

# Bangladesh: The Effect of Political, Economic & Social Imparity and the Rise of Islamic Militancy

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**Abstract.** *Bangladesh, third largest Muslim populated country in the world, recently faced a frightful and dreadful militant attack. The militant movement in the country is the deadliest but not the very first. As a liberal Muslim country in the world, the augmentation of Islamic radical movement is not desired. But the inequality and the increased racism that spreads into the veins of every part of the society are the main reason behind the movement. Political instability, economic discrimination and absence of the rule of law are key factors behind the militancy and radical movement in the country. The article will analyze the key factors behind the Islamic Militant movements in Bangladesh with social, economic, current law and order situation, political unrest along with social injustice and inequality to name just a few. The way to fight against Islamic Militancy must be by Islam, not by permuting it. The social justice and economic impartiality has to be ensured to win the war against terrorism and also political stability has to be kept for a long time.*

**Keywords:** *Militants, Islamist, Imparity, IS, Rule of Law.*

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“And spend in the way of Allah and do not throw [yourselves] with your [own] hands into destruction [by refraining]. And do good; indeed, Allah loves the doers of good” (Al Quran, 2:195).

## Introduction

The present Muslim world is facing the most pestilent and odious militant attacks in recent times. Though the whole world is facing these terrorist activities, the Muslim world receive the detraction as the terrorists operate these actions under the name

of Islam. This problem is not only for the non-Muslims or only Muslims, but for all. The terrorist violence spreads across the whole world and the sanguinary situation effected all religious peoples and places. The law enforcement agencies in the most affected countries have failed to challenge this problem. Though they have taken some steps to stop the terrorist tide, the response is not sufficient enough.

Most of the terrorist organizations operate their militant activities in the name of Islam; they are often called as 'Islamic Terrorists' or 'Islamic Militants'. Though the Muslim community in the world has denied the allegation, they also termed them as terrorists as a whole. There are so many terrorist organizations that operate their militancy in the world in the name of Islam as Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab, Islamic State (IS, formerly ISIS/ISIL), etc.

Bangladesh has attracted the attention of the international media for heightened militant activities in 2015, particularly after a series of killings of bloggers by a local militant group allegedly associated with Al Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) and after murders of foreign nationals, responsibility of which was claimed by the Islamic State (Riaz, 2016).

Bangladesh, third largest Muslim populated country in the world, is also facing the militant activities. Bangladesh is renowned as a liberal Muslim country and persons of other religions live here with peace and tranquility for a very long time. After the British colonial regime, the country had gone through a period as Pakistani Provincial State, the country liberalized from Pakistan in 1971. With a high percentage of Muslim population, most of them being Sunni, the imparity is not religious but political and economic with social contraposition.

This imparity is one of the reasons behind the present militant activities in Bangladesh. This discrimination is not only economic but also social and political. And it grows in time. In every aspect of life, the population has faced the discrimination and the result is ghastly. This article will analyze how the continuous and boundless discrimination effects the society and, as an outcome of this situation, the militant movement, or radicalism, propogated. It has been arguably observed that religious fundamentalism and violence have very deep relation among them. Many scholars opined that extremist violence and intolerance are inherent to fundamentalism. They argue that when competing with other religious movements and secular institutions in order to protect and sharpen religious identity, fundamentalist movements tend to commit violent and intolerant acts (Almond, Appleby, & Sivan, 2003). Sarwar Alam observed that this is especially the case in third world countries like Bangladesh, where post-colonial secular political institutions and modern technology (particularly the electronic media) are believed to challenge conventional morality, which encourages some people to reaffirm religious ideals (Alam, 2008). Often, religion is the most visible and evocative vehicle of protest, not only of political protest, but also of morality, dignity, and group identity (Lawrence, 1989).

According to Mark Juergensmeyer (2000), religion has the ability to give moral sanction to violence, and because violence is the most potent force that a non-legal entity can possess, religion can be a potent political tool. Juergensmeyer also stated that, religious violence can empower people who have not had power before. He furthers the statement that, in developing countries, violent fundamentalist movement soften have nationalist and anti-imperialist motives in addition to their religious ones, which was also stated by Almond, Appleby and Sivan (2003).

But the social, economic and political crisis in Bangladesh is more responsible for the violence and extremism occurs here. The political unrest, economic imparity and social injustice are the key factors behind the militancy and unrest in Bangladesh. This will be the main concern of the article with empirical research and secondary data.

### **Sources of the Rise of Islamic Militancy in Bangladesh**

The history of militancy actually starts after the independence of Bangladesh. The leftist insurgency makes the whole country vulnerable and it unrested the political situation of Bangladesh. As a result, there were assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and several coups had occurred. Several leftist parties were banned due to their militant activities and increasing the violence, crime, killing, extortion, etc. During the martial law regime from 1975 to 1990, the leftist movement gone underground and they were vanished from the political scene. But, they had minnow level of presence in the south-west part of the country.

Sarwar Alam (2007) also stated in his book *For domestic use only: the perception of power and powerlessness among rural Muslim women in a Bangladesh village* that Islam is not a monolithic tradition in Bangladesh. In historical terms, it contains four overlapping traditions: (i) a Sufi-influenced accommodationist and tolerant tradition of coexistence of different faiths that influence one another on a religious-cultural basis, (ii) a scripturally literalist and socially active Islamic tradition derived from the influence of revivalist reform movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, (iii) a modern Islamist tradition mostly derived from radical and militant Islamist political parties and organizations and (iv) a secularized and modernist tradition of Islam derived from the European education system introduced by the British colonial rulers (Alam, 2007).

But the Islamic militancy in Bangladesh was injected later. Though there has been a noteworthy upsurge in militant activities in Bangladesh in recent years, mainly from 2015. Both AQIS and the IS have claimed their presence in the country. Killing of atheist bloggers, also the publisher of one of the atheist blogger's book, foreigners, attacks on Shi'a community, killing of religious preachers is claimed by IS through their magazine named Dabiq and also by the SITE intelligence group.

According to Ali Riaz, a University Professor and Chair of the Department of Politics and Government at Illinois State University, USA, the Islamist militant groups in Bangladesh,

based on their transformations, tactics and objectives can be divided into five generations (Riaz, 2016).

The first generation of militants was the product of the Afghan War (1979-1992). Though geologically Bangladesh is located thousands of miles away from Afghanistan, the linking was established in 1984 when a group of volunteers travelled to Afghanistan to fight against Russia. An estimated 3,000 volunteers joined the war in several batches in the following four years, of which 24 died on the battlefield. Also a group of 'ulama' visited the country and reportedly met Usama bin Laden (Manik, 2005). Between 1988 and 1992, Shafiqur Rahman, a returnee of the Afghan war, established contacts with a Pakistani Islamist organization called Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami and the Bangladesh chapter began its clandestine operations (Riaz, 2016).

The second generation of militants was born after 1996, when the group moved its bases to the northern and northwestern parts of the country and adopted the name "Qital fi Sabilillah" (Fighting in the way of Allah) (Riaz, 2016). The expansion of the organization came after contacts had been made with Shaikh Abdur Rahman, son of a deceased Ahle Hadith leader, and Asadullah Ghalib, leader of the Ahle Hadith Andolon Bangladesh (AHAB, Ahle Hadith Movement Bangladesh). They joined forces in 1998 and established the Jaamatul Mujaheddin Bangladesh (JMB) (Saikia & Stepanova, 2009).

As the JMB and HuJIB were gradually transforming, a new organization with international connections and a global agenda appeared on the scene – the Hizb-ut-Tahrir (HT). The Bangladesh chapter of the HT was founded in 2001 by a university professor who had studied in the United Kingdom as a Commonwealth scholar. This can be categorized as the third generation of militants. The new generation is characterized by its technical skills (being students of universities) and well versed in global political events. The profiles of arrested activists in the past years indicate that they are largely from middle class backgrounds and more urban-based than any other Islamist groups, including the mainstream Islamist parties (Riaz, 2016).

After the arrests and execution of the JMB leaders in 2006-2007 by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party led government, a new group named the Ansarullah Bangla Team (ABT) has been established at that time and they can be described as the fourth generation of militant groups. Originally, the group used the 'Ansar al Mujahideen English Forum' (AAMEF), an Al Qaeda affiliated website, and later moved to another website, 'bab-ul-islam.net', launched in Pakistan. The group uses Bengali, Urdu, Arabic and English for the dissemination of its message (Rashid, 2014). The group reflects a young generation of jihadist in Bangladesh, which uses cyberspace extensively in propagating the jihadist ideology and training manuals to guide terror attacks (TRAC, 2016). The ABT was thrust into the limelight in March 2013 after arrests of five university students in connection with the killing of blogger and activist Rajib Haider. Haider, a self-proclaimed atheist, was hacked to death in February.

With the announcement of Al Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri, in September 2014, that the organization was establishing a branch in South Asia, AQIS came into being (The Guardian, 2014). In February 2015, Zawahiri called upon the people of Bangladesh to 'launch a massive public uprising (intifada) in defense of Islam against the enemies of Islam' (Bdnews24, 2015). Members and followers of the AQIS and the IS can be described as the fifth generation of militants in Bangladesh. The defining feature of the new generation is that they are inspired by, and connected to, the transnational terrorist groups, intend to pursue their objective of establishing an Islamic state in Bangladesh and participate in the global militant Islamist movements (Riaz, 2016).

### **Social & Economic Structure along with Political Crisis in Bangladesh**

Social structure is a term roughly applied to any recurrent form of social comportment or to order interrelationships between different elements of a society. Social structure comprises different affiliation, religious, economic, political and other institutions, as well as of norms, ethics, values and social roles of the members of a society.

The social structure in pre-British Bengal was different from that in other parts of India, not merely because Bengal was ruled by rulers of non-Bengal origins. Many forces contributed to the development of Bengal's distinctive social institutions, the most important among which is the Bengali village and kinship (Banglapedia, 2016). The practice of Zamindari had a direct negative impact on the social structure in Bangladesh. It formed the lord-servant system in this land. Zamindars were only tax-collectors, but they treated peoples as vassal. Though, later on, the system of Zamindari was abolished.

The British rule brought certain deviations in the social structure of Bengal by bringing new laws and rules. After the abolition of Zamindari system and tenants got their absolute right and title over the land, it changes the mind setup in the population. Thought, the upper class or richer class of the country acquired the economic and political strength. After the liberation war in 1971, the middle class society played the main role in leadership and economic structure.

Since liberation, Bangladeshi society has undergone massive changes in terms of the emergence of capitalism in the agrarian economy, rural-urban migration and the growth of the informal sector. The rural and urban social structure received differential developments. Rural society is left with a vast mass of proletariat, including the peasantry, artisans and working classes. The different social groups developed in the rural areas are capitalist farmers, rich peasants, middle peasants, marginal peasants and the landless (Banglapedia, 2016).

Traditional norms, ethics, values and morality still play a vital role in the social structure of Bangladesh. Religious values also played an important role as the largest percentage of the population are Muslim. The urban social structure is very different from the rural social structure. The change in the both urban and rural society is eye-catching.

Communication system, internet, and over-urbanization are responsible for various crimes and offenses.

With the improvisation of technology, the values, ethics and morality has been degraded in the society. The gelling and bonding into the family and society was the elegance in Bengal society. But the bonding in the family and society got detached and urban family life is self-centered.

The education system has also played an important role in the changing of social structure in Bangladesh. The primary religious education was the lucrative as it develops the base of morality. But at the present education system the primary religious education has melted and the education system cannot produce the education of morality, ethics and values.

The class system is not practiced in the social structure in Bangladesh but it is visible more than daylight. The racism components are present in the society. Though the Zamindari system has been abolished and after independence in 1971, the middle class family flooded into the economic and political system, but the racism has been grown up into the veins of the society.

But after the liberation, the differences between the classes have grown up radically. Riches become richer and poor become poorer. The middle class has become invisible as they mixed up with higher class and lower class.

The changes in the social structure have shaken the mental structure of the society. Pride, arrogance, impudence, irritable, piggish, and fractious and other negative features have observed in the society. The rapid social change causes the society vulnerable and no steps have been taken to tackle this problem. And more or less this social structural change has become one of the key components in the uprising of militancy.

Bangladesh has recently been upgraded from a low income country (LIC) to lower-middle income country (LMIC) as per the World Bank's classification (Raihan, 2016). But this classification is merely calculated from an average income status. But in reality the discrimination in economic level is very high. The income growth is rapidly increasing to only a group of people and they play the important role in the economy. Or in another word, the economy of Bangladesh is restricted to a handful people.

According to the Human Development Report (HDI) 2010, Bangladesh is one of the countries that made the greatest progress in recent decades, as measured by the Human Development Index (HDI). Bangladesh's HDI has increased by 81 per cent in the past 30 years. Even with such impressive relative gains, Bangladesh remains a country in need of continued and coherent development assistance (INTERACTIONS, 2016).

The dominant number of the population of Bangladesh lives in rural areas. According to World Bank, about 80% of the total population lives in rural areas. And in these areas

the lack of enjoying rights like education, health clinics, adequate transportation, etc., are common. There are also a significant number of people living under the poverty line in urban areas, although the people in the urban areas enjoy a better standard of living in comparison to rural areas with electricity, gas and water supply. Even in the major cities, however, “a significant proportion of Bangladeshis live in squalor in dwellings that fall apart during the monsoon season and have no regular electricity. These Bangladeshis have limited access to health care and to clean drinking water” (Encyclopedia of the Nations, 2016).

Economic discrimination is discrimination based on economic factors. These factors can include job accessibility, incomes, the expenses and/or availability of goods and services and the amount of capital investment funding available to minorities in business. This can include discrimination against workers, consumers and minority-owned businesses.

Economic discrimination can be explained by GINI Index published by the World Bank. GINI Index measures the extent to which the distribution of income (or, in some cases, consumption expenditure) among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. According to the World Bank, the value of GINI has only developed from 25.9 in 1983 to 32.0 in 2010. The progress is not expected after 1990. Though in recent years, the national income rises, but it doesn't cover the whole scenario of the socioeconomic condition in Bangladesh. The GNI per capita in Bangladesh is 900\$ in 2013 according to the World Bank and the poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line is 31.5% of the population.

Bangladesh has 25 million extremely poor people, or nearly 60 lakh families, according to Household Income and Expenditure Survey 2010. The poverty rate in Bangladesh has dropped between 23.34 and 26.51 percent of the total population by 2015. This is a dismal figure when compared to other developed economies. Even though the poverty rate in Bangladesh has been decreasing, it is doing so at a slow rate of less than 2% per year (Mustafa, 2000).

From the income distribution data between poorest and richest according to the World Bank, it shows that 1% of the population of the country currently receives 13% of the national income. In other words, if an average person from the lowest 10% of the population earns Tk 6000, an average person from the richest 1% earns Tk 195,000. Nevertheless, the seriousness of the problem of mounting income inequality becomes even more severe when we analyze the wealth growth into justification.

According to the Bangladesh Labor Force Survey, 2010, in Bangladesh, total employed populations are 54.1 million and among them the female employed populations are only 16.2 million and the female employed population in rural areas is 12.6 million and in urban areas 3.6 million.

The gap between the rich and poor is increasing with the number of unemployed population and it is a very alarming situation for the government. Because the discrimination

is creating some serious problems like poverty, unemployment, crime, drugs and so other problems with domestic violence, extortion, etc. And all of these problems are helpful to create a situation for operating militant activities. The militant groups will continue to make use of this situation in favor of them.

The economy of Bangladesh is more hampered by political violence. The national economy has been continuously disturbed by political activities like strike, blockade etc. In the absence of exercise of democracy, politics itself is ferocious and the police department is used as a political power. Violence is coming from politics more than from any other causes.

After independence, Bangladesh has faced several political crises. It begins with the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (President at that time) with his family in 1975. After that, several coups had followed and the martial law regime had just begun. After that, General Ziaur Rahman (President at that time) was assassinated in 1981 and the new martial law regime was established by General Hussain Muhammad Ershad. That military regime was overthrown by the civil movement led by Bangladesh Nationalist Party and Bangladesh Awami League in alliance with other political parties in 1990.

In 1991, the country elected Begum Khaleda Zia as new Prime Minister and democracy established and it continued till now. Though, there are several political crises in the meantime. In 2007, there was a military backed government in the form of Caretaker Government rule the country. The political clashes between Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Party were the main reason behind the political crises and destruction and violence in the country. Since 1999, the attacks by Islamist militants have been increasing. They have targeted opposition politicians, scholars, journalists, members of the judiciary, religious minorities, and members of the Islamic Ahmadiyya sect (Ganguly, 2006). Between March 6, 1999 and January 27, 2005, militant Islamists killed at least 156 people in Bangladesh (Ali, 2006).

But, at present there is political nothingness existent. 10th national parliament election of Bangladesh was held on 5 January, 2014 boycotted by 20 Party alliance led by Bangladesh Nationalist Party and Bangladesh Awami League was elected and formed the government. Before the elections, 154 candidates out of 300 won an uncontested majority to pass. The election was most violent in the history of Bangladesh.

After that uncontested election, the present ruling party Bangladesh Awami League wiped out the opposition by criminal cases, violence, torturing and also with killing. The Bangladesh Police and RAB (elite law enforcement agency) were accused of several political killings. The healthy political environment is totally absent and there are no activities from the opposition party because the present opposition party, Bangladesh Jatiya Party is also part of the government.

There is no actual opposition party and it is noted that in democratic system a strong opposition party is needed to keep the political equilibrium. But the equilibrium is not

present and it is golden opportunity for the militant groups run their activities. Without an actual opposition party, the present ruling party behaves like an autocratic form and it is ideal ground for any militant groups to cultivate their principles and inject them to the deprived population.

Taking place in different poles by two major parties is most expensive and awful part of the history of politics of independent Bangladesh. The most disturbing feature of the Bangladeshi polity, however, is the state of the two principal political parties, the Awami League (AL) and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). They do have some ideological differences (Ganguly, 2006). In some context, it is realized to me that, there is another particular entity which does not want the unity of these two parties. There were many of chances came to get unity among the political parties like natural calamities, natural security etc. But some undisclosed reasons, that never been happened and the people of Bangladesh suffered most from it.

The political crises only raise the disunity among the people of Bangladesh. The divide and rule policy is strongly applied in the political system of Bangladesh. Two of the main political parties, Bangladesh Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Party, keep themselves in the opposite pole. At present, the vacuum created in the politics in Bangladesh must be filled with other components and the possibility of this refill could be the extremist. Every component of creating the environment of revolution ground is present. But if the road to revolution is blocked and the vacuum in the politics is still present, then the whole political condition will surely welcome the extremist to take the vacuum place.

### **Imparity is Present Everywhere**

Apart from social, economic and political discrimination there are several imparity components present in Bangladesh. This imparity can have described as racism, though it is quite different from other racist countries where the race was decided on a color or caste. But in Bangladesh color racism is not that much existing though that is also present in minnow level. Wealth, political, social class, job sector and in some context, religious imparity are seen in Bangladesh.

The most discrimination has been seen in the job sector in Bangladesh. Gender discrimination with quota system is one of the reasons behind unemployment. Even graduate students have to apply for menial jobs because of no vacancy due to discrimination. Also, lobbying and money dealings are responsible for keeping a huge educated population unemployed and the rising turmoil can be fulminated at any time with grievance and agitation. Liberation war's children and grandchildren quota of 30% in education and job sector is another reason of imparity and it also increases perturbation among the educated unemployed population.

Social class discrimination can be noticed in the higher class of the society. In many areas in the country the people from lower class have to face discrimination. Though there is no caste system in Bangladesh, but the social class system is also responsible for discrimination in life.

Political discrimination is like the members and activities of the ruling party takes immoral benefit and the opposite minded peoples are deprived of equitable rights. Corruption is also one of the results of political autocracy.

The whole country is divided into two groups. Not only political activists, the supporters and professionals are so divided into political groups. The national unity in national issues like national security, destructive calamity, environmental issues etc. is not present. The nation-wise disunity is spreading like mephitis. This disunity is the result of discrimination and imparity in every aspect of life.

The country has three types of education system: Bengali medium (for normally middle class and lower middle class people), English medium (for higher class people) and Madrasa medium (for normally lower class people). So our education system has the seed of imparity and a child can learn the discrimination from his early stage of life. This discriminatory education system is the one of the main reasons behind all kinds of imparity and discrimination.

The militant activists just take the opportunity of disunity and they use it to spread violence and also propagandize their principles and ideology. And yet there is no sign of unity to be happening.

### **Is the Present Law and Order System in Bangladesh enough to Deal with Islamic Militants?**

The Bangladesh Constitution ensures the protection of the right to life and personal liberty in accordance with the law. Article 31 of the Constitution of Bangladesh declares that,

“To enjoy the protection of law, and to be treated in accordance with law, is the absolute right of every citizen, wherever he may be, and of every other person for the time being within Bangladesh, and in particular, no action unfavorable to the life, liberty, body, reputation or property of any person shall be taken except in accordance with law”.

According to Article 35(5) of the Constitution of Bangladesh and Article 5 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights,

“No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”.

But, in practice, the government of Bangladesh seemingly fails not ensure the right to life or to comply with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Constitution of Bangladesh.

In 2009, Bangladesh enacted for the first time, specific legislation designed to combat terrorism: the Anti-Terrorism Act 2009. To bring this anti-terror legislation in line with the UN's Action Plan on Counter Terrorism Strategy and other resolutions, it has been amended twice subsequently. In the latest such amendment, the Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Act 2013, provisions were made for the courts to accept videos, still photographs and audio clips used in social media as evidence. The amended law also provides for capital punishment and stiff financial penalties for terrorism and subversive activities, depending upon the gravity of the crimes. The broad language of the legislation provides several mechanisms by which Bangladesh can implement UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 2178, which requires nations to address the foreign terrorist fighter threat. In 2010, the government formulated a strong anti-militancy National Education Policy, which highlights the need for reforming the Madrassa curriculum. The government also introduced anti-extremism chapters in academic text books. Additionally, the Ministry of Education has been organizing awareness programs against terrorism in different schools and colleges. In 2011, the government formulated a "National Counter Terrorism Strategy". In August of the same year, Bangladesh acceded to the Palermo Convention against Transnational Organised Crimes (Centre for Research and Information, 2015).

To fight against the militants there must be a national unity against it along with a strong law and order maintenance must be needed. But with the corruption and disgraceful behavior towards the civilians the police force is no longer recognized as '*citizen's friend*'. They are hated by most of the population and this is the situation that can be used by militants in their favor.

During the *Gulshan Attack*, a local police station chief, Mohammed Salahuddin, was killed in the gunfight along with one other officer, confirmed Ashraful Karim (Hammadi, Scammell, & Yuhas, 2016) with another 30 police officers has been injured. Naturally, these two police officers killed by militants and them along with their families should get the condolences from the countrymen. But the scenario is different than it is expected. After the death of Mohammed Salahuddin, chief of Banani Police Station, the reaction in the social networks is totally opposite. People get happy and they even celebrate the death of the mentioned police officer. It is the worried sign that must be dealt with caution and care.

To fight against terrorism and militants there are no alternative other than the law enforcement agencies. But the infield law enforcement agencies Bangladesh Police and Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), both are accused of various crimes and corruption. Crossfire, killing mission, contact killing, extortion etc. are common allegation against them.

Extra judicial killing in Bangladesh is becoming like the breakfast of the rich people or like the lunch of that poor person who eats for a time in a day. Every day in the getting up or in the fast reading of daily newspapers, we watch the issue or occurrence was occurred in any place in Bangladesh that is killed by Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) or police of terror which is known to us as extra judicial killing. The security forces are continuing to arbitrarily arrest people, often torturing and then killing them in custody (Banglanews24, 2016).

Extrajudicial killing is an arbitrary or unlawful deprivation of life and simply a murder. Bangladesh has earned notoriety in carrying out extrajudicial killings. The rights to life and personal liberty are under threat in Bangladesh, despite the fact that they are guaranteed by the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Article 32 says: "no person shall be deprived of life or personal liberty, save in accordance with law". According to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted in 1966 and ratified by Bangladesh in 2000, "every human being has the inherent right to life". The Covenant also says: 'this right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life'. Different terminologies have been used by the law enforcement agencies to distract from extrajudicial killings; such as, deaths during 'cross-fire', 'encounter', 'gunfight' etc. (ODHIKAR, 2016).

Rule of law has to establish to fight against terrorism. Extra-judicial killing must be stopped. There are extra-judicial killings in the name of crossfire, encounter gunfight etc. though the government and law enforcement agencies do not have responsibility or accountability for these crimes. Political wipe out with law enforcement agencies by using the extra-judicial killing also has a bad impact on citizens and political parties. Every political party in Bangladesh uses the law enforcement agencies as their vanguard and to protect the power. It is a bad practice with law enforcement agencies and it increases the corruption, willfulness among the force. And as political parties use the law enforcement agencies as their vanguard, sometimes they felt helpless to gain control over them.

Another alarming situation for the government is the absence of justice. Both social and judicial justice system has been erupted due to discrimination, corruption, muscle power, nepotism, misuse of political power, etc. Due to social injustice the unity between the people is not present. If in a society, the social justice is absent, then, the judicial justice system has to step forward and strongly enforce justice through the society and country. But the judicial system in Bangladesh is not fully independent and that is the reason it is used as political proceeding.

## Steps to Take Down Militants

It is high time to take some measurements to fight against militants. Government, political parties, citizen and all law enforcement agencies have to play their roles to minimize the threat of militants. Political vacuum must be filled with proper political activities and the environment to practice healthy political activities must be ensured by the Government. It can be argued that the suicide terrorism, or just the act of terrorism, is a willful choice displaying collective rationality; it is a reasonably informed choice among available alternatives (Crenshaw, 1998). Government has the responsibility to address about this among the nation by communication or any other means. Juergensmeyer observes that, violent action and terrorism inspired by, among others, the intimacy with which the humiliation is experienced and the degree to which it is regarded as a threat to honor and respectability (Juergensmeyer, 2000). The aids which have come to these militant organizations must be stopped by any way, but the Government has to be also sensible towards the innocent publics. There are so many complaints against law enforcement agencies by mass population regarding harassment, extortion, giving threat etc. It has to be kept in mind that government cannot win against the militancy if the mass population does not give full support of them. So, in this regard, the Government and law enforcement agencies have to be careful.

It has been argued that a Muslim has no nationality except his belief, which makes him a member of the Muslim community (Qutb, n.d.). However, it can be argued that the feeling of humiliation as Muslims, among others, is the basic foundation of the militant fundamentalist organizations (Alam, 2008). It is likely that this feeling ultimately generates frustrations and helplessness, which in turn motivates them to adopt terrorism as a political strategy (Crenshaw, 1998,). In this regards, the proper guidelines and opportunity to work can be effective among the population who are backward and frustrated. *Imams* (Islamic priests) and *Alems* (Islamic scholars) can be more effective than any other body regarding the guidelines from the view of Islam.

Allah (SWT) says, "...And do not kill yourselves [or one another]. Indeed, Allah is to you ever Merciful" (Al Quran, 4: 29). So, who kill themselves and others cannot enter into *Jannat* (Heaven). So it will be also addressed to the peoples who are off the rails. It has to keep in mind that, to fight against Islamic militancy you have to use Islam against it. Which can be more effective than the proper and solid education of Islam in the war against Militancy? Allah (SWT) also says that, "Because of that, We decreed upon the Children of Israel that whoever kills a soul unless for a soul or for corruption [done] in the land - it is as if he had slain mankind entirely. And whoever saves one - it is as if he had saved mankind entirely. And our messengers had certainly come to them with clear proofs. Then indeed many of them, [even] after that, throughout the land, were transgressors" (Al Quran, 5:32).

Social injustice and imparity with any type of discrimination must be banished and social justice with judicial justice has to restore. Economic discrimination must be dissolved and some proper steps have to take to create employment. Any type of injustice in employment sector has to abolish. The quota system has to alter in a reasonable figure. If a country has 56% quota system in education and job sector and only 44% of the total system evaluated only by talent, it will affect so negatively because the less talented people get jobs and education advantage than the more talented people.

The idea of Islamic Socialism (Islamic Socialism will describe later in another study) can be applied here. The religious educational must be obligatory for a certain level and full education system of the country must be altered and re-evaluated. The discriminatory education system cannot bring the unity and justice in the country. The proper education system has to imply to mix all classes of people in a same level.

The judicial system has to take initiative to establish the rule of law. Any type of discrimination must be liquefied and it can only possible by the strong judicial system. Stand against corruption, nepotism, political crimes, etc., should be united and as a nation whole.

Relative deprivation is a perceived discrepancy between men's value expectations and their value capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of attaining or maintaining, given the social means available to them (Gurr, 1970). The perception of dishonor or the deprivation of honor can be addressed by the theory of humiliation. According to Evelin Lindner, Humiliation means the enforced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honor [sic.] or dignity. ... Humiliation entails demeaning treatment that transgresses established expectations. It may involve acts of force, including violent force. At its heart is the idea of pinning down, putting down or holding to the ground (Lindner, 2001). He also stated that, Torture, humiliation, and loving empathy can link up with terrorism (Lindner, 2006). Love and affection can be another way to fight against the militancy. Lindner observes that feelings of humiliation are among the strongest emotions available to human beings. She argues, "Feelings of humiliation come about when deprivation is perceived as an illegitimate imposition of lowering or degradation" (Lindner, 2006, p. 171).

Political unity is now more necessary than ever. Every political party has to unite and stand against militant activities. And for this the present ruling party has to take the initiative. Political dialogue, opportunities to participate in the election, stand against political crimes and violence, etc. should be taken measures to create the environment of healthy politics.

Law enforcement agencies have to restructure themselves from top to bottom. The corrupted and criminal members of such agencies have to turn before the court and justice.

Extra-judicial killings and other crimes has to be stopped and the accountability in the agencies must be restored. Proper investigation against militancy without any influence must be assured. To repair the relation between people and citizen, government should take some steps. The connectivity with citizens has to increase and harassment and vexation towards the citizen has to stop completely. Agencies have to be friendly with people to regain the title as a friend.

In another word, the country needs to fight against the militancy as a unit and it can only happen when social injustice, discrimination and imparity can be abolished from the society. Every citizen has to help each other to fight against terrorism and militancy and government has to ensure the environment of politics.

### **Conclusion**

To fight against militants is not an easy task. Many united and more technical countries have failed to tackle them. So a country like Bangladesh with present political uncertainty, economic imbalance and social imparity will be more difficult to fight against terrorism and militancy. But it can be possible to fight against militancy with a united citizen and proper law enforcement agencies.

Top fighting against terrorism and militancy, every person has to be united and get behind each other to help them to fight against militancy and extremism. Islamic scholars have a real task now, to motivate the community and teach them the proper education of Islam against terrorism. Governments also treat the Islamic scholars not their enemy, but as a friend.

Government can take measures steps to fight the terrorism, but it has to keep in their mind, those only imposing strong laws and with strong agencies with modernized weapon cannot guarantee the win against militants. More technical and modernized country has failed to fight against terrorism. So, at least, government, citizen, agencies, departments of government overall every one of the country has to be united against terrorism and government has to ensure the ground of unity.

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