involving the education curriculum committee and the private sector. • Some individuals are intentionally spreading disinformation, hate speech, and rumors through social media, misusing the freedom of thought and expression, in order to benefit by supporting authoritarian governments. • This spread fear and anxiety among the common people, dividing them. |

International Communities

| Observations | Comments |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support for the peaceful and democratic transition of Bangladesh has been expressed by various countries and organizations, including the USA, UK, Canada, Australia, India, Pakistan, Russia, China, Iran, the European Union, and the United Nations. • Emphasis has been placed on the protection of human rights, the need for full and independent investigations into incidents of violence, the protection of the right to peaceful protest, the release of all peaceful protesters, and respect for the rule of law by various countries and organizations. • Various international organizations have pledged to provide financial and other assistance to the interim government. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The attitude of the international community towards the interim government is positive. • Economic assistance, especially loan assistance from organizations such as the World Bank, ADB, and IMF, has been considered necessary; however, the associated conditions and the additional liability of repaying the loan with interest already exist. |

Role and activities of India

| Observations | Comments |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After the fall of the government, Sheikh Hasina and some other politicians sought shelter in India. The Indian government communicated that the shelter provided to them was temporary. • India hopes that the new government will take effective steps to maintain the stability and security of Bangladesh and strengthen the existing relations between the two countries. • It was propagated that there was some role of outside forces in the mass uprisings in Bangladesh, along with other propaganda similar to that of the authoritarian government (Awami League). • Some steps taken by India include: a high alert on the Bangladesh border, removal of unnecessary personnel from the diplomatic mission in Dhaka, evacuation of Indian students from Bangladesh, and restricting visa services. • India-Bangladesh trade was temporarily suspended; however, trade resumed after the situation stabilized. • India expressed concerns about the security of minority communities, especially Hindus, in Bangladesh, while purposeful misinformation and rumors spread in Indian media and social media. • Despite Bangladesh's strong protests, 'border killings' continue. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failure of the Indian Government, politicians, and media to accept the reality of the fall of the authoritarian government by the mass uprising. |

Overall Observations: Prospects and Challenges

- The fall of the authoritarian government, achieved through unprecedented sacrifices in the anti-discrimination movement, is a golden milestone in the history of Bangladesh. It was created a unique opportunity to establish a 'new Bangladesh' through state reforms and a new political and social settlement. The interim government, along with various stakeholders, appear on course towards the aspired transformation. However, significant challenges and risks remain.
- Despite facing many internal and external challenges, the interim government took significant initiatives and made key decisions within 100 days of its formation. These included reform efforts to improving law and order, investigating and prosecuting crimes committed during the mass uprising, addressing the financial sector, and controlling the price of essential commodities. However, results of many of these initiatives are expected only in longer term.
- An important gap is the absence of a strategic roadmap including a provisional timeline needed to deliver the entrusted mandate of state reform and new political settlement. If adopted and communicated shortly after the formation of interim government, many of

the concerns being raised including the pressure for a date of election could be averted. It is not too late yet to develop such a roadmap.

- Mismanagement in the process of justice including instances of ‘mob justice’ and revenge are giving rise to the credibility of the eventual outcome. The filing and acceptance of hundreds of cases against numerous individuals brings into question the possibility of a proper trial of the main perpetrators.
- Important state institutions, such as the Election Commission, Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC), Human Rights Commission, and Information Commission, faced challenges in restructuring, particularly during the functioning of their respective reform commissions.
- The interim government appears to often operate on an *ad hoc* basis. Questions have been raised about various important decisions once taken later amended, including the formation of advisory councils and the distribution of responsibilities.
- There is a noticeable lack of firmness and action planning accompanied by coordination deficiencies. In some cases, indecision or abrupt changes in decisions have been observed.
- Efforts to free the administration from partisan influence through administrative and institutional reforms, such as the removal of high-ranking officials have turned out to be heavily challenged. Concerns remain about deeply rooted partisanship, which poses growing risks to good governance. Additionally, there is apprehension about the possibility of replacing one partisanship with another. Dissatisfaction has also emerged in many areas, particularly regarding promotions and postings.
- The Bangladesh Army played a positive role in the fall of the authoritarian government during the final stages of the movement. They have engaged as a key supporter and power base of the interim government while announcing distance from direct involvement in politics. They have been contributing to the efforts to improve law and order. However, despite being the key power holder in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, there is a noticeable deficiency in fulfilling the expected role in ensuring peace and maintaining law and order in the region.
- A lack of patience among some stakeholders, including political parties, has been observed regarding allowing the government sufficient time to implement necessary reforms. Some have been expressing frustration with the government's activities and performance within the past three months.
- In many cases, the culture of partisan control of political and governance space, extortion, and dominance persist. This has often led to internal conflicts including violent in-fighting.
- There is a noticeable absence of visible initiatives for internal reform within political parties. This absence poses a significant challenge to internalizing and practice the spirit of the anti-discrimination movement, fulfilling the aspirations for state reform, and a new political settlement.
- The BNP initially took a position to give the necessary time for reforms and elections but later shifted to demanding that elections be held early.
- State reform for a ‘New Bangladesh’ remains the aspiration of the mass and anti-discrimination student movement. However, instances of intransigence, political intolerance, over-empowerment, and internal divisions have been observed in some cases.

- Media freedom faces revengeful threats, including targeted attacks and demand for closure of leading media houses by use of threat of use of force. Additionally, there have been numerous cases filed against journalists and controversial decisions, such as the indiscriminate cancellation of accreditation.
- Opportunities for supportive and watchdog role of civil society are indicative of an overall open environment and freedom of speech. However, over empowerment and abuse of power by some groups, who find themselves as winners of the movement including the tendency to impose their beliefs and ideologies are emerging as an obstacle in the way of the goal of a non-communal, diverse, equal rights-based and non-discriminatory new Bangladesh.
- The development and influence of religion-based politics are evident in many cases, with coercive tendencies of imposition of doctrines and practices, threatening gender, religious, cultural, and ethnic diversity, which conflicts with the spirit of anti-discrimination.
- India has failed to accept the reality of its worst diplomatic, political and strategic disgrace due to the fall of the unqualified Delhi-propped authoritarian regime and to admit its mistakes, combined with the reported conspiratorial motives of the deposed leaders in India to destabilize the transition process is a major concern. The strained relations with India, given its hegemonic track record remain worrisome and need to be watched.
- The support of the international community, including important bilateral partners and donor agencies, for the interim government, along with assurances of financial and technical assistance for reforms in many cases, reflects confidence in the interim government and support to the aspirations of the movement.
- Although the proposed economic assistance, particularly loans in the pipeline from organizations such as the World Bank, ADB, and IMF, are seen as necessary, there are concerns about the conditions involved and, especially, the potential additional burden already overburdened people of the country.
