ANOMIE IN INDIVIDUAL, SOCIAL AND GLOBAL CONTEXT

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Introduction

The French Revolution of 1789 and subsequent industrial revolution directed the French society towards a transformation from its ancient stage to modern. During this social transition Emile Durkheim formulated his theory of anomie. Robert K. Merton reformulated Durtheim's anomie theory and applied it to explain high rate of crimes in American society. Later on many theorists expanded the anomie theory. Many attempts have been made to explain social turmoil and high rate of criminality in different countries and societies. In course of time the term "anomie" has become very popular and scholars widely used it.

When any society encounters anarchic situation, anti-social activities and crimes increase. That normless situation of a society, when it lacks homogeneity and cannot regulate social interactions properly, is viewed as anomie. Social change causes moral deregulation, when existing rules, and values lost their effective control over the societal people. Society continues to sustain this normless condition unless and until alternative rules and values develop. In 1893 Durkheim introduced the term "anomie", which he had taken from a Greek word meaning without norms. He made this concept integral part of sociology and criminology. He maintained that without social solidarity, it was difficult to keep social cohesion to the convenience of the societal people. Durkheim identified collective conscience, sum total of social likeness, as the main source of social solidarity. Any human society, ancient, modern or mixed, requires some sort of social solidarity and collective conscience, without which it cannot survive.

Values, norms and rules are something, which operate at individual, national and global levels to regulate human interactions. If human activities, human relations at micro, macro and international levels are not sufficiently regulated by norms and rules, obviously, that will generate

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anomie. In that normless situation individual becomes confused and faces moral vacuum, society experiences increased crimes and social unrest, international community is taken over by increased terrorist activities, turning the whole world into a hot bed of anomie.

In this paper I have explained how Emile Durkheim has related 'anomie' with the change of French society, and how Robert K. Merton used the term in the context of American society. Normless situation is not something which took place in the process of social transformation of French and American societies, rather it is something which may totter individual and social life of any country. Even international lawlessness may be a fit subject of anomie. How people become victims of normless situation in individual, social and global contexts has become core focus of this article. The article, in its last part, sheds light on the global lawlessness, which is the outcome of a conflict between US-UK led force and Islami jihadists. The global tension affecting the security of people all over the world becomes a concern of the international community, requiring its resolution through international law and practice, most importantly through building mutual trust and eliminating distrust and hatred.

Emile Durkeim, Anomie and Role of Law

Emile Durkeim was one of the major social thinkers of the nineteenth century who developed a very different insight into the dynamics of social change and its consequences on social order. He has been called "one of the best known and one of the least understood major social thinkers."[1] It does not seem easy to present his thought. Some ideas about the political and intellectual environment in which he developed his theories will be conducive to retelling his concept.

The aftermath of the French revolution of 1789 and the rapid industrialization of French society caused great instability in the nineteenth century French society. In response to the effects of these two revolutions, sociology was developed by Auguste Comte in the first half of the century. He was vocal for constructing a rationale society on the residues of the traditional society.[2] Sociologists anatomized the titanic social change that took place in French society and ushered in

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[1] LaCapra, Dominick, *Emile Durkheim, Sociologist and Philosopher*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1972, p. 5.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 41.

establishing social solidarity. Disintegrated French society required some way out to step into stable social order.[3]

Emile Durkeim was born in 1858 in a small French town and completed his studies in Paris. In different provinces of France he had been teaching Philosophy at various secondary schools. He then studied social science and its relation to ethics in Germany. These studies made him to write two good articles and those publications made a special position for him at the University of Bordeaux. There he started teaching sociology in 1887. University of Paris awarded doctor's degree in sociology to Durkeim in 1892, where he continued teaching sociology until his death in 1917.[4]

In his doctoral thesis, Durkheim visualized the processes of social change during industrialization. This was published in 1893 under the title "The Division of Labour".[5] Durkheim described how the more primitive "mechanical" form of society transformed into the more advanced "organic" form. In the mechanical form, each social group is characterized as self-sufficient unit relatively isolated from other social groups.[6] Lives of the people of these social groups are homogeneous and they do identical works and contain identical values. There is little division of labour, and the solidarity of society emanates from their uniformity. Organic society is the reverse of mechanical society. Organic society is characterized by huge division of labour. As this society is stratified into different segments, the diversity becomes normal due to heterogeneous character of this society. "Durkheim saw all societies as being in some stage of progression between the mechanical and the organic structures, with no society being totally one or the other."[7] Even the most primitive societies possessed some sort of division of labour and even the most advanced societies need some degree of uniformity for its smooth functioning.[8]

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[3] Vold, George B. , Thomas J. Bernard and Jeffery B. Snipes, *Theoretical Criminology*, Fifth Edition, Oxford University Press, New York, 2002, p. 101.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 102.
[5] Durkheim, Emile, *The Division of Labour in society*, translated by George Simpson, The Free Press, New York, 1995.
[6] Aron, Raymond, *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*, Vol. II, translated by Richard Howard and Helen Weaver, Basic Books, New York, 1967, p. 12.
[7] *Supra* note 3, p. 102.
[8] *Supra* note 6, pp. 12-13.

Law becomes integral part of both the societies and maintains social solidarity in a very different way. Law operates to ensure uniformity of the members in a mechanical society. Any deviation from social norms is repressed by legal mechanism. Responsibility of law in the organic society is to regulate the interaction of different segments of society. Two types of societies encounter crimes in different ways, crime is normal in a mechanical society without which society would be over controlled. The society transforms from mechanical to organic state generating a variety of social maladies, including crime. In 1895 Durkheim published his second major work 'The Rules of the Sociological Method' and there described 'crime as normal'. In 1897 he published his most famous work "Suicide" where he elaborated his unique thought "anomie".[9]

Mechanical Society and Crime

Uniformity of lives, works and beliefs of the members are the main character of mechanical societies. All these uniformities are called "totality of social likeness". In the language of Durkheim this is designated as 'collective conscience'.[10] Every society requires some degree of uniformity for its continuance and also encounters some sort of diversity because some people differ with the collective conscience. The pressure for uniformity exerted against this diversity is the main stimuli of keeping solidarity in a mechanical society. Such pressure is exercised in different forms. Its extreme form is criminal sanctions and weaker forms consist of reproach for morally repressible activities.

If I do not submit to the conventions of society, if in my dress I do not conform to the customs observed in my country and my class, the ridicule I provoke the social isolation in which I am kept and produce, although in attenuated form, the same effects as a punishment in the strict sense of the word. The constraint is nonetheless efficacious for being indirect.[11]

Formation and continuance of society cannot be made, as argued by Durkheim, without costly sacrifices by the societal people. These sacrifices are the price of membership of a society and constitute collective conscience. These sacrifices cause to develop a sense of collective identity placing social solidarity a firm footing. But in every

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[9]   *Supra* note 3, p. 101.

[10] *Supra* note 6, p. 80.

[11] Durkheim, Emile, *The Rules of the Sociological Method*, translated by Sarah A. Solovay and John H. Mueller, edited by George E. G. Catlin, The Free Press, New York, 1965, pp. 2-3.

society there are some people who deviate from the collective conscience. The people conforming to the collective conscience develop a sense of superiority and identify them as righteous. The people who violate the collective conscience are considered morally reprehensible. Durkheim pointed this sense of superiority, of goodness and righteousness as the major source of superiority. Durkheim argued how existence of criminals is conducive to the maintenance of social solidarity as majority people consider them superior and righteous because of the delinquent activities of criminals. In this way criminals, and also the fear of punishment, play very important role in the maintenance of social solidarity.[12] In case of transgression of collective conscience, the violators are severely punished not for retribution or deterrence, but for that, otherwise the people sacrificing and conforming to the collective conscience will be demoralized.[13]

Durkheim maintained that crime is normal in a mechanical society as there in no clearly marked difference between criminal activities and those which are morally reprehensible. If traditional criminal activities are on the decrease, morally reprehensible activities will be designated as crimes. If morally blameworthy activities decrease, less morally reprehensible activities will be elevated into crime category. This is so, because criminal sanctions, Durkheim argued, are the strongest machinery to maintain social solidarity. As Durkheim put it:

> Imagine a society of saints, a perfect cloister of exemplary individuals. Crimes, properly so called, will there be unknown; but faults which appear venial to the layman will create there the same scandal that the ordinary offence does in ordinary consciousness. If, then, this society has the power to judge and punish, it will define these acts as criminal and will treat them as such. For the same reason, the perfect and upright man judges his smallest failings with a severity that the majority reserve for acts more truly in the nature of an offence.[14]

Durkheim viewed, therefore, that a society without crime is impossible. If the crimes defined by the penal code no longer occur, new behaviour will be designated as crime. So, crime exists forever and is inevitable, because in every society there are some people, whose behaviours are different from the collective pattern. If no crime happens, that is the abnormal or

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[12] *Supra* note 3, p. 104.
[13] Nisbet, Robert A., *Emile Durkheim*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1965, p. 225.
[14] *Supra* note 11, pp. 68-69.

pathological state of the society, where collective conscience is so rigid that none can oppose it. In this situation crime will be eliminated, but the possibility of progressive social change will be foreclosed. In all societies, progressive change takes place when collective conscience is challenged and defeated. The people, who challenge the collective conscience, are declared criminal by the people having responsibility to preserve the collective conscience.   Thus Socrates, Jesus, Mahatma Gandhi and George Washington were declared criminal by the then social authority, holding the rein of control. This crime is the price, Durkhime argued, society pays for the possibility of advancement, as mistake is the price paid for the possibility of personal development.[15]

To Durkheim, there is no human society which is free from the problem of crimes. Every society has some rules and provides sanctions, which are violated by the people deviating from collective conscience. Crime, therefore, is a normal feature of every society, and provided it does not exceed certain levels, the society is healthy. According to Durkheim, the healthy level of crime is found in simple and mechanical societies.[16]

Anomie in Organic Societies

In a mechanical society solidarity emanates from the pressure of its members to conform to the collective conscience against the diversity of its members. Placing some behaviour in the crime category is normal and inevitable for keeping the social solidarity intact. But in an organic society the function of law is to regulate the interactions of variety people of society belonging to different professions. Inadequate regulation of law can cause social mischief including crime. Durkheim called the state of inadequate regulation anomie. In his "The Division of Labour", argued that the industrialization of French society resulted in high division of labour, which destroyed uniformity and solidarity of traditional French society. But the industrialization had been so rapid that society failed to develop sufficient tools to regulate interactions of the societal people. Overproduction was followed by economic slowdown, and strikes and labour violence became frequent. This reality indicated that the relations between producers and consumers and between workers and employers

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[15] *Supra* note 3, pp. 106, 107.

[16] Williams, Katherine S., *Textbook on Criminology*, Blackstone Press Limited, London, 1997, pp. 343, 344.

were ineffectively regulated.[17] The high division of labour caused huge alienation of people of the society.

An organic society is more likely to experience unhealthy levels of criminality, if the law cannot regulate the interaction of the different parts of society. Anomie arises out of incomplete integration, which gives rise to excessive crimes. Durkhein mentioned a large number of examples, which could be classified into three categories. The first was a combination of financial crisis and industrial conflict. The second was rigid division of labour, in which the oppressed might rebel. The third was abnormal division of labour, where workers were alienated and disinterested in their jobs.[18]

Change of norms, confusion and lessened social control are the basic features of the modern urban-industrial societies, where individualism is increasing, so is increasing the possibility of deviant behaviour. In a traditional mechanical society, social bond is strong, and individual aspirations are effectively controlled by the society, where crime remains in a more balanced state. In an organic society, on the other hand, individual desires are not sufficiently regulated, which gives rise to social maladies, including increased number of crimes.[19] In the language of Sue Titus Reid:

> As societies become larger and more complex, the emphasis in law shifts from the collective conscience to the individual wronged, and law becomes restitutive. This shift from mechanical to organic solidarity is characterized by an increased need for division of labor, a division that may be forced and therefore abnormal, leading to the creation of unnatural differences in class and status. People are less homogenous, and the traditional forms of social control, appropriate to a simple homogenous society, are not effective in controlling behavior. Greater loneliness, more social isolation, and a loss of identity result, with a consequent state of anomie, or normlessness, replacing the former state of solidarity and providing an atmosphere in which crimes and other antisocial acts may develop and flourish.[20]

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[17] *Supra* note 6, pp. 370-373.
[18] *Supra* note 16, pp. 344, 345.
[19] Hagan, Frank E., *An Introduction to Criminology: Theories, Methods, and Criminal Behaviour*, Nelson-Hall, Chicago, 1989, pp. 430, 431.
[20] Reid, Sue Titus, *Crime and Criminology*, Eighth Edition, McGraw-Hill, USA, 1997, p. 144. See Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in society*, Paper ed., Free Press, New York, 1964, pp. 374-388.

Anomie in American Society

Society has major responsibility to regulate the natural appetites of individuals. If society fails to control, Durkheim maintains, the unlimited desire and taste of its members, anomie will occur. Robert K. Merton argues, on the other hand, that many appetites of American citizens are not natural, rather they are created by American culture. At the same time social structure of American society puts restriction on certain groups so that they cannot satisfy those appetites. This situation creates strain on individuals of those groups and they become deviant.[21]

Culture of any society defines certain goals for its members, they may vary from culture to culture. The most prominent culture goal set by American society for its members is to acquire wealth. In Durkheimian consideration this might be 'natural aspiration'. But in American culture accumulated wealth is taken with high degree of prestige and social status. Those without money have no prestige and social status. Durkheim said that culture controls the aspirations of individuals. Merton argues that American culture persuades every citizen to acquire huge amount of wealth. The basis of American culture is an egalitarian ideology (at least theoretically) which provides that every person has equal opportunity to achieve wealth. In reality all people cannot reach the goal, unfortunately those failed are labeled as 'lazy' or 'unambitious.'[22]

American culture has fixed some institutionalized means through which culture-goals should be achieved. They are generally called "middle class values" or "the Protestant work ethic." They include hard work, honesty, education, and deferred gratification. The means, such as force and fraud, can be used for quick gain of wealth, but they are forbidden by the institutionalized means. American culture overemphasizes the achievement of culture goal. Persons who conform to the institutionalized means receive little social recognition unless they achieve a moderate degree of wealth. At the same time society recognizes those who acquire wealth through means not approved by society. People, who accumulate wealth through illegal means, enjoy high prestige

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[21] Merotn, Robert K., "Opportunity Structure: The Emergence, Diffusion, and Differtiation as Sociological Concept, 1930s-1950s," in Freda Adler and William Laufer, eds., *Advances in Criminological Theory: The Legacy of Anomie Theory*, Vol. 6, Transaction Press, New Brunswick, NJ, 1995, pp. 6-7.

[22] Merton, Robert K., *Social Theory and Social Structure*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1968, pp. 187, 193.

and social status. This situation puts a severe strain on the institutionalized means, specifically those people who cannot achieve wealth through approved means they feel seriously obstructed.[23]

Many people of the society encounter this strain, which specifically falls more severely on the lower class people. Their talents and efforts limit their ability to acquire wealth. Social structure also obstructs them. Only those of this class having extra ordinary talent and the ability to-hard work do can acquire wealth by adhering to institutionalized means. The bulk of the people of lower class cannot think of acquiring wealth through institutionalized means, that is creating severe strain for them. The strain is not so severe among the people of upper class as a person of moderate talents of that group can achieve a degree of wealth through institutionalized means. American culture puts over emphasis on the accumulation of huge amount of wealth and maintains that it is applicable to all people of American society. At the same time social structure limits individual ability of many to acquire wealth through institutionalized means. Merton considers this contradiction between the culture and the social structure of American society as causing anomie. He describes anomie as the permanent feature of American society.[24]

"Merton therefore used a cultural argument to explain the high rate of crime in American society as a whole, and a structural argument to explain the concentration of crime in the lower class."[25] Cultural imbalance is viewed as the cause of high rate of crime in American society. The imbalance lies with the fact that strong cultural forces exalt monetary success and weaker cultural forces inspire the adherence to institutionalized means of hard work, honesty, and education. Why lower class people in America commit more crimes than higher class that cannot be explained in terms of cultural imbalance. Merton then invokes social structure to explain higher crime rates among lower class people. Merton argues that legitimate opportunities to accumulate wealth have been relatively concentrated in the higher classes and relatively absent in lower classes. Less opportunities for lower class people to achieve wealth create pressure on them causing high rate of crime. There are various ways by which an individual can respond to culture goals and

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[23] Ibid, pp. 187, 188, 190.
[24] Ibid, p. 216.
[25] Bernard, Thomas J., "Testing Structural Strain Theories," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 24(4): 264-70 (1987).

institutionalized means. Merton describes these options as conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion.[26]

In a stable society most people adhere to both the culture goals and the institutionalized means. The conformist people struggle to achieve wealth through approved means. Whether they succeed or not matters little to them and they continue to stick to middle class values.

Persons who innovate retain their allegiance to culture goals, but consider that they cannot acquire wealth through approved ways. So, they abandon institutionalized means and acquire wealth through innovative methods not approved by the norms and rules. Crime becomes very high in those societies where most of the people innovate. Upper class people may take resort to fraud and misrepresentation, they may cheat on their income tax. Lower class people may develop gambling, prostitution or drug healing or they may burglarize or rob. Both the upper and lower class people become desperate to accumulate wealth at the cost of approved means.

Some people adhere to approved means, but leave their desire to acquire more wealth. This type of psyche is most frequent among the people of lower middle class. By their talents, hard work and honesty they achieve a minimum level of success. The fear of losing this success causes them to leave the hope to get more material success and lock them into their present position.

Some people take resort to retreatism which involves simply dropping out of the whole game. They do not pursue culture goal and have no desire to adhere to institutionalized means. This category includes psychotics, autists, pariahs, outcasts, vagrants, vagabonds, tramps, chronic drunkards and drug addicts. When people have strong commitment to both the goals and means and they found that there is no possibility of becoming successful, they retreat from the game.

Some people may respond to this frustration by denying the existing social structure. They try to change the society by violent revolution. Rebellious method may be political or spiritual. If it is political the existing society may be replaced by socialist society, if it is spiritual, the concerned person may undergo fasting and meditation. The person who rebels ceases to remain a member of existing society, denies to conform

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[26] *Supra note 3*, p. 138.

to its culture and starts to maintain his/her life according to new culture.[27]

Merton mentions the above mentioned five adaptations as various individuls' options which they can take resort to in response to the strain of anomie. Some individuals may consistently choose one adaptation and some may accept two or more adaptations simultaneously. Finally, Merton devised this theory to account for some delinquent behaviour, not all diverse behaviour prohibited by the criminal law. The intention of the theory is to focus attention on one specific problem, "the acute pressure created by the discrepancy between culturally induced goals and socially structured opportunities."[28]

Anomie and Individuals

When looking into the social transition, Emile Durkheim focused on two types of society. He characterized more primitive mechanical society with attributes of strong social solidarity taking stimuli from collective conscience. In mechanical society law's major responsibility is to discourage individuals so that they will not deviate from the collective conscience. In the process of social transformation, from mechanical to more advanced organic form, the law shifts its emphasis from collective conscience to the individual wronged and law becomes restitutive. Organic society, originating from the womb of mechanical society, requires increased division of labour that bounds the society with severe stratification. Organic society, with industrialization and increased division of labour, causes greater loneliness. More social isolation places individuals in a condition of anonymity. Absence of sufficient social control, more social isolation and a feeling of identity crisis put the whole society in an anomic situation, where crimes and other anti-social activity pervade. The sense of loneliness has become so extensive that Riseman calls it "lonely crowd." Homans describes the situation as "a dust heap of individuals without links to one another."[29] The urbanization and industrialization make the social relationship "cold, anonymous and formal." The interpersonal relationship becomes superficial and transitory, which weakens the bond of kinship, lessens the significance of

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[27] Ibid, pp. 138-140.
[28] Ibid, pp. 140-141.
[29] Wirth, Louis, "Urbanization as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1938, pp. 1-24.

family, and ultimately undermines the traditional basis of social solidarity.[30]

Individuals have to stay within a social structure, for that social factors, in particular social ups and downs, influence individual behaviour. As Durkheim put it:

> The industrialization of French society, with its resulting division of labour, had destroyed the traditional solidarity based on uniformity. But this industrialization had been so rapid that the society had not yet been able to evolve sufficient mechanism to regulate its transactions. Periodic cycles of overproduction followed by economic slow down indicated that the relations between producers and consumers were ineffectively regulated. Strikes and labour violence indicated that the relations between workers and employers were unresolved. The alienation of the individual worker and the sense that the division of labour was turning people into mere "cogs in the wheel" indicated that the relation of the individual to work was inadequately defined.[31]

Durkheim attributed anomie to unlimited aspirations of human being and breakdown of social norms to regulate those aspirations. Durkheim began his theory with a comparison of animal and human nature, and argued that physical body of animals limit their appetites. If animals are provided with sufficient food and convenient places to sleep they remain satisfied. Having active imaginations humans have physical, intellectual, spiritual and mental needs and desires. Some of these desires are good, and some are bad. When basic needs of humans are met, then other needs and demands arise. "The more one has the more one wants"—this famous saying expresses very crude reality of human life. Durkheim was very correct in maintaining that physicality puts natural limits on the appetites of animals, but human appetites are naturally unlimited. Durkheim argued that only moral rules of society could regulate unlimited desires of human being. Humanity's darkest danger, as Durkheim maintained, resides in the absence of deregulation, or in absolute freedom.[32]

Some individuals may have sufficient control over their appetites, but most human are very vulnerable to their unlimited desires. There should be some authority to control their aspirations. Durkheim pondered

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[31] Durkheim, Emile, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by George Simpson, The Free Press, New York, 1965, pp. 370-73.

[32] *Supra note 3*, p. 108.

collective conscience as a strong agency to harness individual desires and whims. "Either directly and as a whole, or through the agency of one of its organs, society alone can play this moderating role; for it is the only moral power superior to the individual, the authority of which he accepts."[33]

There are various situations when social rules become weakened or even break down. Durkheim thinks that there is a rapid social change, when a breakdown of society's ability to regulate human relations occurs. "Durkheim went on to argue that that French society, over the previous 100 years, had deliberately destroyed the traditional sources of regulation for human appetites. Religion had almost completely lost its influence over both workers and employers. Traditional occupational groups, such as the guilds, had been destroyed. Government adhered to a policy of laissez-faire, or noninterference, in business activities. As a result human appetites were no longer curbed. This freedom of appetites was the driving force behind the French industrial revolution, but it also created a chronic state of anomie, with its attendant high rate of suicide."[34]

Human nature is not devoid of anti-social traits. 'Every human is a potential criminal' is not an altogether alien idea. Psycho-analysis, genetic science and theology can be strongly cited to substantiate this concept. Anti-social elements are claimed to have deeply rooted in human nature, as every human gets selfishness, acquisitiveness, aggressiveness, sexuality and so on. from their parents. This is argued to be the criminal legacy of *Homo sapiens*. Most humans do not commit crimes, because all the anti-social elements are minimized through a process of socialization. Human behaviour is moulded, at least primarily, by family values. In course of time an individual interacts with different segments of society. Family values, social rules and religions teaching contribute to the development of behaviour. If the factors regulating human behaviour become weak, people behave in an anti-social manner. Hardships in family relation, rapid social change and global insecurity may bring about on anomic situation, when individuals cannot understand what to do and what not to do. Authority of conventional agencies like family, society, and religion, becomes weak with the increased urbanisation, and industrialization. Globalization and technological advancements have

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[33] Abraham, Francis M., *Modern Sociological Theory: An Introduction*, Oxford University Press, 6th impression, 2001, p. 177.

[34] Durkheim, Emile, *Suicide*, Macmillan, New York, 1952, pp. 246-58.

brought more isolation for individuals where they develop a sense of anomie.

The increasing wave of globalization does not leave any aspect of life untouched. People no matter wherever they live, confront the offshoots of globalization. Free flow of information, and development in technology and genetics brought change, in social relation. To the mounting consequences of globalisation, people cannot keep quiet. Traditional concept of geographical sovereignty has lost its currency, over which economic independence is considered more important. People of different countries are thinking to develop supra-national institutions like EU. Multi-national companies have subjected the people to increased hardships.

Capitalism, with its individualistic ideology and private profit economy, has provided foundation for the global order, which most of the local economies have taken as model. Capitalism is transmitting a (so-called) global culture to people's mind through an international corporate media. Western industrial societies, combination of capitalism and individualism, are very quick in generating individual alienation, which is spreading rapidly to the rest of the world. All the global changes are so fast and moving so faster that individuals cannot cope with the changing circumstances. They are gradually losing their ability to make changes in their respective spheres.[35]

The modern societies have created anomic situation for people of different countries. Thus, fugitive attitude of drug addicts, violent political activism of the young radicals, escapism of the people, and the deviant life styles of the counter cultures are only manifest expressions of the malady of "all the lonely people." "Most usages of 'alienation" as Keniston points out, "share the assumption that some relationship or connection that once existed, that is 'natural,' desirable, or good, has been lost."[36] The ideas of anomie and individual are old, but their relationship gained wide currency only recently. Contemporary social theories also get enormous interest in the matter.[37]

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[35] Amin Samir, *Maldevelopment: Anatomy of a Global Failure*, London, Zed Books, 1990, p. 109.

[36] Keniston, Kenneth, *The Uncommitted : Alienated Youth in American Society*, Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1965, p. 452.

[37] *Supra* note 33, p. 176.

Anomie and Society

Durkhein justified the existence of crime in a mechanical society and maintained that crime was normal in a society as there was no clearly marked dividing line between criminal activities and those which are ethically blameworthy. By citing an example of a society of saints Durkheim strongly argued that crime is normal in any society. He maintains:

> Imagine a society of saints, a perfect cloister of exemplary individuals. Crimes, properly so called, will there be unknown; but faults which appear venial to the layman will create there the same scandal that the ordinary offence does in ordinary consciousness. If, then, this society has the power to judge and punish, it will define these acts as criminal and will treat them as such. For the same reason, the perfect and upright man judges his smallest failings with a severity that the majority reserve for acts more truly in the nature of an offence.[38]

Durkheim developed the idea of anomie in the context of rapid change of French society. He attributed anomie to a time of social turmoil, when morality and social rules broke down and societal people could not cope with the changing time. As a result, social unrest and criminal activities increased. Durkheim saw anomie occured during times of social unrest. But Merton saw anomie as a permanent feature of American society. He argued that American society has set a culture goal for all the citizens of America, and determines institutionalised means to reach the target. Culture goal of American society is to acquire wealth. Society prescribes education, labour, and deferred gratification to acquire wealth. But society recognises those who acquire wealth through illegal means. Society also limits opportunity of lower class to acquire wealth. This contradiction, which has become permanent feature of American society, between culture goal and institionalised means creates severe strain on the people in general, specifically lower class people feel seriously obstructed. As a result they take resort to criminal activities or presumably some of them do so to express their agony.

Merton developed his insight into American society, and tried to explain the cause of high crime rate. Social structure and its inner crisis influence the overall condition of a state, including its law and order situation.

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[38] Durkheim, Emile, *The Rules of the Sociological Method*, translated by Sarah A. Solovay and John H. Mueller, edited by George E.G. Catlin, The Free Press, New York, 1965, pp. 68-69.

Durkheim developed his theory of anomie in the context of French society, but Merton perceived anomie in the American social context. In course of time concept of anomie has become extensive and researchers find out the cases of severe lawlessness in different countries.

Both Durkheim and Merton maintain that crime is a consequence of a defective social regulation. The authority of society is so flawed that it imposes few restraints on unlimited appetites of human, as a result deviant behaviour will occur. In many places people are living in conditions, where formal control is either absent or defective. People are living in an unpredictable situation, where personal safety is in danger, the society is abound with much tension and high rate of crime. The poorest areas of the American cities, some housing estates in Paris, London and St Louis lack basic social cohesion. After designating their traditional hunting grounds as a national park, the IK of northern Uganda, a tribe for example moved to a mountainous area. Having adapted to new form of life now they are beset with 'acrimony, envy and suspicion' and abandon their former life of cooperation, 'Excessive individualism, coupled with solitude and boredom' cause them to temporize with an envious and suspicious life.[39]

A number of criminologists discover how massive scale anomie has flourished that entire society has broken down, which results in anarchy and lawlessness. There are countries where political structures are so disordered that those create confusion whether there exists any government at all. Kaplan refers to the road warrior culture of Somalia, the explosion of violent activities in the Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone. He describes these states as lawless having their national armies as 'rabble', which have lost control over their cities at night. "The future for many, he luridly predicted, would be a ' run down crowded planet of skinhead Cossacks and juju warriors, influenced by the worst refuse of western pop culture and ancient tribal hatreds, and battling over scraps of overused earths in guerilla conflicts.'[40]

Guerillas and terrorists wage conflicts against governments which threaten the state's conventional monopoly of violence, Martin Van

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[39] Rock, Paul, "Sociological Theories of Crime," in Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan, and Robert Reiner, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, Second Edition, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 236- 239.

[40] Kaplan, R., "The Coming Anarchy", *The Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1994, pp. 62-63.

Crevet considers it as the ubiquitous growth of 'low intensity conflict.' Amount of crime, inevitably, depends on how crime is being defined by law and how effectively the law is being executed by state machinery. If the state itself has been criminalised or the law enforcement department has become perpetrator, extensive anomie will be concomitant. A report revealed that Mexican police was involved in extortion, kidnappings, thefts and drug trafficking.[41] Aeroplane of Colombian President was found to be carrying large quantities of cocaine.[42] In this context it is very difficult to distinguish between crime and politics. "There has been, [...] a widespread decline of the myth that the sovereign state can provide security, law, and order, a decline in the legitimacy of the state through corruption scandals, a growth of international crime and a rise of criminal states such as Chechnya, and, in Africa particularly, the emergence of barbarism, horror, and atrocity.[43] In some settings, Cohen said 'lawlessness and crime have so destroyed the social fabric that the state itself has withdrawn."

In the context of the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq on August 2, 1990, the UN sent troops to liberate Kuwait. People of Kuwait got their country back. Kuwait had to sustain huge infrastructure destruction and financial loss, but they faced their major catastrophe in the change of their social cohesion. One resident said, "no one trusts any body anymore, we are becoming like Chicago." Enormous social changes occur in the post-war Kuwait when crime rate rose significantly with rape reaching epidemic proportions.[44] The old ways of society started disintegrating gradually and the Kuwaiti society seemed very difficult to restore that existed prior to the war. Many residents armed themselves with guns, sexual behaviour was changing and alcohol, though officially prohibited, was consumed freely. Many women refused to subject them to their traditional submissive role.[45]

The introduction of private entrepreneurship and reform along the line of market economy caused the Chinese society to encounter a lawless situation. China has been, traditionally, an agricultural country, consisting

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[41] *New York Times*, September 3, 1996.
[42] *New York Times*, September 23, 1996.
[43] Cohen, Stan, "Crime and Politics", *British Journal of Sociology*, 1996, p. 47.
[44] *USA Today*, July 8, 1991, p. 9.
[45] Kabir, Ahmed Ehsanul, "Anomie: Individual, National and International Context," *Journal of Law*, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 2003, pp. 34-45.

of rather self contained families with agriculturist husband and weaver wife. The traditional life of China had long been directed as per the teachings of Confucius and this life was abandoned after the communist takeover. The then incumbent of China introduced a reform in 1978 to establish a socialist market economy. This introduction infiltrated capitalist elements into Chinese society, causing change in the social order, which set crime rate to rise vehemently.[46]

In the context of rapid social change the old norms became obsolete and new one had yet to appear. In this situation people could not understand what to do. Both the traditional Confucianism and socialist ideology were not fully consistent with the new economic reform. At the same time communist authority did not fully accept western ideas and its market economy. The conglomeration of socialist ideology with market economy and its penetration into Chinese society created an anomic condition, where many people became confused and felt lost. Social regulation had broken down and seemed inadequate to control unlimited human appetites. Some people took resort to crime to realise their desires, which caused increased crime and delinquency in modern China.[47]

Post communist Russian society is beset with peoples' resentment. Culminated problems, left behind the iron wall of totalitarian regime, are now out in the open. The situation has been aggravated due to the transition of Russian society, which is transforming from tradition bound, community-based form to a modern form where individualism and consumerism are gaining momentum. Russian people, as a result, face a situation to which old forms do not suit fully and many cannot cope with too much individualistic ethos. Hosking characterizes this condition of society as 'vacuum of values.' This anomic condition causes, as pointed by Hosking, "a sharp increase in crime, violence and suicide, as well as proliferation of bizarre beliefs and aberrant behaviour. Another has been the ethnicisation of all political issues as people redirect their dislocated loyalties from local community to the nation."[48]

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[46] *Ibid*, pp. 41, 42.
[47] Information collected from Internet Site of Anomie based on China.
[48] Hosking, Geoffrey, *The Awakening of the Soviet Union*, 1960, pp. 211-212. From Internet version.

Anomie in Bangladesh

Anomie is taking strong hold in Bangladesh. Here I shall discuss how the crime is increasing in Dhaka city, indicating extensive anomic situation. More than half of the crimes of Dhaka city are now committed by the juvenile delinquents. Their ages range from 12 to 20. Everyday there takes place one incident of killing, sometimes the frequency is more regulating. Every month 5-6 persons are kidnapped for ransom. Twelve incidents of hijackings and 35 to 40 different types of crimes are committed in Dhaka city everyday.[49]

17 per cent out of the total crimes in the whole country are committed in Dhaka city. In every 1000 persons 8 crimes have been so far committed from 1990 to 2001. But the number of crimes committed in Dhaka city is 18 per 1000. That means that the crimes committed in Dhaka city is 2.2 per cent more than the total number of the whole country's that acierate. In 1990 crimes were committed in Dhaka city at a rate of 5.1 per cent. In 2002 it increased to a rate of 8.9 per cent. From this data it appears that law and order situation has not improved as expected.[50] There are 80 crime syndicates in the whole country out of which 28 are operating in the city.[51]

Anomie may be defined as a situation where norms are confused, unclear and not present. Simply it is normlessness, which leads to deviant behaviour. Durkheim delineates the transformation of a simple and non-specialized 'mechanical' society into highly complex and specialized 'organic' society. By anomie Durkheim means the breakdown of social norms where norms no longer control the activities of the societal members. "Individuals cannot find their place in society without clear rules to help guide them. Changing conditions as well as adjustment of life leads to dissatisfaction, conflict and deviance. Durkheim observed that social periods of disruption brought about greater anomie and higher rates of crime, suicide, and deviance."[52]

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[49] The Daily Bhorer Kagoj, April 3, 2002.
[50] An article published in the Detective, the official publication of the Police Department, has revealed all these information. See The Daily Janakantha, January 12, 2003.
[51] The Daily Sangbad, December 3, 2003.
[52] Sociology at Hewett, Collected from Internet,
See http://www.hewett.norfolk.sch.uk/curric/soc/crime/devmap.htm

Is it possible to explain present situation of Dhaka city in terms of the anomic theory propounded by Durkheim? Have the rules regulating the behaviour of the people of Dhaka city totally broken down? Has total normlessness occurred in Dhaka city? How can we explain high rate of crime and deviance of Dhaka city? Anomie situation has not totally devoured the urban life of Dhaka, rather the situation of Dhaka can be termed as "anomie-like". Normlessness has not totally occupied the social life of Dhaka, but the norms are confused and unclear. If everything is all right, why no one in Dhaka city is secured? Social disorganization, together with 'anomie-like' situation, may be the cause of high degree of insecurity, crime and deviance. Derogation of norms and values has taken strong hold among the young generation of Dhaka city. Many of the people have been confronting with erosion of values and bad impact of pornography and satellite culture.

The operation of the aftermath of the conflict between culture goal and social means, as pointed by Robert K. Merton, is very much active in Dhaka city. The society of this city, like American society, has determined a culture goal before everyone of us, that is to accumulate wealth. Everyone in Dhaka city is running behind money, they do not bother the means. Bangladesh has been heading the top position of the most corrupt countries in the world, Dhaka being the capital of that country. The attitude of earning money through any means is creating huge instability among the people of Dhaka city, which finally will be expressed as deviance or criminal activity. Not that everyone is responding to the conflict through the same way. We also see the existence of various modes to respond towards culture goal and approved means. In Dhaka city some people do not have access to approved means and some avoid the means because they do not have the ability to earn wealth through approved means. Both of these groups, most of them are young people, try to earn money through illegitimate ways. Theft, robbery, hijacking, extortion, kidnapping for ransom are committed by these types of people. Moreover, corruption has gone to the root of the society. Corruption has taken institutional shape in Dhaka city.

Anomie in Global Context

US patronization of Islamist forces, their subsequent rise, US armed presence in Middle-East during gulf war, and terrorist attacks on western targets have created tension and insecurity in different countries. Finally the incident of 9/11, and US attack on Afghanistan and Iraq have created widespread lawlessness all over the world.

USA has been the strongest country in terms of economic and political powers and military establishment. After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1990, the whole international order was put under the supremacy of the USA, which could have exploited its ability to develop a better global system. But it is busy with expanding its political hegemony, underlying which is the intention to perpetuate economic interests.

CIA equipped Mujahideens with modern arms and training to combat the USSR aggression on Afghanistan. After the fall of the Soviet-sponsored government, the Taliban took control of Afghanistan, who sheltered bin Laden and his al-Qaeda. Osama bin Laden, once business partner of present U. S. President Junior Bush, developed his al-Qaeda net work with active U. S support and for long served the geo-strategic purposes of U. S. government. The CIA, getting substantial help from Pakistan's ISI, played key role in training the Mujahadeens. Receiving modern training and arms, al-Qaeda installed its world wide network and started subversive activities.[53]

Initially the US-Mujahideen relation was reciprocal, both worked together because their interests coincided, and continued so long it was mutually-beneficial. In course of time al-Qaeda started working for its own exclusive agenda. It got seriously shocked on US armed presence in Mddle-East and warned US to leave, but noticed no-response instead. As a result they started targeting western establishments.

Four terrorists hijacked Air France Flight 8969 on December 29, 1994, a flight from Algiers to Paris. The terrorists, alleged to have ties to Osama bin Laden, loaded the plane with explosives with a purpose to run it into the Eiffel Tower. Commandos stormed into the Plane and killed the hijackers, thus dismantling the evil plot.[54]

French intelligence partially stopped an al-Qaeda suicide hijacking seven years before the 11th September incident. The 1998 US Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania were alleged to be orchestrated by al-Qaeda. Finally the al-Qaeda hit World Trade Centre and Pentagon. Their attempt to white House, though failed, scared the American people and compelled American President to go into hiding. It was first ever attack

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[53] Clossudovsky, Michel, From a Research Paper prepared by Internet Crime Site.
[54] Hansen, Chris, "The Lesson of Air France Flight 8969," *NBC News*, September 30, 2001.

in mainland since Pearl Harbour, an attack having some symbolic value
as hitting their highest commercial, military and political establishment,
but very barbaric and inhuman. After this attack, U. S. declared war on
terror, in particular to stamp out al-Qaeda, in general putting the Muslim
community in danger. Having internationally well-organized set-up, their
agents are working not only in Muslim region, but also the non-Muslim
regions putting the U.S. and British establishments under the threat of
sudden attack.

The policy of (USA) patronising the religious extremists to destroy the
counter establishment (USSR) has become suicidal. The Frankenstein, the
radical Islamists, developed its power to the extent to hit strategic
mainland targets of U.S., which they did on 11th September. The U.S.
policy, sometimes very cunning and sometimes one eyed, is implanting
seeds of hatred, humility and distrust among the people of all over the
world. In particular the policy, which U.S. is practicing on Middle East
affairs, has made insurmountable gap between U.S. and Muslim
community. The existing situation, with its attending consequences, has
put the whole world under an ideal state of anomie, where life is
uncertain everywhere. This reality has been reflected by the terrorist
attacks in London, Delhi, Mumbai, Indonesia, Madrid, Russia, Egypt, and
Amman. So long persecution, torture, and harassment of Muslims in
Iraq, Philistine, Afghanistan, and other places will continue in the name
of war on terror, global anomic situation has dim possibility to come to
an end.[55]

Terrorists launched suicide attack on the parliament house of India on
December 13, 2001, in which 14 people were killed. Another attack hit a
temple of Guzrat in September 2002 that took away 33 lives. On October
12, 2002 Mati, a night club of Bali island in Indonesia, sustained a bomb
attack, which the terrorists did with the aid of a strong bomb like C-4.
200 people became victim of this attack. Madrid, capital city of Spain,
experienced terrorist attack on March 11, 2004. 200 people were killed
and another 400 were injured in three separate attacks, which the al-
Qaeda terrorists were alleged to have orchestrated, in 3 railway stations.

Chechen rebels made hostage of 1100 students in a school in the Russian
city of Beslan on September 1, 2004. Russian force took action after three
days in a bid to rescue the students. 200 children and guardians were

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[55] *The Daily Prothom Alo*, 15 September, 2006.

killed during crossfire and due to collapse of the roof. This tragedy happened because of the reluctance of Russian authority which did not pay heed to the demand of regional autonomy, for which Chechens have been struggling from early 90s.

July 7, 2005 could have been a delighted day for the people of London as the on night before they got the opportunity to be the host city for Olympic Games for 2012. But it became a tragic day for Londoners, who witnessed several attacks in the subways at the very morning of the day. Within one and half hours it turned into a city of dead. Four attacks took away 52 lives. Two thirds English people view, according to the report of a survey, the terrorist attacks are linked to the occupation of Iraq by US-British force.

Sharam-Al-Sheikh of Egypt is a famous tourist spot, which became a target of series of bomb attack on July 23, 2005. It took away 83 lives. A terrorist group related to al-Qaeda admitted the responsibility of the attacks. Terrorists again targeted Bali island of Indonesia, in three separate suicidal attacks 32 people were killed on October 1, 2005. Hotel Radison, Grand Hayet, and Dig-Inn, three five star hotels of Amman city sustained suicidal attacks of al-Qaeda on November 9, 2005. The attacks washed away at least 85 lives. Eight strong bombs were exploded in different trains of Mumbai, commercial capital city of India, within only 11 minutes on July 11, 2006. 200 people lost their lives in those attacks.

CIA is alleged to direct their covert operations throughout the Middle East, the Caucasus, the Balkans and Central Asia with the assistance of ISI, intelligence wing of Pakistan. This region not only contains huge oil and gas reserves, but also produces three quarters of the world's opium. The U. S. A. and Saudi Arab funded the Islamic jihad, but a substantial portion of funding came from the drug trade of the Golden Crescent.

USA, with its ally Britain, occupied Iraq territory in pursuance of an apprehension that Iraq might attack with its huge weapons of mass destruction, thus embracing the doctrine of preemption and executing it on the face of strong protest, unprecedented till the Vietnam atrocities. There was no visible sign on the part of Iraq, or trustworthy ground to believe that Iraq was planning to attack U.S. No credible evidence was available of the Iraq's connection with the incident of 9/11. In no way Iraq could be pondered as a possible threat to U.S. Nevertheless U.S. and

Britain sent troops, in defiance of U.N. Resolution, to Iraq to topple Saddam Government, which made the whole region of Middle-East instable.

If Iraq could have possessed weapons of mass destruction, or constituted a substantial threat to any country, or patronized any terrorist group, that would have been a matter pertaining to U.N. jurisdiction. In no situation the unilateral action by U. S. and Britain is justified, which they did in clear violation of the U.N. decision and international practice, leaving aside the U.N. as an impotent organization.

The causes of 9/11 are closely linked with the long practising policies of US, which also sustained their aftermath. According to Jacques Derrida, it is the USA who created the people who brought about the incident of 9/11. America trained them during Afghan war against Soviet aggression. The people, whom US created in the name of ending so-called cold war, launched attacks on world trade centre of New York. Derrida considers the time after cold war worse, both from historic and psychological point of view. It was easy to keep a balance between two super powers during cold war. But it is not possible to keep a balance with terrorism, as attack does not come from any state, comes from a force, whose power cannot be measured. Psychologically, 9/11 not only takes place in memory, but also in unconscious. The way it has been presented in the media, it is not directed towards past, rather will be seen in the future. According to Derrida, in the name of waging war against terrorism, western alliance has declared war against itself. They have permanently determined who is friend, and who is enemy. We shall be noticing its far-reaching consequences in the future. Moreover, the concept of terrorism, on the basis of which the distinction between friend and enemy has been demarcated, is very complicated.[56]

According to Derrida, the term 'terrorism' is related to national liberation struggle or state sovereignty, but America-Britain use the term to indicate only terrorist activities. Their aim is to achieve two goals, those are: A. to

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[56] Derrida, Jacques, Interview taken on October 22, 2001 by Giovana Borradori. See *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Dialogues with Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida* by Giovanna Borradori, University of Chicago Press, 2003. See "Jak Derridar Bichar", Translated by Masuduzzaman. *The Daily Prothom Alo*, September 15, 2006.

capture bin Laden, and B. to have American people their brain washed. They have psychologically prepared the people of America and Europe that 9/11 has caused great damage. Sustenance of America, and preservation of world order require continuous war against terrorism. It is America, the imperialist force, is patronizing national and international terrorists. Sometimes they call someone freedom-fighter, sometimes terrorist. The same fighter, using the same arms, once has become freedom-fighter or national hero, gets the title 'terrorist' at another time. When Afghan Mujahideens were fighting against Russian force, they were freedom-fighter, national hero. But when America-Britain attacked Afghanistan, manifesting state-terrorism, to capture bin Laden and resisted, the Afghan became terrorist. If this is the case, what can be said about Israel, Chechnya, and Irish? Where is the border line between 'national' and 'international', between 'police' and 'army', 'peace-keeping of peace-keeping forces' and 'war', 'terrorism' and 'war', 'civilian' and 'military', and 'bordered' and 'borderless' attack and self-defence? Now America or countries of the South do not occupy any country like the colonial period, but take control of technology and economic establishment (such as oil and pipe line of oil), or political power (such as Iraq or Afghanistan).[57]

In understanding the present global situation politics both during and after the cold war are important. In 1950s, the USA did not make friendly relation with the nationalist and secular forces of different countries. Rather they did it with the religious forces of Arab world, as policy-makers of US envisaged them anti-communist. The way they considered religious forces reliable, the progressive forces were not.[58] According to Robert Dreyfuss[59], US journalist and writer, USA erred again in the 1970s, during the peak of cold war, when in an attempt to control the Middle-East it supported Islami rightist forces from Egypt to Afghanistan, either covertly or overtly.[60]

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[57] *Ibid.*

[58] Ahmed, Rahnuma, *Islami Chintar Punorpathan: Samokalin Musolman Budhijibider Sangram*, (In Bengali), (Reinterpreting Islam: The Struggles of Contemporary Muslim Intellectuals), Ekushey Publications Ltd., Dhaka, 2006, p. 13.

[59] Dreyfuss, Robert, *The Devil's Game*, Henry Holt and Co., Metropolitan Books, American Empire Project Series, 2005. <http://www.robertdreyfuss.com/thebook.htm>.

[60] *Supra* note 58, pp. 13, 14.

In Afghanistan US supported Mujahideens, who later on turned out to be Taliban. Zbigniew Brzezinski,[61] former national security adviser of the USA, in an interview given in 1998 told that, they started to help the Mujahideens' before six months of the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. Their intention was to create Vietnam war for Soviet Union. When asked whether he had any repentance as they gave arms to Islamists, the future terrorists, he replied that they considered the destruction of Soviet Union more important than 'some excited Muslims'.[62]

In 1980s the agents of CIA begun 'Jihadi-recruitment' in Muslim countries in order to woge war against communism. After the Second World War, Afghanistan became the largest field of secret operation for US, which expended more than 3 billion dollar, for the training of Mujahideens. During the Soviet-Afghan war, Afghanistan-Pakistan became the largest producer of heroin and market of illegal arms due to the operation of CIA.[63] In 1985 President Reagan compared the Mujahideen with the great men, who established America.[64]

The close relation between USA and Mujahideens fairly suggests the creation of Laden and al-Qaeda by CIA. Many assume the incident of 9/11 as cooked and still US has very good relation with al-Qaeda. But some put a different interpretation. They mentioned the entering of US armed force into Saudi Arab, sacred place of Muslim community, where foreign force never let in. US force went there during the gulf war to help Saudi Arab, but after defeating Suddam, when they did not leave Saudi Arab, Laden released letters, one after another, questioning the presence of US force and asked them to quit. Previously Laden struggled to drive away Soviet force, now he intended to see the US force warded off Saudi

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[61] Zbigniew Brzezinski: How Jimmy Carter and I started the Mujahideen. Interview of Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, France, January 15-21, 1998, p. 76. <http://www.counterpunch.org/brzezinski.html>.

[62] *Supra* note 58, p. 14.

[63] Mahmood, Saba and Hirschkind, Charles, "Feminism, the Taliban and the Politics of Counterinsurgency." *Anthropological Quarterly*, Spring 2002, 75, 2, pp. 339-354. <http://www.fathom.com/feature/190136/index.html>.

[64] Ahmed, Eqbal, "Terrorism: Theirs and Ours." A Presentation at the University of Colorado, Boulder, October 12, 1998. <http://www.sangam.org/ANALYSIS/Ahmad.htm>.

land. People like Laden, according to Eqbal Ahmed,[65] though millionaire, obeys tribal ethics, which can be translated into loyalty and revenge. If you keep your words, I shall be loyal to you, otherwise I shall take revenge.[66]

In Iraq, the main consideration of US is 'oil'. Bill Christinsen, the former political analyst of CIA, considers three causes behind Iraq attack, those are: US desires (1) to establish full control over oil of Iraq; (2) to take global supremacy, and (3) (to prompt) the 'strategic transformation' of the   whole Muslim Middle-East, first step of this plan was Iraq occupation.[67] Had all these in mind, US put forward a doctrine of preemptive war. US pleaded Iraq's possession of WMD, weapons of mass destruction, to justify the war, but later enquiry revealed it out and out false.

As Masud tells us:

> "Trends in Global Terrorism: Implications for the United States", a report by the National Intelligence Estimate (NIE), assesses the consequences of Iraq war. The NIE prepared the report in April, 2006 on the basis of consensus of 16 US intelligence agencies. Some leaked portion of the report contradicted the claim of President Bush that Iraq war was needed to save the American people from al-Qaeda's terrorism, rather considered the Iraq invasion as a 'cause celebre' for jihadists, "breeding a deep resentment of US involvement in the Muslim world and cultivating supporters for the global jihadists movement."[68]

The NIE assesses that the jihadists are increasing both in number and geographic decentralization. The NIE report identifies that the attitude of jihadists towards Europe is very important because of large scale Muslim immigration. To them Europe is important both for a source of recruitment and for a target of attack, which was demonstrated by Madrid and London bombings. But the jihadists' appeal seem not to be very strong to many Muslims. Particularly women do not like Sharia-based conservative governance.[69]

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[65] *Ibid.*

[66] *Supra* note 58, pp. 15, 16.

[67] *Ibid*, p. 16.

[68] Masud, Kazi Anwarul, "Iraq conflict a cause celebre for jihadists", *The Daily Star*, October 8, 2006, p. 10.

[69] *Ibid.*

Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon in their recently published book, *The Next Attack: The Failure of the War on Terror,* have identified a number of causes, which will set Islamic radicalism to spread all over the world. Those are unilateralism, provocative rhetoric like 'axis-of-evil', overly active tactics, and the invasion and occupation of Iraq. In his book *'Winning Modern Wars',* General Wesley views that US has been led to a path of isolation and insecurity by Bush administration's expanding the war on terror. Professor John Mueller observes:

> Although it remains heretical to say so, the evidence so far suggest that fears of the omnipresent terrorist may have been over-blown, the threat presented within the United States by al-Qaeda greatly exaggerated. The massive and expensive homeland security apparatus erected after 9/11 may be persecuting some, spying on many, inconveniencing most, and taxing all to defend the United States against an enemy that scarcely exists.[70]

Conclusion

Standard norm expects an orderly set up and natural continuation of the individual, social and international life. But normless situation very often takes place in individual, social and international life, making the people confused. Anomic, spreading lawlessness and anarchy into different types of societies, becomes volatile like seething excitations simmering in the cauldron. If there is moral vacuum and, if social values cannot regulate unlimited human appetites, the individuals encounter normless situation when s/he cannot understand what to do. Rapid social change as depicted by Emile Durkheim or conflict between culture goal and approved means as pointed by Robert K. Merton may cause anomic situation, pushing social condition at the edge of ruin. The breakdown of social regulation, criminalisation of state, introduction of new economic policy, and the total absence of morality and legal rule may jointly or separately subject a society to unbearable pressure causing erosion of its core structure. The clash of civilizations, more precisely the conflict between Christians and Muslims in the guise of war on terror, has constituted the *causa justa* of the recent global anomie all over the world. Identification of the causes of anomic situation, which is inextricably related to human life and society, fairly suggests their possible elimination, ushering in the establishment of a better organised world conducive for peaceful human habitation.

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[70] *Ibid.*