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Politics, Power, and Colonialism: Post-Structuralist study of Manto's "New Constitution"

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Abstract
Manto possessed an acute political and socio-cultural awareness of his times. Colonialism, partition and freedom struggle have remained one of the main themes of his writing. The present research intends to conduct a post-structuralist study of the text with an aim of highlighting the 'Binary Oppositions' within the structure, along with the analysis of the Foucauldian (1976) notion of Power in the discourse of the "New Constitution". For the current study, the translation of the "Naya Qanoon" done by Khalid Hassan has been consulted. The post-structuralist study of the text revealed the embedded binaries with respect to the notions of cultural identities, races, political notions and geographies. The findings highlighted the essentialist and logocentric attitude of discourses towards the positions of power, dominance, civilization and racism. Foucauldian (1976) interpretation of power underscored that, 'Others' also become involved in the channeling and distribution of power. From this lens, the idea of a "New Constitution" could be interpreted in terms of a new form of colonization by Westerns powers. They are not physically present, yet their influence is everywhere, creating the same hybrid identities and polarization among people.

Keywords: politics, power, colonialism, history, post structuralism, manto, new constitution.

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1. Introduction

'Naya Qanoon' was published around 1940, which was part of collection of the short stories titled "*Manto ke Afsane*". The translation of Khalid Hussain (1987)

which appeared under the title "The New Constitution" in *Kingdom's End and Other Stories* (pp. 83–92) has been used for the current study. The "Government of India Act" 1935 passed by the British Parliament was a significant legislative act in Subcontinent's freedom struggle (Jain, 2018). It was a result of three Round Table Conferences held in London between the years 1930 and 1932. 'Naya Qanoon' is a reference towards this act. This act promised the creation of a "Federation of India" at two levels: directly under British rule at central executive and parliament level. Secondly, at provincial and princely states level, under the rule of rajas and Maharajas (Ali, 2022) These states, however, didn't like to be ruled under a constitution; hence the idea of federation couldn't be executed. This act discarded the "Dyarchy" system at the provincial level, to be replaced by the rule of popularly elected legislature at provincial level (keith, 1937). Key areas like Defense and Foreign affairs were under the direct control of Governor General and a federal court was established. The franchise was expanded from 3% to 14% from about seven million to 35 million. Separate electorates were provided for Muslims, Sikhs and others but not to the marginalized class. The elections of 1937 and 1946 were held under this act which ultimately led to the partition of the subcontinent (Philips and Wainwright, 1970). However, during these elections only privileged-propertied, salaried and educated – were allowed to vote. The remaining 86%, disenfranchised were never allowed to vote. Governors were conferred critical emergency powers under this act.

Most Political parties were antagonistic towards this act. The Indian National Congress proclaimed it is a slave constitution that attempted to consolidate and perpetuate the economic bondage of India. Despite its opposition, the Congress encouraged its members to run the election under this act, to acquire provincial legislative positions, so they could attain the power to later undermine the Act. The Muslim League also opposed the Act, but it was in favor of the provincial

autonomy it granted. This Act played a key role in the creation of Indian constitution after partition.(Bose and Jalal, 2023) The Constitution of India, 1950 borrowed a significant portion related to the administrative provisions from this Act. This Act is viewed by many scholars as a critical chapter in the Indian constitutional and political history. They agree on the idea that the very Act was intended to protect British interest and to consolidate their hold rather than promulgating self-government in India. Muldoon (2009) argues in his work *Empire Politics and Creation of the 1935 Act* that the Act, "was arguably the most significant turning point in the history of the British administration in India" He further adds that the Act was a means of "continuation of the British control of India, and the deflection of the challenge to the Raj posed by Gandhi, Nehru and the Nationalist movement". J.A Gallagher (2004) in his Ford Lectures on *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire* is of the similar opinion as he states that the Act "was designed to revise the workings but not weaken the realities of British Power."

1.1. The Story "Naya Qanoon"

Manto wrote this story after this Act "Naya Qanoon" of 1935 came into action. 'Mangu Kochvan' is the protagonist of the story. This wittingly sharp story is a mockery and a commentary on the inhumane laws that are means of enforcing power and exercising authority, with no consideration for the common and marginalized human beings. The agony of the colonized disenfranchised common man is portrayed through the character of Mangu, who was under the illusion that new laws would give him protection. He was an uneducated man, who used to overhear the conversations of the people who travelled in his 'tanga'. He then used to make sense of this information through his own curious mind, but he was devoid of basic tool for understanding-education. Mangu used to make big political stories out of these conversations and transferred them to his friends who considered him

a great wise man. Hindu-Muslim riots always disturbed Mangu and he considered them to be a curse of some saint. He also greatly detested Gora soldiers, who treated him worse than a dog. Mangu overheard the different conversations of his tanga passengers through which he gathered that there would be a new law -a New Constitution. He was overwhelmed with joy and this news made him restless and he wanted to share this great news with his friends. Waves of happiness were running through his body, and he laughed to himself. In his heart he linked the creation of new law to the rejection of old laws and social change. Mangu connected this new constitution to socialism as he had heard great stories about Russian Socialism. His hatred towards Britishers, who he used to call "off shoots of monkeys" and "lepers" was born out of his nationalist sentiment. Mangu's lower social status connotes towards the atrocities of Britishers towards Indians on one hand and towards the marginalized disenfranchised classes within Indian society on the other hand, who were always denied even the most basic rights.

This short story is a social political commentary. Mangu's character is a manifestation of the Indian's intense antipathy towards the Colonists, ruling against the will of the people. Their atrocities towards Indians and their exertion of power through Gora Soldiers of cantonments invoked socialist tendencies in Mangu. It is also a political commentary by Manto on the illusion of freedom. As Mangu hoped that 'Naya qanoon' would give him rights, so he dared to pick a quarrel with an English officer, however later he was locked by the police and was told that nothing has changed. Nothing changes for the marginalized man even if new laws are promulgated, which is the one the key themes of the story. Even after the making of constitution and federal laws power is shifted to the institutions. The big institutions like military and judiciary always have the power and authority and they ultimately control the common men through laws.

Manto's writings contribute significantly to partition literature while exploring the atrocities and subjugation of Colonists in pre and post partition India. Through his sheer mockery, cynicism, poignant writing style, vivid imagery, characterization and in-depth psychological exploration, he tends to dwell deep into the agony of the colonized. He laments on the plight of the common marginalized individuals and groups. His societal, political and religious skepticism is both on macro and micro level, which invokes feelings of empathy in the readers. The theme of the power struggle between the colonized and the colonizers, both through force and through institutionalized hegemony is also central to his short stories. The dichotomy between the haves and have nots, which in this context are the Britishers and the Indians, refers towards the idea of Binary oppositions, which is one of the central assumptions in post-structuralist theory. The study of Binaries not only demonstrates duality within the text but also helps to interpret the text's meaning more clearly. Binaries enable us to deconstruct the notions which are considered privileged according to the established metanarratives. Binaries oppositions within cultural studies help to find the space and proximity of different ethnicities or groups against other groups, it explores the relationships between different groups e.g., between upper class and lower class or gender differences which lead to prejudices and discrimination. The analysis of binaries would help to clarify Manto's vision related to various dispositions; political realization; and humans' relations. Foucauldian (1976) notion of power, studies power from new dimensions which isn't limited to concept of power-over rather it suggests the unconcentrated, dispersed and organized concept of power.

2. Literature Review

Manto was a celebrated Urdu writer whose writing reflected realistic portrayal of human agony along with social, political and psychological impact of partition.

Manto's writings were characterized by raw emotions, struggles of marginalized classes and those communities affected most by the partition (Jalal, 2013). The major themes explored in his writings included loss, identity classes, injustice, dehumanizing effects of violence and trauma of displacement. These themes were combined with wit, vivid imagery, dark humor and deeply embedded psychological depth. His poignant style of writing holds the ability to invoke empathy and a questioning spirit to challenge conventions regarding history (Flemming, 1985). His writing portrays Partitions in such a vivid manner, that the whole picture is evident to the reader through his characters. His depiction of injustice, in humanistic practices, human psychology, socio-political and religious crisis is rather presented in an open-ended manner, i.e. left for readers to decide for themselves. The psychology of characters, their identity crisis, and the effects of partition on human consciousness are explored by Manto in such an immaculate manner that it allows reader to feel deep empathy. Rafia Zakaria in her article "A Moment for Manto" while talking about the relevancy of Manto's writing in the present age wrote that "His rebellion was directed at the demarcations that remain the Curse of India-Pakistan relations even to this day". Chauhan. S (2022), in while exploring trauma narratives in Manto's partition literature writes that, "When retellings of the lived reality of Partition are understood in the light of Manto's attempts to dislodge narratives of national modernity and identity, the picture of displacement and flimsy territorial logic of Partition, as well as the hollow resolutions of nationalism, begins to emerge more starkly. Studied together, the short stories and the oral testimonies reveal the fiction of two separate nationalities which constituted the nationalist politics and its cultural inscriptions. Manto's world of complex social reality, teeming with subaltern characters is a place where the flotsam and jetsam of society, the "little people", emerge from the shadows."

2.1. Binary Oppositions

Within literary theory, thematic binaries within texts are the means through which the intended meaning of the texts can be extracted and analyzed. (Saussure, 1916). Binary opposition is the basic concept which influences human thought. In other words, humans think in binaries. For authors, the insertion of binaries within the text helps them establish their ideas and meaning. These binaries are never equivalent rather hierarchical (Derrida, 1976). One Binary is always more privileged (good/evil) and powerful than the other. The less privileged have a secondary status. The hierarchical dichotomy between the two binaries considers the privileged binary as the Center or having a presence, whereas the less privileged with the secondary position having absence (presence/absence) .The concept of Binaries oppositions and Presence/absence is quite evident in the story of Mangu, Here Mangu is the less privileged binary who has no presence whereas Colonists are the privileged ones, having all the power and presence. Throughout the story there are several binaries which underscore the dichotomy, power struggle, lack of justice and class differences between the Colonizers and the ones being colonized.

2.2. Power, Politics and Colonialism

Foucault's (1976) idea of power and power structures is quite relevant here in the context of Naya Qanoon, as he is of the view that power can't be possessed rather it is something which operates in different ways in day to days interactions between people and institutions. He (1976) states how various institutions exert their power on groups or individuals and that how people affirm their own identity and resistance to the effects of power. The colonial laws or New Constitution in this context was just the means to consolidate the Colonists rule over India and its people (Chandra, 1988). Although those laws promised Federation and more equalized distribution of power in India, but many scholars called the New Constitution rooted deep in Britishers vested interests. Foucault analysis of Power

doesn't call it to be hierarchical from top to bottom; rather power relations dissipate through all relational societal structures. From this perspective power functions in chains or in network like manner, where all individuals are vehicles of power, not just its point of application. The Constitution and Laws restrict the individuals and groups to adhere to certain rules and regulations. British made law were just another means to exercise and consolidate their power in more disciplined and organized manner and through proper institutions (Vikas, 2022). Indians in this context were the vehicle of power through which Colonists wanted to make their hold even stronger in the subcontinent. Subaltern's voice is also evident in the story as Mangu is hopeful that the New Constitution would change everything. He thinks that being powerless and marginalized, this new law would give him power and justice but his naivety springs from his lack of education. Foucault (1992) in his work "Force of Law: The Mystical Foundation of Authority" from the book *Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice* is also of the opinion that law doesn't always mean justice. Same is the case here, Naya Qanoon doesn't guarantee justice for the deprived and powerless groups. They are just fools like Mangu to believe that any new law would grant them safety just like Mangu. As he says" *New Constitution, New Constitution! What rubbish are you talking? It's the same old constitution*".

3. Research Methodology

The present research has a qualitative lens to look at the text for the understanding of social settings, contexts, socio-political backgrounds cultural phenomenon. It utilizes post-Structualist theory to uncover the ideologies in the text.

3.1. Theoretical Framework

Structuralism refers to the literary movement which carries the scientific study of a language while giving primary significance to its structure hence deriving the name structuralism. They believe that language is a rule-based system which is

highly organized, whereas it is composed of signs which are arbitrary, conventional and differential. Language consists of signs which are only to be studied within the system and it is this very system that gives meanings to these signs within their larger linguistic and social contexts One of the major assumptions with in structuralism's school of critical theory is the idea of Binaries or Binary Oppositions. According to Ferninand de Sassure(1916), Binary oppositions are pairs of the related yet mutually exclusive terms or concepts by the means of which units of language attain meaning and value .Structuralist's believe that meaning can't be understood in isolation as they have to be studied in the context of the larger structures they are part of .The conception of an abstract idea is more conceivable when it is seen in contrast with its opposing idea, for instance the concept of dark could better be understood when we know the meaning of Light.

G. Smith (1996) states that "binary opposition is the system by which, in language and thought, two theoretical opposites are strictly defined and set off against one another" (Smith, 1996:383). Ferdinand de Saussure suggests that like language which governs human's mind, binary opposition is the basic concept which influences human's way of thinking. Selden explained the reason behind this polarized way of thinking in his book as "the essential point about this view of language is that underlying human use of language is a system, a pattern paired oppositions, binary oppositions (2005:77). Within literary theory, the study of thematic binaries within the text becomes one of the possible ways through the intended meaning of the text can be extracted and analyzed. Similarly, for authors the integration of binaries within their text helps them to establish their ideas and meaning.

Post-structuralism is another critical perspective which came after structuralism which questioned the previously held notions of not only Literary

theory but also western philosophy. Deconstructionism being the major critical theory inheriting post-structuralist ideology took structuralism as its starting point of reference to redefine and negate many previously believed ideas. Derrida(1967) being the major proponent of Deconstructionism, while subscribing to Saussure's ideas of Signs and Signifiers reiterated that Signifiers doesn't always refer to fixed Signified, rather there are interchangeable and produce other Signifiers. Hence, meaning within language isn't fixed rather it is unstable and ever changed with each signifier producing other signifiers. Language according to Derrida (1967) is made of units that don't posses any inherent meaning in fact these units (signs) are referential, arbitrary and conventional. Meaning, according to Derrida (1967) is always deferring, ever changing and evolving, never landing on one place to become fixed or absolute. This idea of meaning challenged the previous notions of fixed meanings and absolutes with in literary theory. Poststructuralists like Derrida (1976) assume text as body whose meaning is always in flux hence there is no single correct interpretation of a text rather multiple interpretations.

Derrida (1967) further elaborated on the idea of Binary oppositions saying that these binaries within language are not equivalent rather hierarchical. One pole is always more privileged (good, truth) at the expense of the other (evil, lie). This hierarchical dichotomy considers the privileged binary as Center having presence, whereas the less privileged with secondary position having absence (presence/absence). Derrida asserts that such hierarchical setting between forms is due to western philosophical traditions, which believed in logocentrism, absolutism and stratified status of various ideas. Masculine/feminine, good/evil, speech/writing, light /dark are the few examples of binaries which show privileged vs unprivileged positions of these ideas and it was these very rigid conceptual oppositions which Derrida wanted to deconstruct to challenge long held western

notions and to show that that how meanings could be changed or altered by reversing such binaries within a text.

3.1.1. Foucault and Power

Michel Foucault's (1976) analysis of power and power structures moves one step beyond in viewing power as something which can possessed and exercised over powerless, rather he has tried to examine power as something which can't be possessed but operates in various day to day interactions between people and institutions. In his analysis of power, he studies how various institutions exert their power on groups or individuals and that how people affirm their own identity and resistance to the effects of power. He further states that power is not just oppression or censorship rather oppressive measures could also be productive arising new behaviors in individuals. As opposed to the previous notions of power like Marxism, Foucault (1976) is concerned more with the resistance of those upon whom power is exerted. In Foucault's analysis of power, it is not hierarchical from top to bottom rather power relations dissipate through all relational societal structures. Power is exerted in daily manners and human beings are the active participants in this disposal of power, not just simple subjects of power. Power in his view is not owned, but it functions in chains or in a network like manner where individuals are the vehicles of power not just its points of application. He talks about power relations and decentredness of power i.e it doesn't always travel from more to less powerful rather it also" comes from below". It is dynamic in nature. According to this variant of power, it is productive and it is ubiquitous, found everywhere in all form of relations between members of a society. Foucault (1976) uses the imagery of punishment to elaborates his ideas by showing that during monarchic power, public execution was as a punishment was a form of power, whereas in democratic system power is discipline, imprisonment away from the public eyes. Through these examples Focault (1976) contrasts two ways of

exerting power upon individuals. New power is exercised upon individuals through the means of surveillance. In altered conception of power individuals are forced to be disciplined and such discipline, in the form of a self-regulation, forces them to act in certain ways encouraged by the institutions. All these efforts of disciplinary pressure led to self-discipline which is a positive aspect. Foucault (1976) gives the analogy of Panopticon, which is an architectural structure in which prisoners are arranged in such ways that they are constantly being observed by the warden, which is invisible to them, yet the fear of being watched keep them disciplined and they continue following set patterns.

4. Data Analysis

The study of Binaries with Manto's "New Constitution'' not only demonstrates that how duality within the text helps to interpret the text's meaning more clearly, but it also enables to deconstruct the notions which are considered privileged according to the established metanarratives. Binaries oppositions within cultural studies help to find the space and proximity of different ethnicities or groups against other groups. It explores the relationships between different groups e.g., between the upper class and lower class or gender differences which lead to prejudices and discrimination. In the present study, the analysis of binaries would help to clarify Manto's vision related to various dispositions; political realization; and humans' relations. Foucauldian notion of power has been further explored in the analysis of the story to study power from new dimensions, which isn't limited to concept of power-over rather it suggests the unconcentrated, dispersed and organized concept of power. He analysis that how it is now institutionalized where all individuals channel power and not just subjugated under it.

4.1. Master vs Slave; Powerful/Powerless; Have/ Have-nots

The overarching thematic binary which runs throughout Manto's discourse is the representation of the powerful vs powerless through the demonstration of the

relationship between Master and Slave. This binary highlights the plight of the colonized through the character of Mangu in the story "new constitution". Since this story is set against the backdrop of pre-partition colonized India by a western colonizer, this whole writing is an ironical and mocking depiction of the destitute state of the Have-nots, whose repression have sent them to a state of mind where they are torn between **Hope and Hopelessness**. This skepticism is shown by the despondency of Mangu who says that *"**Hindustan will always remain enslaved" and "Hindustan will always be plagued by riots and disorder***". Mangu's destitute state of mind is a commentary on the powerless status of the colonizers who are forever doomed to be in a repressive state where they'd always be ruled, having no autonomy or freedom of any kind. Yet as the story advances the utter hopelessness of Mangu develops into a Hope through the introduction of the New Constitution, which aims to bring light in to the lives of the have-nots through their emancipation and liberation and through the making of a new Federation. Britishers are the ultimate power holders in this context having total control over the lives of the Indians in all capacities leaving them at the mercy of their own. Western Imperialism and their methods of colonization are ultimate subjects of Manto's criticism. Western nations, their political ideologies and views have always been on the privileged positions, having a presence whereas colonial states like India have always been delegated as absent, powerless, uncivilized and lawless. The binary of **Subjugation vs Freedom** is also highlighted by mentioning not just one but three European states. The lines of Mangu "**at *the most, Angerez will leave but then you will get maybe the Italywala or the Russianwala***" elaborates the Manto's vision regarding Imperial European powers and our position. He wants to state that we being powerless will be in a perpetual state of subjugation. Even if one power leaves then there will be some other Imperial power ready to exploit us. Manto in a way not only commented on colonial times

but also on post-colonial times by such analogy. He wishes to explore this idea that even we get freedom through new constitution or in case of complete departure of Britishers, we will still remain colonized in other ways or through others means of domination. Manto's shows utter skepticism towards freedom as he is of the view that all these Imperial powers will always keep us subjugated and miserable. Although the creation of a new law gives hope for freedom but Mangu's character and his illusion regarding new rule tells a reader that New Constitution was rather a false hope, an illusion and a satire. In political context, Manto being a vocal person of a subaltern or suppressed, is trying to draw a sketch of Western/European monopoly or hegemony in the world politics. Indians being subservient to their masters have no say in anything, they are being exploited on the level of cultural autonomy, economic resources and even their identities are being distorted by these western masters and they will continue to be exploited. The duality in the identity and psychology of a colonized could be studied through the illusion of Mangu related to the emancipation of Indians through this law.

4.2. White/Non-White; Civilized/Uncivilized

Another prominent dichotomy within this text is **white vs non-white or white/black**. The constant aggression of Mangu for whites whom he called **"*Góra soldiers* "**or "***white mice***" shows the wide division between humans on the basis of their race and color, where white has always been a privileged color in contrast with non-whites or blacks who have always been detested and loathed by white races. This essentialist dichotomous thinking in terms binaries (eg white/nonwhite) has been continuously criticized by post-structuralist as it fails to encompass the variety of other cultural ethnics, mitigating them to the position of non-existence. Racism and Imperialism runs hand in hand where hatred possessed by the Imperialist firstly for the uncivilized nations and secondly for those races having skin other than white. The description of Mangu "he ***would feel nauseated***

at the sight of a fair and ruddy gora …" and " ..***look at this one, resembles a leaper***" is a repressed emotions and hatred of Mangu towards these *goras*, he can't say this insult loud but he contends himself through such continuous abuses silently. Hence, being a colonized species Mangu always has to choose silence over loud exclamation because only powerful could be at liberty of saying anything they want to. Similarly, these line "***look at them, came to door to borrow a light and next thing you know they owned the whole house***" give rise to the binary of **Civilized/uncivilized**, where Europeans are always the civilized ones. Europeans colonized the world with the rhetoric of educating and civilizing the backward third-world nations however, their intentions were always to exploit economic resources of the east and domination of eastern empires.

4.3. Myth / Reality; Illusion/Disillusionment

In the whole story the psychological condition of Mangu originates another binary of **Illusion vs disillusionment**. The hope and happiness which the news of New Constitution has given to Mangu is nothing but a mere illusion. He is hopeful of the better days where he would have a renewed freedom and more autonomy. However, Manto's ideas behind this illusion are portrayal of this New Constitution, as a false hope as nothing New would come out of this act; even if it is implemented it would just be a new or disguised way of same old hegemony. The continuous screaming of Mangu "***New constitution, new constitution***" towards the end of the story portrays the distorted and illusioned state of mind of a colonized subject and his disillusionment is shown by these lines "***New Constitution, New Constitution! What rubbish are you talking? It's the same old constitution***". Manto's sheer cynicism towards freedom of colonized has been highlighted by this binary. Another binary of **Myth vs Reality** is exhibited by Mangu's irrational belief over implementation and far-reaching impact of this new constitution which is actually just a myth, whereas reality is quite the opposite.

This binary is could also be traced through the lines in which this whole phenomenon of colonization is being pinged upon the curse of some saint. Manto mocks this myth while portraying the actual reality where the world is always ruled by the powerful, who have the capacity to be the hegemons. It is not the curse but rather the possession of power which decides the destiny of the uncivilized world.

4.4. Foucauldian Notion of Power

Manto's discourse in this story exhibits two variants of power. The traditional perceptions of power as power being something that can be possessed and exercised upon powerless groups is dominant through the analogy of colonizer/colonized. Mangu, being a powerless subject, is forced to practice restraint, since he knows the repercussions of violating the law or taking quarrel with the gora. In this case Imperialists are the ultimate possessors of power who can rule over have-nots either with ideological repression or with physical oppression However, Foucault idea about power distorts the Marxist's notions of power by presenting it as something that can't be possessed but exercised. Now if seen in this context then "New Constitution" or the political laws are just another ways of subjugating the people. People follow the law through their own will, either out of the fear of being punished or simply out of discipline. Here, Mangu's restrain or suppression of anger towards gora soldiers is the commentary on the legalization of power through laws and constitution which forces the subjects to follow it at all costs. However, the irony of situation is that following of law doesn't guarantee justice in this case yet subjects continue to follow it out of their own will. This self-regulated and disciplined notion of power by Foucault could be exemplified by the notion of democracy or democratic political system/institutions. Europeans are champions of democracy as they claim to give importance to the will of the people yet this political contour of power legitimizes and channels the power through its institutions, where all humans being are the

part of these power networks, working willingly and without any resistance. The idea of the Constitution is also a western idea, it is a means of disciplining the nations through the bounds of law ,which according to Foucault is equivalent to channeling power, only difference is that in this case subject are oblivious or rather indifferent towards these forms of power. Hence, Manto "New Constitution" could be interpreted as a critique on renewed notion of power, which is exercised through institutions, and this power operates in a network like method in which all are interconnected to each other. Just like Foucault's Panopticon, democratic nations are trapped in an invisible surveillance mechanism. People are bound to follow the rules and regulations of the system or institutions without being exposed to any physical forms of oppression. In the current scenario the idea of a "new constitution" could be interpreted in term of a new forms of a colonization by westerns powers. They are not physically present yet their influence is everywhere, creating within ourselves the same hybrid identities and polarization. Democracy in this context is just another political trap for controlling nations through discursive means. The concept of US/OTHER is altogether altered when seen from this perspective, in such interpretation of power, Others also become involved in the channeling and distribution of power. In Democratic settings, where laws are practiced through institutionalized settings, power is practiced with network methods, in which all humans are participating.

5. Conclusion

The in-depth analysis reveals that the story is a pungent commentary on colonial India, subjugation of Indians under British law and miseries of common men and their ideals related to the notion of freedom. The post-structuralist study of the text deciphered the binaries with respect to the notions of cultural identities, races, political notions and geographies. It has also helped to highlight the essentialist and logocentric attitude of discourses towards positions of power, dominance,

civilization and racism. The dominant binaries found in text were Master/Slave; Power/Powerless; Hope/Hopeless; White/Nonwhite; Civilized/Uncivilized; Myth/Reality; and Illusion/Disillusionment. The scrutiny of embedded power relations within the text through Foucauldian notions of power have helped in the understanding of political power dynamics with new lens. The concept of US/OTHER is altogether altered when seen from this perspective. In such interpretation of power, *Others* also become involved in the channeling and distribution of power. In democratic settings, where laws are practiced through institutionalized settings, power is practiced with network methods, in which all humans are participating. The idea of the Constitution is also a western idea, it is a method of disciplining the nations through the bounds of law ,which according to Foucault is equivalent to channeling power, only difference is that in this case subject are oblivious or rather indifferent towards these forms of power. Just like Foucault's Panopticon, democratic nations are trapped in an invisible surveillance mechanism. People are bound to follow the rules and regulations of the system or institutions without being exposed to any physical forms of oppression. This "new constitution" could be interpreted in term of a new form of colonization by westerns powers.

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