

36

Political Violence

36.1 INTRODUCTION

Political violence is one of the most disturbing problems we are facing today. History of the world stands testimony to it. The twentieth century has in particular witnessed more violence than hitherto known to humankind. It is found in almost all parts of the world, be it industrialized-capitalist societies, or the socialist societies, or, still again, the developing countries of Asia and Africa. It is generally held that political violence manifests itself more in societies where political institutions are not sufficiently capable of dealing with socio-economic disparities and other grievances. Conversely, it is also held that in relatively egalitarian societies with stable, well-developed political institutions, political space in the power structure of decision making. Therefore, political stability helps in accommodating the demands of various groups or in being, atleast, sensitive to their needs, and thereby in containing political violence.

In this lesson, we will study about the various dimensions of the concept of political violence.

36.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you will be able to:

- understand the world phenomenon of increasing political violence;
- analyze the major causes of political violence in India;
- identify the major forms of political violence;

36.3 POLITICAL VIOLENCE AS A GLOBAL PHENOMENON

Some form of political violence is prevalent world over. However, the nature and causes of violence may differ from place to place and culture to culture. It depends, among others, on the nature of political institutions and the level of economic development. When social tensions and group interests find violent expression directed against the state power, they acquire a political colour. Such violence is called political violence. **The Irish Republican Army (IRA)** indulges in bomb blasts to press for freedom of Northern Ireland from Great

Irish Republican Army is an association of radical Irish nationalists. It represents the descendents of the Irish Republican Army formed before the First World War to evict the English from Ireland. The IRA split into two groups in 1969. The larger one adopted a Marxist interpretation of Irish situation. This group put socialism first and abandoned violence in favour of propaganda. The other group has maintained the policy of achieving a united Ireland through violence. Tactics of IRA involves bomb blasts, indiscriminate mass killings, and targeting prominent leaders to achieve their aims. It has been outlawed by both the Irish and the British governments for their violent means of protest.

Britain. In South Africa the blacks protested for decades against the apartheid policies of the white minority government: when their initial peaceful, non-violent protests often met with violent repression by the State, the blacks were compelled to resort to violent means to achieve their objectives. In some African countries tribal conflicts have resulted in mass violence, civil war and genocide. Rwanda and Somalia are prominent examples of full blown tribal conflicts. In the Middle East hijacking is its contribution to the arsenal of violence. In Latin America (Argentina, Cuba, Bolivia, Peru etc.) there are many insurgency groups that indulge in guerrilla warfare, hostage taking and other types of political violence. Ernesto 'Ché Guevara', the Argentina-born guerrilla Marxist revolutionary who participated in Cuban revolution, believed in violence as a means to attaining every political goal. He was shot dead in Bolivia on October 9, 1967 after being captured by the Bolivian army while leading a guerrilla revolt against oppressive military rule there. He was a keen follower of Mao Tse Tung of China who declared that 'power flows from the barrel of a gun'. Since 1980s, terrorism has become a major form of political violence confronting every region of the world. Such widespread forms of violence have become a global phenomenon. It is, however, appalling to note that incidences and new forms of political violence are growing at an alarming rate. Therefore, it is important to understand the phenomenon of political violence, its causes and to find possible measures to deal with it.

36.4 THEORIES OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Why does political violence occur? To answer this question several scholars have theoretically analysed the concept of political violence. Some of the major theories are: (i) Frustration-aggression complex; (ii) Relative deprivation theory; (iii) Modernisation process; and (iv) Conflict as an inherent process of social change.

It is argued that frustration breeds aggression. Urbanisation, mass media etc. help an individual to learn about higher standards of living experienced by the people living in the developed, industrialised societies. People living in underdeveloped countries feel frustrated when their expectations/aspirations are not fulfilled due to lack of technology and scarcity of resources. Violence resulting out of such frustration is known as frustration — aggression complex.

If an influential section/group appropriates for itself a greater share of resources and opportunities in a society, then the rest of the people in such a society feel relatively deprived. Such imbalance usually occurs during the periods of relative prosperity or development. When the gap between perceived expectations and real entitlements widens, it leads to violence.

Political violence is directly related to modernisation process. Most developing countries are going through this transitional phase from tradition to modernity. During the transitional period, disequilibrium between political, social and economic institutions gives way to violence. Political **Modernisation** implies accommodating political participation of the new social groups. Thus, political violence in the transitional societies is rooted in their failure to develop institutions responsive to the need for participation by the new groups.

Some authors like Frantz Fanon and George Sorel maintain that violence is the only tool available to the oppressed people for their struggle against oppression and exploitation. Fanon said in his famous book *The Wretched of the Earth* that the colonised people resort to violence to free themselves from the shackles of colonial rule. Sorel, the French radical, spoke about the regenerative role of violence. He held that through violence a class will discover its identity and resurrect itself.

Modernisation involves a process of social, economic and political transition from a traditional, religious, feudal and/or tribal system to a modern secular nation-states. It represents secular culture, development in science and technology, new values patterns, new attitudes and the like. Societies undergoing this process are known as transitional societies.

Lewis Coser and Ralf Dahrendorf in their conflict theory emphasize on the use of conflict to resolve social tensions and maintain interpersonal relations. They follow Karl Marx and George Simmel here. For them, violence is a natural manifestation of social change because in this process some groups benefit more than the rest. Resolution of tensions through conflict is particularly marked in pluralistic open societies.

INTEXT QUESTIONS 36.1

Answer the following in one sentence

1. What is the famous statement of Mao Tse Tung?
2. In which continent are the tribal conflicts more common?
3. In which society is political violence less common?
4. Why do people get frustrated?
5. Define modernisation.
6. Name the book written by Frantz Fanon.

36.5 POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN INDIA — MEANING AND CAUSES

Violence means the exercise of physical force so as to inflict injury or damage to persons or property. In the social context violence can be of two types. It involves the use of physical or psychological force by the people against the state power or government to achieve group ends. This is violence by the people at large. On the other hand, there is also force used by the agencies of state power such as police, army etc. to maintain law and order. It is a legitimate use of force as is sanctioned by law. However, when force used by the agencies of the state exceeds its limits, it is known as state sponsored violence or official violence. Such incidences may lead to mass violence against the state repression itself. When violence takes place within a political community involving competing political groups against the political regime, its leaders or its policies, it can be called as political violence. In other words, political violence seeks to directly or indirectly influence decision making and power relationships in a political system. It is particularly manifest when political institutions fail to perform their roles or when political elites lose their authority and legitimacy. It can be motivated by a desire to maintain or change the existing social, political order.

Political violence inhibits the smooth functioning of democracy. In a democracy the representatives of the people are elected by popular vote. This election is *uncoerced*. Democracy also believes in *equality* which is practiced through the principle of one person one vote. All decisions are taken by a majority vote. Political violence militates against these principles of democracy and, therefore, political violence is considered undemocratic.

Let us now turn to the causes of political violence. The causes of political violence within any country are economic performance, ethnic dominance of a group, urbanization, type of political regime, and the role of military in that country. In India, the causes of political violence are caste, language, socio-economic disparities, terrorism, communalism and criminalisation of politics. A brief discussion of each one of these follows.

(i) Caste

These are conflicts in rural areas to get even with rival caste groups or suppress those belonging to lower castes. Bihar evidently tops the list in this kind of violence. Affluent

upper caste people in Bihar began to have private armies (senas) to do away with rival castes for political reasons which have now become a common practice. During elections and political rallies there is an increase in the killings. Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have also evidenced caste conflicts. The Parliament was informed in 1994 that more than 52, 534 cases of atrocities against the Scheduled Castes (SCs) were registered during 1991-93. Violence by upper-caste Hindus, sometimes with the tacit support of the police, includes the burning of dalit village, rape, torture, murder and deaths in custody. The policy of positive discrimination (the reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in public employment and higher education) and the Mandal Commission recommendations extending the reservations to Other Backward Classes (OBCs) has further exacerbated caste conflicts. During the anti-Mandal agitation in 1990-91, one witnessed widespread *bandhs*, rioting and self-immolations by the students. Sometimes the caste conflicts tend to overlap with conflicts for reorganization of economic system when landlords and peasants use caste factor to perpetuate violence.

(ii) Language

In a multi-lingual and plural society like ours, it is difficult for any single group to occupy the centre stage of politics. Several groups of varied identities try to seek political power. Identities like language help the aspirants of political mobility to appeal to a particular section of the people to create their vote banks. However, when two or more political opponents appeal to the same sectional identity (as language), it can inevitably lead to violence. Language as a basis of conflict has been the feature of independent India since 1950s. The demand for autonomy and protection of rights of a language group often merges with the demand for re-organization of states based on language. Despite states recognition in 1956 based on language, we have witnessed Haryana agitation for separate state in 1966, Telangana agitation in 1969, and language riots in different parts of the country.

(iii) Socio-economic disparities

This was the major reason for violence by the ultra leftist groups. It began in West Bengal in 1960s and then spread to Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. Known as Naxalbari movement in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, the Leftist groups believe in radical socio-economic transformation in society which they seek to bring about through such extra-constitutional methods as using guns. They aim at establishing an egalitarian social system and redistribute the wealth proportionally among persons in society. It will be seen that Naxalbari movement is most prevalent in states with feudal tendencies and where political awareness and communist activity is marked. In Bihar, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and its sister organisation, Indian People's Front (IPF) have been fighting with the landlords on behalf of landless, scheduled castes. Violence by the ultra-leftist groups uses extremist means (such as hijacking the state officials, politicians, killing in shootouts etc.) to achieve their goals. It is their means that hinders peace in society.

(iv) Terrorism

This form of violence in India is for territorial reorganization leading to the creation of their 'imagined homelands'. It first began in north-eastern parts of India followed by Punjab (since 1983), in Kashmir (since 1988) and in Assam. The problem has assumed serious proportions due to extra-territorial i.e., foreign support received by these terrorist groups in Punjab and Kashmir in the form of arms, ammunition, trained personnel and financial support. Indiscriminate killings, bomb blasts have made life unsafe for ordinary citizens in these states.

(v) Grievances of specific groups

Various groups indulging in political violence to air their grievances include students, teachers, trade unions and the like. Growing indiscipline and unrest among the student community may take the form of bandhs, lathicharges, gheraos and even stabbing by the criminal elements in the campus. In fact, campus political organizations and trade unions have become a miniature version of national politics as various students political groups and trade unions are affiliated to or supported by the national/regional political parties. However, student power is a force that can also be used constructively for the betterment of society as Jaya Prakash Narayan did in 1974 calling for socio-economic change and total revolution. This important group being young and energetic can contribute to the resilience of democracy. Group violence also includes tribal disturbances in regions like north-eastern part of India. Nagas, Kukis, Mizos, the Bodos and other tribes of the region are engaged in internecine violence in which several hundreds have lost their lives. Despite the fact that seven different states (known as 'seven sisters'; viz., Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura) based on tribal identity have been carved out of Assam, violence still persists there.

(vi) Communalism

This has been the single most dominant cause of political violence in India ever since the demand for creation of Pakistan among a section of Muslims was mooted during our freedom struggle. In a multi-religious society like ours we have a majority of Hindus and such minority communities as Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Jews and Parsees. Formation of various politico-communal organizations such as the Muslim League, Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and Akalis has given filip to communal violence. Post-independence history of India is full of communal disturbances. The latest ones experienced were immediately after the demolition of the Babri Masjid. Although several minority communities are there in India, Hindu-Muslim riots have been of the most common occurrence. The worst anti-Sikhs riots were organized in the aftermath of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination. Justice Ranganath Mishra Committee inquiring into anti-Sikh riots came to the conclusion that more than 3000 Sikhs lost their lives during the riots, Aligarh, Kanpur, Delhi, Lucknow, Meerut, Muradabad, Ahmedabad, Bhagalpur, Bhiwandi, Bombay, Surat and Hyderabad and some of the communally sensitive towns that have witnessed recurring communal violence in post-independence India.

It is to be noted that communal violence has more reasons than mere deepseated religious animosity. Economic reasons propel the rioters to hit cities and industrial towns rather than villages.

(vii) Criminalisation of Politics

This is one of the causes for indiscriminate rioting and killing in India today. Riots are often engineered by the political parties to gain political mileage out of it in the elections or otherwise some officials in the state agencies like police and paramilitary forces also display evident complacency and connivance against the victims. Ranganath Mishra Committee Report accused the Delhi Police of inaction when rioters went berserk against the Sikhs in Delhi. Mr. N.N. Vohra, who inquired into allegations of criminals — politicians nexus demonstrated in his report that a disbolical nexus between politicians, bureaucrats, some members of media and underworld dons was in existence. Criminalisation of politics can be seen during the elections when politicians take the help of criminals for 'booth-capturing' and all the malpractices of impersonation, rigging and intimidation. This is so because the underworld dons have a heavy stake in the election of a candidate due to large contributions

made by them towards election expenses. In recent years, the role of criminals and politicians have convulged to such an extent that several elected representatives in Assemblies and Parliament have long criminal record behind them. Thus, the nexus has been institutionalized.

INTEXT QUESTIONS 36.2

Choose the right answer :

1. Anti-Mandal Agitation lead to an increase in the following:
 - a. Communal violence
 - b. Tribal violence
 - c. Caste violence
2. Naxalbari Movement first began in:
 - a. West Bengal
 - b. Punjab
 - c. Andhra Pradesh

36.6 MAJOR FORMS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN INDIA

It is a paradox that in Gandhi's land of non-violence we have today in India every possible form of violence pervading our society. The forms of violence in India can be categorized with reference to their frequency, intensity and duration. Some forms of violence are not sufficiently violent; they merely symbolize a threat of violence. For example, one day bandh/gherao is a symbolic protest that may be resorted to frequently without injuring (someone) or damaging (something). On the other hand, there are certain methods of violence which take a heavy toll and may even challenge the state power itself. Let us now turn to the various forms of violence (see the table 1 below). As we have discussed earlier in section 2.2, political violence can be either mass violence against the state or state sponsored violence against its subjects.

Table - 1

FORMS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN INDIA

Mass Violence		State Sponsored Violence
Low intensity	Medium Intensity	High Intensity
↳ Bandhs	↳ Gherao	↳ Riots & Arson
↳ Token Strikes	↳ Rail/Rasta roko	↳ Political assassination
↳ Demonstrations	↳ Long drawn strikes	↳ Insurgency
		↳ Lockouts
		↳ Terrorism
Police		Army & Paramilitary Forces
↳ Custodial deaths		
↳ Custodial torture		
↳ Indiscriminate firing		
↳ and extrajudicial killings		

(i) Mass Violence

In this we shall see three levels of violence depending on their intensity. Bandhs and demonstrations are forms of low intensity mass violence. These are usually a feature of protests by trade unions, bank and insurance employees in the service sector, and student protests in educational institutions. Though these protests begin on a peaceful note, they have the potential to turn violent when the leaders of the movement are unable to control the masses. Bandhs stop all work as a mark of protest where as a demonstration is a non-violent gathering or march by a group to invite attention of the concerned authorities towards their grievances. Occasionally they might carry playcards, banners or indulge in slogan shouting. These forms of protest, ordinarily do not employ any physical force; they threaten the regime by a demonstration of will that there is a potential for anti-regime movement.

Gherao, rasta/rail roko and lockouts are some of the means used by the political parties, interests and pressure groups to press their demands. Gherao involves surrounding or closing in on the top officials and decision makers by the aggrieved section of the people who are affected by the policies. Rasta/rail roko involves obstructing smooth movement of road and rail traffic. Rail roko agitation is particularly violence as sometimes the agitators cause immense damage to public property. In states like Assam, miles and miles of railway tracks are blown up by the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) militants as part of their insurgency movement. Rail roko agitation assumes militant proportions and transforms into a high-intensity violence when tracks are blown up. Likewise, it is also common in our country to see students and angry mobs burning down public transport vehicles (buses) and police jeeps as a mark of protest.

VIOLENT DEMONSTRATION



Scene of mass demonstration where mob is pelting stones at a bus

Then there are more severe forms of political violence such as riots, arson, political assassination, insurgency movements and terrorism. They all come under high-intensity violence. Terrorism and internal war constitute the severe most forms of political violence. A riot is defined as a violent demonstration involving a large number of people acting spontaneously, impulsively and indiscriminately to loot or kill people. However, one may witness pre-planned, well-engineered riots in urban areas during political instability and

turmoil. Political assassination implies eliminating prominent political leaders to express opposition to ideology, the leaders, policies or simply to seize political power. Mahatma Gandhi in 1948, Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1984 and Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 were assassinated for ideological/political reasons. Political assassination also symbolizes an overt act of terrorism.

Insurgency movements in north eastern part of India and elsewhere are rebellions demanding more autonomy and powers based on tribal and ethnic identity. Terrorism in India is associated with the secessionist movements in Punjab and Kashmir. Their fight is mainly against the officials of the state machinery such as police, army, paramilitary forces etc. in support of the creation of their 'imagined homelands'. Due to extra-territorial and foreign support, terrorism is a truly global phenomenon which transcends all geographical boundaries, affects the entire international community and demands concerted efforts on the part of all nations to tackle it. Terrorists employ such means as bombing, kidnaping, armed assault, hijacking etc.

(ii) State-sponsored violence

Let us now discuss the forms of violence initiated by the state agencies against the people. In India, the image of police has been very poor in our common consciousness. The police which is responsible for maintaining law and order itself often perpetrates violence. Unprovoked firing, custodial torture, custodial deaths and encounter killings claim many innocent lives. Killings by the police in fake encounters are known as extra-judicial killings. Moreover, the police is armed with a law that permits interrogation which is misused by the police to use third degree methods of torture in custody such as burning with cigarette butts, lashing etc. Sometimes extra legal methods are invented to torture the undertrials. In Bhagalpur blinding episode, 17 under trials were blinded by the jail authorities. In recent times, a similar incident was reported from a police station in Rajasthan. During 1971-75 West Bengal had a president's rule and a Congress government which resorted to severe repression of communist activists. Around 25,000 activists were jailed. One source noted that between 1970-72, 600 CPM members and 320 naxalites had been murdered in prisons. Besides police, army and paramilitary forces such as Police Armed Constabulary (PAC) in Uttar Pradesh, Border Security Force (BSF), have been alleged to be involved in fake encounter killings of innocent civilians and torture of women in terrorists and riot affected areas.

None of the above categorized means are mutually exclusive. The low intensity methods have the potential to explode into high-intensity ones. Accordingly, more than one form of violence may simultaneously be witnessed in our society. Terrorists indulge in assassinations, killings, extortions and property damage. Peaceful demonstrations can aggravate into riots if they turn violent. Hence, we have to be cautious about our forms of protest in order to avoid violence of every kind in our lives

36.7 IMPACT OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE ON INDIAN SOCIETY

Political violence has had a subversive effect on Indian society and polity. It has made life of the citizens difficult and unsafe. It affects both our social life and our efficiency and productivity at work. Often life is paralysed for days at a stretch due to bandhs, riots and terrorist menace. It is a common knowledge that work in government offices and educational institutions comes to a stand still during bandhs as is the experience in the North Eastern States in particular. This retards economic progress and implementation of developmental programmes by the government. Even when political violence does not actually break out,

its imminence may induce the state to adopt such preemptive measures as imposition of curfew. This causes many hardships to the people. When terrorism was at its peak in Punjab and Kashmir, it was unsafe to move about after sunset. Outstation roadways buses were plying with the help of armed guards to protect the lives of the civilian passengers.

Our state is spending huge sums of money and human resources to contain political violence and maintain law and order. The scarce resources we are investigating in maintaining various paramilitary forces such as BSF, CRPF, Rapid Action Force, Special Protection Group (SPG) for VVIP security can be usefully utilized for constructive and developmental activities.

Political violence has undermined the functioning and effectiveness of our democratic political institutions. In fact, it has impeded healthy growth and strengthening of the roots of democratic institutions. This is a serious malady in that any danger to democratic institutions would mean a difficulty in governing our large and diverse country which can only be governed democratically. Therefore, any threat to democracy would imply a threat to our social and political unity and existence.

36.8 STEPS TAKEN TO CURB POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN INDIA

In view of the growing incidences of political violence in India, some steps have been taken to contain violence at all levels. Most of the measures thus adopted are legislative in nature. A number of laws have been passed or amended to provide punitive measures against perpetrating violence. In some cases stringent administrative measures have also been introduced. Let us look at the following measures:

- i) Lower castes and untouchables are the worst victims of caste-conflicts. Therefore, both negative laws providing punitive action for caste based discrimination and positive laws to ameliorate the socio-economic status of the backward classes have been adopted. Those practising untouchability can be convicted with a jail term ranging between six months to two years, a fine ranging between Rs.200 to Rs.1000/- and debarred seeking election to Parliament and Assemblies. These penalties were provided in the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976 (which was an improvement of the 1955 Untouchability (Offences Act). These penalties were further made stringent in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989. Now the law prescribes imprisonment of upto five years on certain offences/atrocities such as subjecting the Untouchables to drink or eat any inedible substance or dumping excreta in their premises, or parade them naked, extract compulsory service (bounded labour) or to dishonour, molest or sexually exploit their women. Moreover, the Act provide for the setting up of "Special Courts" in each district by the State Government for the purpose of providing a speedy trial of the cases of atrocities against dalits. Reservation for them include 15 percentage of jobs in state and central government offices, in educational institutions and seats in Parliament, Assemblies and Panchayat institutions.
- ii) To mitigate language conflicts, more and more languages have been included in the eighth schedule of the constitution (presently they are eighteen).
- iii) Economic packages for development and establishment of educational institutions by the central government are some of the specific measures adopted to bring the north-eastern states into the Indian mainstream and, through it, upstage the tribal and other conflicts in the region.
- iv) The ultra-leftist groups in some states like People's War Group (PWG) in Andhra Pradesh have been outlawed and the Union Government, has given assistance to the state government to deal with these groups by providing additional paramilitary forces

and army battalions.

- v) To tackle terrorism the central government has time and again appealed to the terrorists to shun violence. Some incentives such as granting pardon and providing rehabilitation to those who lay down arms have also been provided. Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act (TADA) was passed in 1987 to curb the menace of terrorism. However, the Parliament repealed it in 1996 after a public uproar against its misuse in implicating innocent citizens.
- vi) To check communal violence, the following steps have been taken. A Rapid Action Force (RAF) has been constituted and permanently stationed in communally sensitive towns. It contains personnel from all religious groups to make it a non-communal force. National Minorities Commission, a statutory body, exists to look into the grievances of the minorities and oversee the implementation of minority rights. Certain communal organizations have been banned since 1992 (following the demolition of Babri Mosque in December 1992) such as Bajrang Dal, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, Jamat-e-Islami and Islamic Sewak Sangh. Lastly, places of Worship Act has been passed by the Parliament which the places of worship as it was existing on 15 August 1947. This is aimed at stemming any possible controversies regarding places of worship in future.

It is clearly evident that most of the measures adopted to check political violence are only in the law books and their implementation has not been very effective. Some more remedial measures should be adopted to make our society less violent.

INTEXT QUESTIONS 36.3

Fill in the blanks :

1. are the forms of low intensity mass violence.
2. Two states affected by terrorism are
3. ULFA stands for
4. Killing by the police in fake encounters are known as
5. To deal with language conflict more and more languages have been
6. Rapid Action Force has been constituted to deal with
7. Political violence affects our and at work.

36.9 WHAT ELSE CAN BE DONE?

Secular content of education and inter-faith dialogue should be encouraged to develop understanding and respect for other communities. The activities of all communal political parties and religious groups must be monitored and communally inflammatory speeches be curtailed as they are often responsible for fanning communal sentiments. Police and paramilitary forces should be broad based so as to be representative of all communities in India. This will go a long way in inculcating objectivity, neutrality and discipline while performing their duties.

Root cause of terrorism today is the cultural alienation of some communities from the national mainstream. Linguistic and cultural suppression can be avoided by giving these communities

more autonomy in their governance and allowing space for their cultural identities. Mass media can play a responsible and positive role through objective reports of the causes of violence without sensationalizing the issue. In today's information age, mass media has a significant role to play in educating the masses through both print and electronic media.

Above all, laws to oversee various aspects of political parties is the need of the hour. The least that can be done is to demand a mandatory disclosure of their sources of income. A responsibility rests on our polity and people to reduce the rule of money in elections. A candidate seeking to contest elections be made to adhere to such requirements as clean police records, some formal educational background etc.

WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNT

In this lesson, you have learnt that political violence is a universal phenomenon. In the last two decades there has been an increase in the political violence worldover. This menace has made life very unsafe in our society.

In India too, we have been witnessing a growing tendency towards political violence. Several forms of political violence can be seen in India. Its causes are many, such as caste, language, religion, terrorism, insurgency and criminalisation of politics. Some important steps have been taken by the government to check political violence. However, a lot more needs to be done both at governmental and people's level to curb the growing incidences of political violence in our country.

Besides the governmental efforts to check the menace of political violence, at the peoples level too we need to follow, to the extent possible, the Buddhist — Gandhian principle of non-violence. It is a truism that most advanced nations in the world are those which have held their national heritage in awe. We should also revive our cultural values to spread the message of non-violence worldover. The best way is to lead by example. Ancient Indian philosophy of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam (world as one family) is relevant even today if followed in later and spirit.

TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Describe relative deprivation theory.
2. What do you mean by political violence?
3. Discuss any four causes of political violence in India.
4. Discuss briefly the nature of severe forms of political violence in India.
5. Write a note on the state sponsored violence.
6. What are the major steps taken by the state to curb the phenomenon of political violence?
7. Write a short note on:
 - (a) global aspect of political violence
 - (b) communal violence
 - (c) impact of political violence

KEY TO INTEXT QUESTIONS:

- 36.1
1. Mao Tse Tung declared that "power flows from the barrel of a gun".
 2. Tribal conflicts are more common in Africa.
 3. Political violence is less common in relatively egalitarian societies with stable, well-developed political institutions.
 4. Unfulfilled expectations due to lack of technology and scarcity of resources in underdeveloped countries lead to frustration.

5. It is a process of social, economic and political transition from traditional, religious to a modern, secular society.
 6. Frantz Fanon wrote *The Wretched of the Earth*.
- 36.2**
1. (c)
 2. (a)
 3. (b)
 4. (c)
 5. (b)
- 36.3**
1. Bandhs, token strikes and peaceful demonstrations.
 2. Punjab and Kashmir
 3. United Liberation Front of Assam
 4. Extra-judicial killings
 5. Included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution
 6. Communal violence
 7. Efficiency and productivity

Hints to Terminal Questions:

1. Refer to 36.4
2. Refer to 36.5
3. Refer to 36.5
4. Refer to 36.6.(i)
5. Refer to 36.6.(ii)
6. Refer to 36.8
7. (a) Refer to 36.3
(b) Refer to 36.5(vi)
(c) Refer to 36.7