



**Australian Government**  
**Refugee Review Tribunal**

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# Country Advice

## Bangladesh

Bangladesh – BGD36477 – BNP – Security situation – Political activists – Kidnappings – Extortion – Returnees  
28 April 2010

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### **1. Please give a brief update on the treatment of Bangladesh National Party (BNP) supporters in Bangladesh.**

The time of the Bangladesh Caretaker government, from October 2006 to December 2008, saw a decline in levels of political violence in Bangladesh. The year leading up to October 2006 had seen over 300 persons killed in political violence under the rule of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) with most of those killed belonging to opposition groups.<sup>1</sup> Under the Caretaker Government the number of persons killed in political violence per month dropped to single figures for the first time since November 2002.<sup>2</sup> With the return of party politics political violence in Bangladesh is again on the rise and “a total of 251 persons have reportedly died and 15,559 persons have been injured in political violence in 2009”.<sup>3</sup> Attacks upon supporters of the BNP, now in opposition, have been regularly reported although casualties amongst Awami League government supporters, as well as from inter-factional BNP clashes, are also reported. While outbreaks of violence are reported on a weekly basis the days following elections have seen pronounced numbers of outbreaks.

Clashes between activists of the BNP and activists of the Awami League (including affiliated youth and student wings) are reported on a weekly basis in the Bangladesh national press (and clashes between competing factions of BNP organisations are reported almost as frequently).<sup>4</sup> Such incidents most often occur in the manner of street or university campus brawls and in the context of competing political rallies or events. The violence is typically short-lived and is often brought to an end by the intervention of police. Arrests, however, are reported infrequently with police generally appearing only to restore order.<sup>5</sup> Reports of such brawls typically detail injuries to many participants and, less frequently, deaths. Election periods, in

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<sup>1</sup> See Odhikar figures supplied as ‘Table 2a) Reported Number of Political Killings in Bangladesh (2002-2007)’ in Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2007, *DFAT Report No. 723 – Bangladesh: RRT Information Request: BGD32419*, 1 November – Attachment 55; and US Department of State 2007, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2006 – Bangladesh*, 6 March – Attachment 56.

<sup>2</sup> See Odhikar figures supplied as ‘Table 2a) Reported Number of Political Killings in Bangladesh (2002-2007)’ in Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2007, *DFAT Report No. 723 – Bangladesh: RRT Information Request: BGD32419*, 1 November – Attachment 55.

<sup>3</sup> Odhikar 2010, *Human Rights Report 2009*, 1 January, p.9

[http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English\\_report/HRR\\_2009.pdf](http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English_report/HRR_2009.pdf) – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 1.

<sup>4</sup> ‘BNP factions clash in Pabna’ 2010, *bdnews24.com*, 13 April

<http://www.bdnews24.com/details.php?id=158180&cid=3> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 2; ‘11 hurt as BNP factions clash in Cox’s Bazar’ 2010, *The Daily Star*, 24 March

<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=131431> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 3; ‘Top JCD Men Sued Over DU Riot’ 2010, *Independent Bangladesh*, source: *bdnews24.com*, 19 January

<http://www.independent-bangladesh.com/2010011911615/country/top-jcd-men-sued-over-du-riot.html> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 4.

<sup>5</sup> ‘One killed, 15 hurt as AL, BNP clash in Natore’ 2009, *Daily Star*, 9 May

<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=87485> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 5; ‘12 injured as Munshiganj AL factions clash’ 2009, *Daily Star*, 12 May <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=87901> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 6; ‘12 hurt as AL men attack BNP procession in Sylhet’ 2010, *New Age*, 10 January <http://www.newagebd.com/2010/jan/10/nat.html> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 7.

particular, often see frequent outbreaks of political violence. According to Odhikar (a respected Bangladesh human rights NGO): “14 persons (10 from BNP and 4 from AL) were reportedly killed” in clashes which followed the Upazila Parishad (local Sub-District Council) elections of January 2009<sup>6</sup> while “17 persons (9 from BNP and 8 from AL) were reportedly killed”<sup>7</sup> in the aftermath of the December 2008 national election. Overall:

...a total of 251 persons have reportedly died and 15,559 persons have been injured in political violence in 2009.<sup>8</sup> Most of the deaths have been due to clashes between followers of the Awami League and BNP or internal party clashes. During this period, 38 people were reportedly killed and 6092 were injured due to internal conflicts within the Awami League while 02 were killed and 865 injured due to clashes between factions of the BNP.<sup>9</sup>

Over the recent year the aggressors in such inter-party incidents are more often reported to be activists aligned with the ruling Awami League;<sup>10</sup> although on some occasions BNP supporters have reportedly also acted as aggressors.<sup>11</sup>

Aside from street and university campus brawls there have also been a handful of targeted assaults<sup>12</sup> upon BNP figures over the recent year and, in some instances, the victims of these

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<sup>6</sup> Odhikar 2010, *Human Rights Report 2009*, 1 January, p.8  
[http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English\\_report/HRR\\_2009.pdf](http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English_report/HRR_2009.pdf) – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 1.

<sup>7</sup> Odhikar 2010, *Human Rights Report 2009*, 1 January, p.7  
[http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English\\_report/HRR\\_2009.pdf](http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English_report/HRR_2009.pdf) – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 1.

<sup>8</sup> Note: Odhikar does not provide an overall “by party” break down of persons killed in inter-party violence in 2009.

<sup>9</sup> Odhikar 2010, *Human Rights Report 2009*, 1 January, p.9  
[http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English\\_report/HRR\\_2009.pdf](http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English_report/HRR_2009.pdf) – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 1.

<sup>10</sup> For Awami League aggression, see: ‘10 BNP activists injured in attack by AL men’ 2009, *New Age*, 15 March <http://www.newagebd.com/2009/mar/15/nat.html> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 8; ‘5 JCD men hurt in BCL attack in Barisal’ 2009, *Daily Star*, 12 April <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=83866> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 9; ‘20 hurt in AL-BNP clash’ 2009, *Daily Star*, 20 May <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=89046> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 10; Faridpur, U. 2009, ‘AL, BNP clash in Faridpur: 10 hurt’, *Daily Star*, 27 October <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=107183> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 11; ‘11 hurt in Madaripur clash’ 2009, *Daily Star*, 25 October <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=111178> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 12; ‘JCD activist assaulted by BCL men at DU’ 2009, *Daily Star*, 27 October <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=111528> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 13; ‘12 injured as Raozan AL, BNP clash’ 2009, *Daily Star*, 11 November <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=113590> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 14; ‘12 hurt as AL, BNP clash in Natore town’ 2009, *Daily Star*, 2 December <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=115976> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 15; Patuakhali, U. 2010, ‘18 injured in attacks on JCD processions in Patuakhali’, *Daily Star*, 2 January <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=120140> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 16; Bagerhat, U. 2010, ‘JCD rallies, Jamaat office attacked in Bagerhat’, *Daily Star*, 3 January <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=120218> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 17; ‘12 hurt as AL men attack BNP procession in Sylhet’ 2010, *New Age*, 10 January <http://www.newagebd.com/2010/jan/10/nat.html> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 7.

<sup>11</sup> For BNP aggression, see: ‘50 hurt in AL-BNP clash’ 2009, *Daily Star*, 4 June <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=91168> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 18; Sarker, R. 2009, ‘AL men set fire to BNP office at Lalmonirhat’, *Daily Star*, 9 November <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=113326> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 19; ‘25 injured as AL, BNP clash’ 2009, *New Age*, 9 December <http://www.newagebd.com/2009/dec/09/nat.html> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 20; ‘50 injured as AL, BNP clash in Sirajganj town’ 2010, *Daily Star*, 12 February <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=125963> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 21; ‘Kuet shut after BCL, JCD clash’ 2010, *Daily Star*, 13 April <http://www.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=134196> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 22.

<sup>12</sup> For assaults on BNP identities, see: ‘Attempt on Moulvibazar JCD leader’ 2009, *Daily Star*, 14 October <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=109619> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 23.

assaults have suffered fatal injury.<sup>13</sup> Assaults launched by Awami League student groups upon BNP aligned students have been particularly prominent since the Awami League's December 2008 national election victory and have remained ongoing over the recent year.<sup>14</sup> There have also been attacks upon the homes and properties of BNP supporters with Odhikar reporting that, in the immediate aftermath of the December 2008 election, "AL activists attacked the houses and shops of the BNP and Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami supporters and vandalised their property".<sup>15</sup>

Historically, Bangladesh politics has seen a trend wherein the supporters of the ruling party have been able to attack opposition supporters with a certain level of impunity;<sup>16</sup> and "the broad powers the law gives the government have made control of police one of the spoils of an electoral victory".<sup>17</sup> While there have been no reports of the Awami League actively employing the police against its political rivals since assuming power there have been BNP claims, on some occasions, that the police have failed to take action against Awami League acts of aggression.<sup>18</sup> Odhikar assessed the months following the December 2008 Awami League victory as follows:

The security forces or police were rarely recorded as being perpetrators or victims of the violence during this post-election period. While on one hand this suggests that the security forces were not acting as agents fostering election-related violence, on the other hand this also suggests that they may not have been playing an effective role in trying to counter the violence (on the assumption that more security forces would have been recorded as victims if this was the case).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> For the killing of BNP figures, see: 'FIR dictated by police lodged' 2009, *Daily Star*, 28 January <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=73304> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 24; 'Jubo Dal leader murdered, 25 hurt in AL-BNP clash' 2009, *Daily Star*, 9 December <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=117008> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 25; 'JCD leader killed by "BCL men" in Khulna' 2010, *Daily Star*, 2 January <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=120122> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 26; 'JCD leader, AL man killed over control of char' 2010, *Daily Star*, 25 March <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=131493> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 27; Sirajganj, U.N.B. 2009, 'JCD leader found dead', *Daily Star*, 25 November <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=115498> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 28.

<sup>14</sup> 'JCD leader assaulted by BCL men at DU' 2009, *Daily Star*, 11 May <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=87771> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 29; '15 injured in BCL-JCD clash at JNU' 2009, *Daily Star*, 29 October <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=111789> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 30; '6 BNP men hurt in BCL attack' 2009, *New Age*, 30 October <http://www.newagebd.com/2009/oct/30/nat.html> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 31; 'BCL, JCD clash in Nilphamar' 2009, *Daily Star*, 2 November <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=112336> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 32; 'BCL activists stab JCD man at RU' 2009, *Daily Star*, 11 November <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=113603> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 33; 'JCD, BNP men beaten in Feni' 2009, *Daily Star*, 12 December <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=117425> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 34.

<sup>15</sup> Odhikar 2010, *Human Rights Report 2009*, 1 January, p.7 [http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English\\_report/HRR\\_2009.pdf](http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English_report/HRR_2009.pdf) – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 1.

<sup>16</sup> Odhikar 2010, *Human Rights Report 2009*, 1 January, p.9 [http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English\\_report/HRR\\_2009.pdf](http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English_report/HRR_2009.pdf) – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 1.

<sup>17</sup> International Crisis Group 2009, *Bangladesh: Getting Police Reform on Track*, Crisis Group Asia Report no.182, 11 December, p.1 – Attachment 40.

<sup>18</sup> '7 Jubo Dal men held on extortion charge' 2009, *Daily Star*, 11 November <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=113605> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 41.

<sup>19</sup> Odhikar 2010, *Human Rights Report 2009*, 1 January, p.7 [http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English\\_report/HRR\\_2009.pdf](http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English_report/HRR_2009.pdf) – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 1.

Of the few reports which have detailed arrests following incidents of political violence in the recent year reports of the arrest of BNP<sup>20</sup> activists have been the more frequent; though some reports of the arrest of Awami League activists have also appeared.<sup>21</sup>

It is also worth noting, finally, that the Awami League government's recent move to have politically motivated charges withdrawn from the Bangladesh courts has sought to aid two BNP identities as well as Awami League figures. According to the US Department of State: "Initially, the majority of the cases recommended for withdrawal appeared to be those brought against AL members. However, in August and September the committee recommended withdrawal of cases against BNP members Moudud Ahmed and Tarique Rahman."<sup>22</sup>

## **2. Do reports suggest that political groups target family members (including infants) of opponents, using kidnapping/extortion, etc. as a political tool?**

Recent years have seen no reports of Bangladesh political groups targeting the families of rival political actors in any way; either by kidnapping, extortion or any other means. Certain individuals affiliated with the Awami League<sup>23</sup> and BNP<sup>24</sup> have been accused of engaging in practices of kidnapping and extortion targeting rivals and targets of financial opportunity. There have also been regular reports of kidnappings for ransom by criminal groups (often targeting the children of wealthy businessmen)<sup>25</sup> in the Bangladesh press along with instances of Bangladesh police foiling such activities.<sup>26</sup> This noted, there is no information to indicate that the family members of BNP or Awami League members are being targeted in this way, be it for monetary or political ends.

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<sup>20</sup> For BNP arrests, see: 'FIR dictated by police lodged' 2009, *Daily Star*, 28 January <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=73304> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 35; Noakhali, U. 2009, '15 injured in AL-BNP clash in Noakhali', *Daily Star*, 9 May <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=87469> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 36; 'JCD leader arrested for provocative comments' 2009, *Daily Star*, 22 October <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=110813> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 37; 'BNP men clash with cops' 2010, *Daily Star*, 19 February <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=126946> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 38; '25 Habiganj BNP men sued' 2010, *Daily Star*, 19 March <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=130683> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 39.

<sup>21</sup> For arrests of AL figures, see: 'JCD leader arrested for provocative comments' 2009, *Daily Star*, 22 October <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=110813> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 37.

<sup>22</sup> US Department of State 2010, *2009 Human Rights Report: Bangladesh*, 11 March – Attachment 42.

<sup>23</sup> 'Brothers freed from captors' 2004, *Daily Star*, 25 June <http://www.thedailystar.net/2004/06/25/d4062501022.htm> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 43.

<sup>24</sup> 'Kidnapped AL leader rescued' 2004, *News From Bangladesh*, 27 April <http://www.bangladesh-web.com/view.php?hidRecord=23200> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 44.

<sup>25</sup> Khan, A. 2009, 'Population boom setting development efforts at naught', *Daily Star*, 25 July <http://www.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=98415> – Accessed 28 April 2010 Attachment 49; 'Bangladesh: Businessman rescued' 2010, *Plus News Pakistan*, 17 April – Attachment 54; 'Trader abducted for ransom rescued, three arrested (sic)' 2010, *Daily Star*, 27 April [http://www.thedailystar.net/pf\\_story.php?nid=101298](http://www.thedailystar.net/pf_story.php?nid=101298) – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 48; 'Turjo Never Had a Chance' 2006, *Star Weekend Magazine*, 15 December <http://www.thedailystar.net/magazine/2006/12/03/news.htm> – Accessed 28 April 2010 – Attachment 50.

<sup>26</sup> 'Two rescued 6 days into kidnap' 2010, *Daily Star*, 18 April <http://www.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=134754> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 45; 'RAB member stabbed in drive to rescue abduction victim' 2010, *New Age*, 17 April <http://www.newagebd.com/2010/apr/17/home.html> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 46; Khagrachhari, U. 2009, 'Kidnapped journo freed', *Daily Star*, 31 December <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=119876> – Accessed 27 April 2010 – Attachment 47.

### **3. Do reports suggest that returnees from abroad are targeted for extortion, kidnapping, etc? If so, do these appear to be opportunistic criminal acts, or based on some criteria such as political background, etc?**

No information was located which suggested the existence of a trend in which returnees from abroad are targeted for extortion, kidnapping, etc. Information was located, as is noted above, to suggest that kidnapping and extortion has been a problem in Bangladesh more generally with the families of wealthy businessmen being particular targets.<sup>27</sup> There has also been a trend of Bangladeshi business men being lured to foreign locales (outside Bangladesh) and then held there for ransom. In March of this year there were also reports that a “transnational gang is abducting Bangladeshi workers for ransom in countries in the Middle East, deceiving them with false promises of lucrative jobs in Europe”<sup>28</sup> and then holding the abductees in Pakistan for ransom.<sup>29</sup> The story came to light as charges were pressed against members of the gang in Dhaka. In April 2010 another such transnational incident was reported with police in South Africa raiding a house where persons from Bangladesh were being held for ransom.<sup>30</sup>

#### **Attachments**

1. Odhikar 2010, *Human Rights Report 2009*, 1 January, p.9  
[http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English\\_report/HRR\\_2009.pdf](http://www.odhikar.org/documents/2009/English_report/HRR_2009.pdf) – Accessed 27 April 2010.
2. ‘BNP factions clash in Pabna’ 2010, *bdnews24.com*, 13 April  
<http://www.bdnews24.com/details.php?id=158180&cid=3> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
3. ‘11 hurt as BNP factions clash in Cox's Bazar’ 2010, *The Daily Star*, 24 March  
<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=131431> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
4. ‘Top JCD Men Sued Over DU Riot’ 2010, *Independent Bangladesh*, source: *bdnews24.com*, 19 January  
<http://www.independent-bangladesh.com/2010011911615/country/top-jcd-men-sued-over-du-riot.html> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
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<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=87485> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
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<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=87901> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
7. ‘12 hurt as AL men attack BNP procession in Sylhet’ 2010, *New Age*, 10 January  
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<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=83866> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
10. ‘20 hurt in AL-BNP clash’ 2009, *Daily Star*, 20 May  
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<sup>27</sup> Khan, A. 2009, ‘Population boom setting development efforts at naught’, *Daily Star*, 25 July  
<http://www.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=98415> – Accessed 28 April 2010 – Attachment 49;

<sup>28</sup> ‘Bangladesh: Gang targets workers abroad’ 2010, *Plus News Pakistan*, 18 March – Attachment 51.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Bangladesh: Over 50 Bangladeshis held hostage in Pakistan’ 2010, *Plus News Pakistan*, 22 March – Attachment 52.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Five held after men found in cupboard’ 2010, *Pretoria News Weekend*, 24 April – Attachment 53.

11. Faridpur, U. 2009, 'AL, BNP clash in Faridpur: 10 hurt', *Daily Star*, 27 October <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=107183> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
12. '11 hurt in Madaripur clash' 2009, *Daily Star*, 25 October <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=111178> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
13. 'JCD activist assaulted by BCL men at DU' 2009, *Daily Star*, 27 October <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=111528> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
14. '12 injured as Raozan AL, BNP clash' 2009, *Daily Star*, 11 November <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=113590> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
15. '12 hurt as AL, BNP clash in Natore town' 2009, *Daily Star*, 2 December <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=115976> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
16. Patuakhali, U. 2010, '18 injured in attacks on JCD processions in Patuakhali', *Daily Star*, 2 January <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=120140> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
17. Bagerhat, U. 2010, 'JCD rallies, Jamaat office attacked in Bagerhat', *Daily Star*, 3 January <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=120218> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
18. '50 hurt in AL-BNP clash' 2009, *Daily Star*, 4 June <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=91168> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
19. Sarker, R. 2009, 'AL men set fire to BNP office at Lalmonirhat', *Daily Star*, 9 November <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=113326> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
20. '25 injured as AL, BNP clash' 2009, *New Age*, 9 December <http://www.newagebd.com/2009/dec/09/nat.html> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
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22. 'Kuet shut after BCL, JCD clash' 2010, *Daily Star*, 13 April <http://www.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=134196> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
23. 'Attempt on Moulvibazar JCD leader' 2009, *Daily Star*, 14 October <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=109619> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
24. 'FIR dictated by police lodged' 2009, *Daily Star*, 28 January <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=73304> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
25. 'Jubo Dal leader murdered, 25 hurt in AL-BNP clash' 2009, *Daily Star*, 9 December <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=117008> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
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27. 'JCD leader, AL man killed over control of char' 2010, *Daily Star*, 25 March <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=131493> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
28. Sirajganj, U.N.B. 2009, 'JCD leader found dead', *Daily Star*, 25 November <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=115498> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
29. 'JCD leader assaulted by BCL men at DU' 2009, *Daily Star*, 11 May <http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=87771> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
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31. '6 BNP men hurt in BCL attack' 2009, *New Age*, 30 October  
<http://www.newagebd.com/2009/oct/30/nat.html> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
32. 'BCL, JCD clash in Nilphamar' 2009, *Daily Star*, 2 November  
<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=112336> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
33. 'BCL activists stab JCD man at RU' 2009, *Daily Star*, 11 November  
<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=113603> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
34. 'JCD, BNP men beaten in Feni' 2009, *Daily Star*, 12 December  
<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=117425> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
35. 'FIR dictated by police lodged' 2009, *Daily Star*, 28 January  
<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=73304> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
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<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=87469> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
37. 'JCD leader arrested for provocative comments' 2009, *Daily Star*, 22 October  
<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=110813> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
38. 'BNP men clash with cops' 2010, *Daily Star*, 19 February  
<http://www.thedailystar.net/story.php?nid=126946> – Accessed 27 April 2010.
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