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# УДК 32.327 САЗЕДУЛ ИСЛАМ

аспирант кафедры сравнительной политологии Российского университета дружбы народов, Россия, г. Москва

# К ВОПРОСУ О ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОМ КРИЗИСЕ В НАРОДНОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКЕ БАНГЛАДЕШ

Терроризм является одной из самых распространенных проблем в мире. В некоторых странах это явление считается основным препятствием для развития государства. В данной статье анализируется эволюция военных настроений и движений в странах Южной Азии, включая Афганистан, Пакистан, Индию и Бангладеш. Военные настроения распространились в этом регионе после войны между Афганистаном и Советским Союзом. В статье рассматривается взаимосвязь исламской военизации и политического процесса в Республике Бангладеш. Автором отмечается, что военные группировки не только тесно связаны с исламскими политическими партиями, но также иногда пользуются поддержкой светских политиков, чтобы получить политические выгоды. В результате, военизированность и фундаментализм способствуют развитию политического кризиса в Народной Республике Бангладеш.

**Ключевые слова:** терроризм, фундаментализм, секуляризм, демократия, дискриминация, ИС.

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# RISE OF MILITANCY AND TERRORISM AND THE POLITICAL CRISIS OF BANGLADESH

Terrorism is one of the common problem in the world. For some countries it is considered as the major obstruction to develop the nation. In this article it is analyzed the evolution of militancy in south Asian countries including Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. Militancy got a powerful shape after the war of Afghanistan and Soviet union, then it was extented in this region. The article explores the intimacy between Islamic militancy and the politics in

Bangladesh. Through this article it is observed that militant groups are not only closely connected with the Islamic political parties but also sometimes patronized by the secular politician in order to get the political benefits. As a result militancy and fundamentalism are creating a political crisis in Bangladesh.

Key words: Terrorism, Fundamentalism, Secularism, Democracy, Discrimination, IS.

Terrorism is a global phenomenon, it is considered by the scholars as a social fact, sometimes as a crime. Terrorism is more extreme than most common crimes since it often involves the their victimization. This terrorism has been discussed first as a political trend and movement; second, by the religious movement; thirdly, a movement pursuing far-reaching political goals that go beyond the overthrow of individual regimes or rulers, the seizure of individual territories or countries. (Vitaly Tretyakov, 2015).

The term "terrorism "is defined in many ways, the most commonly accepted definition by UN which was produced in 1992 "An anxiety inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby in contrast to assassination the direct targets of violence are not the main targets". Recently the term militancy has become the synonym of terrorism, it is the product of fundamentalism. (Rahman & Kashem, 2016).

It is the number one problem for many countries in south Asia like Afghanistan and Pakistan. Just two decades ago "Al Qaeda" and Taliban were the well known militant organizations in the world. Now there are many militant groups such as "Boko Haram" in Nigeria, "Al-Shabab" in Somalia, IS in Syria, Bin Laden front line, Al Nusra and Ansar Al Sharia in libya e.t.c. According to the western intelligence report the number of the small and big militant organizations in the world is around five thousand. (Sharker, Bijon, 2015).

After the attack of September 11, western researchers identified that poverty is the main reason to be attracted to terrorism. Many of them claimed after observing Taliban leadership, structure of the different terrorist groups and the role of some religious educational institute (Madrassa) that, it was the religious education which was the source of extremism. But soon these ideas faced the challenges, because it was found later many of the leaders and the suicide bombers were not belong to any religious institutions rather they had modern education and belong to rich family. In this circumstances it is found that to increase terrorism there is no any single factor. There are some factors which are responsible to spread terrorism. They are: Socioeconomically, political, cultural and global. Socio-economic drivers refer the social isolation, polarization, discrimination, depression and deprivation. Violation of human rights, harsh persecution of the government, deprivation of political rights are included in political drivers. Cultural drivers are connected with the idea that Islam or a particular religion and culture is attacked or threatened by others. In global drivers having a concept that Muslim community are the victim of oppression and discrimination everywhere. (Riaz Ali, 2016).

Some scholars mention that the concept of enemy of Islam is also the influencing factors to develop militancy in the world. Domination and foreign policy of USA, Western Europe and transnational corporations in Islamic and Arab countries is one of the main reason to consider USA and Europe as the common enemy of Islamic terrorist groups of the world. Western governments have been pursuing the policy of the most active, even military, intervention in the affairs of the countries concerned and overthrowing the regimes and rulers existing there, the most irreconcilable and radical part of the Islamic community decided to postpone the struggle for its civilization to the territory of the enemy, that is, to the US and Europe. In this sense, we must recognize that modern international terrorism is the answer to the actions of modern Western imperialism (Vitaly Tretyakov, 2015).

The democratic government who are supported by USA and Western Europe are also regarded as enemies of terrorist groups, as a result for them it's a duty to fight against internal defense (police, army) of the country. As we can see in Pakistan Afghanistan, India and in Bangladesh the people from police and army are often target of killing by the terrorist groups.

Another motivation to spread terrorism is that "universal brotherhood" in Islam. According to the teaching of Islam all the Muslims are as like as a body, if any part of the body is suffered whole body feels that pain. Similarly elsewhere in the world if any Muslim country or community are oppressed or attacked by someone, other Muslims should protect them or support them. This concept is one kind of calling which is connected with the global driver to the terrorism. For example, when in Syria IS terrorist groups the more reducing their power the more we can see the terrorist activities in Europe or other parts of the world by the other groups of terrorist as the sign of their solidarity with the IS terrorists.

Another reason is associated with the revival of Muslim khalifa or Sharia in the government system. Secular democracy was incorporated in Turkey in 1928 and which was the last Muslim khelafat in the history of Islam. Terrorist groups having intention to establish khalifa system again, Islamic states in Syria can be taken as an evidence, this ideology was expanded among the young people throughout the world and as a result hundreds of foreign terrorist including from Russia and Europe joined with them in Syria.

In Europe, the political structure has opened the way for all participants but the Muslim Immigrant are far away from the politics. In the European society these Muslim community are the victim of inequality and discrimination. In French it can be understood where Muslim community having a limited participation in politics. The foreign policy and the role of Western European countries in middle East in the past decades also an element to increase terrorism in Europe. (Riaz Ali, 2016).

Due to the deepest socio-economic and political contradictions there is a possibility of widespread international terrorism. The tendency of combining criminal terrorism with political power is more significant. It is noticed that the transnational criminal groups continuing to directly influence the policies of states, forming shadow capitals. Narco terrorism has emerged, which denotes the specific cooperation of terrorists and drug distributors because in today's world there has been a fusion of terrorism with the drug business. Moreover, in the 21st century, the traditional sphere of activity of criminal structures (drug trafficking, smuggling, trafficking in arms and people, money laundering) was supplemented by such factor as the merging of separate ethnic criminal groups with ethnic terrorist and extremist structures. As a result, terrorist groups that provide assistance to drug distributors not only receive money for financing but also undermine the base of the state. (Lyubarsky, Evgeny Sergeevich, 2010).

Terrorism and the political crisis of Bangladesh. Bangladesh is located in South Asia, surrounded by India and having a small boarder with Myanmar, covers an area of 147570 square kilometers. It was ruled by the different foreign rulers in different times, Moguls ruled it from 23th century to 28th century, during the British period it was included in India. In 1947 in the period of separation of Indian cub- continent it was a part of Pakistan, finally in 1971 it got Independence from Pakistan. According to the world bank report 2014 Bangladesh has a population of 158.5 million, where Muslims make up 90 percent and Hindus are 9 percent and other religions including Christians and Buddhists are consists of the rest 1 percent.

In Bangladesh like other South East Asian countries Islamist militancy and terrorism are one of the major socio-political issues. It becomes the hot topic of research because of national and transnational security concern. Immediately after the attack in USA on 11th September in 2001, Bangladesh is presented as the hub of terrorism after Pakistan and Afghanistan. However after the serial bombing in 2005 throughout the country become a serious law and order issue. (Rahman & Kashem, 2011).

It is difficult to estimate the actual numbers of the militant groups in Bangladesh because most often they change their names and the members from time to time, at present it is identified that there are 70 extremist groups in Bangladesh. During 1999-2016 Islamist militants carried out over 203 attacks, killing 190 innocent people and injuring more than 2,658 people. (Rahman. Mohammad Azizur, 2016).

A several number of Bangladeshi fundamentalists had joined with Afghan Taliban and fought against Soviet Union in 1979 to 1989. After returning from Afghanistan these people dreamt to have an Islamic country like Afganistan and established the root of terrorism in the country. "Harkatul Jihad" which was established in 1992, considered as the first generation of militancy in Bangladesh. The founder of this organization had a direct connection with Al-Qaeda and the terrorist organizations in Pakistan. In 1996 "Kital fi Sabililah" and "Zamat ul Mujahidin" in 1998 were emerged as the second generation. This groups had no any direct connection with Al-Qaeda but the founder of these groups was also visited Afganistan and pakistan. "Hizbut Tahrir" was the third generation of militant group which was established in 2001. The forth generation was born in 2007 and the fifth generation has come out after the emergence of Islamist state in Syria, The members of the fifth generation are well educated and some of them went to Syria and joined with IS. (Riaz Ali, 2016).

Recently a survey has been conducted by the renowned newspaper in Bangladesh "Prothom Alo" to know the reason of increasing militancy of Bangladesh. According to the survey 72 percent of young people think that unemployment and poverty are playing a major role in dragging the young towards the path of militancy. Apart from this 49 percent of young people explained that the factors of deprivation, absence of social justice, and illiteracy are responsible in promoting militancy. In the survey it is noticed that 58 percent of the young said that due to misuse and mis interpretation of religion, militancy is increasing. It was found that 18 percent respondent said, the problem is increasing due to that continuous degradation of social values, illiteracy, and wrong education. About 12 percent said lack of social justice is the important reason of increasing militancy. (Islam Ashraful, 2017).

Terrorism is not only a social problem but also it is a political crisis of Bangladesh. It is the third largest Muslim country in the world. Though it is considered as liberal Muslim country but fundamentalism is very common topic. After the birth of Bangladesh secularism was one of the main principles of the constitution. In that period religion based political parties were banned. But by the change of power, religion had been involved in the politics and several religion based political parties appeared. Actually according to the goal of the Islamist groups in Bangladesh we can divide them into two parts: one is terrorist group and other is the liberal modern political group which are based on religion. The similarity of these two groups are that both of them dream to get the political power and want to establish Sharia based Islamic country. The difference between this two groups is that one of them want to go in power by violence, killing and bombing because this group believe that democracy is against Islam. Since they consider that west is the enemy of Islam, democracy as a man made process and western ideology and culture is harmful and prohibited in Islam. They believe that Sharia is sent by God and to establish this it is legal to kill those people who are against them.

The other groups want to win the power of the state by election or by democratic ways. They have accepted democracy as the process of formation of government. Now in Bangladesh there are several political parties who are based on religion. Religion based political parties have a great influence in the politics. Although these political parties having a small amount of the voting support of the people but they are very important for the big secular political parties to get

the power. Therefore, several political parties have been in alliance with these Islamic political parties. The politicization of Islam and the use of religion to gain votes is another political factors associated with the rise of Islamist militancy in Bangladesh. (Rahman azizur, 2016).

The use of religious extrimism for political purpose is a very alarming issue. In Bangladesh some cases are found where political leaders are considered as the "God father" of the militant groups. Militants and extremists have been patronized or supported by some politicians (Rahman and Kashem, 2011). Even some politicians are claimed to finance them during the ruling period of Bangladesh national party. (Sharker Bijon, 2015).

It is observed in the countries (where islamist and religious political parties were emerged) when participation of the general people in the political process is limited, then religion based political parties become powerful. Hamas in Palestine and Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt are the good example of the emergence of religion based political parties. If secular democracy can not ensure the right of the people then people think about the alternative way, in this case religion based politics gets the favorable position. (Riaz Ali, 2013).

So in future in Bangladesh we can not deny the possibility of getting the power of religion based political parties if the present political parties fail to establish political stabilities as well as promoting social justice and freedom of explanation and ensuring human rights of the citizen.

Conclusion. Terrorism is one of the major problem of Bangladesh. To address this problem every government are concerned and show "zero tolerance" against militancy. In the country no one terrorist groups is active as before because of the activeness of government. Hundreds of members of the militant groups are arrested and punished, some of the leaders were hanged for killing the people. But it is difficult to say that the roots of the terrorism have been eradicated. They are now hidden and sometimes playing role to kill people (especially who are against Islam) and to create a terrible environment by bombing. Politicians should start political culture of tolerance and must stop to claim each other. They should not facilitate a political environment that is conductive to the rise of extremism and terrorism. Democracy allows citizen of a country to create a political party based on religion as well as it is able to limit the power of those parties, so we should practice democracy effectively. Recently political instability and the undemocratic behavior of two main parties in the country have become favorable to the interest of the fundamentalist political parties. So it is the high time to establish political stability and to ensure political rights of the people in order to protect democracy and power both from the fundamentalist political parties and from the terrorist groups. Some policies can be taken to address this problem.

1) Terrorism should be understand in the wider context of political violence. Strategies of fighting terrorism and resolving the issues of political violence need to be comprehensive and balanced.

- 2) In South Asian countries there is not adequate exploration of the strategies of reconciliation and reintegration with the terrorist groups. So governments should have taken appropriate strategies to negotiate with them.
- 3) The core challenge of terrorism lies on the national level. Though getting help from international organizations and other countries is helpful but they can not play a decisive role to solve this problem inside the country, so government should increase own abilities to remove this problem.
- 4) To deal with cross boarder terrorism, bilateral cooperation is the most effective way. (Anand Kumar, 2012).

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