

Tribhuvan University

Representation of Democracy as a Myth: Paradoxes in Robert Penn Warren's

All the King's Men

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Letter of Recommendation

Mr. Kul Bahadur Chalaune has completed his thesis entitled
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Approval Letter

This thesis entitled “Representation of Democracy as Myth: Paradoxes in Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*” submitted to the Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University by Mr. Kul Bahadur Chalaune has been approved by the undersigned members of the Research Committee.

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Abstract

The present research on Warren's *All the King's Men* tries to explore the inherent and underlying paradoxes of American sense of democracy from the prospective of Foucauldian concept of power and discourse. This research gives a general introduction of disordered, instable and anarchic experience of American political culture and also tries to unveil the maladies inherent in American political system which have been masked with strong cocoon of democracy. It further deals with the analysis of how people's needs are politicized to garner power. In this way, it is clear that the promise of democracy, good governance, equality, liberty, individuality and justice has turned into a mirage that common people hardly realize in their real life. The third chapter is the conclusion of the work that recapitulates the gist of the whole project. So, the dominant discourse of American democracy oscillates within the nexus between power and truth.

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I. Democracy and Discourse

This research tries to explore equality, liberty, identity and individualism which are the fundamental principles of any sort of democratic regime in the world. An understanding of America's ideals begins with the recognition that the democratic regime is better than any other forms of governance in which an individual freedom is paramount. Governor Willie Stark, a representative character of American democratic regime has been depicted as democratic icon as well as liberal statesman in Robert Penn warren's novel *All the King's Men* who pursues his political career after his meteoric rise to power. Although on the surface level, this novel seems to be a text driven by a story of Willie Stark's representation as an advocate of democracy. It is not so because at the deeper level of this novel, it is obviously the representation of the story of America's instable political culture through which we can understand the incongruent ,disorder ,discontinuity, turmoil and rifts which are in play behind the democratic mask of American political culture.

Willie's sudden rise to power from hardscrabble poverty to become governor of the state is definitely guided by Nietzsche's "Will to Power". For it, he leaves no stone unturned to subjugate his political enemies as well as opponents, not for public good but for his excessive obsession with power position. His excessive obsession with political power comes to be crystal clear when he bullies an intellectual fellow, Jack Burden doing his PhD. dissertation on American History and orders him to deploy his considerable talents as a historical researcher to dig up the unpleasant secrets of his political enemies which are then used for the purpose of strategic blackmailing as to garner what he wants in politics.

There is no pulling factor that attracts politically disinterested Jack Burden to become embroiled in the dirty game like politics. Of course the thing that draws such

an inactive Jack Burden to become involved in a state politics being Willie Stark's political right-hand man is definitely his moral philosophy that "everyone and everything is bad and that the moral action embroils making goodness out of badness, and said that You have to make the good out of bad because he believed that he had made good out of bad. The hospital" (314). This ideal energizes Jack Burden actively to keep on his investigation upon Judge Irwin's past misdeeds. It is his discourse that makes passive Jack Burden to participate in politics. This fact obviously reveals Willie's power exercise upon politically reluctant people.

Robert Penn Warren (1905-1989) an American poet and novelist has raised various issues in his text. His attitude towards South America and his attachment with Black Civil Right movement distinguishes him from others. He has raised the issues of war, racial segregation, connection between self and American history with the equal emphasis on politics of the then American society. To talk about his style irony is mainly focused to show above mentioned themes in his text. Among his ten novels, his first novel is *Night Rider* (1939). In this novel, we have found the issues of Kentucky Tobacco Wars of the early twentieth century which took place between the growers and manufactures. The growers wanted their independent authority on their production. The protagonist of this novel is Pecy Mann, an emotionally limited character. *At Heaven's Gate* (1943), *All the King's Men* (1946), *Band of Angels* (1955), and *A Place to Come to* (1977) are his remarkable novels. His final novel *A Place to Come to* is about a sixty years old classic scholar from Alabama reflects his life and time. Jed Tewsbury has failed to experience the reality of other persons. Jed Tewsbury realizes his isolation in the novel. Warren's *All the King's Men* is the most popular and Pulitzer Prize winning novel for its best quality and themes of the contemporary political scenario in American society. After experiencing as well as

undergoing incredible poverty due to devastating consequences of war, he wrote his third novel *All the King's Men* (1946) to depict socio-politico-economic conditions of interwar American society. He wrote this work of arts not only to represent political instability of interwar America. He meant to expose the inherent and incongruent flaws of democratic regime.

The major issues he has raised in this novel are search for spiritual and moral meaning of life, political ups and downs of America, exploration of self and history, blacking, bribery and corruption in American society. He is also concerned of human dignity at the face of corruption and abuse of power. Willie Stark, a representative character of Southern political leader, Huey p. Long resembles the features of bribery and misuse of power despite the fact that he has given the people the promise of self-government which was supposed to meet people's needs of basic things. It is unfortunate that even Willie Stark could not become secular from the misuse of power position that he gained through hicks' support as he was expected at the early phase of his entry in politics. Rather he creates certain sorts of discourse to exercise his power upon need-driven people. Not only this, he also circulates his discursive practices by controlling the means of communication i.e. "chronicle" journal for which Jack Buren works as a reporter. He also concludes his essence of power with simple but crucial sentence: " Your need is my justice" (315). The standard by which Willie judges his political ends is consistently based on the principle that the needs of the people constitute the essence of justice. He began the oration at Upton city saying: "I have a speech here. It is a speech about what this state needs. You are the state. You know what you need" (316).

The essence of Willie's discursive claim to rule, and therefore his essence of policies, is his secrets knowledge of the people and concern for their burning needs.

He says:

'Listen to me, you hicks, listen here and lift up your eyes and look on the god's blessed and unflyblown truth. If you've got the brain of a sapsucker left and can recognize the truth when you see it. This is the truth, you are a hick and nobody ever helped a hick but the hick himself. Up there in the town, they won't help you. It is up to you and God, and God helps those who help themselves. I am a hick and a red neck like you. (314-15)

By this discourse, he means to reveal the fact that he has been used to establish his credentials as being just like the people to whom he speaks, and he assures them that their problems are attributable to the fact that they are also being misused and oppressed by the political machines, the city people and rich. Through this discursive formation Willie Stark convinces the people to endorse him who have a little experience and knowledge of politics. Thus in this context, Willie Stark's discursive practice correspond to Foucault's concept of power and discourse. By discourse, he means a group of statements which provides a convincing language for talking about or a way of representing the knowledge about a particular subject at the particular historical moment. Discourse, Foucault argues, constructs the topic. It defines and produces the object of our knowledge. It also influences how ideas are put into practices and used to regulate the conduct of others. Meaning and meaningful practice is therefore constructed within the discourse (Stuart Hall; 19).

One of the significant characters of this novel is Jack Burden who is hegemonized just as to make him Willie's political machine for exploring infirmities on his political enemies. Jack Burden happens to become a man of action not because of his conscience or his considerable talents but it is only because of Willie's moral

philosophy that transforms inactive Jack into a man of action. Willie Stark stands himself as a hick in this connection to make people perceive him as genuine advocate of their fundamental needs. By this discourse, he constructs the truth to infringe their rights to vote as Foucault argues that truth is subjective and depends on perspective.

The best known novel of Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men* has elicited much criticism since its publication. Many critics, scholars, and novelists have analyzed it from different perspective. Some critics have seen the theological issues in his novella and some other critics have taken it as the study of rise and fall of a political dictator in the Southern United States. Few critics have taken this novel as an ironic novel. Besides, some critics have interpreted Warren's novel as theme of political responsibility. The theme of political responsibility is overriding theme which shapes the plot extensively. For men like Willie Stark, the use of political power ironically holds a level of responsibility which he uses to help those who, like Willie Stark grew up poor and are in need of governmental assistance while at the same time, Willie has no problem in utilizing political power as a means of ruining those who would oppose him or those who have evil intention to harm Willie (Langford). At the same time critics like, Castillie, Philip Dubuission have considered this novel from the viewpoint of sexual healing. The protagonist of this novel, Jack Burden gets his sexual desire fulfilled with Anne Stanton at the age of twenty one. Similarly his mother also seeks sexual healing with Judge Irwin after his father Elis Burden left her.

Among many critics, Steven D. Ealy sees corruption and innocence in Warren's novel *All the King's Men* and *At the Heaven's Gate*. He has shown the theme of power and corruption in Warren's both novels. He further says about the main characters of the novels:

Willie Stark often has been taken to represent the political corruption at its most blatant, but I will argue that the country boy Willie Stark is in fact a more morally complicated character than that simple view of him allows. By the same token Bogan Murdock is also a more ambiguous character that at the first appears. (139)

In the novel *All the King's Men* the major character Willie Stark is a representative character of misusing political power in the name of democracy and public in American society. He is not a simple character according to his morality. Like him the main character of *At the Heaven's Gate*, Bogan Murdock is also very much complicated character for his morality. So, the critics have shown both of the characters complicated and corrupted as well.

In the same way, another critic Mark T. Mitchell analyzes that Warren's Southern political novel is far more than a political novel. He argues that Warren frequently recurs to Christian theme and images to bring into relief the difficulties faced by modern men who is facing difficulties. According to him, religion helps him avoid sufferings. Mitchell has forgotten all the aspects of human life, and religion is not only way that gives outing from human sufferings. In this reference the main character Jack Burden has found his way from his consciousness not from any other way like religion.

Among critical reading of this novel one critic Lucy Ferris finds irony in this novel. There is similar kind of irony with Oedipus searching for his father's murderer and Jack's upright case. In his view:

The twists and turns of Warren's plot move us ever closer to ironies that operate just beneath the surface. Two myths are particularly imparted; one tragedy of Oedipus, a man who sets out to find the

murderer of the kind and free the land from droplight. As each piece of the puzzle falls easily into place, Oedipus discovers not only that the man he has been looking for is no one other than himself, but also than as the man who killed his father and married his own mother. Jack Burden in the narrative consciousness of a tale that bears more than a few resemblances at earlier work. (228)

Lucy Ferris has compared two characters of different situation, time (s) and genres. Oedipus is a character from ancient Greece and Jack Burden is a representative of modern men. Although we find some similarities between Oedipus and Jack Burden but we can sharply distinguish between them. The end of Oedipus is quite different from Jack Burden. Oedipus laments for his doing and makes himself blind in his miserable condition. But Jack Burden does not lament for his doing and his eyes became much wider while he reveals the truth of his origin and lives happily struggling for existence as a modern man. Thus, the analogy of other two characters seem similar only in surface but in deeper level it is not so.

An English author Michael Didra states that Warren's novel is suitable to enjoy holidays. He further says:

Buy the cheapest copies you can find of the books you want. Don't take your signed at first of Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men* anywhere that is not climate controlled. Buy a paperback Better yet: Buy a used paperback at a second hand bookshop from the nearest Salvation Army or Goodwill. We are talking expandable here not collectable. Ideally, you should discard your books as you finish them; *Agatha Christie Death in the Air* should be left on the portable Chekhov abandoned at the seaside resort (9).

The view of Michael Didra is to enjoy this novel for light purpose. We can spend our holidays by the help of this novel. When he evaluates this novel in the very light way, he has forgotten all the major events and incidents of the novel because the very remarkable issues of this novel are far more than enjoying holidays. Thus, this has under evaluated the well known novel of Robert Penn Warren as combination of self and history. He comments:

To discover the connection between self and American history attached to the enlightenment idea of America as the liberation of self, yet ironically fully attached to biblical interpretation of self and history, Warren is basically Hebraic and Christian than classical in his outlook (167). Although Warren mentions American liberation of self, he joins this issue directly with relation. He focuses only on the issues of historical attachment with self of American people.

Different critical responses demonstrate that they have the various views towards the novel especially towards the narrator Jack Burden. Some of them have analyzed this novel as an ironic novel and give equal rank of Oedipus to Jack Burden who is on an illustration of a modern man and Oedipus is drastically different from him. Some of the critics totally have ignored the role of Jack Burden and have insisted that it is the story of Willie Stark. Though critics have been engaging in their job to criticize this novel since its publication, no responses or criticism is final. Thus, present research attempts to focus on America's ideals in which no research has been done. In other words the research analyzes sole principles such as equality, liberty, justice and individuality which are assumed as guidelines of American democracy.

To explore it, Foucault's concept of power and discourse theory will be applied with special reference to any other power theorists. Application of a critical perspective to a certain literary work aims at to provide a deeper knowledge, effective

understanding, and more productive outcomes. In other words, interpretation of a piece of literary work in the light of certain theoretical modality makes it not only more concrete, fruitful and interesting but deepens the knowledge in the particular areas and opens up many doors for further investigation. A text can be studied from diverse perspective and interpretation becomes multiple and plural. Whatever tool we choose to apply, our goal in choosing these approaches is to see, to learn, and to understand some important aspects of literature that we might not have seen so clearly and so deeply without these perspectives. Louis Montrose argues that the job of New Historicists is to read a given piece of literary text in relation to other discursive practices in which it occurred.

To put it differently, since the meaning of a literary text is situated in the complex web of discursive formations, the project of New Historicists is to "analyze the interplay of culture- specific discursive practices" (Montrose 415). Thus, the primary aim of this research is to throw spotlight into incongruent reality of American democratic ideals with the revelation of abuse of power. Through the critical analysis of Judge Irwin's and Byram B. whites' bribery case, this research intends to highlight the drawbacks of American politics. Moreover, this dissertation also tries to depict the rampant corruption, violence, blackmailing as well as psychological manipulation as the key to democracy's advocates which comes to be clear through due examination of much- hyped school building contract and Willie's six million dollar hospital project (315). The spiritual and moral meaning of life, exploration of history and self are not only major issues rather political ups and downs, inevitable effect of corrupting nature of power and discursive representation are equally striking issues that Robert Penn Warren has raised with great importance in his work of art *All the King's Men*. It is commonly held belief that democracy is the best governing system

than any other form of ruling system. Thus, there is no alternative of democracy as well as democratic governance as advocates of democracy argue. In such a system, it is generally said that people are endowed with maximum opportunities to exercise the freedom of self-determination that is to live under laws of their own choosing. Only a democracy helps the people to protect their fundamental interests. Everyone wants certain things: survival, food, shelter, health, love, respect, security, family, friends, leisure and satisfying work. The specific patterns of man's wants will probably differ from specific patterns of another's. Anyone wants to exert some control over the factors that determine whether and to what extent you can satisfy yours to shape your life in accordance with your own goals, preferences, tastes, values, commitments and beliefs. Thus, democracy protects this freedom and opportunity better than any alternative political system that has ever been devised (Stuart Hall;25). The sense of individualism is placed high value in democracy. It is a commitment to a personal initiative, self-sufficiency and material accumulation. It is related to the idea of liberty, which makes the individual the foundation of society, and is buttressed, by the idea of equality, which holds the belief that everyone should be given fair chance to succeed (Patterson 12). But the ideals don't carry on the real essence in practicality as well as in behavior which Warren's *All the King's Men* reflects as succinctly as a mirror because individuals are bullied and blackmailed by some powerful politicians merely to grab power and post. Jack Burden is deployed as Governor Willie's political right hand regardless of his individual freedom to succeed. Thus, the appearance of American political culture seems to have become so democratic a regime, but Warren's *All the King's Men* elucidates the hypocritical and chaotic political system without stability and permanency.

So, this research contends that the disordered and anarchic predicament of

American political history even if America advocates for international peace, security, and human rights in the name of democracy but all of its ideals of democracy have turned into myth only because Americans themselves have lost control over their own domestic affairs despite the fact that they take themselves as the brightest beacon of democracy. So, the point of departure of my present research is to show the myth of democracy, equality, justice and liberty in so-called advanced and civilized super power country in the world, i.e. America. In this regard, the promise of democratic regime, rule of law and self identity have become a myth for grass root level people because the key to democracy and equality are at the hands of some powerful politicians who can define democracy as per their convenience and needs. So, by departing from the reviews of other critics, this research aims at to represent the myth of American ideals through critical analysis of Warren's novel *All the King's Men*.

The present research has been divided into three chapters. The first chapter has introduced the objective of the research including literature reviews, significance of topic and its hypothesis. Even though American democratic icons advocate democracy as the best alternative procedure to rule the state with long-lasting peace, security, stability, prosperity, equality and liberty by avoiding the system of corruption bribery, blackmailing and frauding. But all of it has been a myth under the dominant discourse of democracy. So, democracy has not been a procedure to rein the state affair. But it has just been an institutional discourse to create hegemony for people's willful consent. The second chapter would deal with the application of theoretical tool in textual analysis with special reference to Foucault's power and discourse to prove the hypothesis. Finally, the last chapter is the conclusion of the research. It will recapitulate the overall project of the research.

II. Democracy as a Myth: Paradoxes in *All the King's Men*

This research on Robert Penn Warren's novel *All the King's Men* aims to expose the inherent paradoxes of American sense of democracy with due critical analysis of lives of the characters and their conditions. The promise of rule of law and good governance that the advocates of democratic regime have kept with the people, has been a myth within the discourse of democracy which American politicians, represented by the characters like Willie, have used as a methodological tools to rule over the people. The motive with which this research is done, is not to rebuke the democracy and democratic governing system at all but to expose the reason of how the promise of democracy equality, liberty and justice have turned into myth for the powerless American people in real sense. Thus, the aim of this research is to disclose the underlying governing system of America through the critical examination of maladies and incongruities documented in Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*. Not only this, it also aims to explore the causing factors that have made the promise of self government, equality and liberty turn into a mythic story in the network of power and discourse. The elements that cause failure of the promise are bribery, blackmailing, submission, intimidating etc. which are adopted as the key to the state politics.

In fact all of Warren's works indicates great deal of interest in political problems arising out of American struggles to realize the promise of democracy. In this research, I have taken the issue with analysis of the political character of *All the Kings Men* and to show the American sense of democracy. Plato, Aristotle and other classical thinkers tried to demonstrate how the shape of particular regimes has decisive effects on the character of citizens. In many

respects, this type of analysis may appear congruent with the modern approaches to literature advocated by New Historicists, but there is a significant difference. The classical political thinkers insisted that some people could free themselves from the prejudice of the political society around them and write consciously about both its good and bad features. But the primary aim of this research is to show how a particular type of democratic regime shapes certain human like Jack Burden.

When we examine Warren's *All the King's Men* from broad perspective of the classical approaches to the study of the character of the regime, all the disparate parts of the Warren's novel can be explained as a part of consistent whole. In this respect, what is the purpose of this research is to illustrate a set of political paradoxes inherent in certain commonly held view about the character of American sense of democracy and to show how these paradoxes are manifested both in practice through politics and in the character of citizens. Robert Penn Warren presents his unnamed Southern state as a particular democratic regime and a careful analysis of his presentation shows how that particular regime is related to the American political system as a whole. This research then tries to analyze Willie Stark's speech to reveal the characteristics of democratic politics and circumstances that appear to make his turn towards morally problematic political methods.

Next, it demonstrates how Stark's conversation with Adam Stanton reveals the connection between his political theory and the view of human condition on which his political activity is based. This research then discusses the specific influences of Stark's politics on the character of the narrator, Jack Burden in the light of Foucauldian concept of power and discourse. Finally it

lays out the broad consequences of this connection between Stark's politics and Burden's intellectual and moral transformation. So, it is discourse that transforms sloth Jack Burden from passivity to activeness.

Of course, Michel Foucault in his book *Discipline and Punish* argues, "it is through discourse (through knowledge) that we are created. Discourse joins power and knowledge and its power follows from our causal acceptance of the "reality with which we are presented". By discourse, Foucault meant a group of statements which provide a language for talking about a particular topic at a particular historical moment. Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language"(82-84). According to Foucault, truth, morality and meaning are created through discourse. It is definitely the discourse that made Jack Burden transform himself into political machines of some of the most powerful politicians like Governor Willie Stark. How did Willie Stark rise to power? The answer to the question is that Willie's knowledge of the people and their need of basic things helped him culminate from hardscrabble poverty to become governor of his state. He uses an inactive and intellectual man Jack Burden who becomes his political right hand man later. How politically disinterested Jack Burden becomes Willie's ace in the political game is his discursive moral philosophy that "everyone and everything is bad and that moral action involves making goodness out of bad". He says: "You have to make the good out of bad because that is all you have got to make it out of Well, he had made some good out of bad. The hospital" (314).

What these above mentioned lines show is the reflection of Willie's interest to extract goodness out of badness. He creates a discourse of moral philosophy so as to make intelligent and inactive Jack Burden get involved in his

mission. Willie gives an example of making good out of bad i.e. hospital. He makes this much hyped hospital despite the dissent of many stakeholders. There was the great deal of tussle in the name of hospital building project contract. Everyone had tried to throw this contract to his/her desired ones. Thus, something bad was happening within democratic practice and ethics. So, with the intention to take advantage of the situation through Jack's intellectual capacity, Willie Stark creates the moral philosophy that reflects his inner motive. According to Foucault truth, morality and meaning are created through discourse. Everyone has a dominant group of discursive elements that people live in unconsciously. Within Foucault's world view "there is no absolute morality because any sort of morality is created through the exercise of power" (Foucault Readings, 140).

Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men* is simply thought to be about corrupting nature of power and how power's inevitable effects transform a well-intentioned, idealistic and devoted back country lawyer unable to resist the greed for power and lust for politics into an American demagogue. The idealist lawyer whose rise and fall is said to illustrate the awful truth of abuse of power is Willie's Stark, the governor of an unnamed southern state. According to this view the key point in the novel is the terrible and rampant corruption that destroys Willie's clean character. In the early phase of politics, he introduces himself as a dynamic, vibrant and forceful personality capable of captivating and overwhelming those around him. Jack Burden, the narrator gets captivated with Willie's impression in politics. By regarding this fact, one question always comes in minds that how does such a "brass-bound idealist" Jack Burden get captivated with Willie's mission to assist him? It obviously becomes possible through

Willie's knowledge of Jack Burden's empty and absent mind. Jack Burden is frustrated with the socio-political situation of the then society because of increasing anarchy in each and every aspects of human life. Willie, intent and motivated with the keen desire to garner power position, closely reads Jack by washing his brain to insert his own discursive philosophy to activate and energize depressed as well as desolate Jack. He says: "Man is conceived in sin and born in corruption and he passeth from the stink to the didie to the stench of shroud. There is always something" (60). Above lines are clear example of how people seated in power position circulate the knowledge and information about human beings who are not in power. In this context, Governor Willie Stark speaks these essential lines with the view of creating certain truth towards the human attitude of corruption. He tries to naturalize the corruption as instinctive quality that human beings bear by birth.

There is vested interest behind Willie's utterance of such discursive lines. Jack Burden as an idealist doesn't believe corruption as inborn thing, what he wishes for, is to have a fair state mechanism which would lead not to the system of bribery but to the system of transparent accountability. So, with this view, Jack Burden doesn't show interest to investigate Judge Irwin's past misdeeds saying that "suppose I don't find anything before election day?" (60). But Willie Stark needs to find out some weakness of political opponents so as to raise them as the key to disseminate propaganda against his political enemies and their allies. Thus, Willie tends to create certain truth about corrupting nature of human beings as New Historicists say that truth is constructed.

In this respect, New Historicists believe that truth is constructed. When power changes, the knowledge of something changes and truth also changes. So,

the truth is changeable and for them knowledge is independent of perspective. For example, the western people produced a body of knowledge about non-westerners that is merely their perspective. As a New Historicist, Michel Foucault, in his essay "Truth and Power" argues that "there are certain systems in society under which stakeholders possess some knowledge of something. By using such knowledge, they create discourse and they speak of the ideas they want. They produce speeches, write books, newspaper etc. this process is what Foucault says, discourse formation, and whatever is produced it is discourse. Discourse consists of representation, power and truth. Representation has various forms: written, audiovisual, oral etc. power is circulated through different forms of representation. This very represented power creates certain truth, which ultimately becomes truth to everyone who is under the system"(61-63). In this respect, Foucault's discourse is related to the production of any information that provides knowledge.

With this reference to Foucault's concept of power and discourses, Willie's idea that "man is conceived in sin and born in corruption" (60) is definitely related to the production of any knowledge and information of corruption which human beings entail by birth. This is what we call discourse which Willie uses to create truth about corrupting nature of human beings. Willie Stark began his political career by claiming that he must depend on himself and no one else, and offers himself as the hick spokesman for the rest of hicks. In course of time, he forgets about his political roots and promise he swore with people, instead, he became engaged in political infighting to promote his own power not to fulfill the political agenda he has raised. With this regard, obviously one question comes in the mind i.e. 'what made Willie Stark desert his

political commitments which he had done with the people during gubernatorial election?"The answer, of course, is his lust for promotion of power deviated him from the track of his political loyalty and honesty. Willie gets entangled with the inevitable effects of corrupting nature of power as much as a tree is entwined by creepers. By reposing himself in the place of hick, he says:

Oh! I'm nick and oh I'm a red-neck, for the sun has beaten down on me and I'm the nick vote. But I'm standing here on my own my hind legs, for even a dog can learn to do that, give time. I learned it took me a time but I learned." "Listen to me, you nicks. Listen here and lift up your eyes and look in the God's blessed and unify blown truth. If you have got the brain of sapsucker left and can recognize the truth when you see it. This is the truth; you are a hick and nobody ever helped a hick but the hick himself. Up there in the town they won't help you. It is up to you and God, and God helps those help themselves! (114-115)

Willie, in course of convincing common people whom he calls hick, poses himself as hick and having red-neck like other hicks. This discursive saying by Willie comes in the eve of gubernatorial election for the next tenure where Sam MacMurfee and Willie are in the electoral field of tremendous competition for which Sam MacMurfee is supposed to have been a strong competitor to give Willie the great political jolt in the election by splitting hick votes. Because of all these reasons, Willie Stark positions himself as a hick spokesman and advocate. Thus, Willie, being shocked with this tangible fact implores with country men to give him a chance to do good. He says even a dog can learn to do something if chance and time are given. He presents himself as strongly determined and

having been stood on his own hind legs to do public good. Not only does he implore the hicks to endorse him, but also orders them to stand up on their own legs. 'Does this order not mean to cast vote for him?' Of course, this act of order is Willie's discursive request to beseech the hick voters to stand up themselves beneath which lies his strategy to make them cast vote for him. He asks them frequently saying that "Are you on your hind legs?" (114) to make sure of their valuable votes for him.

He fabricates the discourse that nobody helps a hick but a hick himself. This is the truth of Willie's statements. Thus, in this context, Willie Stark's discursive practice corresponds to Foucault's concept of power, discourse and truth. By discourse he means a group of statements which provides a convincing language for talking about a particular subject at the particular historical moment. Discourse, for Michel Foucault, constructs a topic. It defines and produces the objects of our knowledge. It also influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conducts of others. Similarly, the power is generated in society by producing the discourse, and by constructing the truths of subjects. Such power is creative to support not those weak and fragile but to those who possess all forms of domination and dominant. This power is accepted in society and the acceptance of this very power by powerless is the outcome of constructed discursive practice which is presented here. Parents create discourse about their children saying what they should or should not do. By generating power through discourse (knowledge / information) parents even beat their children if they disobey.

In this way parents' discourse about their children corresponds to Willie's discourse about hicks in the sense that Willie circulates his fabricated knowledge

of hicks the way parents do to make their offspring perform what they want. Thus, Willie creates certain discourse about back ward countrymen not genuinely to address the problems they have faced but merely to make them electoral scapegoat to culminate power position he has desired for long ago. Truths therefore are constructed through which power is generated to have control over destined objects / subjects.

A sophisticated interpretation along these lines is advanced quoting Richard King, who depicts their entire books as moving away from a compelling story about politics and an inherent tale of American sense of democracy. Critics who occur with King find the work internally inconsistent and poorly suited for teaching us anything about politics. This hardly constitutes an extensive survey of scholarly literature on *All the King's Men*, but it shows that question about the role of Burden's character. Burden's praise of Stark and the connection between Burden's intellectual and moral crisis and Stark's political activity lie at the root of the confusion about the political character of the novel. When we recognize why the story of Burden, as Burden insists himself, is inseparable from the story of stark's political career, we can see that Warren illustrates how certain elements of our particular political regime are formative, which is to say that they shape the way of life of citizens living under them. Thus, he concludes "what promised to be a profound political novel ends by being swallowed up by a private quest for identity" as Warren seems to lose interest in political issue altogether "(130).

We cannot really understand the fiery speeches which Willie Stark delivered at different periods of time during election. He raises the genuine issues of which common people, whom he names as hick, have been victim for a long period of time. The speeches Willie delivers on different occasions are full

of discursive practices to which he foregrounds as artillery to receive insurmountable votes from country people. He says:

What this state needs is a new tax program. And the rate ought to be raised on the coal lands; the state's got leased out. And there is not a decent road in the state once you get in the country. I could save this once you get in the country. I could save this state some money by merging some departments. And schools-Look at me, I never have a decent days schooling in my life, what I got, I dug out and there is no reason why this state.... (94) " I have a speech here," he said. "It is a speech about what this state needs. But there is no use telling you what this state needs. You are the state. You know what you needs. Look at your pants. Have you got holes in the Knees? Listen to your belly. Did it ever rumble for emptiness? Look at your crops. Did it ever rot in the field because the road was so bad you could not get it to the market? Look at your kids. Are they growing ignorant as you and dirt because there is not any school for them? (109)

What above mentioned extract seems to be suggesting is the kernel of truth of the problems common people faced. Willie Stark's political goals- an equitable tax plan, stream lined government, good roads, goods schools, better health care and free public hospital all appear to be laudable. Willie Stark tends to tag the people as bourgeoisie who are healthy and oppose his goals or who don't want to pay for them for narrow self-interested reasons and the members of the corrupt political machines that he is totally committed to trouncing if he gets a chance one more. He says, if there is a political order, stability, devotion, honesty as well as loyalty there would be an excellent government that can better address

the problem facing the state. Willie Stark puts forth the issues directly related to people's day to day life as his political slogan not really to solve them but just to garner much power as far as possible. The speech Willie delivers contains very provocative and emotional essence that really touches people's heart and moves them. what sorts of issues he raises keep direct concern with the things like people's basic needs such as food, clothing, housing, health care education and so on. In this respect, he says that there are no good roads, health care centre, schools in the state. He presents himself as having keen knowledge of the state problems. For which he puts forth the people as backbone of the state while addressing. In course of influencing country men, he reminds them of his school days where he never had a chance to get good education. By this Willie strives to hegemonize the people for consent to his regime. He appeals the hicks to see their pants they have worn whether they have holes and to listen to the rumbling sound of their belly which were not full of grain. Thus, sentences "You are the state"."You Know what this state needs"(109) are Willie's rhetoric to influence the commoners.

The critical analysis of Willie's rhetoric connects his discursive practices to Michel Foucault's concept of discourse. For Foucault, discourse is a system of representation. Normally the term 'discourse' is used as a linguistic concept which simply means passages of connected writing or speech. Michal Foucault however gave it a different meaning. Stuart Hall in his *The Work of Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* states, "what interested him were the rules and practices that produce meaningful statements and related discourse in different historical periods. But ...since all social practices entail meanings and meanings shapes and influences what we do our

conduct all practices have a discursive aspect" (291). It is important to note that the concept of discourse in this usage is not purely a linguistic concept. It is about language and practice which attempts to overcome the traditional distinction between what one says (language) and what one does (practice). Discourse, Foucault argues, never consists of one of statements on text on action or one source. The same discourse, characteristic of the way of thinking or the state of knowledge at any one time (what Foucault called the episteme), will appear across a range of texts.

For Foucault, discourse unites both language and practice and refers to the production of knowledge through language which gives meaning to material objectives and social as well as institutional practices. Though social practices exist outside of language they are given meanings or brought into view by language and thus, are discursively formed. In the light of Foucault's argument of discourse, what comes to correspond to Willie is his grand design of discourse that is to balance the tax program. With the use of sophisticated language Willie talks to the common people in such a way that he has understood each and every minute detail of them. He uses polished language to influence them in such a way that they would come under his well-knitted discourse of political goals.

So each practice of Willie's speech is designed to work upon the hopes and fears of the audience, an audience that may have more in common with ourselves than we may come to admit. Each discursive speech is anchored by a special connection between the speaker and the people that is based on empathy and fellow feelings and needs to justify savage political tactics as the necessary means to bring the people's wishes to fruition. The purpose with which Willie gives speech is obviously the persuasion of people to split the so-called hick vote

so that he could have victory in three way race. Willie's speech appears to have been a remarkably high-minded speech that turned on the connection between grand principles and particular policies. Stark hopes to persuade the people to get them adopt the policies as well as candidate who can promote such policies.

The speech is presented as a dialogue between Stark standing at the top of the capital steps and the crowd, spread out across the lawn in front of him. This dialogue seems remarkably one sided because the crowd has only two lines. Before Willie begins his speech full of discursive elements, the crowd chants "Willie- Willie - we want Willie" (315). It is so surprising to think that what made commoners chanting the slogan as such. It is of course Willie's minute examination of people's current needs that would invigorate them to endorse Willie with the faith to get their needs fulfilled. He announces:

I tell you what I' m going to do. I' m going to build a hospital. The biggest and finest money can buy. It will belong to you. Any man or women child who is sick and in pain 90 in those doors and knew what all will be done that man can do. To heal sickness. To ease pain. Free not as charity. But as a right. It is your right. Do you hear? It is your right." "And it is your fight that every child shall have a complete education. That no person aged and infirm shall want or bag for bread. That the man who produces something shall be able to carry it to the market without miring to the hub, without toll. That no poor man's houses or land shall be taxed. That the rich man and the great companies that draw wealth from this state shall pay this state a fair share. That you shall not be deprived of hopes. (316)

Willie Stark proceeds to call for right to education, food, good roads, fair and progressive taxation and "that you shall not deprive of hopes"(316). We can only understand Willie Stark in terms of his promises; he claims that people have a right to have all humans efforts expended in making their lives better and more comfortable. By treating each of these promises as rights, Stark establishes an obligation on the part of the government to the people. He is of the opinion that the government must provide the policies that will ensure the people's rights which are not optional. In the penultimate sentence, Stark declares, "Your will is my strength " (316). He claims that his power comes from the people. He does the people's will and that is what makes him powerful. All his political power would evaporate if he could not animate popular support for his positions. His blackmail and bribery are effective only because they are backed up by hick desire to stand themselves what Willie Stark says and to punish any legislature or other politicians who stand against him. Stark screams for the 'meat-ax' and swears to destroy the man who stands in his way, but he identifies himself as the arms of the people, delivering the blows.

In this speech, Stark appears as facilitator of the people, advocating for their rights and destroying anyone who stands in the way of the realization of those rights. Altogether the American government has always treated the securing of rights for the people as the purpose of government, this represents a new way of looking at both right themselves and the role of political leaders in securing them. Right are, according to the political philosophy that stark enunciates in his speech, changing things. Different rights are recognized at different time. In this references, Stark portrays himself as the vanguard who interprets and determines which rights are worthy of protection at a given

moment and people's request for the protection and promotion of their rights is expressed by the call of as such. In regard to this, Willie's depiction as an exponent of people's rights, we can understand that Willie's discourse as genuine exponent and protector of people rights energized them to chant sole slogan "We want Willie". The discourse on people's right gives power to Willie which rights are to be protected as per changing time.

In the context of this Willie's discourse as speech, Michael Foucault in his book *History of Sexuality* argues "discourse provides ways of talking about a particular topic with repeated motifs or clusters of ideas, practices or forms of knowledge"(108). Willie repeatedly takes about a new and more progressive tax system, a better road system and improved schools which are to convince the people for what he wants to gain in politics. Thus, discourse is regulated maps of ideas through which practices or objects acquire meaning. For example, Foucault's madness and civilization includes "statements about madness which gives us concerning madness, the rules which prescribes what is 'sayable' or 'thinkable' about madness"(109). Willie Stark fabricates disciplinary discourse such as schools and hospital as Foucault concentrates on three disciplinary discourses. He argues that disciplinary discourses/ technology arose in a variety of site including schools, prisons, hospitals and asylum. They produce what Foucault called docile bodies of knowledge that can be subjected, used, transformed or improved as per fabricator's convenience"(189). Discipline involves the organization of the knowledge of subjects through dividing practices, trainings and standardization.

Stark's principles (as opposed to his means of achieving them) are entirely consistent with those of Franklin Roosevelt and other progressive who sought to

increase the role of government by redefining the purposes for which governments are instituted. They accepted assertion in the ' Declaration of Independence that governments exist to protect rights, but they redefined the rights that were to be protected and thus authorized a great expansion in the power of government to define and secure those rights. Thomas E. Patterson in his book *American Democracy* quotes from Franklin Roosevelt proclaimed:

The Declaration of Independence discusses the problem of government in terms of a contract ... under such a contract rulers were accorded power and the people consented that power on consideration that they be accorded certain rights. The tasks of statesmanship have always been the redefinition of those rights in terms of a changing or growing social order. New conditions impose new requirements on governments (13).

Stark accepts or shapes this reasoning and casts him as a statesman of the type that Roosevelt discusses. No previous administration would have recognized the rights to health care, education, food or progressive taxation that Willie enunciates. His reconfiguration of the meaning of rights, which parallels Roosevelt's clearly creates a sense of entitlement but we can not assume, as does Adam Stanton when he calls Stark's discussion of rights as his bribe, that this is simply rhetorical bluff to garner popular support. If rights do change over times, we must identify the standard by which rights are measured and their changes are marked. For Stark, standard lies in the need of people. He concludes with simple but crucial sentences "Your needs is my justice" (316). The standard by which Willie

Stark judges his political ends is consistently based on the principles that the needs of people constitutes the essence of justice. So, his understanding of this standard is loaded with pivotal implications, and we need to investigate it carefully in the specific context in which R.P. Warren places it in the novel.

Franklin Roosevelt's assertion that government is constituted to protect the people's rights, but they (governments) redefine the rights which are to be protected and which are not. His proclamation that the tasks of statesman is to redefine these rights in regard to changing or growing social order is also surely filled with hegemonic discourse. Hegemonic discourse operates as an instrument of power as Foucault theorized; it is a system of statement within which the world can be known. It is a system by which the dominant groups in society constitute the field of truth by imposing specific know ledges, disciplines and values upon dominated groups. With this reference, Franklin Roosevelt's proclamation that "rights needs to be redefined as per changing time" is not far away with his innermost intention to exercise power over the people. He is of the opinion that discourse should be fabricated in terms of growing social needs and demand which would care the process of exerting power to create truth.

Foucault states in his *Subject and Power*, "The whole rationalization of a society is analyzed as a 'process' in several ways, each of which shares the fundamental experience of society. Madness, illness, death, crime, sexuality and so on forth, and all of these human phenomena are the units of knowledge i.e. discourses"(329). The discourses of all of such phenomena have their own vocabulary, concepts and rule the knowledge of which constitute power and serves as the dominant ideology of society.

Willie Stark as a vanguard of the then American politics was supposed to do good for those who had been faded up due to political tussle, system of bribery, black mailing, and subjugation and so on, but he failed to keep his own promises that he had made during election. Americans wanted to repeal the system of corrupt political mechanism by endorsing the fair and clean hearted candidate like Willie but all of their beautiful dreams getting rid of a malady rampant in political culture got shattered as mirror when governor Willie Stark embroils himself in school building contract with other corrupt ex-politicians like Huey P. Long, Harrison, Sam MacMurfee, Hurbert coffee etc. American people always wanted Willie to rectify the essence of his principles that his fiery speech ever contained. Willie's promise of self government, democratic regime, improved tax system, good school, better health cart centre, reformed road is enchained in the net work of power.

All those promises that Willie Stark had kept with people were to enhance the democratic regime with the emphasis on equality, liberty, individuality and the like what democracy offers. Willie Stark, instead, never remained untouched with an attempt of misuse of power. In this respect, one grave question surely arises in our mind of how Willie Stark misused his power position.' Did he defend impeachment upon Byram B.White in the legislature for public good?' The answer to this question is 'no' because this entire he did is for his own self interest than for any other reasons. Willie Stark, an icon of American Sense of democracy could not proceed ahead from the net of power politics because of which he becomes prompted to defend Byram B.White case in the legislature. He says: "I 'm going to stop this impeachment business for you. But you don't get

the notion that it's because I love you. It is just because those fellows can not get the idea they can just up and knock of some body. Are my motives clear?" (159).

The reason why Willie Stark speaks these lines to the state auditor Byram B. White is obviously clear that it is his strategy to have control over means of communication just to disseminate his power through it. Byram B. white was not supposed to become rich by means of corruption. When Byram's impeachment hearing was going on in the legislature, Governor Willie Stark strongly defends against this charge not because of the fact that he loves him, but it is just because Stark wants to keep control over mass media for extending his influence in each and every corner of the state. The motives with which he saves Byram B. White are clear. He wants Byram B. white to write news in his favor which comes to be obvious through his crucial sentence "now write what I say"(159). 'Is such control over mass-media a characteristic of democracy?' The possible answer to this important is surely 'no' because such a control over mass media shows how the under lying rules of American governing system are paradoxical with the ideal that politics is a process that determines, defines and guarantees the people's rights in society.

Hugh Miller, Willie's Attorney General, does not want him to dismiss the Byram's case. For this, he proves white guilty saying that "You are saving white's hide, aren't you?"(163). As a recantation, Willie opposes the allegation by saying that "I'm saving something else"(159). During the time when there was a grave voice in the legislature demanding legal prosecution for Byram B. white , Willie utters this sentence to soothe Huge Miller's saying that people who want to back up MacMurfee do not like anything that has been done for public goods. What does this Willie Stark tries to justify his action in the eyes of people, but

what is the truth behind he saves Byram B. White is his vested interest for self advancement. Huge Miller as a General Attorney expresses his displeasure towards the propensity to protect such an alleged man. Hugh Miller as a lawyer could not bear Willie's act of misuse of power. For this, he tries to remind him the fact that once he was a lawyer. To remind him means to make him abide the law in people's sight, but it could not be so what Huge Miller had expected. Instead, Willie tends to explain the law as a single -bed blanket on double bed which certainly illuminates the fact that power creates truth about something as Foucault argues that power gives Knowledge and that very knowledge creates truth about something. He compares the law with pant that was bought last year. He says: "law is like the pant that you bought last year for a growing boy" (164). This very crucial sentence clearly shows that how power defines and determines law as per the convenience of power holders.

This implies that discourse is always in process of formation, co relation and transformation, which takes place after a certain epoch. This concept and discourse is very different from the Anglo-American conceptions that connect the term discourse only to language or social interaction. It is so because critical theorist like Foucault, discourse refers to well-bounded areas of social knowledge. And this social knowledge is reflected in discourse. This is a concept of discourse. It is a technical accomplished in terms of linguistic or social interaction towards the 'howness' of the statements made and 'whatness' of the conditions of their production. Foucault classifies this idea in his book *The Archeology of Knowledge* while referring back to his historical analysis in *The Order of Things*. Though Foucault laments his own failure to specify the term, he

relates a discourse not to what it states but to what particular circumstance in which it states something:

Instead of gradually, reducing the rather of fluctuating meaning of the 'discourse'. I believe that I have in fact added to its meanings; treating it sometimes as a general domain of all statements sometimes as an individualization group of statements and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements (80).

Now the question that arises is: is the statement like 'law is in always like a pant that you bought last year for a growing boy' a unit of discourse? Does such a statement have properties similar to proposition, sentence and speech acts? The answer to both questions is 'no'. A statement is not a unit of discourse in the way the proposition, sentences and speech acts are because it may lack the logicity of a proposition, ordered structure of a sentence and the "facility conditions" of a discourse because it is what Foucault describes in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* a function that cuts across a domain of possible structures and possible unites and which reveals them with concrete contents in time and space of statements" (87). This contents of statements hints at one Foucault's important thesis regarding discourse. He takes statements as components of discursive formations which are primarily functional. He denies one to one correspondence of forms and functions of linguistic units as argued by the speech act theory. So, 'facility conditions' of proposition, sentence and speech act may not work for Foucauldian discourse.

Democracy as American people believe, guarantees its citizens a broader range of fundamental rights than non democratic system. In this respect, the play

of politics in the United States takes place with the adaptation of democratic procedures which are supposed to be the best one. Robert Alan Dahl in his book *On American Democracy* states, "the long run process of democracy is likely to be do less harm to the fundamental rights and interests of its citizens than any non democratic alternatives because rights are necessary elements in democratic political institutions, democracy is also inherently a system of rights. So, democracy is not only a process of governing but it is also a reliable means to protect people's fundamental rights"(48). In American sense, democratic government prevents abusive autocracies from ruling where there is no chance of abuse of power.

Likewise, Thomas E. Patterson states, "people of every nation have a few great ideals that characterize their political culture. Their ideals are the basis of their national identity" (7). The underlying governing system of American sense of democracy, however does not seem to corresponding to the national characteristics of democracy which comes to be clear through the critical examination of Robert Penn Warren's *All the king Men*. Through the critical survey of Warren's work what comes to be an evident is that the American political history is discontinuous with ruptures and breaks in its process as Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* argues that "history is not an account of linear events but it is a series of discontinuity and the developments of different discourses don't proceed in linear 'episteme' running up to the present" (54). Thus, American political history is loaded with instability, disorder, anarchy and subjection in which power politics becomes prominent for all sorts of democratic vanguard.

In this context, Willie Stark, the governor of southern state is not exception among those people who pursue for power. For this, he designs a discourse in the name of democratic regime to rule over the people. In course of it, he raises the issues related to people's daily needs like food, shelter, clothing, and education, health care and so on, but he utterly fails to keep up his promise after his rise to power position. Rather he happens to cover Byram B. White and sibyl Frey case instead of bringing them under the circle of law. Willie Stark, on the one hand, blows his trumpet with the principle of fair and self-government but he happens to protect guilty men like Byram, on the other hand. 'Do we find any correspondence in his saying and doing?' The answer to this question is precisely 'no'. It is so because we can definitely find contradictions in Willie's ideals and practicality. So, in such a condition, paradoxes within ideals and behavior prove the promise of good or fair governance through democratic procedures as myth for powerless and minority American People.

Equality and liberty are America's core values which are widely regarded as the most basic of American ideals. Patterson quotes the historian Louis Hartz in his book *American Democracy* that the United States was "born free" and Liberty is the principle that individuals should be free to act and think as they choose, provided they do not infringe unreasonably on the freedom and well being of other" (9). But these principles don't match with the behaviour of American politicians in reality because the characters like Jack Burden, Adam Stanton, Sadie Bruke, Anne Stanton have been subjected through Willie's discourse. Willie Stark in course of his politics, tends to fabricate various type of discourse through which he succeeds to bully many of the men whom he makes to support him either this way or that way. He manipulates them either by using

physical forces or by psychologically. Jack Burden, the protagonist of the novel, is psychologically manipulated when he comes to work for Willie's political interest quitting his dissertation in American history.

Jack Burden as a "brass-bound Idealist" has lived with his own kind life philosophy and world view. He sank into a period of prolonged inactivity that he named "the great sleep" (190). During these periods, he considers the possibility that all human desire is a part of meaningless game with no grounding in objective reality. A man having such a philosophy of life gets cut off his freedom of life when he consents to work with Willie Stark. Willie utters his discursive philosophy "there is always something" (60) not for public good but for subjecting empty minded Jack Burden to cooperate with him. Machine politics detached nearly all political power in the state from any connection to the freedom, needs or desire of the common people. The people in Warren's novel are disheartened by the utter failure of representative government to approximate the good of people. Willie Stark represents a type of democracy that is not driven by a compromise of freedom and public interest rather it helps a political leader culminate the power position.

Jack Burden is a newspaperman who works for chronicle which at that time was supporting the Joe Harrison outfit, who was the then governor. How Jack Burden working for Jack Harrison by means of chronicle journal comes to be hegemonized being Willie's political right-hand man is the matter of research. His mother wants him not to involve in politics like dirty game. She wishes him to get married to a nice girl and settle down as she likes. She sees everything that politicians do is for money. So, she urges Jack remaining separate from politics and enjoy his natural freedom. Instead, Jack reminds his mother saying that

"Willie is not interested in money" (152). What Jack's statement hints at is Willie's concern in receiving power by means of subjecting ignorant people. Jack's such an announcement is an evident that he is manipulated and consented to be ruled over which is not exerted by physical force but by more subtle and inclusive power over economy and other state apparatus such as mass media wherein ruling class's interest is presented as the common interest and thus comes to be taken for granted.

Willie Stark creates crucial discourse to curtail hick freedom to cast vote for an eligible candidate who is supposed to guarantee the fundamental rights of people and alleviate corruption rampant everywhere in society. His discourse is presented as: "And I did not come here to ask you to give anything, not even a vote. The Good Book says, 'there are three things that are never satisfied, Yea, four things say not, it is enough. . .'" (12).

Willie Stark utters above mentioned discursive lines to present himself as a politician but as a leading figure who could dedicate his entire life in the defense of democracy as well as in people's service. Before people, he says "I'm not a politician today" to assure them that he is truly committed to fulfilling people's needs and their demand for forming corruption free structure of society. He says these lines to pressurize them to cast votes for him. By pronouncing these lines, Willie cuts off hick freedom to vote as per their choice. In this respect, one of the facets of Foucauldian discourse is how individuals are made subjects by the discourse.

The simple thesis that Foucault is not interested in discourse as language, implies that he must be interested in discourse as thought-the interested of me who have formulated them in his view, discourse can be a theoretical framework

for manifestation of ideology of any society. By this logic what becomes clear is, discourse never allows freedom to an individual. S\he is always guided by the rule of this discursive formation and their effects. Thus, Willie Stark creates discourse about himself to manifest his intention and ideology to limit common people's freedom to vote and choose capable candidates.

On the other hand, Willie Stark is completely committed to his six million dollar hospital project under which lies his strategic design to garner hick support to position himself as powerful political hero. He also insists that hospital project will be completed without any illicit wheeling and dealing. Willie becomes furious when Tiny Duffy tries to convince him to give the contract to Gummy Larson. He promises that the hospital will be completely clean. Willie knows that Adam Stanton hates his administration because it could not remain distinct from prior administration such as Harrison, MacMurfee and Station administration. With this knowledge, Willie plans to offer Adam the directorship to run the hospital by which he thinks he will be able to propagate his plan to provide the citizens of the state free medical care. In course of winning Adam's heart he says: "They tried to ruin me because they did not like what I have done. Do you like what I have done?" (315). Willie Stark speaks these lines when he clearly knows that the opposite party is trying to impeach him even if they find a minor mistake about him. They don't like the things that he has done for public good because if they praise his works, he would win public heart so that, his opponents try to ruin him. Willie weaves this intricate web of discourse to confirm whether Adam Stanton favors him and his works or not. He questions Adam, "Do you like what I have done"(315) to win his heart and take him into confidence for successful running of his hospital project

designed to limit liberty under the distribution of material conditions. So, we can see connection between Willie's material conditions such as hospital, balanced tax system, improved road, goods school and Foucault's concept of 'archive' of materials conditions. Foucault sees discourse as the product of 'archive' of material conditions. He views materials conditions as discourse which is inseparable from power because every discourse according to him becomes the ordinary medium of the institution it belongs to. Although discourse is neither true nor false, it attempts to represent the real and forms limits and constraints for its subjects as Willie Stark forms limits and constraints for Adam Stanton by proposing him as a director of his hospital project.

It does so with the help of certain dichotomies related normality or abnormality. For example, the discourses define 'madness', 'criminality' and so on in relation to sanity, justice and sexual normality. And "such discursive formations massively determines and constrain the forms of knowledge" (Selden 106). With this reference, it can be understood that Willie justifies his hospital project with the help of dichotomies related to opposite party led by Harrison, Stanton and MacMurfee.

Business liberty has also been influenced because of political tussle. Political parties try to throw business contract to their desired ones because they support them in election. Dolph Pillsbury and Sheriff throw schoolhouse contract to J.H. Moore Construction Company having been prompted with political interest and J. H. Moore is supposed to use bricks out of the kiln owned by distant relative of Pillsbury (77). Willie on the other hand, picks up this bitter fact just to do emotional blackmail to the commoners. Then, he writes a long statement of the case as he saw it about the bids, and tries to get the messenger

print it on the handbills in their job-printing shop, paid for but they wouldn't do it. So, Willie goes to the city to get the work done. He comes back with handbills and hires a couple of kids to tote them from houses to house in town but some big folks beat up them and they stopped it. Willie therefore totes them around himself over town from house to house (73). 'What does this Willie act indicate?' Certainly, Willie's act hints at the fact that there is no press freedom in the state because he wants press to write what he orders. This show not only pressure on press but also shows control over means of communication. He starts campaign spreading news about low bid case after kids refuse to be involved in it. He says:

"Sure they did it and it won a clean job which I admire. I'm going back to my pappy's farm and milk the cows and study some more law for it looks like I'm going to need it. But I have kept my faith in the people of Mason country. Time will bring all things to light" (76-77).

These rhetorical lines come at the crucial moment when there is sprouting electoral environment in the state. He pretends to admire his opponents' act of giving schoolhouse contract to J.H. Moore as a clean job, but in round way, he expresses his interest in it because he needs it to raise as electoral issue to crush his political enemies. His rhetoric "I have kept my faith in the people of Mason country and Time will bring all things to light" have carried on the essence of his innermost motive. He believes that the people of Manson country will cast vote for him, if not he says in a threatening way that time will adjudicate their decision to go against an honest man. Thus, Willie poses threat in a round way to convince the people regardless of their freedom to vote.

Willie exchanges his ideas of belief and threat in the people of Mason country through the channel of discourse "Time will bring all the things to light" (77). Such his threatening activity is a discourse as Foucault regarded discourse as central human activity. For him "power circulates in all directions, to and from all social levels, at all times. The channel through which power circulates is discourse itself. Every culture produces discourses and the exchange of ideas occurs through these discourses. Defining discourse, Lois Tyson in his book *Critical Theory Today*" further says, "A discourse is a social language created by particular cultural conditions at a particular time and space, it expresses a particular way of understanding human experiences. A word discourse draws attention to the role of language as the vehicle of ideology" (285). In reference to Tyson, Willie's act of spreading handbills from houses to house about schoolhouses contract comes to be as a discourse designed to circulate his power and influence to all social levels, at all times.

Thus, in Stark's democracy, political liberty or freedom to vote has been defined and determined by discourse like ideological agenda. Though we believe that "democratic cultural is almost certain to emphasizes the value of personal and professional freedom and uniquely related to freedom which can provide a maximum opportunities for persons to exercise the freedom of self-determination-that is to live under laws of their own choosing" (Dahl 53). It is not so with Stark's democracy because it infringes Thomas Jefferson's *The Declaration of Independence* that "people are entitled to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" (17). American's core value that liberty is the principle that individuals should be force to act and think," has been hollow because in American sense of democracy, issues like individualism and identity have come

under the discourse of power politics which are uniquely related to the idea of liberty. In Warren's novel *All the Kings Men* characters like Jack Burden, Adam Stanton, Sadie Bruke, Hugh Miller are utterly in pursuit of liberty, but their pursuit of liberty has been a myth because they never got individual identify and fair chance to succeed under Stark's regime.

"Equality is American's other towering ideal with notion that all individuals are equal in their moral worth and entitled to equal treatment under the law and should have an equal political voice"(Patterson10). With this reference to these line documented in *American democracy*, it is important to explore the degree of equality in Robert Penn Warren's novel *All the King's Men* whether people are treated equally under governor Stark's regime or not. To examine this fact, one of the striking issues we can raise in the novel is the issue of color discrimination. Although, governor Willie Stark has given the hollow and hypocritical promise to abolish the hierarchical boundary of color discrimination to form impartial society. Unfortunately, his ideals could not come into practice as per people's expectation. Phebe, one of the trice's slaves has known Annabelle's affair with Cass Mastern with finding of theirs wedding ring. By knowing this fact, Annabelle becomes unable to bear the knowledge that Phebe knew her sin, and so she sells her to a man in Paducah. Instead of setting her free, she says, "Yea, I sold her nobody knew I was there, nobody knows I sold her. For thirteen dollars"(212). These discriminative lines show white's disgust towards blacks. This obviously discloses apartheid where individual value and worth are determined by white superiors and powerful ones.

The bond issue is of school house building contact where two parties actively participate to throw this contact to their desired one. For this, governor

Stark and Adolph Pillsbury, chair-man of the Board of country commissioners of mason country drag the issue to public level trying to impeach each other.

Adolph Pillsbury starts the nigger business when Willie kicks out Moore business (72). What does the very word 'nigger' suggest? The word 'nigger' suggests the uncuttable fact of color discrimination and professional inequality. Beside it, political equality is also under the power of some big and powerful leaders who define and determine it as per their needs and circumstances. People are forced to cast vote, not on the basis of capacity and qualification but on the basis of hypocritical ideals and principles. Political heroes politicize all the needs of people saying. 'your will is my strength" (316), but in reality, they play the politics of fraud, bribery, blackmailing and subjection where people having little experience of politics are subjected to move according to their desires. It is said that individual respect and proud in democracy culminate highly and an individual may realize the maximum dignity and opportunities to get success. Willie's derogatory address to mass" you hicks. Yeah, you are hicks" (112) clearly denotes the fact that individual respect is neglected at the strength of power.

Even though political equality and liberty are said to have been the backbone of democracy to promote individualism, they have been empty and void under the discourse of democracy and its regime. In this sense, even democracy has become a type of discourse to get people's consent to rule over them. In this respect, Thomas Jefferson's natural sense of equality documented in *The Creation of Knowledge* "we hold this truth to be self- evident that all men are created equal" (17) has become a fairy tale for powerless people in the network of power politics. Power has to be seen from three angle; its deviation

from that of the concept of thinkers of his time, its productive but dangerous nature and constitution of subjectivity through power relations.

Discourse on liberty and equality is to institutionalize the discourse for hegemonizing the people in many respects. Therefore, Foucauldian concept may remain vague if not compared with Edward Said's concept of Orientalism as a discourse and Antonio Gramsci's hegemony. Foucault seems to be sharing affinities with both said and Gramsci who respectively talk about textual colonialism (i.e. Orientalism) and 'the willful consent to be ruled' i.e. hegemony as the effects of European discourses. Said in his book *Orientalism* states "European knowledge about the orient is discourse which comes after being filtered through 'grid'. He examines west-east relationship as that of power and domination for which Orientalism functions as knowledge and imperialism as power" (245). But for Foucault, power relationship results from differences in discourses that are involved in discursive practices.

Foucault, however, seems to have some commonalities with Antonio Gramsci, who defines hegemony as willful consent to be ruled and does not examine power relationship in term of domination. People belonging to certain discourses according to Gramsci, may have that consent to be ruled with the help of the truth it establishes. Foucault's ideas on 'subject', 'knowledge' and 'truth' make him at least a political philosopher. This is because his main interest lies not merely in power and its manifestation but also in techniques which produce truth so as to lead an individual to subjection. Power, according to him is a creative source for positive value, and is practiced hegemonically. For him power becomes repressive only when it is used politically. In this regard, Willie's power becomes repressive because liberty and equality are determined by power. An

individual cannot liberate himself\herself from the state or state institution. They can, according to Foucault, promote new forms of subjectivity through refusal of this kind of individuality that has been imposed on (them) for several centuries.

Thus, America's core values of liberty and equality which are supposed to be a part of political culture have become a way to represent the people for their 'willful' consent to be ruled in Stark's democratic regime. It is because Willie employs different people of different thinking and world views in his political game limiting their freedom of speech and rights. So, equality and liberty which are America's towering ideals have been a myth in Stark-led democratic regime.

The very rhetoric " You needs is my justice" (316) has had important meaning in Stark-led democratic sense of government. Willie Stark thinks that the needs of people constitute the essence of justice. He recognizes the alleviation of corruption, balanced tax system, good education, improved roads, and good health care as the burning needs of people. With this knowledge he happens to politicize all the needs so as to garner power even if he is supposed to establish the politics of democratic norms and values by avoiding the politics of blackmailing and subjugating but he could not remain distinct from being involved in such corrupted state mechanism.

Martimer Littlepaugh who is in search of justice, goes to governor Stanton to urge to provide him lawful treatment. He tells him how he has been thrown to replace Judge Irwin at American Electric Power Company. Governor Stanton asks for proof with an intention not to go against this injustice. He thereafter goes to the people who are against Stanton but they also don't listen to his grievance. Being tired up with his attempt to knock the door of judiciary he questions him-self 'what can I do?' I'm not well (274). This rhetoric creates a

question mark upon social and professional security in Stark led democratic regime. 'Are all individuals equal in the eye of law?' If all are equally treated under law, then why does not Littlepaugh get justice? Of course, all individuals should be treated equally under the law and justice and penalty should be given on the basis of crimes which is called rule of law. But case is entirely different here with Stark's democracy because Martimer Littlepaugh who has been removed from his job at American Power Company without any justifiable reason can not get justice. Judge Irwin has dismissed the royalty evasion case brought against southern Belle Fuel company some years ago. So, he gets lucrative job at American Power Company as bribe. How can we expect of justice if judges involve in bribery? If judges can not remain untouched from corruption then no option is left for Littlepaugh except to suicide. Even after suicide, his sister tries to knock on the door of law but she can not succeed to confer peace to her brother's dead soul.

Similarly, Governor Willie Stark also saves the corrupt man even if his Attorney General, Hugh Miller proves him guilty. Miller says that "there is nothing in the constitution says that Byram B. white can commit a felony with impunity" (163). This rhetorical line comes through Hugh Miller suggesting Willie to take initiative for prosecution against Byram B. White when there was grave demand in the legislature to put him in the wooden cage of law. Instead, Willie replies to this rhetoric like this:

Hugh, the Boss said, soft, don't you see that Byram does not mean a thing? Not in this situation. What they're after is to break the administration. They don't care about Byram, except, so far as it's human nature to hate to think somebody else is getting something

when they are not. What they care about is undoing what this administration has done. And how is the time to stop'em. And when you start out to do something(164).

Willie's these important lines suggest his attempt to defend Byram B. white against Miller's suggestion and MacMurfee's men's demand in legislature to prosecute him. He clarifies Miller that the demand for prosecution against Byram is not the bond issue, rather what opposites care about is to break Stark regime at any cost. So, he neglects the issue saying that it is human nature to hate somebody if someone does well. Miller urges him to punish Byram by reminding that once he was a lawyer. In turn Willie tends to protect Byram defining law as pant bought last year for a growing boy. His explanation of law posits a question upon fair and transparent justice in Stark regime. Judicial bodies are constituted to exercise power over common people who are not in vantage point of power.

For Foucault, power marks an individual and imposes law upon him, but it is knowledge that makes it possible. That is to say that power's attempts to subject an individual become successful with the help of knowledge. To subject an individual means to compel somebody else to be under control or dependent. The subject therefore is always placed in a net like organization of power, knowledge and representation. It becomes something around which power circulates and produces its effects. A subject cannot but be submissive to a discipline which being aided by an institution becomes the foundation of knowledge and truths. Because discipline is what Paul Bove quotes from W.V. Spannos's *The Apollonian Investment of Modern Humanist Education*, "an accumulative, co operative project for the production of knowledge, the exercise of power and the creations of careers" (52). A grave issue, now is if all social

contracts and governments are 'fairy tales' designed to exercise power, why cannot the subject resist that power? If knowledge is the part of social practice of subjecting individuals by mechanism of power that lay claim to truth, why cannot the subjects question the truth on its effects of power and power on its effects of truth? Foucault does say the 'governed' have no 'right'. He is of the opinion that subjects can possess a critical attitude of not being 'governed'. Supporting such a revolt of subject, Foucault writes in his essay *Subject and Power*:

May be the target nowadays is not to discover what we are but to refute what we are. We have to imagine and build up what we could be to get rid of this kind of political 'double kind' which is the simultaneous individualization and totalization of modern power structure. (336)

On this basis, however we can't say that Foucault talks about the liberation of 'embodied' individuals. So, Willie's rhetoric "Your needs is my justice"(316) can not liberate the commoners from aged old subjection and hegemony where real justice of liberation for them has been a myth in the complex web of power and discourse, all of which real justice of liberation for them has been a myth in the complex web of power and discourse, all of which produce and revolve around the subjects (219).

Therefore, America's towering ideals such as liberty, equality and inauguration of lawful ruling system etc. all have become mythic vision under the system of power politics by showing inherent contradictions of underlying governing system of American sense of democracy.

This present research on R.P. Warren's *All the King's Men* aims to disclose the paradoxes of American sense of democracy. Paradox, in this context, is a statement which seems to self contradictory yet tries to make good sense. American promise of democracy has just been a dominant discourse to get willful consent for ruling over the people. The promises that the priests of democracy kept with the people have desperately turned into a mirage which common people never realize. The trinity of equality, liberty and justice, supposed as American dignity, has just become a conspiracy to keep people in illusion under which their hope for socio-economic and political transformation has remained as myth in the network of power and discourse. Thus, America's towering ideals such as equity, freedom of choice and equal justice have merely become mythic vision which American politicians like Willie never grant to the people.

II. Exploration of Injustice in the Network of Power

In the preceding chapters, we saw that Warren's main focus in *All the King's Men* is to disclose the underlying paradoxes tainted within the dominant discourse of democracy that shows hypocritical and hollow American ideals through which politicians subject the common people for exercising power upon them. Warren emphasizes the theme of political strife and instability that American political history ever entails. American politicians in surface seem to have adopted democracy and democratic practices to govern but in deep, American political scenario is tainted with serious demerits that pollute their whole state mechanism. American politicians distribute sweet dreams of guaranteeing the things of people's basic needs through the system of democratic regime but in reality, they have been failure in keeping their promises up. In such condition their promises have just become a blank cheque without amount. In this regard, Willie stark, an icon of American sense of democracy, rises in the arena of politics with the firm resolution to avoid the ills and evils prevalent in state mechanism so as to ensure people's natural rights such as life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. He initiates his political campaign distributing common people the sweet dream of stable and corruption free system to regulate the state and control the reign of domestic affairs.

Thus, Willie forwards a discipline i.e. democracy to culminate in power through institutional practices which is called disciplinary power as Foucault argues. In disciplinary power, techniques are deployed which lead to the incorporation of beliefs system within subjects. Suppression is replaced by internalization and hegemony. Willie Stark uses a technique of discursive practices of democracy to foreground his dominance over the mechanism of state operation, but he utterly fails to curb disordered situation of the state.

Willie Stark could not remain distinct from an act of misusing power like ex-politicians. He does not fall back to distribute beautiful dreams of his future plan but all of them died in the bud before they come to bloom. His promises of good road, balanced tax system, education, food, health care etc. never crossed the boundary of Willie's lust for powers rather they became a mythic vision for common people when he comes to protect an alleged state auditor Byram B. white. People of Manson country had deep belief in him which comes to be clear through their hope for change. This shows that how much people were intent and excited to have good taste of his governance and democratic procedure of running the state mechanism, but their hope for change and reform never come true whenever Willie strays the way to his politics and abuses power. He involves in the act of threatening, blackmailing and subjecting others to crush his political enemies rather than spending time to ponder about the welfare of people and the state.

He deploys all means to replace his opponent party in election. In this context, if the power of one party, said to be democratic, replaces the power of another party that alternative is also assumed non democratic which corresponds to what Derrida has said about democracy. In this connection, is 'Willie a democrat?' The answer to this considerable question is 'no' because how a person can be democrat who leaves no means untouched to trounce his opponents. Thus, people's hope for change and prosperity has turned into mirage along with Willie's embroilment in the game of power politics.

Equality, liberty and individuality are defining characteristic of American sense of democracy in which each individual is treated as the foundation of self-government and society. Individual identity is paramount because the individual

does not exist to glorify the government but government exists to enhance the individual. With this regard, equality is one of the towering ideals of American in which all individuals are treated equally to provide them maximum opportunities to succeed in their life and the world. It has remained as a distinctive feature of American political experience. But it has been unfortunate that such ideals don't match with the behavior of American politicians. This tangible fact comes to be an evident through Willie's working style because he vows to ensure equal participatory access of marginalized class in each and every agencies of state mechanism placing high value on their freedom of choice. But the case has turned unexpectedly when Willie infringes Jack's, Adam's, Sadie's and hicks' freedom of choice creating dominant discourse of democracy under which lies his diplomatic mission to hegemonize them for their 'willful' consent to be ruled. He takes people's 'will' as his power to rule but does not care for their demand of equality and liberty which has been a myth in the network of power.

There is commonly held belief among us that individual, racial, cultural, ritual and sex differences are respected as well as valorized in democracy where in people from different socio-politico-economic strata are treated equally under the law. But situation is precarious with stark's led-democratic regime because people who are really in injustice, oppression and suppression could not get legal recovery at the expense of their life and death. Martimer Littlepaugh, one of the employees at American electricity Power Company is a poignant example of it. It is because he wanders here to there to knock on judicial door after he was removed from his job without any justifiable reasons. Willie, instead of providing him justice, explains law as a pant that was brought last year for a growing boy or compares law with a single bed blanket on double bed. This

analogy clearly shows Willie's violation of his rhetoric "You need is my justice" (316). This has also done violation of the rule of law where people of oppressed class are really deprived of justice. Here, Warren's purpose of drawing an analogy between law and pant is to disclose the paradoxes inherent in dominant discourse of American sense of democracy.

Thus, Warren unveils the falsehoods, hypocrisies. Maladies and rifts of American sense of democracy. Even though American assumes herself as only the true protector and promoter of democracy in the world but in reality it has not granted its promises to the people who are living the life with cold and hardscrabble poverty. As an advocate of democracy, Thomas Jefferson declared that all men are created equal and life, liberty and pursuit of happiness are natural rights of citizens. Abram Lincoln, father of democracy, also defined democracy as a government of the people, by the people, for the people, but both of Jeffersonian and Lincolnian version of democracy have been merely a blank cheque and not been implemented to the people of grass rootss level. Such poignant reality is revealed through Willie's regime. The most important function of democratic state is to grant the promise of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness to all its citizens-without any prejudice but Jack Burden, Adam Stanton, Sadie Bruke and all hicks could not choose their way of life and use their individual freedom while being in political society. Such socio-political atmosphere shows that no individual has right to choose his/her way to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.

To sum up, although, American politics is said to have been remarkable for its historical continuity and political stability following democratic norms and values. But the political history of America is discontinuous filled with

hypocrisies and falsehoods in which Stark's rise in power has turned the people's confidence of his past promise into the frustration of the present because his commitment of good governance, improved road, balanced tax system, good schools and hospitals has been a mirage for common people in the shadow of power and discourse. Therefore, dominant discourse about democracy presupposes the issues of equality, liberty and justice as power but they are never granted as rights to the people of grass root roots. In this regard, this research has attempted to foreground the myth of democracy, equality and liberty as a dominant issue in Warren's novel *All the King's Men*.

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