## I. Hosseini and A Thousand Splendid Suns

Khaled Husseini was born in Kabul, Afghanistan in 1965 and moved to United States in 1980. He was born to a diplomatic family. So, he got chances to visit many countries. His first novel, *The Kite Runner*, and his new novel, *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, made him a famous author. He lived in Kabul in time of revolution against monarchy. The birth of republic brought some hopes for Hosseini to write about the picture of Afghan society which was in deep frustration, violence, dominance, social crime, religion and ethnicity based problems. If we go back to his text, *The Kite Runner*, where, we can find his excellent vision of life. In fact, he is the pioneer writer of Afghan society and culture. He is able to pick up the daily life of Afghan society. He is concerned about the political problems of the country.

This research in Husseni's *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, makes an attempt to make a critique of political violence. Political violence is a common means used by people and governments around the world to achieve political goals. Many groups and individuals believe that their political systems will never respond to their political demands. As a result they believe that violence is not only justified but also necessary in order to achieve their political objectives. By the same token, many governments around the world believe they need to use violence in order to intimidate their populace into acquiescence. At other times, governments use force in order to defend their country from outside invasion or other threats of force and to coerce other governments or conquer territory. Political violence can take a number of forms. Nonaction on the part of the government can also be characterized as a form of political violence. Some would argue that political violence and the modern nation-states are inseparable, as the drastic increase of political violence in the 20th century. Violence is an unlawful act, including the use of force or violence, of any person or group(s) of

persons, whether acting alone or on behalf of or in conjunction with any organization(s), committed for political, religious or ideological purposes including the intention to influence any government or to put the public in fear for such purposes

Hosseini, in his texts, shows the political violence in Afghan society. The novel aims to dig out the political violence in the context of Afghan society. Hosseini presents the life of Afghan people during the Afghani civil war. "*A Thousand Splendid Suns*", title is taken from the seventeenth century poem written by Sahib, A Thousand Splendid Sons, and an ode to the city of Kabul. Mainly this novel deals with the story of two girls who grew in the period of mass murder, violence and insecurity`.

The novel is divided into four parts. The first part focuses exclusively on Mariam, the second and fourth parts focus on Laila, and the focus of the third part is between Mariam and Laila with each chapter. Mariam lives in <u>Herat</u> with her mother. Jalil, her father, is a wealthy man who lives in town. Mariam is his illegitimate daughter, she cannot live with him, but Jalil visits her every Thursday. On her birthday, Mariam wants her father to take her to see Movie Theater but her heartless father does not show. She flee into town and goes to his house. He refuses to see her. Mariam returns home. She fears seeing her mother has hanged herself. Jalil arranges for her to be married to Rasheed, a shoemaker from <u>Kabul</u> who is thirty years her senior. In Kabul, Mariam becomes pregnant seven successive times, but is never able to carry a child to term, and Rasheed gradually becomes more abusive.

In the same neighborhood lives a girl named Laila and a boy named Tariq, who are close friends, but careful of social boundaries. War comes to Afghanistan, and Kabul is bombarded by rocket attacks. Tariq's family decides to leave the city,

and the emotional farewell between Laila and Tariq ends with them making love. Laila's family also decides to leave Kabul, but as they are packing a rocket destroys the house, kills her parents, and severely injures Laila. Laila is taken in by Rasheed and Mariam.

After recovering from her injuries, Laila discovers that she is pregnant with Tariq's child. After being told that Tariq is dead, she agrees to marry Rasheed, who is eager to have a young and attractive second wife, and hopes to have a child with her. When Laila gives birth to a daughter, Aziza, Rasheed is displeased and suspicious, and he soon becomes abusive toward Laila. Mariam and Laila eventually become confidantes and best friends. They plan to run away from Rasheed and leave Kabul, but they are caught at the bus station. Rasheed beats them. A few years later, Laila gives birth to Zalmai, Rasheed's son. The Taliban has risen to power, and there is a drought, and living conditions in Kabul become poor. Rasheed's workshop burns down, and he is forced to take jobs for which he is ill-suited. Rasheed sends Aziza to an orphanage. Then one day, Tariq appears outside the house. He and Laila are reunited, and their passions flare anew. When Rasheed returns home from work, Zalmai tells his father about the visitor. Rasheed starts to beat Laila savagely. He nearly strangles her, but Mariam intervenes and kills Rasheed with a shovel. Afterwards, Mariam confesses to killing Rasheed, in order to draw attention away from Laila and Tariq, and is executed, while Laila and Tariq leave for Pakistan with Aziza and Zalmai.

After the fall of the Taliban, Laila and Tariq return to Afghanistan. They stop in the village where Mariam was raised, and discover a package that Mariam's father left behind for her a videotape of a small pile of money and a letter. Laila reads the letter and discovers that Jalil regretted sending Mariam away. Laila and Tariq return

to Kabul and fix up the orphanage, where Laila starts working as a teacher. Laila is pregnant with her third child, and if it is a girl, it is suggested she will be named Mariam.

A Thousand Splendid Suns deals with the violent mode of Afghan society. Mainly Laila and Tarique's suffering is an example of suffering of people of Afghan society. Mariam is interested in politics as well as education but she is haunted by Taliban law which forced the confinement of women inside the house. It shows that there was not favorable place for women to live. Millions of women and men were victimized as a result of war. Women were subject to double victimization because they were extremely exploited by their own family as well as social unrest. Mariam and Laila, educated women of Afghan society, were ostracized during the rule of Taliban. So, they involved themselves in politics anticipating changes in various social levels. Women including Giti, Hasina were involved to phase out their own kind of problems and clear the hegemony of the Taliban. Nana receives bold support from her daughter.

Taliban launched attack. On the other hand, other countries, to keep the peace and progress, created a kind of suppression and bombarded Afghanistan. Taliban continued its attack over historical places, cultural heritages, and religious places and killed their opponents. More than that, they victimized many innocent Afghan people. They closed hospitals, schools and whatever they liked. Afghanistan changed into a war-torn country. Afghan people had to accept whatever Taliban wanted.

One day, when Rasheed takes Laila, Mariam and Azija out for a walk, they witnessed a Taliban soldier screaming through a speaker at the crowd. Two men were hanged on the traffic light. Taliban were very cruel to give any kind of penalties as they liked. Some victims were cut into pieces, some hanged, and some swept out.

There was no freedom for women to choose their own life partner and to do make up. Women had to accept what male, especially Taliban wanted. Women have to wear 'Burka' all the time. Women, if committed extra-marital relationship, would be given death sentence. Death of men resembled dog's death. In the same way, Laila lost her parents in a rocket attack. Luckily, she survived.

Afghanistan was ruled by Soviet Union in the name of communism. In 1978 the <u>Saur Revolution</u> overthrew the existing government and implemented a Socialist agenda. Led by <u>Mohammed Daud Khan</u>, the agenda included a move to atheism, land reforms and declared the equality of the sexes. However, many members of the traditional elite, the religious establishment and the intelligentsia were imprisoned, tortured and killed.

The <u>Mujahedeen</u>, loosely-aligned opposition forces made up of groups of mostly Pashtun tribesmen, began attacks aimed at overthrowing the Marxist-Leninist government, which was also under attack from separate attacks from other left-wing groups who disagreed with Daud Khan. The ruling party in turn requested the support of the Soviet Union in fighting the Mujahedeen resistance, removing the other leftwing opposition and supporting the failing Afghan army. There was an initial, massive deployment of 100,000 Red Army troops into Afghanistan. The US saw this as a prime opportunity to weaken the Soviet Union as part of its <u>Cold War strategy</u>, and they began to provide training and arms to the Mujahedeen resistance groups, along with extra support from other countries such as Saudi Arabia (which had their own agenda) and the UK. There are many varied reports that the <u>financial and</u> <u>military assistance</u> from these external powers ranged from \$10 to \$40 billion over the nine-year conflict. It officially ended in 1989 with the withdrawal of the Soviet forces. The devastation caused by the conflict left an estimated two million people

dead and 1.5 million people disabled, in part due to the massive city carpet-bombing campaigns and the large areas of land mines that still exist today. One third of the country's <u>pre-war population also fled</u> into neighbors Pakistan, Iran and further field, and two million people were internally displaced. By 1992 the Communist government had collapsed and the Peshawar accord declared Afghanistan to be the Islamic State of Afghanistan. However, many groups refused to acknowledge the new government and the country soon fell into <u>civil war that lasted throughout the</u> 1990s.

Working government departments, the police, justice systems and education systems did not have time to reform after the Soviet War and much of the country descended into lawlessness. This led to areas being controlled by different armed factions which in turn were supported by governments and groups in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan and the US. In the early 1990s in Kandahar, a militia group called the <u>Taliban</u>, began to emerge as a political and religious force, led by Mohammed Omar and with the support of many Afghan refugees from Pakistan, and who supposedly opposed the tyrannical rule of the local governor and began to install greater order into the area. The group gained increasing recognition, power and support and began to take control of much of southern and central Afghanistan. "Jalil was the one who told Mariam in the summer of 1973, when Marriam was fourteen, that king Zahir Shah, who had ruled form Kabul for forty years, had been overthrown in a bloodless coup. His cousin Daoud Khan did it while the king was in Italy getting medical treatment" (23).

Afghanistan has long been used as a battleground for strategic wars by larger external powers. This is in part due to its <u>geographic position</u> between the Middle East, Central Asia and South Asia. In addition, the fragmented and polarized nature

of Afghan society, which is made up of many <u>different ethnic groups</u>, has lead to its multiple internal struggles which have gained support from the different external powers. Almost continuous devastation caused to the country for over the past three decades is a testimony to the strength and endurance of its people and the groups who work towards rebuilding their country. Afghan people were victimized in different forms. After that, they were victimized in the name of religion, too. The so-called religious group, Taliban came to power and they created the violence by killing many poor, civil, children, and many more innocent Afghan people. The frame of violence changed but central problems are the same. It changed from political to Islamic religious agenda. Its form changed from political violence to the religious one, but the pain and suffering of the people developed from bad to worse.

After the attack in Pentagon, America, American dream and blind orthodox one-sidedly started to look all Afghan people as a terrorist. America spent money to dominate Afghan Taliban leader Osama Bin Laden. Because of the violence, Afghan people lost their homes, family, relatives and thousands of lives. Taliban was able to oust the existing, weakened government and take over Kabul in September 1996, establishing the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. They render strict interpretation of Afghan social and cultural norms. The Taliban's leaders followed a fundamentalist version of <u>Deobandi and Wahhabi Islam</u>. They enforced the most extreme version of Sharia law ever encountered in the modern Islamic world. The Taliban became notorious internationally for its treatment of women, who had (amongst other things) to wear the Burqa (a full face body covering); were not allowed outside the home without a related male and were not permitted to work or to be schooled after they are eight year old.

In some areas of Afghanistan, music, dance and other forms of entertainment were also banned and public beatings and executions occurred for those who disobeyed the laws enforced by their police or anyone seen as a political dissident. Many Pakistani nationals joined the Taliban to fight against the United Front's forces and Osama Bin Laden channeled more money into the Taliban, citing them as the only true Islamic states. Bin Laden had been involved against the Soviet War, providing money to different militia groups to fight the Soviet forces. He returned to Afghanistan in 1996 after having to flee Saudi Arabia, and allegedly used the country as a base to plan and finance attacks internationally.

In this way, there was a constant hegemony one followed by another. In other words, violence was inescapable anywhere and at anytime. It was the failure of country. It is the red signal of the peace; it is the condition of unsafe ness.

Since the publication of this novel, many writers and critics have given close witness to this novel. Some critics define it from the perspective of feminism, some from Marxism but the problems and suffering of the Afghan people remained the same; poverty, violence, homelessness, jobless and frustration. Stella Algoo describes, "*A Thousand Splendid Suns* as a haunting and quite extraordinary first novel by Husseini, an Afghan medical doctor residing in the United States" (12)

According to him, the novel launches readers into the realities of Afghan society, using the political events of Afghanistan from the 1960s to 2003 to foreground a touching and memorable story of the friendship of women of differing social class and ethnic back ground. It foregrounds the complexity although it helps to explore the self. *A Thousand Splendid* Suns is a record of the events from the date of 1960s to 2003. It is the record of the events which are happening in the politics of

Afghanistan. It shows the close relationship between two women of different social background. It is able to picture up the realities of society. So, it is extraordinary. Amina Ayaz says:

An unforgettable experience, this is what one may call "A Thousand Splendid Suns". Apparently, the novel belongs to the genre of Historical Novel. We see the catastrophic repercussions faced by the Afghan nation in the last century. The history did affect the lives of the characters living in the book. Their fate was actually in the hands of the society as well as the foreign invaders, if one may say so. The civil war outbreaks every now and then, and extremism, here in the name of most peace loving religion, squeezes the energies of the nation brutally. The situation can be rightly termed as pathetic and helpless. (276)

Amina Ayaz, in the lines mentioned above, claims that it is a novel of historical records, which is true picture of the suffering people of Afghanistan. Many Afghani young people contribute for the peace but the result came just opposite to the people's thought and aspect.

Afghanistan became violent due to local reason and other international disturbances. Internal causes infected due to external dominance. The situation changed bad to worse. <u>Inam Abidi Amrohvi</u> opines:

Those who have read 'The Kite Runner' will agree with me on the exceptional storytelling abilities of Khaled Hosseini. In *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, Hosseini does a role reversal. This time it's a female protagonist, rather two of them. If *The Kite Runner* was about finding peace outside Afghanistan, *A Thousand Splendid Suns* is all about

finding hope in a war ravaged country. The beauty of Hosseini's writing lies in his characters. Although both his books are different, still their characters are a lot similar. They all look real. The Amir of *The Kite Runner* is now Laila and Hasan's place is taken over by Mariam. The characters, like in the previous book, show their inner strength in difficult times. And it's this style of story writing which sets Hosseini apart from the league. (74)

Here is the comparison between his two texts The Kite Runner and A Thousand Splendid Suns. Name of character is different in terms of text but the central suffering and rhythms of heart sounds the same. Actually, Hosseini is capable to pick up the real situation of the war turned Afghanistan. You could actually feel the pain and suffering that Laila and Mariam go through, both, during the time of Soviets and when Taliban took over. But in spite of all the difficulties around there's always an undercurrent of hope in Hosseini's writing, and it is also visibly reflected in his characters. That's something you can always expect from an Afghan. Khaled Hosseini's new book is an ode to the undying spirit of the people of Afghanistan in general and women in particular. This one too, like its predecessor, is not going off the shelf any time soon. Set against the backdrop of a country constantly at war (first the war-lords against the Soviets and then against each other), it revolves around the lives of two women. How the constantly changing political situation brings both uncertainty and hope in their lives. And how two ordinary women display exemplary courage is what it's all about. A Thousand Splendid Suns was no exception either. The author has left no stone unturned in highlighting the plight of women in a Taliban governed Afghanistan.

Kristine Huntley Says:

Hosseini follows-up to his best selling debut, The Kite Runner (2003) views the plight of Afghanistan during the last half century through the eyes of woman. Mariam is the illegitimate daughter of a maid and a businessman who is given away in marriage at 15 to Rasheed, a man three times her age; the union does not love a loving one. Laila is born to educated, liberal parents in Kabul the night the communist take over Afghanistan. Adored by her father but neglected in favor of her older brothers by her mother, Laila finds her true love early in Tariq, a thoughtful, chivalrous boy who lost a leg in an explosion. But when tensions between communist and Mujahideen make a city unsafe, Tariq and his family flee to Pakistan. (336)

Here, Kristine shows the actual situation of Afghanistan after it was taken over by communists. How women faced problems and they feel their life aimless and hopeless. Rocket attack killed many of them. Same way, when Laila lost her family she forced to choose either Tariq or road that Laila doesn't love. Laila has no option to go far fromTariq. If there hadn't been invasion by Russia, they wouldn't have departed from their family. These all are the only countable number of families which fall victims to the political violence but more than that there are many families that lost everything due to political violence in Afghanistan. Tale of rivalry, danger, sacrifice, and love in war –torn country and small neighborhood is the main goal of the novel. In this regard, critic Joyce Kessel says:

Hosseini's brilliant sophomore novel is powerfully bittersweet as he places two haunting protagonist inside the perilous history of the city of Kabul, Afghanistan. Marian, the elder and Laila provide a distinctly

female view of over thirty years of apparent change and suffering in war- torn country and small neighborhood. Their individual stories collide and intersect in a protagonist tale of rivalry, danger sacrifice and love. This program is masterfully performed by Atossa Leoni as the transports the listener into an unblinking world (227)

Here, the critic powerfully portrays the bitter sweet state of two haunting protagonists inside the city of Kabul, over thirty years of apparent change and suffering and war torn country. Laila and Mariam's suffering throughout the novel is heartrending. Rashid, a powerful person, who also stands as a colonial power behaves with them brutally and inhumanly. He takes advantage of war and conflict and chaos created within country by colonial power and takes hold upon Laila and Mariam. Rashid creates religious and other means of discourse to suppress them. Not only Laila and Mariam, other characters like; Tarique , Ahmad, Noor all are the victims of war and its aftermath. Thus, this novel according to Kessel is a tale of rivalry, danger, sacrifice, and love. An unforgettable experience, this is what one may call *A Thousand Splendid Suns*.

Apparently, the novel belongs to the genre of Historical Novel. We see the catastrophic repercussions faced by the Afghan nation in the last century. The history did affect the lives of the characters living in the book. Their fate was actually in the hands of the society as well as the foreign invaders, if one may say so. The civil war outbreaks every now and then and the extremism, here in the name of the most peace loving religion, squeeze the energies of the nation brutally. The situation can be rightly termed as pathetic and helpless.

One may feel that the situation is dragging and leading to no resolve, due to the circumstances. But the characters overcome such a reaction of the reader. Initially

Mariam and then Laila appear fantastical characters raised in two different environments. But the fantasy vanishes as the characters are not round. They grow and prove themselves as living creatures simply made of flesh and blood. Their fate and destiny is marked with their bearing in the worst situation. Their lives change drastically within very short time span. There is occasional heartfelt tear-shedding. The stomach pangs are felt too, not to forget during their attempt to escape from the brutality of Rasheed. The fear is also there when they returned forcefully from Pak-Afghan border to the mercy of Rasheed, their husband, their master, the antagonist. Zalmai is Laila and Rasheed's son. Zalmai continuously asks about Rasheed to Laila, who lies to him saying he simply left for some time. After initially blaming Tariq for his father's mysterious disappearance, he was suspicious about his missing but he did not get chance to understand the problems of family. He accepts Tariq as a fatherfigure. Every time he asks about his father, Rasheed but he becomes loving parentless. Mariam's faith is strong towards the teachings of Holy Quran. It strengthens the note of hope in the novel as well as in the reader who is actually disappointed with the situations faced by these characters. The hope is not limited to the character of Marium. This is passed on to Laila as well. Laila's Return to Afghanistan at the end reflects it clearly. Not only the characters create sympathy, we strongly feel for the entire nation. Nation feels no stability but the worst all times.

Characters express their individual problems and sufferings. For instance, when Mariam asked Mullah if she may attend school, her journey of bright life begins. For Laila, life lies in Tariq and an attempted escape from Rasheed. Nana is Mariam's mother, who used to be a servant in Jalil's house. Nana is betrayed by Jalil. She regards it an act of deception and hangs herself. Aziza is the daughter of Laila and Tariq. She is an illegimate child. Her conception incites Laila to marry Rasheed.

There is sexual exploitation over female in the name of religion. War forced women to accept everything for shelter and life. Most characters walk in to such events with high levels of expectation for the future, but once reality sets in, violence ending and suffering. *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, is an overview of violence; examining threats that prevail in Afghanistan. The novel analyzes violent activities overlaps between terrorism and organized crimes, legal and policy hurdles.

At present, we can see, the tussle between the religious and ethnic violence. We can justify it from the speech of the Afghan President Hamid Karzai. He has blamed the U.S. and NATO forces for some of incidencts, violence and corruption that is rampant in his war-torn country. Karzai bluntly criticized allied tactics, declaring that terrorists won't be beaten by attacking Afghan villages and Afghan homes. Speaking in an exclusive interview with BBC News, Karzai also said he had written a letter to President Barack Obama warning that Afghans will not permit Americans and NATO troops to stay past 2014 unless the U.S. turns over hundreds of detainees held at Bagram Air Base and a nearby facility. He has written to President Obama that the Afghan people will not allow its government to enter into a security agreement while the United States continues to violate Afghan sovereignty, he said. Part of the insecurity is definitely coming to us from terrorism, and the attacks of Taliban. Part of the insecurity is coming to us from the structures that NATO and America created in Afghanistan. There is, for a number of years now, a growing perception in Afghanistan that a significant part of insecurity in Afghanistan is caused by the way the United States and some of its allies promoted lawlessness in Afghanistan by spreading corruption in Afghanistan.

I am discussing the relevance of violence and its impact in Afghanistan. within conflicts, as implemented by the Afghan Gurillas and US forces, the two main

military powers in the Middle East geopolitical area currently facing different kinds of asymmetric confrontations, insurgency, terrorism and hybrid wars.

As the author has attempted to reflect the violent situation in Afghanistan, this research critically analyzes the present Afghan context from the perspective of political violence and making a critique of it. Though there appears distinct theme in Hosseini's novel, this novel primarily aims at describing the issue of the political violence with close witness in Hosseini's fictional narrative.

## II Political Violence: In Hosseini's A Thousand Splendid Suns

Hosseini's *A Thousand Splendid Suns* shows the pathetic condition of Afghan people. There may be difference in degree of violence or torture in between class, ethnicity, gender, but it is sure that there are problems and those are political problems, which is the second name of the failure of the capitalist society, failure of America, Russia and Taliban. So, now it is very essential to draw from new boundary, it is necessary to rethink to build new concept replacing old ones. Many characters suffered in the novel due to political violence. In the present context, only the orthodox concept of nationalism, racism and politics of west cannot define the whole mystery of society. So, it is very essential to look up on Afghan society from new perspective.

Many characters like Jalil, Tarique, Nana, Babi Laila and some others become entangled with the history of recent wars in their country. Most terrible attacks and conflicts make the life more serious in Afghanistan. Afghan people became slave on their own houses. In time of war, the role of female is great and unforgettable but t are always kept in the corner of national history.

Political violence is a common means used by people and governments around the world to achieve political goals. Many groups and individuals believe that their political systems will never respond to their political demands. As a result they believe that violence is not only justified but also necessary in order to achieve their political objectives. By the same token, many governments around the world believe they need to use violence in order to intimidate their populace into acquiescence. At other times, governments use force in order to defend their country from outside invasion or other threats of force.

A Thousand Splendid Suns, the title comes from a seventeenth century poem "An Ode to the City of Kabul," Hosseini tells the story of two girl friends and two wives of a single man Rasheed , who are equally victimized by the war. It also deals with the heart of the peace loving Afghan people. Mariam, the main character of the novel is fifteen years when she was sent to Kabul to marry Rasheed. Nearly two decades later, a friendship grows between Mariam and local teenager, Laila, as strong as the ties between mother and daughter.

War is a state of organized, armed, and often prolonged conflict carried on between <u>states</u>, <u>nations</u>, or other parties, typified by extreme aggression, social disruption, and usually high mortality. War should be understood as an actual, intentional and widespread armed conflict between political communities, and therefore is defined as a form of political violence.

Counter insurgency, another form of political violence has been apparently presented in the novel. There are a many different doctrines, theories, and tactics espoused regarding counter insurgency that aim to protect the authority of the government and reduce or eliminate the supplanting authority of the insurgents. Afghan government took help from western power centers to make government strong but the ruler's inner aim is only to live on power not to do anything for poor people. For example we can understand the scenario from lines given below:

> In Mammy's room, the three of them sat on the bed. Outside, rockets were zipping across the sky as Hekmatyar's and Massoud's forces fought and fought. Laila knew that somewhere in the city someone had just died, and that a pall of black smoke was hovering over dust. There would be bodies to step around in the morning some would be

collected. Others not. Then the Kabul's dogs, who had developed a taste for human meat, would feast. (183)

Conflict of different ethnic groups brought devastating and fatal consequences questioning the aspect of humanity. Hekmatyar's and Massoud's forces claim that they are fighting for the refined political system but, they are ignoring the fundamental human rights.

When Taliban took over, life becomes a desperate struggle against starvation, brutality and fear. If we connect the above event with the history of the war of Afghanistan, we find that, there is great role of external forces to make Afghanistan blood pond. First, Russia imposed a terrible war on them. They hegemonies Afghan people and Russia ruled over Afghanistan as per their whims. If we look out Afghanistan carefully, we find there is an unseen cold war between capitalism, socialism and religious based idioms. More than this there are other ethnic and religious causes which form key problems of Afghan society.

The failure of the development of Afghanistan is due to serious negligence to export sector and heavy dependence on import substitution industrialization. Lack of self dependency, the country is backward day by day. External forces never gave their attention to the sustainable development of Afghanistan. Russia and America both of them took advantage from natural resources.

We can find torture in Afghanistan. Torture is the act of inflicting severe pain, means of punishment, revenge, forcing information or confession, or simply as an act of countries. Torture is prohibited under <u>international law</u> and the domestic laws of most countries in the 21st century. But it still exists in Afghan territory. It a kind of <u>human rights violation</u> and is declared unacceptable in international law. Government

and other ethnic groups are aggressive toward the armless people. It is not sure that in which time someone is killed or kidnapped.

Soviet war in Afghanistan lasted nine-year war during the <u>Cold war</u> it was fought by the <u>Soviet Army</u> and the <u>Marxist-Leninist</u> government of <u>Democratic</u> <u>Republic of Afghanistan</u> against the <u>Afghan Mujahideen</u> guerrilla movement and foreign "<u>Arab-Afghan</u>" volunteers. The Mujahideen received wide military and financial support from <u>Pakistan</u>, and also direct and indirect support by the <u>United</u> <u>States</u> and <u>China</u>. The <u>Afghan government</u> fought with the intervention of Soviet Union as its primary ally. That violence was created depending on the orthodoxy principle of politics.

Political violence can take a number of forms including murder, rape and execution. Non-action on the part of the government can also be characterized as a form of political violence. Some would argue that political violence and the modern nation-states are inseparable, as the drastic increase of political violence in the 20th century shows. Different factors plays role to create the violence like, social, economic, religious, ethics etc. Mainly, politics and hunger for power and money is the main issue of the violence. According to Webster's dictionary "An exertion of any physical force so as to injure or abuse" is political violence. It is the main cause of destruction which damaged the heart and wealth at a same time. Men victimized in many ways.

Police Brutality is another form of political violence. It is most commonly described in juxtaposition with the term excessive force. Police brutality can be defined as "is a civil rights violation that occurs when a police officer acts with excessive force by using an amount of force with regards to a civilian that is more than necessary ". Torture is the act of inflicting severe pain (whether physical or

psychological) as a means of punishment, revenge, forcing information or confession, or simply as an act of cruelty. Torture is prohibited under <u>international law</u> and the domestic laws of most countries in the 21st century

In the novel, we can see true picture of Afghani people as well as the situation of poor people in the world. One-fifth of the world's population lives in absolute poverty in less than one US dollar a day, while the assets of the 200 richest people are larger than the combined income of the poor population nearly 2.4 billion on the planet. Yet material prosperity has increased very much in the past 100 years than in all the rest of human history. Thus the foundation in land for undreamed-of progress of human society provided the contradictions created by capitalism itself and it can be swept away by the world's working class.

In the context of Afghanistan, the capitalism fails, collapsed and destroyed by the thought of people, dream of people .The capitalists through their control of judiciary, military, education and the media are always seeking to prevent workers and youth from drawing the conclusion that capitalism can be changed. In the popular press, commentators occasionally rail against this or that symptom of the system's sickness while drumming home the mantra that market economics represents the only show in urban location.

The collapse of Soviet Union in1990 gave a massive boost to this branch of literary lies, allowing bourgeois philosophers to claim that capitalism had emerged triumphant in its historic struggle against socialism in the context of Afghanistan. Every ruling class throughout history has sought to give its regime the stamp of permanence. But people got only pain and misery nothing and nothing more than that.

A Socialist revolution has to be led by the working-class. Revolutions against previous forms of class and society were led by a minority class who exploited the

anger of the masses in their struggle to gain political power for themselves. In the first phase of revolution they take soft decisions but later on they expose more costly steps to succeed them self. (e.g. the capitalist revolutions against the feudal ruling class). However, today the working-class are the majority of the population in many countries. In order to free itself from oppression and exploitation, the working-class has to abolish class society altogether. The socialist revolution is the first revolution in human history that has the power to put an end to class exploitation. It is also the first revolution to be carried out by a class that has become fully conscious of the historical task it faces. This consciousness does not exist yet. People's experience of capitalism pushes them towards socialist conclusions in different ways and at different times. Encouraging the development of class consciousness and socialist ideas is one of the tasks of a revolutionary party, which can draw different sections of the working-class and radical middle class together, uniting them in a common fight.

If we connect it with the situation of Afghanistan, a great number of issues are interlinked. Customs reform can affect a large number of these issues because of its ties to governance, the economy, security, and the allocation of resources. Periodically there may develop an organic crisis in which the governing group begins to disintegrate, creating the opportunity for a subordinate class to transcend its limitations and build up a broad movement capable of challenging the existing order and achieving hegemony. But, if the opportunity is not taken, the balance of forces will shift back to the dominant class, which reestablishes its hegemony on the basis of a new pattern of alliances."The key to 'revolutionary' social change in modern societies does not therefore depend, as Marx had predicted, on the spontaneous awakening of critical class consciousness but upon the prior formation of a new

alliances of interests, an alternative hegemony or historical bloc, which has already developed a cohesive world view of its own.

This is not just a question of material condition such as poverty, which we could begin to tackle immediately. It's also a matter of repairing and then preventing the psychological damage done by capitalism and the power relation and abuse of its resources. Increased equality will reduce a great extent of crime. An end to capitalism as a social system which, for example, has discriminated against and condoned the treatment of women as the property of men, will undermine crimes of violence such as rape and domestic violence.

Violence can be manifest and structural. Manifest violence is that, which directly affects, attacks, make wounded or it is the physical violence. In the other hand, structural violence is the indirect violence, which comes in the organized system like rules of the government.Conflict, including civil war and other collective political violence, can have an overwhelming impact on all aspects of people's lives. Development assistance plays a key role in post-conflict environments. Development assistance can also be a critical force for conflict prevention, through building social cohesion and resilience to violence. The conflict, crime and violence team manages many analytical and operational activities to prevention conflict and rebuild after conflict in sustainable and contextually appropriate ways. The unlawful exercise of force is violence.

In a multi ethnic and cultural society, there is a kind of war and tussle among groups. When the state signifies freedom and revolution, some forces raise arms against the existing dominant group. There is division in culture, ethnicity and religious polars. They demand individual freedom and rights. It creates a kind of

great problem in the nation. There is fear of civil war and violence. In this regard Davis D Laitin defines ethic violence as:

> Violence perpetrated across ethnic lines in which at east on a party is not state(or representative of state) and in which the putative ethnic difference is coded ... as having been integral rather than incidental to the violence, in which violence is coded as having been meaningfully oriented in some way to the different ethnicity of the target . (428)

A nation is a construction of large community of people. History culture and language are the diversity of society; those diversities can tie as well as break war against each other. If some group exploit continuously, the situation goes from bad to worse. If majority people dominate the minority people for long time, minority people want separate state. In this situation state suffers from the war.

<u>The Holocaust</u> is the most often cited historical example of genocide. The form of violence can be different but the result is same, torture, pain, destruction, hopelessness. <u>Human rights</u> violations occur when actions by state (or non-state) actor's abuse, ignore, or deny basic human rights. Mainly, in the time of war, mass human rights violence cases are found. Which ignores the minimum rights of the people, which are defined by UN the basic human rights. Each and every revolutionary group and government try to use them as they like.

With the help of character, Jalil, we came to know that King Zahir Khan, ruled Afghanistan for forty years but during this period, people were made slaves. His cousin Daud Khan overthrew the king when he was in Italy. There was a kind of internal conflict among family members too. In the beginning of the novel religion imposes its power later on there comes a change in the name of politics but problem of the same nature i.e. violence continues.

We can hear the psychological destruction of people's heart. There is no proper use of language by characters in the novel, rather they use vulgar and rough language. Women living in Afghanistan face many problems which are quite different compared to European and American women. Hosseini interprets the history of Afghanistan and makes link with basic assumption that, woman in Afghanistan suffer widely due to war. In this novel, Hosseini, presents the life of third world women. In his novel, *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, there is a true picture of war and aftermath.

In western tendency to rule Afghanistan, Kuran comes as a representative of Islam.Then, females victimized by their own brother too. Mostly, bleak and heart rending stories are common everyday time schedule. There is gender conflict and poverty all over the country. In this context Mariam expresses:

She said she wouldn't live in her father's empty house either, in the village of Daman, which sat on a steep hill two kilometer north of Herat. She said she wanted to live somewhere removed, detached, where neighbors wouldn't state at her belly point at her, snicker, or worse ye assault her with insincere kindness. (9)

Women, especially in time of war, were in kind of trauma and hopelessness. In one way, they lost their parents, husbands, houses and society, on the other; they were exploited by their self parents, husbands and society. All that happened because of political violence.

In Afghanistan, a kind of hegemony was created to rule and exploit Afghan people. Western mode of thought and technology were the means to grasp the whole circumstances in favor of western people. The query is: did Afghan people manufacture missiles and digital guns? All, the products were from west. We can again ask a question our self are Muslims always terrorist? No it is the misguided

mentality of western people, if so, why western country needed the police force and military force and self harmful weapons. Western people created a hierarchy between Afghan people and themselves.

In cinema halls, there are pamphlets of American and British films and stars. A westerner enters Afghanistan with the objective to civilize them, teach them, help them, educate them, and share knowledge with them but the result is mere exploitation. At first, Russia entered there to establish it a communist state. Here, the question is, if the communism is in favor of poor people, why poor people suffered more. According to Chantel Mouffe communist and the principle of communism have to undergo radical change because, orthodox communism can not guide the whole world with old principles. Here is the need to build Afghanistan from neo- communist thought.

We see the catastrophic repercussions faced by Afghan Islam in the last century. The history did affect the lives of the characters presented in the book. Their fate was actually in the hands of society as well as in the hands of the foreign invaders, if one may say so. The civil war outbreaks every now and then, and the extremism, here in the name of the peace loving religion, squeeze the energies of the nation brutally. The situation can be rightly termed as pathetic and helpless.

Internal conflicts and later on external forces come to Afghanistan in the name of peace keeping but slowly and gradually they bite them, suck them and threw them. Hosseini is very artful in his work and he vividly presents the true picture of Russians and Talibani. All the power holds were concentrated on the finger counted people, but majority of people is in very pathetic, miserable, and inhumanly condition. The rulers create a kind of hegemony to make their position safe in the government. Some leaders, like Mullah Faijullah ruled Afghanistan, by using the weapon of religion. He

attracted the heart of people in the name of the Kuran. The Kuran became a missile. There was the influence of Kuran from door to door and street to street. For justification we can take one example that Aaijullah states that:

> You go and cry Mariam so. Go on. There is no same is it but remembers my girl, what the Kuran says. Bless is he whose hand in the kingdom, and he who has power over all things, who creates death and life. He may create you? The Kuran speaks the truth, my girl. Behind every trail and every sorry that he makes as shoulder, god has a reason. (24)

The Kuran, in another way we can say; religious thoughts and beliefs were a kind of ruling principle or in another form we can add that it is the way of exploitation in the name of religion. Every male society wants to keep female in their grip and use as they like. It is kind of hegemony. It is religious oriented hegemony. Taking the help of the Kuran male dominated female for long time in Afghanistan. Here, with the help of Kuran, Aaijullah convinced Mariam that she could not go beyond the laws of the Kuran. Different historical phenomenon has changed but the method of dealing toward the poor, women, socially excluded minor people's fate is not changed. When Taliban rise, than situation went bad to worse. For example we can understand the scenario from lines given below:

Our watan is now known as the Islamic emirates of Afghanistan. These are the laws that we will enforce and obey: Singing is fordidden. Dancing is forbidden. Cosmetics are forbidden. Jwellery is forbidden.

You will not changing clothes.

Girls are forbidden from attending school. All schools for will be closed immediately.

Women are forbidden from working if you are found guilty of adultery, you will be stoned to death.

Listen. Listen well. Obey. Allah –o-akabar.(62)

All citizens must pray five times a day. If you are caught doing something during prayer time you will be beaten. All men will grow their breads. The correct length is at least one clinched fist beneath the chin. If you do not abide by this rule you will be beaten.

Talibans chant lines of Kuran. They became extreme and cruel toward the common people. They were just like the horse rider. They ride where they want. They punished everyone if they want. In the name of Allah they deliberately exploited the innocent people like Laila, Jalil, Rasheed and many more. In the beginning phase of Taliban every Afghan people thought that they are actually in favor and devoted for the county and people. But slowly and gradually they became more corrupt than others. In case of women, they were more violent and cruel. Taliban treated women like animals. Though, male members of the society suffered no less. But the degree of suffering is quite different. Here, Taliban has announced one law that, no permission for dance, song, reading and makeup. Schools, opened in time of Russian rule, were stopped. In a short form we can come to the conclusion that Talibans are crueler than the Russian ruler.

Capitalistic materials are equally important to support their capitalist ideology. European films, like 'Titanic' and the name of the character on the book like 'John' represent western tendency, which misguide the ideas of Afghan people. Material

things are the weapon of hegemony. All power holders are in high rank and normal people are out of the chain or circle of the national interest. All the means of communication are always captured by power holders and they create a kind of hegemony through these means. Khaled Husseini is a type of person who is able to sketch the whole history of Afghanistan from Russian invasion to the American attack. For the better support we can cite the following:

> Abdul Badar reported that earlier in the day rebel forth armed division had seized the airport and key intersection in the city. Kabul radio, the ministry of communication and the interior and the foreign ministry building had also been captured Kabul is the hand of people now; he said proudly, rebel Migs had attacked the presidential palace. Tanus had broken in to premises and a fierce battle was underway there. Daud,s loyalist forces were all but defeated, Abdul Qadar said in a reassuring tone.(100)

It refers clearly that, there is a destructive battle between the two forces. Afghan people thought that Afghanistan is now in the hand of good people. They thought that the defeat of Daud is the victory of the minority but the result is just negative as normal people like Rasheed and Mariam thought. The succeeding rulers exploit them much more than the pervious one.

Russia had a single aim to impose communism on Afghan people and loot them what they could. In politics there are two kinds of play, one is the direct domination and the other is the indirect domination, in the name of religion, principle and civilization. How, they were shaking hands with the Afghan ruler we can imagine from the following lines:

A revolutionary council of the armed force has been established and our watan will how be known as the democratic republic of Afghanistan. Abdual Qudar says "the era of aristocracy, nepotism and inequality is over follow Ham wantons we have ended decades of tyranny. Power is now hands of masses and freedom loving people. Glorious new era in the history of our country is in a foot. A new Afghanistan is born. We assure that you have nothing is fear fellow afghans. (100)

Soviet started to exploit Afghan people in different way. First, they took the help from teacher, doctor and other persons who have the great role in society. Any way, Afghans were very much in terrible situation due to war and insecurity. Afghan people had little hope towards the communism as the communists also belongs to violent group.

Character like Shanjai is positive towards communism and Marxism or toward Soviet Union. She favors the communist principle but on the other hand Laila, Mariam, Gitti and Hasina have no interest towards the Soviet. Shanjai Says:

> Soviet Union has the best nation in the world, along with Afghnistan. It was land to its workers and its people were all equal. Everyone in the Soviet Union has happy and friendly, unlike, America where crime made people afraid to live their homes. And everyone in Afghanistan would be happy to. (111)

She is very positive towards the Soviet. According to that, soviets can take jobs under the umbrella of the Soviet. Every person can live in the prosperous condition. It is only her personal thought but the over all situation of Afghanistan is not the same as she expressed toward them. There are some persons who have

enjoyed profit under the rule of Russia but majority of population was ignored in the main stream of the country.

Taliban hegemonied and exploited people. For Taliban religion was the weapon of exploitation. In the period of Taliban Afghan people have not got anything except fear, rape, uncertainty, backwardness, illiteracy, murder and social exclusion. There was no chance for good food, education and work. They had to do what ever Taliban would like. There was pathetic working condition. They were much more frustrated on their daily life. It was the condition to do or die. For further support we quote the following lines:

> Babi woked at Silo, Kabulus, Gigantic bread factory, where he labored amid the heat and humming chimney stocking the marries events and mill grains all day through he was university educated man. They had been university a high school teacher before the communist fired him. This was shortly after the coup of 1978, about a year and half before the soviet had invaded. (114)

The situation of Afghan people shifts towards the sea of the sorrow. We can imagine how they were forced to do small and difficult work. They were just the puppet of in the hands of the rulers. They were forced to work hard in unfavorable weather but they paid low amount of money which was not sufficient for their basic needs. Before the communist rule, the situation of was better.

There is a gender violence, which was imposed by male against female. Female character like Laila, Mariam, Giti, Nana, Fariba are some representative characters who are the victims of the double target. They are in double target because they are first exploited as being Afghan people and then being women. Mariam, is the illegitimate child of Jalil and Nana, and suffers the shame throughout her childhood

because of the circumstances of her birth. She is the illegitimate child (harami). Similarly Fariba lost her loving son and she was also caught by the fire. More over other characters got equally damaged their life and family due to the great violence. Later on cruelty crossed the border of tolerance, Mariam and Laila killed their own husband Rasheed.

A critical problem and instability arouse in Afghanistan due to the ethnic conflict. There is war between different groups of thought and religion. Sunne and Sia Muslim, Uzbek and Pashtuns, Tajiks and so on. There is diversity in culture and language but they don't accept positively those diversities. And they go on firing each other. That ethnic conflict was an entertainment for someone but it was very much pathetic for other. Especially, females and lower class people are very much suffocated.

There is no proper regional development. Some places like Kandhar is far from the main stream politics. Village people don't have sufficient food. They don't have basic human needs and proper security. Police and allies power enforce them to do suicidal activities. Innocent people, child and old people are being the direct victim of war. There is lack of human right. Afghan people are like tamed slaves in their own country. They have no good government, parents, guiders and helpers. Every new face comes with the slogan of betterment and help or charity but later on they got changed as the exploiters and rulers. Such ethnic and religious groups like Taliban, Mujahidin and Pashto ruled them and treated them like animals. They had only one interest that was to prolong their government and earn more money. As we observe, we can see purely two groups in political polarization, one supported Soviets and other Taliban. Like, Najibullas belongs to the pocket of the Soviet and Mujahidin to the pocket of Taliban. When Taliban takes over the government they were little

happy for better future but that turns to be a farce dream. The following lines justify the point:

"They signed a treaty" he said. In Geneva, It is official they are learning.

With in nine months, there won't be any more soviets in Afghanistan. but indirectly it on to keep continue its domination by using its puppet Najibullah. Many states but the communist reign is staying", she said. Najibullah is the soviets puppet president. He is not anywhere. No the war will go on. This is not the ending. (151)

It shows possible light of bright future but still Afghans are not totally hopeful due to the corrupt nature of people who are always generous toward different groups. Different groups support different power polar for their own mean political desire. They make innocent people escape goat and they handover the power for their own interest. Babi is positive toward Americans. She thought that Americans are generous and gentle. It shows that, Afghan people are always in favor of democracy. They think that democracy can erase the problems of woman, gender, class ethnic problems but it also appeared in the form of day dream.

Soviets ruled the country in the name of Communism and America in the name of democracy. But the central problem of Afghanistan remains the same as murder, conflict, rape, and hopelessness. If we observe the history of Afghanistan, we see, when the rule of communism rule is over, it is the time of Mujahidin, they won the heart of Afghan people and the people supported them thinking that, they are their own brothers. But they cheated the people in the name of Jihad. After that, Taliban ruled the country but they become corrupt. After that American declared war to kill Osama Bin Laden, but more than Taliban fighters, innocent people became the victim

of the Great War. Many Afghan people lost their husband, wife, sons, daughters, house and property. But there is no green signal. Still, they are facing the same problem fear, uncertainty and poverty.

Observing those things, we strongly form one idea that, *A thousand Splendid Suns* shows the live picture of Afghan People. It is a document of real facts and events. Afghan people are always in tussle between mean political propaganda. Some exploit them in the name of Marxism, some in the name of Jihad and later in the name of democracy. It is clear from these lines:

> If you ask me, the Americans armed in the wrong man in Hekmatyar. All the guns the CIA handed him in the eighties to fight the Soviets. The soviet are gone, but he still has the guns, and now he is turning them in innocent people like your parents and he calls this Jihad, what a farce what does Jihad have to do with killing woman and children? Better the CIA had armed commander Massaud. (206)

There is always controversial talk between family and every person of Afghanistan. There is good comparison between America and the Soviet. Soviets handover some guns for ethnic group. That ethnic group tamed the Afghan people. Later on when America came there to destroy Osama Bin Laden and his group, many innocent poor, politically biased and marginalized people lost their life and property. They became victims of war without any fault. Bomb blast from the open sky can not distinguish the innocent and terrorist. Due to long history of war, we are not convinced that Afghanistan is changed toward peaceful country. Because, the central problems were the same that Afghan people want only bread, butter and shelter but instead of that they got guns and missiles, rape and social crimes.

It is the failure of orthodox principle of Marxism and also the failure of Socialism or American model of democracy. Marxism, Jihad and socialism are the tools of exploitation. America and its supporting people represent the socialist model, but, this also fails totally. On the other hand, Soviet and some local ethnic group represent Marxist philosophy, which also failed here. In the same way, many ethnic groups created hegemony in the name of Jihand and other political whims but they also failed. So, Hussini expressed his desire to rebuild Afghanistan from new political base. In which, every class, gender, ethnic group and true peaceful political establishment has a chance.

Taliban Islamic movements, has no legitimate jihad, or holy war, against the central government or the foreign troops that support it. A year and a half after the United States and its allies drove Taliban from power; acts of politically motivated violence have become frequent and fierce in the key southern province of Kandahar, the birthplace of the Taliban and the source of countless shifts in Afghan politics and culture over the centuries. Poor Afghans who don't share the Taliban's strict interpretation of Islam or its mission of jihad are nevertheless accepting Pakistani money to plant land mines and bombs in Afghanistan. In addition to Taliban fighters, other men with guns, warlords, dominate much of Kandahar, allowing the trade in illegal drugs to flourish. Civic activists who once hoped to provide an alternative to both radical fundamentalists and marauding militiamen feel silenced and afraid.

If someone rises to say something about democracy or social equality, then such person won't exist anymore. Especially, women suffer more than men. In this regard, Amnesty report asserts:

> Women suffered violence not only from the Taliban forces, but from their biological relatives and their husbands. This violence was only

reinforced by the powers in authority. Often militia forces would contribute to the violence. "In some instances, female members of the family have a role in upholding patriarchal structures, and may commit violence. (23)

One form of political violence is genocide. Genocide is commonly defined as the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of an <u>ethnic</u>, <u>racial</u>, <u>religious</u>, or <u>national</u> group, though what constitutes enough of a part to qualify as genocide has been subject to much debate by legal scholars. Genocide is typically carried out with either the overt or covert support of the governments of those countries engaged in genocidal activities.

There is no rule of law in Afghanistan, the gunmen can do anything what they want. Afghanistan's security problems have terrible consequences for the province's poorest people. The growing instability in Afghanistan has threatened implications for the rest of Afghanistan. When alleging rape, women found it extremely difficult to convince suspect. Women had to find four male witnesses to provide testimony corroborating the story of woman. If they failed to provide this testimony, they faced stoning in the case of adultery. Actually, they were in unsafe environment in the own house and from relatives. In this regard, Mariam states:

> Mariam had the impression that the baby too was examining her. She was lying on her back, her head titled side ways, looking at Mariam intently with mixture wondered if her face might frighten her, but than the baby squealed happily and Mariam knew that a judgment had been passed on her behalf. (237)

Mariam expresses her opinion on family and marriage which is wonderful as well as pathetic. She feel that baby was examining her. She is suspicious about baby. Her

wonderful face seemed horrified because of the pressure of child. As the heartland of the Pashtuns, whose monarchs ruled Afghanistan for much of the past three centuries, and the place where the Taliban began its rise to power in the early 1990s, Kandahar has long been the trendsetter for the rest of the country.

Kandahar was the first capital of Afghanistan. Historically, those who know Afghanistan say that if you can solve the political issues in Kandahar, you can solve the issues in the whole country. If you can't do it in Kandahar, it means that you are lost .To be sure, Afghanistan is more stable than it was during recent decades of war. Negligence of one regional area and minority group could not bring the sustainable development. It is very essential to recognize the problems of country in their own context. But in the context of Afghanistan, it is just opposite. Different political and religious groups are taking benefit by dividing and ruling in different aspects of the politics. Later on, that changed only political problem and promoted political violence. Factional fighting has also plagued the north, but in the capital, Kabul, people can go to sleep at night without worrying that rival warlords' stray rockets will kill them in their beds.

Observers say the Taliban does not seem to have mass support or the capacity to recapture the country. But some unresolved threats to the peace appear serious and may be worsening. Human rights watch report say that warlords, whom the U.S. military helped put in power so they could fight the Taliban and al Qaeda, are terrorizing much of the country. Their gunmen are intimidating journalists and political opponents as well as robbing, detaining and raping ordinary Afghans with impunity. Distribution of arms and ammunitions brought disaster in Afghanistan. It is sure that arms cannot maintain peace and security, but western ruler is distributing guns, missiles and other financial and political support to dominate one group by

another. If internal interest of the west cannot remain neutral, then the practice of keeping peace and progress in Afghanistan is limited only in the slogan. At the same time, cooperation between the U.S. military and regional leaders has not always succeeded in thwarting the Taliban and Al Qaeda. In recent time, large Taliban groups have attacked U.S. or allied forces, and Afghanis are increasingly critical of the United States for not acting more aggressively to stop terrorism and protect the populace. Recent efforts to flush out Taliban forces have brought some tangible results, but have failed to stop them from regrouping over Pakistani border, beyond the reach of coalition forces. After coalition forces routed them, Taliban leaders fled and hid for six months. Then they started appearing openly in Pakistan. They wanted to know what the reaction would be. If there was no reaction from the coalition or the government, they started regrouping. Taliban and its allies began slipping into Afghanistan to disseminate anti-government, anti-coalition propaganda fliers. Then they started burning schools and, again, no one said anything. The third phase was explosions. Now they are targeting mullahs and police officials. During the Russian invasion, Afghani did the same thing: step by step. These Talibani militants are uniting at each and every step.

Now, Taliban has not stopped and they are in larger number, they will make the situation worse for the coalition forces and the Afghan government. Most Afghanis, however, say they are sick of war and don't support the Taliban. Many remark wistfully though that they miss some of the law and order that came with the repressive regime.

It is sure that the concept of hegemony was first used as part of a slogan of the Russian social democratic movement, later on it shift toward Taliban and American forces . Gramsci's idea of hegemony is very relevant to understand Afghanistan and

its history. Long struggle destroyed natural resources and remaining things are in western power's hands. Primarily, western came there to institutionalize the civil society but socialist forces gain control through cultural and ideological struggle, instead of only political and economic contest .Especially western suggested for the liberal-democratic societies but they hegemonies Afghanistan. Similarly, the revolutionary forces have to take civil society before they take the state power. Hence, having everything we just said in mind, one could take it that, first, a class building of specific and concrete ideology based in its specific and concrete interests. That will dominate the rest of the society because of the unavoidable influence of capitalist relations and violence. This set of ideas will constitute the hegemony.

In Afghanistan, an organic crisis is developed in which the governing group begins to disintegrate, creating the opportunity for a subordinate class to transcend its limitations and build up a broad movement capable of challenging the existing order and achieving hegemony. But, if the opportunity is not taken, the balance of forces will shift back to the dominant class, which reestablishes its hegemony on the basis of a new pattern of alliances. The way of challenging the dominant hegemony is political activity. But we must understand a distinction between two different kind of political strategies to achieve the capitulation of the predominant hegemony and the construction of socialist society. The forms of domination and subordination correspond much more closely to the normal process of social organization and control in developed societies than the idea of a ruling class, which are usually base <sup>-1</sup> on much earlier and simpler historical phases.

## **III Conclusion: Political Violence, a Threat to Humanity**

This research has analyzed the novel from the perspective of political violence. In this study, it is analyzed how Afghan people suffered during the rule of different ideology and under the rule of different political and ethnic group. How Marxism, socialism and jihad exploited them. Political violence increased day by day in Afghanistan.

In the first phase of the novel, we can see that there is the ravage of war. The novel opens with the word 'harami'. Meaning of the word is very simple that illegitimate child but more than that we can see there is the social and psychological damage of heart. More characters suffered in day to day life. Even there is no proper food and shelter. Due to the lack of security and shelter Laila is forced to marry with an old man Rasheed. Laila, Mariam and Giti became the victim of the political violence. Political violence aroused because of the interruption of other principle.

At first, Afghanistan was ruled by the Soviets, in the name of communism. Afghans were exploited brutally and inhumanly in their own land. Communist principle became the tool or weapon of domination. Devastating war damaged Afghanistan irreparably. Gender and ethnicity became a major problem in the country. Laila, Mariam and Nana are such persons who became the victim of war, especially, male Rasheed and Jalil. Males exploited females as they (male) like. The Kuran became the tool to exploit them. Showing the chanting lines of the Kuran, men make fearful environment for females. They rumor that God punish if females ignore rule of the Kuran.

Taliban rules at first tried to convince Afghan people that they can solve the torture of Russia and other ethnic group but they became more rigid and violent in the name of God. Especially, they exploited females and they block the female to come in

the main stream of politics and development of the country. Later on, American bombarded there to take revenge against Osama Bin Laden and secure democracy in Afghanistan. Democracy itself is not a problem but the problem arises due to the domination and exploitation. Many innocent people lost their lives in the name of democracy but it remains the same as it was either.

In summing up, we can say that, every power polar of politics and religion ruled Afghanistan and exploited people. Some exploited in the name of Marxism, some in name of Jihad and some in the name of democracy. Only one thing is clear all of them worsened the situation and excluded female, poor and other non political groups. Due to this fact, Afghanistan constantly suffers violence.

Thus, this research is concerned to the study of Khaled Husseini's *A Thousand Splendid Suns* in terms of political violence. The study focuses on political violence. Many rulers exploited Afghan people and ruled them. There is hegemony of different country and ethnic groups, which ultimately force country toward the destruction and violence.

Afghanistan is hegemonised by Soviet Union in its first phase and by Americans in later phase. Both of them worked not for Afghan people but for themselves. Because of their ruling interest, Afghanistan has become a space for violence and lawlessness. Political violence causes the situation of impunity which creates the situation of gender violence, restlessness and even mass murder. Different ideologies are imposed upon the powerless people to make them fragmented, weak and take advantage of it. This is based upon "divide and rule" ideology.

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