

Holey Artisan Attack and Renewed Challenges for Future Counter Terrorism Strategy in Bangladesh

Umme Salma Tarin

Lecturer, Department Of International Relations, Bangladesh University Of Professionals.

Abstract: *The Rise Of New Global Security Challenges Has Not Kept Bangladesh Unaffected. The World Has Witnessed Terrorist Attacks In Parris, Brussels, Nice, Munich, London And Many Other Places In Recent Times. Bangladesh Has Witnessed A Sharp Rise In Terrorism Since The Mid-Nineties. In 2016, It Has Experienced One Of The Deadliest Terrorist Attacks In Holey Artisan Bakery Cafe In Dhaka, Which Has Exposed The Vulnerability Of This Country To Transnational Terrorism And Religio-Socio-Political Scourge. Terrorism In Bangladesh Is An Internationally Linked Phenomenon. In Case Of Bangladesh, History, Geostrategic Location, Religious Diversity, Weak Infrastructure, Demographic Factors And Socio-Economic Conditions Are Held Primarily Responsible For The Formation And Dissemination Of Extremist Views Along With The Proliferation Of Terrorist Activities And Events. The Transnational Form Of The Menace Is A Challenge For Nation Like Bangladesh. Hence, Bangladesh Needs To Identify The Emerging Nature Of Terrorism And Solutions To These More Specifically. We Need More Research Guided Policies By The Academia And Policy Planners. Violent Terrorist Incidents In Recent Times Have Multiplied The Risks And Vulnerabilities And These Are Possessing Some Serious Threat To Life, The Economy, Political And Religious Pluralism As Well As National Security. In Response To Such Violent Terrorist Activities The Government Of Bangladesh Has Intensified Its Counter-Terrorism Measures And In Some Operations It Has Deployed Army Personnel Apart From The Traditional Civil Forces To Curb The Situation. However, With The Arise Of New Facets Of Terrorist Threat, The Country Needs To Revisit Its Counterterrorism Strategy And Adjust It By Adapting New Toolsto Meet The Challenges It Faces.*

Key Words: *Terrorism In Bangladesh, Counterterrorism, Holey Artisan Attack, Terrorist Rehabilitation*

Date of Submission: 23-02-2018

Date of acceptance: 10-03-2018

I. Introduction:

Countering Terrorism Has Been One Of Thekey Policy Agendas For Governments Throughout The World Since The Rise Of Terrorism As A Common Threat. However, After The 9/11 Attack And The Subsequent Declaration Of War On Terror Has Added New Dimensions And Drive Towards Counterterrorism Strategies Of Different Nations. With The Advent Of New Facets Of Terrorist Activities There Is Continuous Necessity Of Shifting The Practicing Counterterrorism Activities. Bangladesh Is Not An Exception To This Context And Rather It Is One Of The Mostly Threatened Nations Due To The Rise Of Terrorism And Radicalization. The Assault On The Holey Artisan Bakery, An Upscale Restaurant In Bangladesh's Diplomatic Enclave, Last July Was A Wake-Up Call For Bangladeshi Society. No More There Was Chances To Deny The Fact That IS Was Not Operative In Bangladesh. It Is High Time The South Asian Nation Should Pursue For Complete Reassessment Of Counter-Terrorism. Bangladesh Has Seen Extremist Violence Earlier, But This Incident Was Game-Changing And Was Repeatedly Referred To By People As 'Bangladesh's 9/11' Because Of The Effort It Left On The Society Was Shaking. Only Six Armed Militants, Claimed By Islamic State, Conducted The Shootout, Killed Two Police Officers, Hold A 12-Hour Standoff And Unfortunately Killed 20 Hostages. Eventually The Commandos Of Bangladesh Armed Forces Had Been Engaged To Deal The Situation. The Government In Bangladesh Has Certainly Taken Some Positive Steps, But Far More Is Necessary To Halt A Fall Into The Chasm Of Terrorism And Extremism. While The Cafe Has Now Reopened, The Scars Run Deep. A National Soul-Searching Has Hastened To Tackle The Roots Of This Violence.

1. Terrorism in Bangladesh: A Brief Guide Since The Beginning:

Bangladesh Is Figured As A Beacon Of Tolerance And Secularism In The Muslim-Majority World. However, Unfortunate But True It Is Heralded As A Hotbed Of Islamist Militancy Too. The Country Is Well Known For Liberal Practice Of Religion Where Most Of The Population Practices Its Indigenous Sufi-Inclined Religious Practice. It Is Quite Alarming That There Had Been A Sharp Increase In Extremist Violence Over Past Three Years. The Role Of Religion Is Now Facing Criticism Here As The Country Has Adopted Secularism In Its Constitution. Meanwhile Growing Political Polarization, Governance Issues, And A Gulf

Between Ruling Elites And A Rapidly Developing Populace, Complicate A Coherent Response To Extremism. There Are Also International Aspects Of The Phenomenon That Need To Be Better Understood, In Particular The Influence Of Ideologies, Networks, And Funding From Overseas. The Rise Of Terrorism In Bangladesh Has Seen Different Phases. Based On Their Transformations, Tactics And Objectives, These Phases Can Be Separated.

The First Phase Of Militants Was The Product Of The Afghan War Which Started In 1979 And Lasted Till 1992. Bangladesh Is Geographically Separated From The Main Battlefield, Yet The Close Ties Had Been Established During 1984 When Estimated 3000 Volunteers Joined The War In Several Time Intervals. (Mariam And Roy, 2006) A Connection With The Pakistani Islamist Organization Called Harkat-Ul-Jihad-Al-Islami Was Established That Time And Clandestine Operations Were Started In Bangladesh. (Manik, 2005) These People Identified Themselves As Members Of Huji-Bangladesh (Huji-B). Their Initial Objective Was To Use Bangladesh As A Launching Pad To Influence The Rohiyanga Movement Inside Myanmar. Another Phase Was Started In The Later Part Of The 1990s, When The Northern And Northwestern Parts Of The Country Became Terrorists' Operating Places. When Shaikh Abdur Rahman, Son Of A Deceased Ahle Hadith Leader, And Asadullah Ghalib, Leader Of Ahle Hadith Andolon Bangladesh Came Into Alliance, The Organization Expanded. They Joined Forces In 1998 And Established The Jaamatul Mujaheddin Bangladesh (JMB). Transforming Bangladesh Into An 'Islamic State' Was Their Main Goal. Along With The Group Under The Leadership Of Shaikh Abdur Rahman And Siddiqur Rahman, Alias Bangla Bhai, This Group Established A Reign Of Terror In The Northwestern Part Of Bangladesh. The Hizb-Ut-Tahrir (HT) Marked Another Phase In The Rise Of Terrorism In Bangladesh. Was Founded In 2001 By A University Professor Who Had Studied In The United Kingdom As A Commonwealth Scholar. This Group Was Technically Skilled And Mostly Were From Students Of Different Universities. As The Counterterrorism Operation Got Momentum In 2006 And 2007, Many Of The Militant Groups Were Weakened. At Times, It Appeared That The Country Has Successfully Tamed The Menace Of Militancy. However, These Groups, Particularly The Huji And The JMB, Continued To Reorganize. A New Group Named The Ansarullah Bangla Team (ABT), Which Can Be Described As The Fourth Phase Of Militant Groups' Rise, Emerged Around That Time. According To The Terrorism Research And Analysis Consortium (TRAC), The ABT Surfaced In 2007 Under The Name Of Jamaat-Ul Muslemin. (TRAC, 2015) External Sources Funded This Group And Their Operation Was Shut Down When The Funds Were Over. With The Reemergence In Cyberspace With Strong Position The ABT Once Again Began To Recruit In 2012 Under The Leadership Of Anwar Al Awlaki And Mufti Jasimuddin Rahmani. Using The Young Generation Of Jihadist In Bangladesh, This Group Uses Cyberspace Extensively In Propagating Jihadist Ideology And Training Manuals To Guide Terror Attacks. The Group's Leader Rahmani Was Arrested With 30 Followers In August. Al Qaeda In The Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) Declared Their Presence In September 2014 By The Announcement Of Al Qaeda Leader Ayman Al-Zawahiri. During February, 2015, Zawahiri Urged The People From Bangladesh To Commence A Massive Public Uprising In Defense Of Religion Against The Enemies Of Islam. Organized Presence Of AQIS Was Only Noted During Mid-2015. (Riaz, 2016) Maulana Mainul Islam, The Alleged AQIS Chief Coordinator In Bangladesh And His Top Advisor Maulnaa Zafar Amin Was Apprehended Accompanied By Their Other Ten Activists. They Admitted The Responsibility For Brutal Killing Of Bloggers In 2015. The AQIS, As Mentioned Earlier, Claimed Responsibility For The Brutal Killing Of Bloggers In 2015. Members And Followers Of The AQIS And The IS Can Be Described As The Fifth Phase Of Rise Of Militants In Bangladesh.

2. Holey Artisan: A 'New Chapter' For Terror In Bangladesh?

Although There Is Enormous Amount Of Evidence, Officially Bangladesh Never Agreed To The Position Of Presence Of International Jihadist Forces Within Their Territory. In February 2016, Bangladeshi Prime Minister And Awami League Chief Sheikh Hasina Had Declared "There's No Islamic State In Bangladesh". (Siddharthya, 2017) Few Other Key Policy Makers Also Showed Expressed Similar Views On The Issue. Nevertheless, The Attack On Holey Artisan Has Given A Blow To The Base Of Such Irrational Claim. Because Immediately After The Attack The Islamic State's Emir For The Bengal Region Shaykh Abu Ibrahim Al Hanif (Aka Tamim Chowdhury), Hailed The Dead Militants As Fallen Comrades. Images Released On The Internet Showed The Attackers Nibras Islam, Rohan Intiaz, Andaleeb Ahmed, Meer Saameh Mubasheer, Khairul Islam Payel, And Raiyan Minhaj – All Young Men In Their 20s – Posing With The Black Flag Of The Islamic State. Just Two Months Before The Attack, Chowdhury Had Openly Laid His Future Plans Out In The 14th Edition Of The Dabiq — The Islamic State's Online Magazine At The Time. (Paritosh And Sirajul, 2016)

Holey Was A Totally New Phenomenon. It Was A New Chapter For Us In Law Enforcement. Violent Activities Are Heightening Ever Since The Current Government Is Pursuing For The War Crimes Trial Started In 2013. The Rioting, Executions Of Freethinkers And Bloggers, And Anti-Minority Violence Etc. And At First Many Thought The New Episodes Were All A Part Of That Series. But From 2014, The Tactics, The Motivations, Communications, Recruitment, Equipment - Everything Seemed Different. Unlike The Violence In

The Past, These Militants Were Not Just Targeting Civilians. They Were Trying To Engage The State. The Weapons Were Changing Too. The Freethinkers, Bloggers, And Missionaries Had All Been Killed With Knives And Machetes And Other Easy To Procure Weapons. But The Attack On Holey Artisan Saw Grenades And Guns, And Also Brought Back Ieds (Improvised Explosive Devices) After A Long Time. (Correspondent, 2016) Instead Of Using Regular Text Messages And Phone Calls, The New Bunch Used Encrypted Communication. The Attacks In The Second Half Of 2016 Pointed To A Whole New Level Of Indoctrination. Where Islamists Of The Past Had Killed In The Name Of Religion, The New Breed Was Willing To Die For It. Another Indicator Of Change Was The Socioeconomic Backgrounds Of The New Terrorists. The Holey Artisan Attackers Were Not Schooled In Madrassas Imparting Religious Education. Instead, These Young Men Came From Well-To-Do Families And Had Access To Expensive English Language Higher Education.

3. Counterterrorism Strategy Of Bangladesh: A Timely Needed One?

3.1. Bangladesh Government's Preparedness:

In Bangladesh The Current Administration Under Awami League (AL) Government Pursues A 'Zero Tolerant' Policy Against Terrorism. Containing Domestic And International Terrorism Has Been Accounted As A Top Priority Task In National And Foreign Policy Planning. At The National Level, The Government Has Initiated Several Legal, Policy And Administrative Steps To Combat Terrorism, Ranging From Counter Terrorist Operations To Terrorist Financing. As Fight Against Terrorism Requires Robust Legal And Institutional Mechanism, The Government Is Striving To Cope Up With That Requirement.

In The Recent Years, Bangladesh Has Been Making Consistent Efforts To Create An Effective Legal, Regulatory And Institutional Regime To Fight Terrorism And Violent Religious Extremism. Few Of These Are

- In 2009, The AL Government Established A 17-Member 'National Committee On Militancy Resistance And Prevention' Headed By The State Minister For Home Affairs To Contain Religious Extremism And Terrorism And Mobilize Public Opinion Against Such Activities.
- Bangladesh Promulgated Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA) In 2009. The Act Empowers The Government To Form Special Tribunals For Speedy Trial Of Terrorists. It Provides The Legal Foundation For Comprehensive Counter-Terrorism Measures. The Law Forbids Membership And Support Of Proscribed Organizations Which Are Engaged In Terrorist Activities, Including The Terrorist Outfits Listed Under Various United Nations Security Council Resolutions. (Anti-Terrorism Act, 2009)
- In 2012 ATA Was Authorized Death Penalty For Terrorists Targeting Another Country From Bangladesh.
- An Amendment To The Act That Legalized Capital Punishment For Domestic Acts Of Terrorism Was Passed On 16 February, 2012 At The Parliament.
- In 2012, The ATA Was Further Complemented By The Money Laundering Prevention Act (MLPA), 2012. (Yusuf, 2012) This Was The First Legal Framework Of Bangladesh To Address The Problems Related To Terror Financing And Money-Laundering.
- After The US Senate Permanent Subcommittee Investigation In Its July 2012 Report, Two Private Banks- Islami Bank Bangladesh Limited And Social Islami Bank Limited, Both Managed By The Country's Largest Fundamentalist Party Jamaat-E-Islami, Were Brought Under The Newly-Enforced Regulatory Mechanism Due To Their Involvement In Terror Financing.
- The Bangladesh Government Monitors And Regulates The Activities Of The Foreign NGO's - Some Of Which Were Found To Be Involved In Terror Financing. In Coordination With The NGO Affairs Bureau, The Bangladesh Bank In Audits Accounts Of The NGO's.
- The Bangladesh Government Has Banned A Number Of Domestic Islamic Militant Outfits, Including Harkat-Ul-Jihad-Al-Islami Bangladesh (Huji-BD), Jamaat-Ul-Mujahideen- Bangladesh, Hizb Ut-Tahrir, Jagrata Muslims Janata -Bangladesh, Shahdat-E-Al Hikma.
- In 2015, The Government Declared Ansarullah Bangla Team (ABT) Banned. The Organization Was Alleged Of Involvement In The Brutal Killing Of Three Secular-Rationalist Bangladeshi Bloggers. (Report, 2015)
- In December 2015, A New Police Division Named 'Counter-Terrorism And Transnational Crime' Unit Under The Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Consisting Of 600 Men Was Formed To Boost Police Capability In Combating Militancy And Terrorism.
- In Its Efforts To Contain Terrorism At The Domestic Level, The AL Government Has Streamlined Inter-Agency Coordination As Well. Bangladesh Border Guards, Coast Guards And Government's Passport And Immigration Department, And Custom And Port Authorities Work In Harmony With The Law Enforcing And Intelligence Agencies In A Systemic And Organized Manner To Detect And Deter Illegal Entry And Exit Of Potential Terrorist, Illicit Transfer Of Cash Or Arms/Explosives.
- To Stop Misuse Of Religion As A Pretext For Carrying Out Terrorist Activities The Government Has Adopted Innovative 'Motivational Campaign'. The Government Often Prepares Advocacy Materials Such As Posters And Leaflets Denouncing Violent Religious Extremism And Disseminates Through Electronic And Print Media.

- New Set Of Policies Has Been Put Into Effect As A Measure Of National Counter Deradicalization Strategy. Few Apparatuses Of These Policies Are - Imparting Education, Women's Empowerment And Propagation Of Secular And Moderate Cultural Values And Creating A 'Mindset Of Tolerance', 'Friendliness' And 'Love' In Line With Its 'Culture Of Peace' Resolution Which The Country Presents Every Year At The United Nations General Assembly.
- The Information Ministry Has Adopted The Means Of Dissemination Of Awareness And Proper Education Via Making Short-Films, Documentaries, Dramas And Advertisements And Video Clips
- The Government Is Going To Introduce A Third Madrasa Education System Named Darul Arqum In 2018. In Its Efforts To Reform The Madrasah Education System, The AL Government Has Revised And Modernized The Madrasah Curriculum Along With The Mainstream Education Focusing On Employment Generation. (Editorial, 2018)
- To Ensure A Multi-Pronged Strategy To Ensure Peace, Stability And Democracy The Threat Of Terrorism Needed To Be Curbed Out Totally. Hence, The Government Is Presently Engaged In The Formulation Of A 'Comprehensive Counter Terrorism Strategy Paper'.

3.2. Recent Breakthroughs In Fight Against Terrorism:

Following The Gulshan Terror Attack, Bangladesh's Security Forces Stepped Up Search Operations Across The Country For Hideouts Used By The Militants. In A Major Encounter With The Security Forces On August 27, The Gulshan And Solakia Attacks Mastermind Tamim Ahmed Choudhury And Two Other Neo Jamaat-Ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh Were Killed In Narayanganj. This Was The Second Key Breakthrough For The Country After The Bangladesh Police Neutralised Nine Suspected JMB Operatives In A Special Raid At Kalyanpur In Dhaka On July 26. (Reporter, 2016) In Another Counter-Terror Operation On September 2 In Dhaka, Police Killed JMB Leader Murad, Who Was Allegedly Tamim's Deputy. (Simon, 2010) Intelligence Inputs Indicated That 30 Year-Old Tamim Had Been In The Country Since 2013 When He Was Reported Missing From Canada. It Was Ensured By The Investigation That He Recruited And Trained The Gulshan Attackers. Tamim Was Claimed As The Coordinator Of IS Bangladesh Chapter By The International Media. International Reports Described Tamim As The Coordinator Of IS' Bangladesh Chapter. It Is Too Early To Conclude That All The Jihadi Modules, Including Neo JMB Operating In Bangladesh Have Been Dismantled In The Recent Crackdown Although In Recent Times Jihadists Are Maintaining Low Profile, No One Can Rule Out The Possibility Of More Atrocities Committed By Terrorist Attacks To Prove Their Existence.

Religious Extremism And Terrorism In Bangladesh Has Many Facets. Studies Conducted By Bangladeshi Scholars Have Pointed Out That There Exist More Than 100 Islamist Parties And Extremist Organizations In The Country. Only A Few Of Such Organizations Have Been Banned So Far But Even Those Continue To Operate Under Different Names. In The Face Of Continuous Crackdown, The Bangladeshi Radical Islamists Regroup Themselves And Float New Outfits. Unmonitored Free Flow Of Funds Into The Hands Of Religious Extremists Is Considered As One Of The Attributing Reasons.

In A Significant Development In Terms Of Terrorist Financing, On August 31, 2016, A Singapore Court Jailed Two Bangladeshi Workers For Terror Financing. Prior To That, In The Previous Month, A Singapore Court Convicted Four Bangladeshi Workers For Funding Terror Attacks Back Home Under The Banner Of Islamic State In Bangladesh. Thus Preventing Spread Of Radicalization Among More Than 2 Million Expatriates Working In Gulf And Arab Nations Is A Major Challenge For The Government. These People Are Highly Vulnerable To The Doctrines Of Terrorism And Extremism.

3.3. Counter-Terrorism And Security Cooperation At Regional And International Level

Since The Recent Phases Of Terrorism And Radicalization In Bangladesh Is Transnational In Character, This Menace Cannot Be Fought Only At The Domestic Level. Following The Holey Artisan Attack, The Government Had Sought Cooperation From United State And India In Sharing Intelligence To Prevent Terror Attacks In Future.

. US Secretary Of State John Kerry Visited Dhaka On August 29 To Increase The Cooperation And Build A Strong Collaboration Among The Nations Of South Asia In Order To Tackle The Terrorist Activities And Hold A Stronghold Against Terrorism Which Would Be Deterring To Any Sort Of Terrorist Organization. He Expressed Concerns Regarding The Series Of Attacks Targeting Secularists, Rights Activists, Liberal Intellectuals, Foreigners And Members Of Muslim Minority Sects And Religious Minority Groups During Last Few Years. Kerry Urged The Bangladeshi Leaders To Step Up Efforts To Fight Extremist Violence And He Made It Clear That The IS Elements Are "Connected To Some Degree" With The Local Jihadists. This Is Significant Because The AL Government Has Persistently Denied The Organizational Presence Of Transnational Groups In The Country And Blamed The Home-Grown Militants For The Recent Killings. This Is Certainly Not Expected In A Context When Transnational Terrorism Has Become A Visible Source Of Destabilization In Recent Years. Sharing Of Intelligence And Communication Between Two Countries' Law

Enforcement Agencies Has Gained Top Priority During The Talks. In Streamlining The South Asian Counter-Terrorism Structure, The US Has Been Engaged With Bangladesh For Long.

Among The Neighboring Countries, India Is A Major Ally Of Bangladesh In Counter-Terrorism Cooperation. In The Face Of The Recent Terror Attacks, New Delhi Reportedly Renewed Its Offer To Dhaka For A Comprehensive Framework Agreement To Broaden Bilateral Counter-Terrorism Cooperation, Including Sharing Of Intelligence Inputs And Training Of Neighbouring Country's Security Personnel In India. There Was Tension Going On That India Can Be Also Affected By The Terrorists Harbored In Bangladesh. As Cross Border Terrorism Possess Same Level Of Threat To Both Countries, So Political Leaders Are Jointly Working On To Build A Stronger Security Cooperation Against Terrorism. New Delhi And Dhaka Need To Act Together As The Militants Often Forge Alliance To Subvert The Friendly Relations Between The Two Neighboring Countries. Bangladesh Is Expected To Enhance Security Cooperation At Bilateral, Regional And Multilateral Levels To Counter The Jihadi Threats In The Coming Days.

4. Challenges To The Current Approach And Suggested Solutions:

Politicians And Law-Enforcers In Bangladesh Sometimes Hype Up Panic By Publicizing "Terrorists Everywhere" And Sometimes Expresses Smugness By Publicizing "No Terrorists Anywhere". This Lack Of A Coherent Perspective Is Counterproductive To Counterterrorism Operation. The Base Requirement For Fighting Terrorism And Taking Effective Measures For Counter Terrorism Is To Understand That Terrorism Is Ideology-Driven Violence, Different From Mere Form Of Violence And Warfare. Terrorists Are Not Mindless Robots Programmed To Kill Innocent People Just For The Sake Of Killing. Most Terrorists, Globally, Have Been Well-To-Do Engineers And Technocrats, Not Poverty-Stricken Madrassa-Educated People.

Rather Than More Troops Or Policemen Or Laws, A Successful Counterterrorism Strategy Requires The Admission By Politicians And Police That Terrorists Do Exist In Bangladesh At The First Place. Blame Game Against Each Other Is Also Counterproductive To Counterterrorism Efforts. Apart For These, Good Governance And Fair Distribution Of Prosperity And Opportunities To All Can Ensure A Healthy Social Balance Which Can Prevent Dissatisfaction Among Individuals To Stand Against The Society.

In The Wake Of The Latest Terror Attacks At Gulshan And Sholakia, The Stance That There Is No ISIS In Bangladesh And That Terrorists Here Are All Homegrown Locals Seems To Have Become Irrelevant. In Fact, They Should Rather Worry More About The Homegrown Elements Than The Foreign Ones, Who Are Relatively Easier To Track Down Than The Locals.

Terrorism Is A Deviation. It Arises As A Symptom Of An Acute Disease In The Society. The Primary Responsibility For The Spread Of Terrorism In Any Country Lies With The Country Itself. There Is No Room For Blaming Others. Bangladeshis Must Also Search As To Why Terrorism Is Present In Their Country. Any Such Denial Will Be Costly And Counterproductive To Effective Counterterrorism Operation. The Problem Of Terrorism Has Deeper Roots Than Alienation Of Some Rich Kids. Policy Makers Need To Understand If There Is Any Problem Of Mass Alienation Of People From Society, Politics, And State – Which They Consider Corrupt, Cruel And Lacking In Legitimacy. The Problem May Be Political, Which Has A Very Broad Definition. It's All About Human Relations In Power Perspective. It Is About People's Aspirations, Honour, Dignity, Livelihood, Family, And Freedom In Local, National, And Global Perspectives.

A Key Vulnerable Aspect Of The Bangladesh Counter Terrorism Policy Is That There Is A Huge Lack Of Terrorist Rehabilitation Program For Detainees And Inmates. Terrorist Rehabilitation Program Has Gained Acceptance Globally And It Is High Time It Should Be Taken Into Serious Consideration By Bangladeshi Government And Policy Makers. Within South Asia, Pakistan Has Been Using Such Programs For A Number Of Years, While India Has Also Begun To Embark On Both Counter-Radicalization And De-Radicalization Initiatives. Saudi Arabia Has Been Practicing This Strategy For Many Years. Although It Is Difficult To Presume How Successful Such Programs Are, And To Measure Their Success, Evidence Suggests That Such Programs Are Essential, In Order To Combat Radicalization And Violent Extremism.

The Fine Line Between Terrorism And Insurgency Often Remains Blurred. While Al Qaeda Is Primarily Terroristic, The ISIS Champions Global Insurgencies Against All Governments Across The World. Hence It's The Most Dangerous Destabilizing Force In The World. As Terrorism Is Often Part Of Broader Insurgencies – The Terrorist JMB In Bangladesh Is A Surrogate To The Global Insurgency Called ISIS – CT Operators Must Apply Counterinsurgency (COIN) Methods As Well. David Galula, The Guru Of COIN Operators In The World Believes "CT-COIN (Counterterrorism-Counterinsurgency) Is Eighty Percent Political, And Twenty Percent Military" (Juthika, 2017). Hence, A Concerted Civil, Military, Paramilitary, Political, Economic, And Psychological Forces To Counter Terrorism Is Required. But Following The Manuals Of COIN Blindly Will Not Be Effective. Each Countries Nature Of Terrorism Has Few Specific And Distinguished Characters. Recognizing Those COIN Should Adjust And Operate Accordingly. In Countries Where Terrorists And Insurgents Come From The Main Stream Of The Populations, There's No Guarantee About The Success Of Any CT-COIN Operations In Those Places. There's No Alternative To Addressing The Socio-Political, And Economic Issues To Resolve The Problem Of Terrorism-Insurgency In Those Countries.

Sowing Some Degree Of Tolerance And Respect For Human Rights, Human Dignity, And Privacy Of Suspects Having Links With Terrorists And Insurgents In General Is Also Needed In Counterterrorism Operations. Because Extra-Judicial Killings Of Suspects And Criminals – Through The Proverbial “Encounter” Or “Cross-Fire” – Further Aggravate The Problem Of Terrorism-Insurgency.

Bangladesh Canfollow The Counterterrorism Strategy Developed By Asia-Pacific Center For Security Studies (APCSS).¹ This Particular Doctrine Underscores The Importance Of Intrastate And Interstate Cooperation To Contain And Defeat Terrorist-Insurgencies In Various Countries In The Asia-Pacific Region, Including Bangladesh.

A Comprehensive Counterterrorism Strategy Requires An Ideological Component. Bangladesh Is Already Taking Steps In That Direction. In June 2016, A Leading Islamic Group In Bangladesh Has Issued A Fatwa Condemning Terrorism And Militancy, Including Violent Attacks On Non-Muslims And Secular Writers And Activists, As “Haraam,” Or Forbidden And Un-Islamic.

Maulana Fariduddin Masoud, Chairman Of Bangladesh Jamiatul Ulama (BJU), A National Body Of Islamic Scholars, Presented A Fatwa Or Religious Decree Which Was Signed By More Than 100,000 Islamic Scholars, Legal Experts And Clerics. Since Most People Have An Incorrect Idea Of Jihad, The Scholars Who Signed The Fatwa Sought To Explain What Jihad Means In The Quranic Context And How Islamist Extremists Are Misleading Both Muslims And Non-Muslims On The Issue.

Government’s Operational Strategy Requires Significant Changes In Practice. In June 2016, An Anti-Militancy Drive By Law Enforcement Led To Over 11,000 Arrests Among Which Less Than 200 Of Those Arrested Have Been Identified As Militants And Others Were Drug Peddlers And Petty Criminals. This Will Not Ensure Justice Since As The Courts And Prison System Are Not Equipped To Handle Thousands Of Cases. So The Government Need To Focus On Islamist Militants.

The Bangladesh Army 1st Para-Commando Battalion Must Be Deployed Immediately To Tackle Situations Like Holey Artisan Attack. This Battalion, Which Has Received Counterterrorism Training From The U.S. Special Operations Command Pacific, Has Been Credited With Successful Operation During Dhaka Attack. If The Rapid Action Battalion And Border Guard Bangladesh, Two Paramilitary Groups Who Were Among The Emergency Responders, Cannot Take Similar Action, The Nation Cannot Wait Once Again For The Prime Minister To Give Approval To Deploy The Army Commandos.

The Political Suppression Of The Opposition Party By The Ruling Government Has Proved To Be A Source Of Increased Extremist And Radical Activities. The Ongoing Suppression Will Also Have Its Consequences Because A Sense Of Deprivation, Disrespect And Humiliation Is Growing Higher Among A Large Portion Of The Society. Bangladesh Needs All Political Stakeholders To Come Together To Solve This Threat Of Militancy. Without Adapting An Inclusive Approach, The Government Cannot Expect To Minimize The Threat Of Terror To The Expected Level.

II. Conclusion:

Bangladesh Is A Land Of Resilience. It Has Come Out From The Ashes Of The Liberation War Of 1971 To Become A Model For Economic Growth. Across Decades The Country Has Brought Herself The Credit Of Becoming One Of The Largest Suppliers Of United Nations Peacekeeping Forces And The Second-Largest Garments Exporter In The World. The Country Is Actively Engaged In Global Development And Climate Related Agendas. The Intellectuals, Experts And Young Population Of The Nation Are Bringing Fame For The Nation In Different Fields. A Failed Approach In Dealing With Terrorism Can Ruin All The Progresses And Recognition The Nation Has Made So Far In International Arena. Bangladesh Should Learn From The Problems And Mistakes Of Failed States Around The World. Thus In Developing A More Effective Counterterrorism Strategy The Government Should Stress The Importance Of Good Governance, Democracy, And Respect For Human Rights As Antidotes To Terrorism And Insurgency. There’s No Police Or Military Solution To The Problem Of Terrorism And Insurgency. Ideological Motivation, Good Governance And Rapid Military Mobilization Tool Are Key To Ensuring A Successful And Radical Move Towards Elimination Of Terrorism.

Work Citation:

- [1]. Ahmad, Mumtaz (2008), ‘Islam, State, and Society in Bangladesh’, in John L. Esposito, J. O. Voll, and Osman Bakar (Eds.), Asian Islam in the 21st century, New York: Oxford University Press
- [2]. Alan B Kruger, What Makes a Terrorist. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- [3]. Anti-Terrorism Act. “An Act to make provisions for the prevention of certain terrorist activities, effective punishment thereof and the matters ancillary thereto.” Act No 16 of 2009, 24 February, 2009, www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/bangladesh/document/papers/AntiTerrorism_Act2009.pdf
- [4]. Ali. “নারীজঙ্গিরায়খনআত্মঘাতী.” *Prothom Alo*, Prothom Alo, 27 Dec. 2016, www.prothomalo.com/opinion/article/1047277/%E0%A6%A8%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%B0%E0%A7%80-%E0%A6%9C%E0%A6%99%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%97%E0%A6%BF%E0%A6%B0%E0%A6%BE-

- %E0%A6%AF%E0%A6%96%E0%A6%A8-
%E0%A6%86%E0%A6%A4%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%AE%E0%A6%98%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%A4%E0%A7%80.
- [5]. Correspondent, Staff. "Blood, Shock, Horror." *The Daily Star*, The Daily Star, 3 July 2016, www.thedailystar.net/frontpage/dhaka-attack/blood-shock-horror-1249471.
- [6]. Datta, S. (2007), 'Islamic militancy in Bangladesh: The threat from within', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1
- [7]. Editorial, Tribune. "A first step." *Dhaka Tribune*, Dhaka Tribune, 20 Jan. 2018, www.dhakatribune.com/opinion/2018/01/20/241466/.
- [8]. Guilain Denoex and Lynn Carter. *Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism*, Washington, D.C: USAID, 2009, p. 51.
- [9]. Hashmi, Taj. "Countering terrorism in Bangladesh." *The Daily Star*, The Daily Star, 8 Oct. 2016, www.thedailystar.net/op-ed/countering-terrorism-bangladesh-1260319.
- [10]. *Islami Biplob* (Islamic Revolution), a bulletin published from Sylhet. Also see: Julfikar Ali Manik, "HuJi kingpins' coalition link keeps cops at bay," *Daily Star*, 7 November 2005, p. 1.
- [11]. Juthika. "The Aftermath of the Holey Artisan Bakery Attack In Bangladesh." *Natoassociation.ca*, NATO Association of Canada, 6 Feb. 2017, natoassociation.ca/the-aftermath-of-the-holey-artisan-bakery-attack-in-bangladesh/.
- [12]. Mariam Abou Zahab and Olivier Roy, "Islamist Networks: The Afghan-Pakistan Connection." New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- [13]. Paritosh, and Serajul. "New evidence shows deep Islamic State role in Bangladesh massacre." *Reuters*, Thomson Reuters, 1 Dec. 2016, www.reuters.com/article/us-bangladesh-islamicstate-insight/new-evidence-shows-deep-islamic-state-role-in-bangladesh-massacre-idUSKBN13P2WK.
- [14]. Quamruzzaman, AMM (2010), *The militia movement in Bangladesh: Ideology, Motivation, Mobilization, Organization, and Ritual* (an unpublished MA Thesis at the Department of Sociology of Queen's University)
- [15]. Reporter, Staff. 'Al-Qaeda chief's 'intifada' call in Bangladesh,' *bdnews24*, 15 February 2015, bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2014/02/15/al-qaeda-chief-s-intifada-call-in-bangladesh
- [16]. Report, Star Online. "Bangladesh bans Islamist group for anti-State activities." *The Daily Star*, The Daily Star, 26 May 2015, www.thedailystar.net/country/ansarullah-bangla-team-banned-87172.
- [17]. Reporter, Staff. "JMB military trainer' killed in raid." *IndependentBD*, The Independent, 3 Sept. 2016, www.theindependentbd.com/arcprint/details/58793/2016-09-03.
- [18]. Report, Star Online. "9 Bangladesh militants killed in overnight Dhaka raid." *The Daily Star*, Daily Star, 26 July 2016, www.thedailystar.net/city/9-militants-killed-joint-drive-kalyanpur-1259647.
- [19]. Riaz, Ali (2016), 'Who are the Bangladeshi 'Islamist Militants'?', *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 10, Issue 1
- [20]. Riaz, Ali (2007), *Islamist Militancy in Bangladesh: A Complex Web*, New York: Routledge
- [21]. Roy, Siddhartha. "A Year of Bangladesh's War on Terror." *The Diplomat*, The Diplomat, 6 July 2017, thediplomat.com/2017/07/a-year-of-bangladeshs-war-on-terror/.
- [22]. Siegfried O. Wolf, 'Why the "Five Eyes" Should Not Turn Blind: A Decisive Moment for Counter-Terrorism in Bangladesh', *IndraStra*, 11 November 2015, www.indrastra.com/2015/11/FEATURED-Why-Five-Eyes-Should-Not-Turn-Blind-CT-in-Bangladesh-by-Siegfried-O-Wolf-0414.html?m
- [23]. Simon . "What is the difference between counter-Insurgency and counter-Terrorism?" *E-InternationalRelations*, John Bew, 16 Nov. 2010, www.e-ir.info/2010/12/21/what-is-the-difference-between-counter-insurgency-and-counter-terrorism/
- [24]. Sobhan, Faiz. "The urgent need for a de-Radicalisation program." *Dhaka Tribune*, Dhaka Tribune, 28 Oct. 2016, www.dhakatribune.com/opinion/op-ed/2016/10/28/urgent-need-de-radicalisation-program/.
- [25]. TRAC, Anasarullah Bangla Team (ABT); August 7, 2015. Also see: Tipu Sultan, 'New Address Jamaatul Mujahideen: JMB Militants Joining Other Organizations'; *Prothom Alo*, 17 August 2014, p.1.
- [26]. Two top leaders of Al Qaeda Indian Sub-continent (AQIS) nabbed', *bdnews24*, 2 July 2015, bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2015/07/02/two-top-leaders-of-al-qaeda-indian-sub-continent-aqis-nabbed
- [27]. Yusuf, Abu. "Act No. 5 of 2012" Money Laundering Prevention Act, Bangladesh Government Press, 20 February, 2012, www.bb.org.bd/openpdf.php

Umme Salma Tarin "Holey Artisan Attack and Renewed Challenges for Future Counter Terrorism Strategy in Bangladesh "IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS). vol. 23 no. 3, 2018, pp. 51-21