

## Chapter I: Institutional Coercion on Individuals: An introduction

Coercion is a physical and mental threat to an individual or an organization to gain an unfair advantage on them. It is a systematic process to avoid the target from practicing rights and duties or to restrict him/her from taking state and social facilities. As such, coercion is a complex phenomenon. It occurs in both interpersonal and institutional or political frameworks. Based on this notion of institutional coercion, this research aims to show similar sort of despotism that is shaped in the light of power exercise through institutional coercion during and after the civil war in Latin American nation states particularly in Peru and Colombia in 1960s.

Coercion may take place into many forms such as physical, psychological or political levels on common individuals. Defining the notion of coercion, Reidy and Ricker claim "Coercion occurs when one person threatens to visit some evil or unwanted consequence on another unless that other does or refrains from doing some act in accordance with the coercer's demands" (31). To put it in another word, the threat of violence and punishment may have another form of coercion under which the intended victims do suffer. One of the most pervasive forms of coercive power is autocracy, a system maintained by threat and use of force in which control is concentrated in the hands of despotic individuals or few of the dictators.

Individual citizens everywhere are expected to be patriotic. Nation state everywhere is often valorized. But as a conglomeration of modern institutions, nation state often tries to subjugate individuals and overshadow his or her sense of morality and integrity. Nation states keep on strengthening their state mechanisms whereas individuals remain lonely and suffer almost measurably. Life in its bare form remains very cruel to them. It is a fact that an individual cannot bring changes in his or her society that is governed by nation state. In such conditions, what are individuals left to

do? Should they revolt or suffer like tragic protagonist? The proposed research aims to explore such uneasy relationships between individuals and nation states as fictionalized in two Latin American novels *The Time of the Hero* (1967) and *No One Writes to the Colonel* (1958) written by Mario Vargas Llosa and Gabriel Garcia Marquez respectively.

*The Time of the Hero* is a tale of ' power abuse' by personnel in Leoncio Prado Military Academy in Peru. The plot of the novel is centered on activities of trainee cadets in the camp who are engaged in pranks and ragging, which ends up in the murder of one of the cadets. The exposure of this incident to the commandants, however; further results in curtailing the fact more systematically. Meanwhile, *No One Writes to the Colonel* presents the protagonist as the victim of the monopoly of the Colombian regime. During the civil war, the Colonel fought gallantly along with other veterans but all of a sudden the high command sent him back to home with many others. In addition to this, the Colonel and other officers are given an assurance by the authorities to supply their pension later. This act of forcing them to retirement and sanction of pension becomes a perplexity as the old Colonel has been waiting for pension for fifteen years, but without any success.

The act of state driven coercion or repression on individuals and dependent groups of the society, seems to be more critical or counterproductive as Foucault says in "Truth and power" "But it seems to me now that the notion of repression is quite inadequate for capturing what is precisely the productive aspect of power" (120). In *The Time of the Hero*, the Peruvian Nobel prize winner Mario Vargas Llosa tries to highlight the issue of dominant power exercise in different levels and units. The plot of the novel has remarkable insights of horizontal power exercise that is exposed through atrocities of various characters from junior cadets to the responsible

commanders. In Leoncio Prado Military Academy situated in Lima, the trainee cadets illegally form an underground group known as "Circle" led by a trainee cadet Jaguar. The group, including the cadets Alberto, Cava and Arna Slave, is shown as illegally involved in many criminal activities under the command of the leader. In the novel there is an underground practice of the threats and physical tortures from Jaguar to other members. Consequently the members of the group, except Arna Slave, are often involved in pranks and ragging, completely underestimating the norms and the values of the Military Academy. This shows the declining condition of law and order in Latin American nation states like Peru in 1960s.

The exposition of the coercive nature of power begins in *The Time of the Hero* from the first immoral act of Jaguar at Military Academy when he compels Cava (another trainee cadet) to steal the Chemistry paper. In the text the narrator Alberto (the poet) exclaims as "What is happening tonight had been forced on him. He felt unusually clearheaded and he knew perfectly well what he was doing" (5). Here the narrator focuses our attention towards the appalling condition of the trainee cadet Cava and others involved in the "Circle" who are forced to commit crimes against their will by the leader. Thus these junior cadets are doubly victimized from Jaguar and the officers in the Military Academy.

*The Time of the Hero* is written in 1960s Post Civil War Peruvian setting of Latin American socio-political context, so it contains several instances of institutional power exercise on individuals. The common trainee cadets in the Military Academy are the direct victims of such atrocities along with some of the faithful and disciplined officers like Lt. Gamboa, who always stand on the side of truth and justice. Recently a critic Paul Rabinow, in his book *The Foucault Reader*, quotes from Foucault's "Truth and Power" as "Truth is linked in a circular relation with systems of power, which

produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which it extends. A "regime" of truth" (qtd. in Paul Rabinow 74). Unlike this theory of circular relation with systems of power that produces the state of truth and justice, the novel *The Time of the Hero* opens up the tragic and pathetic picture of the common individuals in post civil war Peruvian communities. In the plot of the novel the senior authorities including the Captain Garrido, the Major and the Colonel at Leoncio Prado Military Academy apply the coercive force on the innocent trainee cadets Cava and Arna Slave as well as Alberto to keep them silent. In the text particularly during the investigation of the murder of the cadet, Arna Slave, the captain tries to make Lt. Gamboa silent by saying "Let's face the facts Gamboa, we've both got excellent records. There isn't a single black mark against us. But they will hold us responsible for this. The cadet seems to believe you're backing him up. Talk with him. Convince him we are right. The only thing to do is to forget the whole affair (286). But the real criminal Jaguar is safe at the end which shows the inefficiency of the responsible body to maintain law and order in the institution.

Power prevails everywhere. The researcher tries to focus attention on the consequences of power domination not only in the trainee cadets but also on the officers as Lt. Gamboa. In the plot Lt. Gamboa always defends truth and justice as the commander in charge of the fifth batch of trainee cadets. On the basis of his responsibility to maintain institutional ethics at the Military Academy, Lt. Gamboa and his fellow officers expel Cava for stealing papers. This issue raises further controversy and sense of revenge in Jaguar. Later in a military training Jaguar shoots Arna Slave for disclosing the mystery of his offense. The junior cadet Alberto and the Lieutenant try all their best to punish Jaguar for the multiple criminal activities committed by him. The Colonel, Captain and the Major of the Military Academy

advocate against Arna and Lt. Gamboa in the fear of losing the reputation of the Military Academy. Thus these senior authorities quite shamefully close the issue of murder of an innocent and other disciplinary disorders growing up in the Military Academy.

The authority does not like to raise the issue in the name of the ill-reputation of the Academy. But on the contrary the contemporary socio-political conditions of Latin-American nations, as shown in the novel, are corrupt just like the repute of the Military Academy itself. An English scholar Jose Miguel Oviedo in his article "The Theme of the Traitor and the Hero: Vargas Llosa's Intellectuals and Military" tries to foreground the situation of power and truth in the novel in the following way: "Some are there to order and others to obey. The former will survive, gritting their teeth; and later will fall beneath their feet, with neither pain nor glory. In *The Time of the Hero* the cadet Jaguar states the essence of this law with brutal precision" (18). In the novel there are many examples representing the practice of institutional repression upon the individuals. This can be seen either in the case of the murder of the cadet Arna or in the issue that is concerning to the transfer of Lt. Gamboa to the remote area from the city. The Colonel and the Major are shown as terribly frightened with Lt. Gamboa, whom they suspect as rebellious actor in the Academy.

Particularly during the investigation of the murder case and funeral procession of the cadet Arna Slave, the Colonel and other senior officers, except Lt. Gamboa, quite strategically win the consensus of common individuals and trainee cadets of 5<sup>th</sup> batch at Leoncio Prado Military Academy. The Colonel in his official briefing tries to convince Alberto that junior cadets must obey the commanders and they should not favor anything that goes against the welfare of the academy as well. Moreover the Colonel issues orders to all the trainee cadets that they must show repentance

publically during the final ceremony of Arna Slave, almost unusually. By creating this the commanders want to win the consent of the victim's guardians as well as the fellow trainee cadets and it will make the incidence more convincing and natural.

In addition to this the research carries out the study of *No One Writes to the Colonel*. Like Llosa, Marquez also focuses his attention towards Post Civil War socio-economic and political circumstances of Latin-American nations in 1960s, with especial reference to Colombia. *No One Writes to the Colonel* represents the most pathetic picture of contemporary Colombian war affected families. In this regard the protagonist retired Colonel of Colombian army and his family members including the son Augustin and asthmatic wife are presented in the plot as role models of the then state apathy in Post Civil War Colombia.

Commenting upon the contemporary issue of institutional coercion on individuals John S. Brushwood in "Reality and imagination in the novels of Garcia Marquez claims "*No one Writes to the Colonel* deals with a decade of civil strife in Colombia beginning in 1948. This period was in some respects worse than open confrontation, worse than clearly defined revolution" (12). The retired military Colonel in *No One Writes to the Colonel* becomes the direct victim of the despotism. The old man after getting compulsory retirement from Colombian army after the war, is forced to wait for fifteen years with an expectation of receiving pension as per the earlier promise of the state authority. In the novel the veteran military officer seems to be helpless in front of the domination and recklessness of the state authority. At home he frequently bears sharp edged taunts of his asthmatic wife, who is completely indifferent towards the hope of getting pension. The old man surrounded by internal and social pressures, visits to the post office every Friday with the hope of an official letter enclosing the sanction of the pension. Ultimately his fifteen years wait of hope

becomes totally fruitless and his family is in the verge of getting death due to starvation. In addition to this his only son Augustin is killed by the soldiers because he is falsely alleged by the dictatorial authority for his secret involvement with the freedom fighters of Colombia.

All these state driven terrors are sufficient reasons for Colonel's wife to become indifferent as well as aggressive to the contemporary Colombian regime. But quite contrary to this the old man is shown in the plot as almost faithful and optimistic to the official sanction of his pension that he never receives in his life. In the mind of the Colonel there seems to be an unbeatable respect and confidence towards the regime and particularly towards the high military command of Colombian army. During the Post Civil War period it is believed that in Latin American territories there are several other personnel like the Old man and common individuals who were personally and interpersonally deceived and tortured by the dictatorial authority. Many people like the Colonel whose mentality is shaped by the traditional belief of 'state as the guardian and the savior of all its citizens' are mostly victimized by the state driven coercion of 1960s Post Civil War Latin –American socio-political turmoil.

This research contains five chapters altogether, including the introduction and conclusion. The second, the third and the fourth chapters of this study are structured on the spirit of institutional repression of power on common individuals. The second chapter entitled as "Notion of Power in Latin American Context" takes an analytical approach towards 1960s Post Civil War Latin-American socio- political structure with especial reference to the Peruvian and Colombian atrocities, as shown in the novels. This part of the study is mainly grounded on the coercive nature of abovementioned nation states on common individuals. In doing so the researcher takes sharp attention

on institutional hazards of the weak and meek, personally suffered in the then era and the repulsive nature of terror stricken people against the regime. More over this chapter tries to encapsulate contemporary historical scenario of some of the representative Latin-American nation states quite briefly.

The third chapter "Hegemony of Power and its Dominance" concentrates upon the issue of the hegemony of power on individuals. Talking on the issue of Gramscian concept of hegemony, a critic Gill Stiphen in his reviewed work "Hegemony, Consensus and Trilateralism" opines "Hegemony of the particular class, or faction of a class, requires that it has succeeded in persuading other classes in society to accept its leadership as well as most of its moral, political and cultural values. Such success implies the minimization of the use of force" (210). In both of the texts there are instances of governing the common citizens through domination created from hegemony, that is applied on the trainee cadets and retired Colonel. The trainee cadets of Peruvian Military Academy are not given the rights of truth and justice by the authority. The trainee cadets and the junior officers in the Military Academy are compelled to agree with the decision of the high command on the basis of an assumption that supreme authority is always right in its thoughts and deeds. So no one living under their command can go against them. Similarly the old Colonel, in *No One Writes to the Colonel*, continues to believe the contemporary regime of Colombia for the pension, that is his hopeless wait like many other victims of contemporary state apathy. The mentality of the Old Colonel is shaped by the traditional belief of "state as the savior" that has been proved as false belief by the end of the novel.

In the same way the fourth and comparatively more analytical chapter entitled "State as a Coercive Force in *The Time of the Hero* and *No One Writes to the Colonel*" shows how the coercive nature of power has been depicted in these two novels by



Llosa and Marquez. In addition to this, the chapter also focuses on the issue of the hegemony of power and its negative connotations on the common agendas, regarding power domination of individuals, in the selected texts *The Time of the Hero* and *No One writes to the Colonel*. Foucauldian notion of horizontal power exercise that prevails everywhere as well as that is always in the flux and the Gramscian theory of hegemony upon common individuals, are the theoretical guidelines applied by the researcher in this chapter. The repressive state apparatus propounded by Karl Marx and re-energized by Luis Althusser, is another tool to analyze and interpret, the research work undertaken. In *Mapping Ideology* especially under the title of "Ideological State Apparatuses" Luis Althusser claims as "the (Repressive) State Apparatus constitutes an organized whole whose different parts are centralized beneath a commanding unity" (114). The commanding unity in both of the novels constitutes a sort of threat and perplexity among the victims as such.

The ongoing research work basically relies on the analysis of fictional and nonfictional works of various critics and scholars, relevant to my area of institutional domination on individuals. It attempts to show how dominance of the ruling class personally and interpersonally engulfs and demoralizes the common individuals and consequently invites the resistance from the oppressed.

## Chapter II: Notion of Power in Latin American Context

Institutional coercion is a global problem facing many nations that are under the shadow of dictatorial regime for a long time. At its most basic, institutional domination on common individuals involves the abuse of public power for some private benefit. Its existence may distort government outputs and reliability of people towards the supreme authority. This is because the actors involved in coercive practices gain uneven benefits by applying their commanding status as such. This in turn may disfigure democratic procedures, because policies result not from an open clash of ideas among the authorized agencies but instead from back-alley deals. The practitioners of these unnatural deals (dictators) are the true violators of democratic norms as well as peace and freedom of the common individuals. In the surface level these leaders try to show themselves as saviors of individual existence and human rights but the real story behind the curtain tells something else.

Institutional power abuse and political corruption are especially the most critical problems in Latin America, where corruption scandals stained many Latin American governments in the 1990s. In Brazil, President Fernando Collor de Mello, was forced to resign after being involved in many scandals for applying his presidential influence in order to capture public consent during the electoral campaign. In addition to this he was charged for the misuse of public funds by his wife, and reports of a lavish private life. Similar sort of the events of power misuse by the senior authorities either holding their command in political fields or in armed forces were exposed during and after the Civil War period, especially in Venezuela, Spain, Peru, Mexico and Colombia as well (Thies 457).

Historical study of Latin America illustrates both of the levels of power domination and corruption, that have taken place at the national level particularly

originated by the contemporary rulers. Consequently it is quite difficult to combat against these evils for common welfare because coercion and corruption are fueled by some internal agencies particularly higher political authorities and commanding military forces to fulfill their vested interests as such. These state driven atrocities and corruption cases through misappropriation of power can be studied and analyzed from the legal proceedings and actions taken against authorities in this region. The reports show that since the early 1990s; nine Latin American presidents or former presidents have faced judicial proceedings or have been dismissed on corruption charges. Presenting his sharp comments upon this dictatorial Latin American power imposition on common people, an English Critic Camron G. Thies, in his article "War, Rivalry and State Building in Latin America" opines:

The common argument is that internal violence overwhelmed the Latin American state in the absence of countervailing pressure that would typically be supplied by the fear of external violence. Further, the preoccupation with the "enemy within" also prevented states from engaging in external violence. As a result, Latin American states are relatively weak entities that exist in a precarious position relative to both domestic society and other states in a region characterized by a violent peace. (451)

Abovementioned statement exposes the harmful impacts of contemporary Latin American internal conflicts in 1990s. Consequently the direct victims of this coercive power interpellation are the common individuals. Similar sort of power imposition and its negative effects on common people, is primarily focused in the plot of the texts particularly taken up by this researcher. As in the texts *No One Writes to the Colonel* and *The Time of the Hero*, there are plenty of examples of coercion on common

individuals. The retired Colonel, of the Colombian army in *No One Writes to the Colonel*, is depicted as the most dominated figure in socio-economic and psychological levels. After fifteen years of fruitless wait for the pension, the Colonel almost hopelessly says, "In fifty years, we will be peacefully six feet under, while that poor man will be killing himself every Friday waiting for his retirement pension" (42). Here is a glimpse of a debate between the retired Colonel and his sick wife on the issue of the tricky and false policy of the contemporary Colombian regime under which large number of Colombian soldiers were forced to wait for the false assurance of the then government. This sort of tragic socio-economic position of the common individuals is indirectly caused by the internal war and use of power to crush the existence of others in 1990s Latin America.

Again Camron G. Thies in his article "War, Rivalry and State Building Latin America" tries to pinpoint the weakness of Latin American rulers, who committed many historical mistakes by not utilizing their authority and human resources for building progressive nation states. Rather they merely engaged in domestic quarrels only to establish their supremacy among others. Commenting upon this issue of historic power abuse Camron says:

Latin American states, much like their newer counterparts in Africa and Asia, are left negotiating an international system where the same basic forces are at work today that were operating in early modern Europe, however, the results of these competing pressures are not exactly the same. State building will be marked by continued attempts to control internal violence, defend against threats of external violence, and provide public goods for the citizenry through whatever means are

available. Blood, debt, and taxes are dependably recurrent aspects of the long and painful process of building the modern state. (463)

Even after the Civil War the dictatorial mentality of the rulers in many Latin American nation states was not being exterminated. This brute mentality of responsible leaders, naturally delayed the great task of constructing new strong nation states. In *The Time of the Hero* by a Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, depicts complete turmoil and the negative sense of humiliation, among the trainee cadets and the Commanders due to the corrupted and ill manners of the contemporary regime. In the Military Academy, some of the faithful cadets and officers like Alberto, Arna Slave and the Lt. Gamboa are always demoralized by the authority. This sort of domination can be observed in the statement of the Captain given below, when he quite insultingly intervenes the reaction of junior officer Lt. Gamboa and threatens him 'I'm really very sorry for you,' the Captain said. 'You don't believe it, but I regard you very highly. Remember the advice I gave you. And from now on, remember that in the army you teach lessons to your subordinates, not superiors'" (354) Thus this sort of reaction of the senior officers fictionalized by the novelist, particularly in Leoncio Prado Military Academy, is an enactment of the atrocities that are really piercing on the hearts of common individuals as such.

After presenting brief history of power application, in Latin American Context, this study moves on the issue of power use and abuse in Peru and Colombia, two emerging Latin American nation states. By taking these two nation states into consideration, the researcher wants to study about value of power in those nations respectively. This study presents striking differences regarding the influence of military coercion in both of the Latin American nations.

Basing on the history of Colombia, this study tries to focus attention on the pathetic conditions of the common individuals, dominated by the atrocities of rival civilian elites. The politically strong elites often overlap social and economic elites. This group shows a marked ability to hold on to the authority of power, effectively excluding other groups and social institutions, such as the common public and the military, from significant participation in or control over the political process. Members of the lower classes find it difficult, although not impossible, to challenge or join the established elite in the political and economic areas.

Thus Colombia has an exceptional history for Latin America due to the reason that, the country has been dominated more by civilian than by military rule. The strategy behind it was military forces have been denied political power; the civilian elites have had only themselves, divided into rival groups, to compete with in the political ground.

Quite contrary to this in Peruvian history, there is an unbeatable interference of military authorities as such. During and after the Civil War, the armed forces underestimated the democratic procedures and frequently captured the power in their hands. In the 1960s, throughout Latin America, communist movements inspired by the Cuban Revolution, tried to gain power through rebellion. The Revolutionary Left Movement in contemporary Peru, launched a revolution that had been crushed by 1965, but Peru's internal conflict continued until its climax in the 1990s. Talking on this issue of Cuban revolution Walter D. Mignolo in his book *The Idea of Latin America* puts his views:

During the Cold War, "Latin" America projected the image of a sub-continent in danger of being taken over by communism. Consequently, it became a destination for US development projects, which held that

modernization was a way of saving the world from the communist menace (e.g., Puerto Rico in the 1960s). The dreams of modernization in Latin America crumbled as the welfare state economy ended in the 1970s. Instead, dictatorial regimes took hold and inaugurated the new political-economic model of “neo-liberalism”: a political theory combined with political economy that makes the market the main principle of the organization of society. Thus, the collapse of the welfare state at the end of the 1970s led to privatization and market driven state regulation. (98)

The intervention of military regime has been prominent in Peruvian history. Coups have frequently interrupted civilian constitutional government. The most brutal period of military rule in Peru, (1968–1980) began when General Juan Velasco usurped elected President Fernando Terry of the Popular Action Party. The military rulers of that time declared the movement as "first phase" of the military government's nationalist program. Whereas former President Velasco, set up an extensive agricultural reform program and gave national recognition to the fish meal industry, domestic petroleum companies, and several banks and mining industries as well (Mignolo 168).

The texts undertaken here for the research reflect similar sort of incidents regarding declining situation of civil rights and unnecessary influence of military intervention in Colombia and Peru, as represented by the novels *No One Writes to the Colonel* and *The Time of the Hero* respectively. Gabriel Garcia Marquez in *No One Writes to the Colonel* depicts Post Civil War Colombian public atrocities through the character of the retired military Colonel. The old Colonel is frequently deceived by the dictatorial regime by giving him false assurance regarding the old age pension.

His family suffers a lot from the state driven terrors such as they have nothing to eat and the only son of the Colonel is killed by the authority blaming him for going against their orders. In the novel the narrator primarily talks on the pathetic condition of the retired Colonel who is victimized by the dictatorial regime. Expressing his sympathies towards the retired hero the narrator says "But in reality his hoping for the letter barely sustained him. It exhausted, his bones aching from sleeplessness, he couldn't attend to his needs and the rooster is at the same time" (31). Thus the retired Colonel in the plot is merely hoping against hope on the basis of the false assurance given to him by the irresponsible government of the then era. This fruitless hope of the Colonel proves here that the military authorities and the regime of selected elites have domination on military forces as well as contemporary Colombian community.

In opposition to this *The Time of the Hero* is the representation of 1960s Post Civil War Colombian Dictatorial regime, that creates the historic terror upon common individuals in the contemporary era. In the novel the character of the Colonel as supreme authority presents himself more dominantly to crush the rights of the junior commanders and the cadets in the Military Academy in Peru. After the murder of an innocent trainee cadet Arna Slave of Leoncio Prado Military Academy, the file of the murder case is intentionally closed by the officers even the killer Jaguar eventually confesses the crime. Commenting upon this monopoly of the higher authority in the Military Camp the junior officer Lt. Gamboa opines as, "The Arna case is closed, the army doesn't want to hear another word about it. It would be easier to bring Arna back to life than to convince the army it has made an error" (358). This sort of intervention on public rights in contemporary Peruvian society seems to be common to the rulers. As a result the rights of liberty, truth and justice of weak and meek are forcibly snatched away by the regime.



*No One Writes to the Colonel*, and Garcia Marquez's next novel, *The Evil Hour*, deal with 'la violencia,' a term used with reference to a decade long Civil War in Colombia, beginning in 1948. This period was, in some respects, more crucial than the declared confrontation and more terrific than a clearly defined revolution. It was caused by political inflexibility on the part of both conservatives and liberals. The immediate outcomes of this conflict were murder, betrayal, brutality, and hidden rivalry. Ultimately it developed the nasty environment of hate, distrust and general insecurity among the common individuals. In the text *No One Writes to the Colonel*, the protagonist is the victim of this domination and general insecurity as he is unable to receive his old age pension after the retirement from active military service. Both novels succeed in producing the experience and the feeling of that awful period, with a factual representation of the contemporary era in the region. In this way, they are good examples of what Garcia Marquez tries to convince us when he says that *One Hundred Years of Solitude* is a metaphor of Latin America. Within this novel the writer discloses some horrible instances of contemporary Latin American public silence against the terror of the dictatorial regime particularly in Colombia and Peru as such.

In 1960s, because of the ongoing Civil War, Latin American nations naturally diminished the energy of revolutionary forces. But on the contrary they continued waging war against each other until the last degree of their strength. As a result the resistance power of these war mongering nations, to defend themselves from external attacks reached into the marginal position. This is the reason that the colonial rule of Spain and Russia extended here up to many decades.

The increased frequency of the internal use of force reduced the capability of the military to wage war against outer enemies. The frequent deployment of the

military to control internal conflicts in Latin America may have limited the military's ability to properly settle the Civil Wars (Thies 458). The time, equipment and organization directed towards cooling down the internal rivals naturally divert the attention of forces from the pursuit of external rivals. In addition to this during the Civil War, the coercive use of the military within the state distracts from national solidarity and public readiness to support the military and the state more generally through either symbolic or material means. This sort of picture is drawn in the novel *No One Writes to the Colonel* when we see the wife of the protagonist curses the Colombian regime. Especially she locates her attacks against the military that kills her only son in an attack accusing him for his secret involvement with revolutionary forces for the liberation of Colombians.

In the post Civil War Latin American history, there is an exercise of institutional power domination from various angles. Not only in the political and administrative areas but also there is an extreme interference of the authorities in academic areas too. In order to challenge the crucial domination of contemporary regime there was an establishment of Repressive Newspaper 'Yavi' that highlighted the merciless coercion and violence of the regime against the indigenous leaders in Colombia. One of the contemporary Latin American anthropologists of the then era Myrium Jimeno in her article "Colombia: Citizens and Anthropologists" comments:

One of the numerous examples of this militant literature was the Newspaper *Yaví*, produced by a small group of anthropologists, lawyers and sociologists, which was circulated among intellectuals and indigenous organizations from 1978 to 1983. The assassination of indigenous leaders during that period, as well as the imprisonment of others, was one of the driving forces behind the publication, which also

examined local confrontations and praised the variety and wealth of indigenous beliefs and practices. As for the researchers from the Colombian Institute of Anthropology, they set up work stations, known as “anthropological stations,” in indigenous communities with the purpose of bringing together research and work in the community, on ethno-education, health and organization. (82)

This sort of public awareness against the brutal power exercise of the colonial regime and authoritarian government seems to be more energizing and soothing to the depressed mentalities of people in the post Civil War Latin American context. Consequently in 1996 a group of black students in Colombia demanded the creation of a separate ethnic studies department that would design and supervise African-American, Latino-American, and Native-American studies with its own budget, space, and comparatively efficient faculty. In addition to this the new provision of ethnic studies department would attract top scholars with excellent academic profiles and these scholars would have to determine curriculum.

The prospective department should have to combine the political, social, religious, and artistic understandings of people of color in Columbia. But again there is an exercise of power by the regime, because the university authority merely planned to address the student's demand partially and continues the existing standard of the curriculum. On the contrary students forced them for a more progressive and functional ethnic studies. Students want a curriculum that goes beyond, merely revisiting what has happened in the Latin American history or is occurring now among people of color. They demanded such a curriculum that would help them utilize this knowledge to improve contemporary conditions. The major claim of the students was grounded on the rationale that teaching of 'African-American history'

seems to be completely obsolete if that does not encourage people toward progressive change. Again Mignolo D. Walter in his book *The Idea of Latin America* critically comments upon this notion of essentialism and regression as:

We have seen that, from the Black memories and histories of oppression and exploitation, a number of philosophical, political, and ethical projects have been emerging in the Caribbean as well as in the Andean region. A question that is raised time and again, when I make this or similar statements on occasions when there can be a reaction from the audience (lectures, workshop, undergraduate and graduate seminars, or personal conversations) is this: isn't that pure and simple essentialism? The question, coming from self-defined progressive people, arises because progressive minds, like others stuck in the paradigm of modernity, have difficulty thinking beyond the parameters of modern principles of knowledge and understanding. (113)

But eventually the dictatorial regime of Colombia did not accept the reasonable demand of the students. On April 1996 the student protests ended up with a ridiculous decision from the authority of the university in which there was an assurance that they would not punish the protesting students for their revolutionary actions. The 1991 Colombian constitution represents an effort to launch greater democracy in a traditionally restrictive political regime and it is regarded as a model by many of the citizens of the country.

However in the short duration of just ten years, most of the Colombians complained that the 1991 constitution has had no effect on their quality of life. As in the novel *No One Writes to the Colonel*, the narrator puts his views as "The Colonel had assumed as much. It was [The National Newspaper] the summary of the events in

the country, mimeographed [printed] for clandestine [stealthy] circulation.

Revelations about the state of armed resistance in the interior of the country. He felt defeated "(16). Thus the confidence of the common people towards the regime and the constitution got rotten up measurably. They argue that the reforms it promised among the public are failed to produce results and that any changes that were achieved were insignificant or insufficient.

Colombians of the then era required modernized and enhanced lawmaking procedures to ensure public demands. But it is one thing to plan for institutional changes and another to implement the democratically improvised constitutional policies as per public needs in order to solve all of the country's problems. In Colombia the negative impact of the paper constitution cannot be overcome through futile rebellions against the state driven apathies. Real change in over all socio political sectors, is only possible through a collective commitment on the part of all Colombians as well.

According to the historical record of Colombia, it was under the colonial domination of Spain from 1550 to 1810. During that crucial tenure the royal courts in the colonies, unlike their counterparts in Spain, performed administrative and political as well as judicial functions. The courts were empowered to limit the illogical use of power by the Viceroy or any subordinate official in the courts existed in the higher jurisdictions, like the colonial governor; the additional courts existed at lesser administrative levels (Thies 462). Under the Supreme Council of the Indies, the Viceroys, as the direct representatives of the sovereign, exercised royal authority in all civil and military affairs. In addition to this, these colonial governors ruled over the secular aspects of church affairs, and supervise the administration of justice. These

executive officers in the colonial state additionally exercised a degree of legislative power on common individuals of that time in Colombia.

Along with the end of the civil war, Colombia needed a leader who was strong enough to restructure the nation after the loss of Panama and the devastations caused by Civil Strife. The historical data of Colombia shows that, General Rafael Reyes was an elected president in 1904 with the support of Conservatives. Later on he showed a complete determination to unify the republic. He planned to renew the nation's economy, and prevent all sort of hurdles either constitutional or political almost firmly. More over his policies were an amalgam of ambiguous political understanding and despotism. Mignolo in his book *The Idea of Latin America* opines as "Latin America seems to be an eroded section of Western civilization that fell off the First World map and can now be replaced by Australia, New Zealand, and, maybe eventually, South Africa. Since, after providing this image of Latin America is 'The Clash of Civilizations' (133). The transfer of power in 1946 energized tensions between the two parties-- Liberals and Conservatives, resulting in violent political conflict, particularly in rural areas. After the conflict a democratically elected administration became repressive and dictatorial, this led to its overthrow by the singular military coup in the twentieth century. Only by having the restraints of power, taken from common individuals, the traditional elites realized that the most effective way to avoid interparty civil wars is to abandon the support of war on the basis of economic resources. In *No One Writes to the Colonel* by Marquez, there is the display of similar kind of despotism on the common individuals. The protagonist old Colonel is the victim of dictatorial regime and state apathy as such. While talking about Latin American nations and the importance of power in them with especial

reference to Colombia and Peru it has been discovered that the effect of coercion from internal and external forces in both of the countries is in the flux.

Although in both of the nations, there was an intervention of Spanish Colonial administration but particularly in Peru the duration of this barbaric colonialism with totalitarianism is shorter and less cumbersome than Colombia. Yet throughout the eighteenth century, further away from the Peruvian capital Lima, particularly in the remote territories, the Spanish did not have complete control. The Spanish could not govern the provinces without the help of local elite. These local elites, who governed the common individuals with their peculiar status of Curacao (symbol of largest ruling group) took pride in their ever shining history and reputation in the territories. The result of this hegemonic practice of ruling the poor natives in remote provinces by the local elites is that throughout the eighteenth century, these loyal natives rebelled against the Spanish colonial regime and did not allow them to enlarge their colonies in these interior regions of Peru (Thies 461).

The foundation of Peruvian movement for independence was settled on the rebellion of Spanish-American landowners and their forces, led by José de San Martín of Argentina and Simón Bolívar of Venezuela. San Martin declared the independence of Peru in Lima on July 28, 1821. From this moment on, Peru is free and independent, by the general will of the people and the justice of its cause that God defends. Long live the homeland! Long live freedom! Long live independence! Was the general slogan of the people in Peru, who suffered some unbearable tortures from the former dictatorial regime (Mignolo 69).

The rampant exercise of institutional power in Latin American context is the most effective means of acquiring authority to the contemporary rulers. In this way after the decline of colonialism in Peru President Bustamante Rivero, tried to create a

more democratic government by limiting the power of the military and the oligarchy. But again the historical records show that in a military coup on October 29, Gen. Manuel A. Odria became the new President. His presidency was known as the most regressive one who again restored oligarchy and dictatorship among the common individuals. Although the military ruler seems to be crueler but to some extent in order to gain public consent he at the same time followed a populist modality of ruling the people that won him great favor with the poor and lower classes. A successful economic policy, known as 'mass favoring socio-economy policy' allowed him to gain favor of the public even it was too expensive to implement among common individuals. However at the same time, citizenship rights were ruthlessly crushed and corruption was widespread throughout his dictatorial régime.

The notion of power in Latin American context, as this study presents, can be summed up through two important measures - known as inter-state rivalry or extended Civil War and external invasion of the Colonialism. Almost all the Latin American nation states are more or less became the victims of this coercion in the different periods of time. Talking on this inevitable fate of most of the Latin American states an English Critic Camron G. Thies in his reviewed work on " War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America" claims:

When the narrow focus on war is expanded to consider interstate rivalry, we begin to see the true impact of external threats on state-building efforts. External rivals, regardless of the operational measure employed, have significant, positive effects on the state's extractive (productive) capacity. The evidence provided here suggests that these long-term, slow-moving processes represent a protection racket organized by the rulers of the state to maintain them in power. Given



the history of military dictatorship, it seems appropriate to conclude that the Latin American state was indeed a predator,(looter) albeit one that fed more slowly on society, over longer periods of time, than its early modern European counterparts. Internal rivals, as measured by the variety of rival claimants seeking power through civil war. (463)

Thus the coercive nature of institutional power on common individuals in Latin American context is exposed through this study. During the era most of the regimes were involved in this sort of conflict so it was almost impossible to consider peacefully and creatively on behalf of the weak and meeks. This kind of coercion not only weakened the eco-political strength of the people living under the Latin American territory but also it severely destabilized the social and moral horizons of the common individuals particularly shaken up by long run series of dictatorial sort of interpellations. The novels taken up under this research work are no exception from the abovementioned dictatorial intrastate power imposition and external attacks on helpless common Latin American people of the contemporary time.

### Chapter III: Hegemony of Institutional Power and its Dominance

In its basic structure the concept of hegemony is initiated by the existence of a class monopoly over the territory of material production but generally it is not restricted to that realm only. The area of hegemony cannot be limited into the class supremacy of the dominant group only in the economic aspects but also hegemony is a claim for intellectual and moral leadership over the totality of social existence. In this sense hegemony is the dominant class practice in order to gain leadership on the subordinates. It gets its birth from within the economy yet spreads out towards the organization of all socio-political and cultural institutions.

The concept of hegemony as Michele Barrett says in her article "Ideology, Politics, Hegemony: From Gramsci to Laclau and Mouffe" is:

The concept of 'hegemony' is the organizing focus of Gramsci's thought on politics and ideology, and his distinctive usage has rendered the hall mark of the Gramscian approach in general. Hegemony is best understood as *the organization of consent*- the process through which subordinated forms of consciousness are constructed without recourse to violence or coercion. The ruling bloc according to Gramsci operates not only in the political sphere but throughout the whole society. (238)

The practioners of the governing strategy of hegemony often try to develop certain concept of law, political ideology and socio-economic pressure on the common individuals. By doing this the leading class tries to create a moral pressure that assures its ethical leadership not only in civil society but also in the organizations and activities of the state. The state there by becomes the key institution in the spreading of the ethical principle of the dominant class. Such a class can use most of its energy in civil society in which individuals and groups act together according to the interests

of the hegemony of the dominant class. Under these ideal conditions strategically emphasized by the dominant class, hegemony appears to be the best tool for subjugation of legally liberated individuals.

The strategic practice of hegemonic subjugation of legally freed individuals can have such a great strength that for some time the dominated people themselves feel proud of owning up the magic influence of the hegemonic actors. The present researcher has taken up a Latin American novel in which similar kind of strategy is being applied by the Colonel and other officers of Leoncio Prado Military Academy in Peru, especially fictionalized by Peruvian Novelist Mario Vargas Llosa in *The Time of the Hero*. In the novel there is an exposition of the massive violation of human rights by the authority that is just like the preview of an overall ground realities of contemporary socio-political scenario in Peru. In the novel there is rampant exercise of power and hegemony by the commanders on the junior officers and the cadets as well.

This study intends to focus on the issue of power abuse on common people detailly in the later sections but now it proceeds on the matter of the rule of consent on them. In the abovementioned novel the Military Academy in Lima tries to divert the attention of the common trainee cadets and their guardians to the greater values and reputation of the Military Academy. Particularly the senior officers like the Colonel and the Major want to energize the issue of high sounding social and spiritual values of the military service to hide their own unpardonable coercive activities targeted towards the junior cadets in the Academy. In the novel after the murder of the trainee cadet Arna Slave by his own fellow cadet Jaguar, the Military authority wants to mask their own inefficiency and criminal actions of the Military Academy under the friendly shelter of the sacrifice of the victim Arna Slave for patriotic cause. The

Colonel recites the posthumous parrot monologue including high sounding characteristic qualities and institutional devotion of the murdered trainee cadet in the following way:

An outstanding cadet, held in high esteem by all the officers and noncoms, very popular with his classmates, a brilliant and hardworking student, everyone deploras this tragic loss, the silence in the barracks, the sorrow, he was orderly, marital, upright in every way, always the first to line up, he would have made an excellent officer, loyal, brave, he looked for danger in the field exercises, we could trust him to carry out the most difficult missions without question or complaints, but accidents like this can always happen, life is uncertain, we have to control our grief , the officers and teachers and cadets all share the family's loss. (241)

Thus the Colonel and other responsible military officers in Leoncio Prado Military Academy in Lima present themselves in front of the cadets and common guardians as if they are the true bearers of the pain of the departing soul of the late Arna Slave. But behind the curtain these irresponsible military officers commonly turn aside the issue of Arna's murder due to the fear of an ill reputation of the Academy under their command. Quite hegemonically they get success in befooling the majority of the cadets and their innocent guardians by applying this hypocritical technique of shedding crocodile tears of inevitable agony on the issue of irrecoverable loss of the victim. Though it would be better to the commanders to investigate the case and punish the culprit so as to strengthen the reputation and discipline of the institution in higher remark and trustworthy. But instead of doing this all the junior officers, trainee

cadets and their guardians are compelled to accept the overlapping decision of the commander in chief forcefully.

Similarly in Post Civil War Colombian community large number of military personnel and common individuals were dominated and officially cheated by the regime. Regarding this unbelievable issue of official deception through coercion and hegemonic practice of the contemporary Colombian dictatorial regime, Nobel Laureate, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, in his novel *No One Writes to the Colonel* quite sympathetically fictionalizes the character of the retired Colonel. The Colonel seems to be the most faithful and confident in the issue of his pension that fifteen years ago the government promised him to provide later. As a retired army officer the Colonel believes on the official promise that is never proved as true. His wife threatens him frequently about the false assurance of the regime but even after the murder of his only son Augustin the old man continues to hope for the positive response of the authority. In the novel the following statement of the narrator can prove the strong confidence of the Colonel towards the official promise:

He went into the street stimulated by the presentiment [feeling] that the letter would arrive that afternoon. Since still it was not time for the launches, he waited for Sebas in his office. But they informed him that he wouldn't be back until Monday. He didn't lose his patience despite not having foreseen [predict] this setback.' Sooner or later he has to come back,' he told himself and he headed for the harbor; it was a marvelous moment, a moment of still unblemished [pure] clarity. (59)

The retired Colonel as the protagonist of the novel is so strongly confident towards the hegemonic practice of the commanding authority that he is ready to die of hunger but never show his distrust and irritation against it. Moreover he regards the shrewd

decision of the contemporary regime to allow his pension later, as 'unblemished clarity.'

In these two novels by Latin American writers there is an extreme application of coercion along with the rule of consent. Here we can observe that the dominated and dominants are standing on two different poles of social hierarchy. Similar to Stuart Hall in his article "The Spectacle of the 'Other'" focuses on the complex issues of coercion and hegemony in the following way:

For Gramsci, as for Foucault, power also involves knowledge, representation, ideas, cultural leadership and authority, as well as economic constraint and physical coercion. Both would have agreed that power cannot be captured by thinking exclusively in terms of force or coercion; power also seduces, solicits, induces, and wins consent. It cannot be thought of in terms of one group having a monopoly of power, simply radiating downwards on subordinate group by an exercise of simple domination from above. It includes the dominant and dominated within its circuits. (261)

Stuart Hall claims above that power cannot be acquired only through coercion but also by applying the strategic tools of seduction, imploration, and stimulation in order to win the consent of subordinated groups. Vertical application of power from ruler to the ruled cannot be taken as the consent of rule as such. In this research particularly in the novel *The Time of the Hero* by Vargas Llosa, the writer tries to capture the tradition of hegemony where the senior most officer (Colonel) in the Military Academy pretends to be within the circuits of power exercise strategically. But in the real ground he is not so conscious for the protection of the citizenship rights of weak and meek. The murder of the trainee cadet Arna Slave by his own fellow cadet Jaguar

raises a number of questions on the disciplinary systems in the Academy and declining stage of public faith towards the fundamental issues of the life security and bright career of the trainee cadets involved there.

The narrator in the novel ironically highlights the flood of remembrance and the song of fidelity on behalf of the late cadet Arna Slave along with whole the Peruvian forces of Post Civil War era sung by the supreme authority (Colonel) in the following way:

No doubt he was talking once again about Spiritual values and how military life creates a sound body and how discipline is the basis of good order. They could picture him very clearly in their minds: he was wearing his very grave and ceremonious expression; his soft little hands fluttered back and forth, up and down, in front of the woman's reddened eyes, or alighted for a moment on the belt around his stately paunch; he had spreaded his legs to balance the weight of his body. And they could guess the lessons he would drive home, the examples he would evoke, that parade of illustrious heroes, the martyrs of the war with Chile, the valiant immortal soldiers who had so generously shed their blood during every peril to the father land. When the Colonel finished, the woman (Arna's mother) stopped murmuring.

(242)

Thus the commanding officer, especially in the shocking moment of trainee cadet's funeral tries to paint the color of nationality and the sacrifice of the Peruvian soldiers on the crooked and moss grown wall of corruption, injustice, and institutional domination of the poor individuals. This sort of hegemonic interpellation of power may distort the attention of the dominated individuals for some time but in the long

run it might be discharged from other ends in the form of rebellion or public unrest against the state driven atrocities.

In this connection Stephen Gill in his article "Gramscian Concept of Hegemony" tries to link up the relationships of the common individuals with social and economic leadership respectively. In order to implement the hidden strategy of the rule of consent the leaders or the capitalists try to win the confidence of common people through hegemonic practice of bilateral or trilateral ties to the subordinate group. In doing so, the dictators apply very popular methods of winning the favor of their followers from 'people friendly policies' only in the slogans rather than implying them in the practical fields. Thus Stephen Gill in "Hegemony, Consensus and Trilateralism" says:

Its cultural aspects are represented in Gramsci's notion of the 'people-nation', i.e. a national entity with its own cultural traditions and institutions. Each moment of hegemony represents a certain relationship between class forces, the most fundamental of which is that between capitalists and workers. The roots of the hegemony of the capitalists, or a faction of capitalists, are in the organization of the economy. The concept of the 'historic bloc' refers to a historical congruence [equivalence] between material forces, institutions and ideologies. In Gramscian terms it refers to the way in which various classes and factions of classes are related. In Marxist terminology, the historic bloc is the 'organic' link between structure and superstructure, and it is organized around a set of hegemonic ideas comprising the 'dominant ideology'. For Gramsci, the historic bloc is largely specific to a national context. (211)



The concept of historic bloc revolving around the set of hegemonic ideas of historically dominant ideology is really applicable in the case of the trainee cadets in *The Time of the Hero* and the old Colonel in *No One Writes to the Colonel* by Llosa and Marquez respectively. The retired Colonel in Marquez's Novel always circles around the dominant ideology that the supreme authority never deceives the commoners and must be obeyed with greater faith and fidelity. As in the novel there are plenty of occasions where the retired Colonel encounters with socio economic and family tortures regarding his long awaited pension that he hopes to arrive any moment but most unfortunately it never comes to him. His sick wife shows no confidence in that hope of the old man, so she often warns him not to hope for it. But his traditional mentality seems to be shaped into the strong metallic ideology of believing the authority without slightest doubt into it. Once in a family conversation with his wife the Colonel opines " Don't worry,' the Colonel consoled her. "The mail comes tomorrow" (20). Here the retired Colonel even after fifteen years of his fruitless wait continues hoping for the official mail to come enclosing the documents of his pension.

An English critic Benedetto Fontana, in her article entitled as "Hegemony and Power in Gramsci" talks on the issue of complex amalgamation of power with hegemony in a strategic way. She further claims that both of these socio-political components have binary opposition of applying power with consent and violence with persuasion simultaneously. Presenting her peculiar views on this issue she says "Gramsci emphasizes that politics and political activity is fundamentally centered on attaining and maintaining power. And power, according to Gramsci, is constituted by a dual or dyadic opposition: force and consent, violence and persuasion (85). In this study the researcher includes some instances of the magic blending on contrary issues

of consent with force and violence with Persuasion extracted from Vargas Llosa,s *The Time of the hero*.

As in the abovementioned text after the murder of the Cadet Arna Slave the Colonel wants to close the file only to hide his inefficiency and dominating nature against his juniors. But Lt. Gamboa and the Cadet Alberto (best friend to Arna, who knows the reality of his friend's murder) report against Jaguar and demand justice on behalf of the late Arna Slave. In this crucial moment the Colonel applies the methods of force and consent along with persuasion on Alberto to keep his mouth close on the issue that seems to be cooled down already. The Colonel in his exclusive interview with Alberto in the Military Head Quarter tries to convince him as:

Will you try to be a model cadet?

Yes Sir.

Good. But seeing is believing; the colonel said. He paused again, 'I have decided to forget my duty. Just for this once. My duty is to expel you right now. But I am not thinking about you. I am thinking about the academy. To me the academy is sacred. I like to think of the Leoncio Prado as one big family. Therefore I am going to give you a last chance. I'll keep these papers, these incriminating [accusing] documents and I'll also keep a sharp eye on you. If your superiors tell me at the end of the year that you've earned the trust I'm giving you now, that your record is completely clear, I'll burn these papers and forget the whole sordid story. But, cadet, if you commit a single misdemeanor- and one will be more than enough—you will be expelled in disgrace. Do you understand?

'Yes, sir.' Alberto lowered his eyes and added, 'Thank you, Colonel.'

(314)

In the Peruvian Military Academy the common trainee cadets like Alberto and faithful junior officers like Lt. Gamboa are not allowed to raise their finger against the monopoly and misinterpretation of military rules and regulations twisted by the higher authority as such. Especially in the murder case of Arna Slave, Lt. Gamboa and Cadet Alberto have sufficient evidences against the killer Jaguar. But the Colonel quite skillfully wins the consent of the true witness Alberto by persuading and threatening him at the same time. Here the Colonel seems to be fully successful in closing the file of the case and thus landed his tricky and illegal plans on the safe ground.

Talking on the issue of dominative hegemony, an Australian critic Demian Cahill, in his article "Hegemony and Neoliberal Historical Bloc" claims that uncritically absorbed social, cultural and economic policies and beliefs may act as the controlling force against the opponents. Application of various coercive techniques and the State Apparatus can be more effective to launch hegemonic principles on dominated groups as per the interests of dominants. Further talking on this point Cahill says:

However, where domination does occur, coercion is seen to be exercised to protect the hegemonic principles of the controlling social group, and the consequence of these actions is the emergence of a 'dominative hegemony'. Here the dominant social group secures hegemonic power by capturing State apparatuses and deploying coercive techniques against opponents. Thus, hegemony entails (involves) the use of the State and other spheres within the historical bloc to construct a set of social, political, and economic circumstances

that supports the dominant interests. Gramsci shows that hegemony can never be successfully constructed and maintained unless certain beliefs and interests that makes up a 'conception of the world' can be 'uncritically absorbed by the various social and cultural environments in which the moral individuality of the average man is developed'.  
(207)

Thus in this statement, the writer tries to focus our attention towards the cultural and the social environment on which the individuality of an average man is created, takes its shape and prospers. This individuality i.e. natural self of common individuals can be strongly diverted by the hegemonic principles, so that they cannot defy these imposed principles thinking them as if they are the true landmarks to guide them to the world of success and freedom. But actually these hegemonic impositions may have certain vested interests of the power holders. These powerful people apply their policies over the common individuals to capture their consent that is traditionally guided by the hidden interests of ruling blocs.

In the same way the Colombian novelist Gabriel Garcia Marquez in *No One Writes to the Colonel* presents the character of the retired Colonel. He often believes on the hegemonic principles of accepting the regime as the guiding landmark of his career and always tries to admit them as uncritical and officially reliable announcements. The old man (Colonel) is forced to bear many kinds of atrocities from the contemporary regime as his son is killed for his underground involvement in rebellion to free his people and the Colonel is not given any financial support by the government as well. Still he believes on the authority as the savior of his own life along with the future of the family. Commenting upon this great faith and uncomplaining nature of the retired Colonel the narrator of the novel points out as"

The world is corrupt. But the Colonel made no comment" (13). The Colonel makes no complain against the evils happening around him does not mean that he is indifferent to them but the old man becomes unconcerned towards them only to continue his vague faith on the governors. His self awareness to this state driven terror seems to be exposed when he says "In the beginning at least they published the list of the new pensioners. But it has been about five years since they have said anything"(13). Discussing with his wife the old man (Colonel) expresses his declining state of faith on the negligence of the then authority that only assured and gave word for the pension to the veterans in the papers not in real grounds.

There are various forms of hegemony that create sense of coercion among the common individuals. Ethico-political leadership of the dominant group naturally develops moral and intellectual domination of dominated blocs rather than direct physical coercion. This kind of target based aspirational hegemony tries to replace coercive force as consensus of all the people who need to get command of ruling bloc, as more systematic and economically protected one. By economic protection this statement focuses on economic corporativism of organic intellectuals or higher authorities to exercise their power on the subordinate groups. Talking on this new theory of hegemony of wit and aspiration of intellectually sound strategies of governing authorities, the editors Richard Howson and Kylie Smith in their joint task of "Hegemony and the Operation of Consensus and Coercion" agree as:

The operation of hegemony as ethico-political can be expressed as ‘aspirational hegemony’ that is, hegemony that has its basis in moral and intellectual leadership to domination through power. In an aspirational hegemony, the opposing group seeks to develop a balance where consensus is emphasized over coercion and where the

hegemony is not defined by certain hegemonic principles that demand the hegemony be closed down or ossified as a way of protecting them. Aspirational hegemony expresses an open system in which social justice emerges through the work of organic intellectuals who in turn emerge out of civil society and the subaltern groups but relies on the leadership of one group to transcend its own economic corporativism to create new hegemonic principles and alliance with other groups and interests. (10)

In *The Time of the Hero* by Mario Vargas Llosa , after the murder of the cadet Arna slave, whole the Leoncio Prado Military Academy along with the senior most Colonel and the junior commanders surrounded by the clouds of corruption, injustice and complete disorder. The Colonel puts forward many strategic steps to cool down that critical situation, possibly to take place after the murder of an innocent Cadet. It is quite difficult for the Military authority to divert the current of public allegations against its administrative skills, discipline and security of the personnel involved in it. But quite ingeniously the Colonel attempts to convince all the members of the Academy that being personnel and trainee cadets of that Academy it is their ethical and professional responsibility to secure the reputation of the institution at any cost.

Consequently the Colonel calls an emergency meeting in the military head quarter in order to discuss on the issue of protecting the reputation of the Military Academy. In this crucial moment the Colonel takes help of the ethico-political or aspirational [objective or target based] hegemony to manage the prospective inhospitable circumstance against him as the leading figure of the Military Academy. The Colonel blackmails the rest of the members in the Academy in this way:

'It is going to be very bad publicity,' he added. 'The Academy has plenty of enemies, and this is their big chance. They can take advantage of a stupid thing like this to smear us with a thousand lies. Especially me. We will have to do everything we possibly can to protect ourselves. That's why I called this meeting'. (228)

In this way the scope of 'Hegemony of Institutional Power and its Dominance' may have many forms and effects on the common individuals in both of the novels by Post Civil War Latin American writers. The hegemony of 'Institutional Power' seems to be more pleasant and safe way to win the consent of subordinate groups either applying ethico-political or using socio-economic strategies upon the dominated groups for the super imposition of upper class monopolies to rule the subordinate followers.

Although hegemony and coercion are primarily the similar sort of governing strategies of the socio-politically or ethico-financially sound groups in the human communities. But comparatively speaking the application of hegemony might be more persuasive as well as cunning to launch the rule of consent upon the common people like the major characters (the retired Colonel and the trainee cadets) in both of the novels taken up by this study. The practioners of the hegemonic power exercise may have various techniques to ensnare the common individuals without hurting their conscience. In this way the gradual enactment of hegemonic power exercise of these dominant groups tend to spread their hidden governing strategies on Weak and Meeks, representing the powerless submissive groups. But on the contrary the innocent dominated groups are victimized by the rule of consent that they previously failed to recognize properly. This sort of submissive nature of dominated individuals is obviously exposed through the novels like *The Time of the Hero* and *No One Writes to the Colonel* by Post Civil War Latin American novelists, Mario Vargas Llosa and

Gabriel Garcia Marquez respectively. The governing bodies in both of the novels as Peruvian Military Academy and Colombian regime, seem to get success in imposing their supremacy over the concerned victims as such. Consequently the junior cadets in the Military Academy and retired Colonel in Marquez's novel are forced to accept institutional injustice and domination even they are intrinsically aware of the atrocities imposed upon them by the ruling blocs hegemonically.



Chapter IV: State as a Coercive Force in *The Time of the Hero* and *No One Writes to the Colonel*

Coercive power is the imposition of hierarchical influences on common individuals circulated from the authorities. In doing so, the ruling authorities tend to apply threats and punishment as governing tools to control the subjectivities of dominated groups as per their vested interests. Coercive force seems to be the most obvious but least effective form of power as it fuels the rebellious ideas of resentment [anger] and resistance from the people who experience it.

Announcing or threatening that someone will be fired, downgraded, denied privileges, or given undesirable assignments, are some levels of applying coercive influence on common individuals. Extensive use of coercive force is rarely appropriate in an organizational setting. In the long run, the rulers, relying on these forms of ruling strategies alone, will be accused of enhancing very cold, bureaucratic, egocentric, and impoverished [indigent] style of leadership. Coercion is also defined as 'Positional Power' that is the power of an individual created by the relative position and duties of the holder within an organizational structure.

French philosopher Michel Foucault, the originator of 'Power Theory' into the global level quite strategically tries to ensemble three dimensional ties of power, discipline and subjugation of the common individuals. In his world famous article of 'The means of Correct Training' compiled under *The Foucault Reader* by Paul Rabinow, Foucault says

Traditionally power was what was seen, what was shown, and what was manifested and, paradoxically, found the principle of its force in the movement by which it deployed that force. Those on whom it was exercised could remain in the shade; they received light only from that

portion of power that was conceded to them or from the reflection of it that for a moment they carried. Disciplinary power, on the other hand, is exercised through its invisibility: at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility. In discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen. Their visibility assures the hold of the power that is exercised over them. It is the fact of being constantly seen, that maintains the disciplined individuals in his subjection. (199)

In this passage Foucault primarily concentrates upon modern strategy of power exercise where the common individuals are forced to go under the disciplinary compulsions. The subordinate groups are under the direct command and visibility of the authority so that they cannot escape away from any sorts of security and disciplinary lapses. In the present study there are many inhuman and bloody attempts being carried out by the participants due to the lack of this disciplinary vigilance.

The present research basically depends on the notion of power that is omnipresent and always in a flux. This omnipresent nature of power particularly advocated by Michel Foucault seems to be quite atrocious and vicious one. Talking on this issue of dominant power strategy Richard A. Lynch, in his article "Foucault's Theory of Power", argues:

Foucault's theory of power is omnipresent, that is, power can be found in all social interactions. As he put this in 1977, "it seems to me that power is 'always already there', that one is never 'outside' it" (141). That power is omnipresent- that is, that power is co-extensive with the field of social relations; does interwoven with and revealed in other

kinds of social relations- does not mean that power functions as a trap or cage, only that it is present in all of our social relations. (15)

Here Lynch tries to justify the omnipresent quality of power that can be operated from various angles and organizational settings. Similar sort of horizontal power exercise can be observed through many characters and events that occurred in the 1960s Latin American novels by Vargas Llosa and Marquez respectively. These two novelists along with their creations *The Time of the Hero* and *No One Writes to the Colonel* fictionalize the most crucial nature of state driven atrocities. In both of these novels there is massive domination of liberty rights of the common individuals by contemporary Post Civil War Peruvian and Colombian regimes as such.

The extensive imposition of power on common individuals without taking least care of their human rights can be witnessed through the most dominating nature of the military officers in Leoncio Prado Military Academy in Peru, as it is fictionalized in Llosa's *The Time of the Hero*. In the Academy, due to some physical ailments, a trainee cadet Pezoa puts his rifle on the ground for a short while. Unfortunately in the mean time the Lieutenant saw the rifle on the ground and immediately reacts:

'How long have you been in the Academy, Cadet?'

'Three years, sir.'

'And you still don't know how to take care of your rifle? You should never let it fall on the ground. It's better to crack your skull than to drop your rifle. A soldier's gun is as important to him as his balls. You protect your balls, don't you cadet?'

'Yes Lieutenant.' (168)

In this dominating expression of the Lieutenant there is an obvious picture of institutional coercion on lower class trainee cadets in the Peruvian Military Academy. This statement fairly exposes the inhuman treatment and neglecting attitudes of the commanding authorities towards their subordinate bodies. In the Military Academy there is neither any respect nor any sort of emotional attachment to life and liberty rights of the junior cadets. The life of the trainee cadet is less valuable than the lifeless rifle as the officer says. This is the representative incident that can be taken as a tool to dig up individual as well as institutional sort of coercion on powerless subordinates/ soldiers in Post Civil War Latin American societies.

Misuse of power makes the ruling bloc more violent and cruel towards the ruled ones. The imposition of power on common individuals naturally provides excessive importance to the state authorities, law violators, and dictators through which they are able to thrust their monopolies on powerless subordinates. Talking on this issue of maintaining direct means of force by leading groups an English critic Scott A. Anderson in his article "How Did there Come To Be Two Kinds of Coercion?" claims:

The powers to aggregate, maintain, and direct the means of force and violence against others is the sort of power that makes rogues, mafias, and states significant actors in political philosophy, and draws our attention to how best to regulate them. Unless scofflaws [law violators] are checked by some system that can impose its will upon them regardless of their inclinations, they will generate social chaos and lead private individuals to make coercion a private matter again. The state's monopoly on the justified use of force and violence gives it the power

needed to check scofflaws, and upon this power and others like it the rest of the state's powers depend. (31)

The imposition of the will of dictatorial state upon common individuals without giving them any respect creates an additional problem that is related to unnecessary increase in the number of scofflaws and rebellious activities from the dominated groups. The justified use of state power often destroys the liberty rights and creative energy level of the ruled.

Similar sort of dictatorial power domination ultimately forces the protagonist, in *No One Writes to the Colonel* by Garcia Marquez, towards the tragic end even though he serves for his nation during the war quite enthusiastically. In the novel the old sick wife of the Colonel tries to remind her loyal husband that contemporary Colombian regime would not pay any respect to the patriotic services of the veterans. Moreover she critically points out, "'You were also entitled to get a position when they made you break your back for them in the elections' the woman replied. 'You were also entitled to the veteran's pension after risking your neck in the Civil War. Now everybody has his future assured and you are dying of hunger and completely alone'" (68).

The protagonist in the novel shows unlimited range of fidelity towards the Colombian government with an abstract hope that he would be supplied with the pension as the authorities promised to him during his retirement time. But the Colonel is not given any kind of facility as per the assurance of the administrators. Nearly one and half a decade's wait for pension pushes the retired military officer on the verge of social humiliation, family torture, and ultimately towards the portals of death by starvation.

Talking on this issue, Dany Lacombe, in his article entitled "Reforming Foucault: A Critique of the Social Control Thesis" throws light on the concept of power in the context of the strategic domination and governance of the ruling blocs over the subordinate groups. The complex relationship between structure (state) and agency (subjects) can be verified and directed under the legal command of the governmentality. But in the long run this sort of dictatorial verification and subjugation may erase the ways of liberty and human rights entertainment of common individuals. Talking on this matter Dany further opines:

In fact, Foucault gradually understood the constitution of the modern subject not in terms of the strategies of domination, but rather, in terms of a 'governmentality' to maximize life. This conception of power and the subject facilitates an understanding of law reform that does not reduce it to a structure that simply reproduces the dominant social order. On the contrary, Foucault's concept of power, understood in the context of 'governmentality', allows us to begin to reconfigure the complex relationship between structure and agency. (334)

This kind of reconfiguration [setting] of complex relationship between the authority and common people is obviously essential to control and legitimize the social norms. But again in the name of restructuring these fundamental communal values the dominant groups should not violate the citizenship rights of the weak and meek. In Llosa's *The Time of the Hero* the commanding authorities try to apply reconfiguration (reformation) policy to maintain discipline and control over the trainee cadets in the Leoncio Prado Military Academy in Peru.

The ruling commanders, Lieutenant Gamboa and Lt. Pitaluga of the fifth batch at Military Academy, critically comment on this government policy to restructure the

cadets who represent almost poor conditions regarding family background and pre-military civilization at home. Again there can be unpleasant smell of institutional domination and complexity of dictatorial regulations on the helpless trainee cadets. Although Lt. Gamboa often supports the rights of the cadets but here talking with Pitaluga, in the name of maintaining military authority and regulations in the academy to wipe out prior ill manners of the cadets he speaks some harsh words about the trainee cadets:

'Half of them are sent here so they won't turn out to be gangsters,'  
Gamboa said. 'And the other half, so they won't turn out to be fairies.

It's their parents' fault.'

'You would think the Academy was a reform school,' Pitaluga said, pounding his fist on the table. 'Everything's done half way in Peru, and that's why everything goes wrong. The soldiers we get are filthy, they are crawling with lice, and they're all thieves. But you can beat some civilizations on them. (160)

The commanders like Lt. Gamboa and Pitaluga in the Military Academy want to refine the rough natures of the trainee cadets by applying force on them. In the Military Academy the dictatorial authority believes that the new comers must be controlled by putting them under disciplinary regulations. Otherwise these trainee cadets would be ungovernable. In this regard another army officer Calzada in the same Military Academy reminds the commanding officers as "[s]pare the rod and spoil the child' (160). Indirectly the speaker of this statement automatically exposes the true nature of institutional coercion of subordinate groups that takes place in the Peruvian Military Academy as such. This kind of unnatural domination of the junior

cadets forces them to suffer upper class atrocities in the name of disciplinary actions taken for their reformation.

Paul Rabinow in his compiled book *The Foucault Reader* under the title of "Disciplines and Sciences of the Individual" strongly advocates for positive as well as anthropological aspects of Foucauldian notion of power. Rabinow, like Michel Foucault, tries to ensure the application of power on common individuals not only for an obligation or prohibition but also for an investigation and solution of the hazards to be appeared on the way of their freedom and individual progress. Rabinow describes:

In short, this power is exercised rather than possessed, it is not the "privilege" acquired or preserved, of the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic positions—an effect that is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated. Furthermore this power is not exercised simply as an obligation or a prohibition on those who "do not have it"; it invests them, is transmitted by them and through them; it exerts [puts] pressure on them, just as they themselves, in their struggle against it, resist the grip it has on them. (174)

It has been the common ritual of the dominant class that those who are under their feet must be crushed into pieces until the last limit of their endurance. So, like Karl Marx, Foucault supports the humanitarian aspects of the subordinate groups and encourages them to rebel against institutional atrocities of the contemporary era.

The bourgeois ruling class always goes against the feelings of the powerless subordinates. They want to seize the dominated ones under their grip by applying all the measures like administrative, physical, or institutionally ethical coercion. Regarding this concept of institutional coercion this researcher draws various



instances of Post Civil War Latin American atrocities of common individuals particularly in Peru as shown by Vargas Llosa in *The Time of the Hero*. As the story says, in the Peruvian Military Academy there is massive violation of disciplinary regulations by the junior trainee cadets and the commanders as well. These internal disciplinary disorders reach in the culmination when one of the trainee cadets known as Jaguar (the leader of 'Circle') shoots another trainee cadet Arna Slave during the training. Lt. Gamboa and Alberto (the poet) know every secret of the murder of Arna Slave and are determined to report against the killer to the supreme authority so as to maintain order in the academy and punish Jaguar. But the senior commanders, like the major and the Colonel, are reluctant to open the file of Jaguar case. The Military Authority is much too frightened of the publicity of the ill reputation of Military Academy and their personal inefficiency of not governing the Academy under the accepted security norms and legal systems. Consequently the Major, as shown in this statement, tries to warn the faithful commander Lt. Gamboa not to disclose the fact in the following way:

The major stood up. He had turned pale with anger, and he tried desperately to reach his mustache with his teeth, making astonishing faces.

'All right' he said, his eyes glittering. 'You don't know me, Gamboa. I'm easygoing when I'm treated right. But I'm a dangerous enemy, as you'll soon find out. You're going to pay dearly for all this. Right now, don't leave the Academy until everything is cleared up. I'll hand on your report, but I'll also report the way you behave toward your superiors. Now get out.' (303)

This harsh statement of the senior Military officer seems to be much threatening and coercive to the faithful junior officer Lt. Gamboa in which the latter one is psychologically forced to keep his mouth closed against the high level atrocities imposed upon him. The Major, in his announcement, almost critically reminds Lt. Gamboa that his report on Arna murder case is not easily digestible to the supreme authority including the Colonel. The report would naturally pinpoint the weaknesses of the commanders and disciplinary lapses in the Peruvian Military Academy where the trainee cadets like Jaguar are not under the direct control of the high command.

The Major in this statement vomits some sharp pointed threats against Lt. Gamboa by using his power and position. Similarly he applies the double standard of morality when in one hand he assures the Lieutenant to forward his field report to the superiors but at the same time he warns Lt. Gamboa that his persistent demand to report against Jaguar without taking care of the suggestion of senior authority would be deplorable as such. The Major represents the contemporary Latin American Post Civil War domination of the ruling authorities in Peru where the demand of justice on behalf of the victim is taken as rebellious act by the dictatorial regime of the then era. The interpellation of coercive policies by the authority in the contemporary Latin American context has much powerful impact on the common individuals. The trainee cadet Alberto and junior officer Lt. Gamboa are not allowed to report the case to the supreme Military Authority even though they are ready to disclose and prove their claim regarding the murder of Arna by Jaguar in Leoncio Prado Academy.

In " Truth and Power" French philosopher Michel Foucault strongly advocates for the freedom, productivity and pleasure that common individuals experience as positive implications of power exercise. On the contrary he strictly discounts the practice of atrocious power exercise on subordinate groups that often lubricates the

dominating constituents of prohibition, repression and coercion dominantly imposed (upon them) by the ruling blocs. Thus according to him power needs to be considered as a 'productive network' that runs through the whole social body as such. In this context Foucault further reminds:

But it seems to me now that the notion of repression is quite inadequate for capturing what is precisely the productive aspect of power. In defining the effects of power as repression, one adopts a purely judicial conception of such power; one identifies power with a law that says no- power is taken, above all, as carrying the force of a prohibition. Now I believe that this is a wholly negative, narrow and skeletal conception of power, one that has been curiously widespread. If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it? What makes power to hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no; it also traverses [negotiates] and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression. (120)

By flourishing such a comparative judgment on productive and repressive components of power, Foucault tries to draw our attention towards the use and abuse of legitimate power by the authorities in various fronts of politics, administration and socio-cultural domains. As the above mentioned statement indicates here the globally acclaimed function of power is to maintain judicial accountability, peace, security, and welfare of the stake holders rather than establishing its supremacy through the

traditionally barbaric concepts of repression, prohibition and negation on the subjects. Power exercise, along with its administrative functioning also ensures the productive networks of pleasure, wisdom and discourse of the common individuals. Consequently Michel Foucault raises a question in which he directly cancels the repressive and prohibitive aspects of power exercise on the weak and meek.

Presenting his marvelous ideas on the non productive and repressive treatment of the Colombian regime of Post Civil War period, the Nobel Laureate Garcia Marquez in *No One Writes to the Colonel* exposes the monopoly of the authority upon subordinate groups. Regarding this context of institutional coercion, there is an exposure of a retired Colonel from Colombian army as the protagonist in the novel, shown as the chief victim of state driven atrocities. The Colonel gets force retirement after being physically disabled while combating in the war front. After this the retired Colonel is given an assurance of getting pension later on. Consequently the Colonel almost patiently waits for the pension about fifteen years of his retirement with the hope that the then government would surely provide him the pension as a token of his valor and patriotism. So during these crucial years the retired military officer visits the post office regularly to receive the documents of his rightful property of pension already promised by the ruling authorities but it is never fulfilled. Making fine comparative analysis regarding the hope of have-nots, and the deception, negligence and tortures of the powerful authority, Marquez further writes:

'I'm expecting an urgent letter,' he said. 'It's airmail.'

The postmaster looked in the cubbyholes. When he finished reading, he put the letters back in the proper box but he didn't say anything. He dusted off his hand and turned a meaningful look on the Colonel.

'It was supposed to come today for sure,' the Colonel said.

The postmaster shrugged.

'The only thing that comes for sure is death, Colonel.' (41)

In the above mentioned statement, both of the speakers carry away contrasting attitudes regarding hope of life and surety of death. The retired Colonel quite faithfully expresses his optimistic views on receiving the letter that carries the message for the sanction of his pension. But on the contrary the postmaster, having nothing of the sort that brings sure happiness to the Colonel, tries to direct his attention towards certainty of death rather than the letter as he expects to come. This kind of dialogue between the Colonel and the postmaster obviously highlights the fickleness of official decisions and assurances given by the Post Civil war Latin American regimes in order to intimidate common individuals like the retired Colonel as presented in the novel.

Llosa on the other hand, in *The Time of the Hero* quite sharply comments on the hardships of the military life in the contemporary Peruvian society. Foucault advocates in the favor of subordinate groups of people and reminds the ruling blocs to ensure the rights of the weaker people for the longer tenure of their governance on them. But, in opposition to this, Llosa presents different opinion basing his idea on the coercive nature of Peruvian Military Academy where the soldiers are not given any kind of motivation and liberty rights by the senior officers. In the novel the trainee cadet Alberto and his girl friend Teresa talk about various restrictions in the armed forces where the soldiers are not allowed to enjoy their lives as per their interests.

Particularly pinpointing upon the factual story given above regarding the hardships of the military career Teresa reminds Alberto, "What's the use of getting married to an army man, they spend their whole lives on the post, and if there's a war they are the first ones to get killed. Besides, they keep getting transferred, how awful

to be living in a city and suddenly get shifted to the jungle, with all those mosquitoes and savages"(248). The remark opined by Teresa against the military rules and regulations specially focuses on the most dominating picture of higher class authority to the juniors who are not allowed to protest but only to respect and obey their commanders as such. In the armed forces as it is depicted by the novel there is the massive violation of human rights of the soldiers and other junior personnel particularly crushed under the hierarchical barriers. In the novel the trainee cadet Arna Slave, Cava, Alberto and the junior commander Gamboa are the direct victims of this hierarchical atrocity in the Leoncio Prado Military Academy in Peru.

Nancy J. Holland, in her article "Truth as Force: Michel Foucault on Religion, State Power, and the Law" comments on Foucault's theory of power and its horizontal relationship between the common individuals and the government itself. Holland quite strategically points out that like other human relations the network of power among the common people and the ruling blocs is never complete and omnipotent. More over the balance of power is always in flux consequently the barometer of power relations can be fluctuating as per socio-political and economical conditions of the participants.

Foucault ends these lectures with a few comments about the nature, and limitations, of power. The first is that power is not a thing but a relationship between people, and thus like all relationships, never total or complete. "The characteristic feature of power is that some men can more or less entirely determine other men's conduct-but never exhaustively or coercively .... There is no power without potential refusal or revolt"(45). This is the lingering existentialism of Foucault's thought, a remnant that creates certain optimism in his later work. He

goes on to say, also rather optimistically ( in my view), that governmental power involves a specific form of rationality more essentially than it does than the use of violence, and thus opposition to power must attack that specific form of rationality if it is to succeed.

(88)

In the passage above the major claim of the writer concentrates upon the attachment of rationality, optimism, potential refusal or revolt of common people against the authority imposed on them by the supreme body. In my belief it has been an incontestable claim of Michel Foucault that rulers must take care of the public interests and strengthen their communal ties if they want to extend their unopposed command over the subordinates for long tenure. Supporting the universally acclaimed vision of Foucault's power dissemination, Holland further says that the repressive state apparatus of controlling people through violence, coercion, and opposition cannot deserve public consent and protection for long.

In other words, as Holland envisions in her article, this sort of power sharing between the state apparatus and the stake holders can be termed as 'reciprocal government-citizen trust 'to establish strong foundation of a reliable and the legitimate government (ruling block). But quite contrary to this most of the power holding rulers are inclined to administer their dictatorial policies upon common individuals so as to spread their unbeatable governance on them. In the article under the title "Truth as Force: Michel Foucault on Religion, State Power, and the Law" Nancy J. Holland quotes Sundby:

Sundby concludes by lamenting that the lesson is that, despite responsible individual behavior, the government has the power to exercise its judgment and discard trust of the individual in the name of

a perceived greater good. It is this discarding of trust, however, that in the long run jeopardizes the greater good by upsetting the reciprocal government-citizen trust that forms the foundation of a legitimate government. (96)

Here Holland through the words of Sundby tries to present some sharp comments on coercive power implementation of many of the dictatorial regimes on powerless individuals. Further the writer expresses her inner disapproval against the rationale of the rulers that they apply power on people for greater public good. The dictators are very skilled to violate public freedom in order to cash their hidden dictatorial interests and later on they try to mask their atrocious natures under the veil of common welfare as such. Similar kind of strategic power imposition upon common trainee cadets takes place in the novel *The Time of the Hero* by Llosa.

In *The Time of the Hero*, Llosa encapsulates brutal dictatorial mentality of discarding public faith by the ruling authorities in the name of greater public welfare. This sort of faked aristocratic strategy of frightening common people through double-edged sword of greater public good as well as hidden vested interest of ruling blocs, is seen in the novel when the senior officers like the Colonel and the Captain try to keep the trainee cadet Alberto Fernandez silent in the murder case of another fellow cadet Arna Slave in the Peruvian Military Academy. The Captain as shown in the text is not ready to investigate the murder even the witness is ready to give evidence against the criminal Jaguar. Whole the line of senior commanders, except Lt. Gamboa, are defensive in the issue of murder because they do not like to expose the name of their Academy involving in such kinds of sinister criminal activities. Convincing the trainee cadet Alberto, the Captain, in his strategically embroidered dictatorial tone, says:



'That's enough,' the captain said. 'What you are telling me is absolutely childish. You are accusing a fellow cadet of murder but without any proof. I wouldn't be surprised if you yourself aren't the one who wants revenge. You can't play that kind of game in the army, Cadet. It could cost you dearly'... 'Cadet Fernandez,' the Captain said. 'I am going to talk to you man to man. You are young and impulsive. That's not a fault; it can even be a virtue. A mere tenth of what you have told me would be more than enough to expel you from the Academy. And that would be a terrible blow for your parents. Am I right?'

'Yes Sir,' Alberto said. (279)

The governing authority in the Military Academy in Peru seems to be much interfering and coercive towards the junior cadets. As in the statement above the Captain applies very degrading tone to the trainee cadet Alberto Fernandez during his interaction with him in the issue of another fellow cadet's murder. Alberto and Lt. Gamboa are fully confident about their claim that the murderer of Arna Slave is Jaguar. But on the contrary the high command posits some reservations regarding the murder case due to the fear of losing their institutional reputation as well as governing status of the officers in the Academy individually. The Captain warns the trainee Cadet by saying that he has no right to report against another fellow cadet Jaguar. In the support of his claim, the Captain almost shrewdly reminds the junior cadet that nobody can go against the established values, rules and regulations as well as hierarchy in the military life. Moreover the commanding officer threatens the cadet that he should keep his mouth close and not to raise any sort of questions on the issue of murder otherwise he deserves special authority to expel the innocent trainee cadet in the allegation of breaking the army regulations.

In the abovementioned statement there is an obvious picture of human rights violation through power domination and silencing of weak and meeks. The Military Academy in Peru is presented here by the novelist as an institution of coercion that often overshadows fundamental citizenship rights of life, liberty and freedom of common individuals. The Captain during his talk to the cadet applies multiple approaches of domination through power imposition. In the same time he tries to win the consent of trainee cadet by reminding him to alter his youthful impulse as well as the sense of revenge against the fellow cadets for happy career in the army. Otherwise the Captain in a strict language warns the junior cadet to expel him in case he cannot stop his rebellious activities in the Military Academy as such. In the given statement the Captain applies hegemonic language and strategy for silencing the juniors. The Captain showers his sharp pointed arrows of threats under the shield of military regulations intermingled with some soothing remarks regarding impulsive and youthful errors of the trainee Cadet Alberto. The Military Authority in Leoncio Prado tries to close the issue by exercising all kinds of warnings and encouraging voices at the same time over the junior ones to prove them as puppets in the hands of high command.

The Post Civil War governing strategy of Latin American rulers can be taken as coercive and discriminatory policy in which common individuals are mostly victimized by using the trump of greater public good. Similar sort of upper class domination and deception is included in the plot of the novel *No One Writes to the Colonel* by Marquez. The protagonist (retired Colonel) and his sick wife are often engaged in family quarrels regarding the issue of pension that is already promised to the Colonel to provide him later but the official promise of the then regime turns out to be kind of cheating. Consequently Colonel's sick wife reminds her husband that

the dreamy world of dignity and social respect merely distract their way of enjoying simple and meaningful life status and gradually their family life becomes more hazardous during the dictatorial regime. The narrator presents graphic description of this family confrontation between the Colonel and his wife particularly terrorized by the state driven atrocities of Post Civil War Colombia. Further the narrator puts forward his ideas in the issue:

The woman got out from under the mosquito netting and went to the hammock. 'I'm ready to give up affectation and pretense in this house.' she said. Her voice began to darken with rage. 'I'm fed up with resignation and dignity.'

The Colonel didn't move a muscle.

'Twenty years of waiting for the little colored birds which they promised you after every election, and all we have got out of it is a dead son,' she went on. 'Nothing but a dead son.' (46)

The family dispute as shown above presents the glimpse of Latin American Post Civil War troubles of common individuals in contemporary Colombia. Retired Military Colonel's wife critically strikes on the issue of resignation and the dignity of former family legacy that cannot bring peace and happiness in their ongoing family troubles. Moreover the old sick woman clarifies here that she is fed up with those ethical values and honorary remarks of the Colonel regarding his faith on ungrateful regime of the then era. The repressive nature of the government in Post Civil War Colombian society is obviously represented by the sharp comment of the old woman who frequently reminds her husband that the token of his valor and patriotic dedication as a former military officer is the murder of their only the son. This sort of aggressive expression often represents the terrific mentalities of common individuals like the

Colonel and his sick wife who are compelled to bear atrocious nature of the powerful governors of the contemporary Latin American communities as such. The state driven coercion in the then era, as fictionalized by the writer here is like an acid that burns the prestige and liberty rights of the common people, if it drips on the surface of smooth and peaceful social structure.

Paul Rabinow, in his book *The Foucault Reader* suggests for emancipating power of truth from the forms of hegemony. For this it's quite essential to alienate the hegemony of power relations from every system of social life. The emancipation of truth from hegemonic power relations can be more enthusiastic to the freedom of common individuals. Rabinow supports his idea by quoting Michel Foucault in *The Foucault Reader* as, "It's not a matter of emancipating truth from every system of power (which would be a chimera [fantasy] for truth is already power) but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, with in which it operates at the present time" (75). In order to separate power of truth from social, economic, and cultural horizons, the society needs a sort of common consensus and democratic understanding between ruling and subordinate groups. But quite contrary to this it is almost impossible to release truth from every system of power because the impact of truth is already intermingled with power holding agencies in the human communities.

When the clouds of power scatter around socio-economic and cultural horizons then rest of the human relations become silent and dry. Quite obviously the present study throws light upon an unnatural union of power of truth with hegemony. Similar sort of hegemonic power imposition can be observed in Marquez's *No One Writes to the Colonel*. The protagonist Colombian retired Colonel feels humiliated when he frequently goes and consults the Post Master about his pension that the

dictatorial regime never sanctioned. Even though the contemporary government shows no interest in the issue of pension that is yet to be distributed to many of the Colombian armed forces after their retirement. But the old Colonel quite faithfully exposes positive response towards the authorities from the core of his heart as a loyal army officer. But in opposition to this, the Colonel becomes the victim of the hegemony of institutional power and always feels himself detached from the main stream national security and welfare of civil rights. As in the plot the narrator captures this sympathetic circumstance in the following way:

The postmaster didn't raise his head.

'Nothing for the Colonel' he said.

The Colonel felt ashamed.

'I wasn't expecting anything,' he lied. He turned to the doctor with an entirely childish look. 'No one writes to me.' (12)

The passage mentioned above throws light on inseparable attachment between power and forms of governance. The common individuals as the Colonel are under the magic influence of the power of the state machinery that always captures the consents and expectations of subordinate groups. In the statement given above, the Post Master represents the state power incorporated with an assumed truth that common people like the Colonel must believe it as their savior and it never deceives the subjects. The Colonel almost shamefully expresses his opinion on the matter of the pension because inherently he believes that it would be provided to him in the future necessarily. But as Foucault claims above that the power of truth in the contemporary Colombian society very hegemonically attached to the administrative policies of the governors. Consequently many of the powerless but faithful individuals like the Colonel become the victims of their shrewd policies as such.

When the complex imposition or subjugation of institutional power on common individuals reaches in the climax then it goes under the series of clashes into personal and interpersonal levels. This kind of atrocious power exercise over common people cannot be digestible to the longer time as a result the members of the subordinate groups seek outlets to come out of the hegemonic power imposition through counter power that is 'resistance'. Commenting on this issue of struggle against imposition of power an English critic Brent L. Picket in his article entitled as "Foucault and the Politics of Resistance" claims:

Foucault sees resistance as the odd element within power relations. Resistance is what eludes power, and power targets resistance as its adversary [opponent]. Resistance is what threatens power; hence it stands against power as an adversary. Although resistance is also a potential resource for power, the elements or materials that power works upon are never rendered fully docile. Something always eludes the diffusion of power and expresses itself as indocility and resistance. This is due, William Connolly has suggested, to the fact that human beings do not naturally take one form or another; we do not have a telos or essence. Thus power may form disciplined individuals, who are rational, responsible, productive subjects, yet that is in no way an expression of a human nature. Furthermore, there is always at least some resistance to the imposition of any particular form of subjectivity, and thus resistance is concomitant [associated] with the process of subjectification. (458)

Socially less regarded and more atrocious practice of subjectification of common people through power domination can be resisted in democratically predisposed

human communities. The dominating rulers often try to launch their coercive policies upon common individuals because they generally believe that the dominated groups must be always disciplined, silent, responsible, loyal and productive subjects. As the writer of this passage suggests, power and resistance are opposite to each other but in the same time he points out that resistance can be recognized as the most important source of gaining power in a novel form that is power to fight against institutional coercion. Power imposition on common individuals by dictators is often panic so it is intrinsically not favored by the sufferers. Consequently in the suffocative moments of psycho-somatic power impositions, the victims naturally seek outlets as well as liberty through rebellious actions taken against the dictators.

This sort of uprising against the dominating commanders takes place in the novel *The Time of the Hero*. Here the junior trainee cadet Alberto quite vigorously presents himself in front of the Lieutenant and discloses all the hidden abnormalities and inhuman activities committed by the Circle (an underground group of trainee cadets headed by jaguar) and negligence of commanders in the Academy. Further Alberto says:

'The death of Cadet Arana wasn't an accident,' he said. 'They killed him. It was revenge lieutenant.' ... 'They murdered him,' he said. 'It was the Circle. They hated him, the whole section. They didn't have any reason to, he never made trouble for anybody, but they hated him because he didn't like wisecracks [jokes] and fighting. They drove him crazy, they bullied him all the time, and now they've murdered him' ... The officers don't know anything about what goes on in the barracks. Everybody was against Arana the whole time, they made him

get confined, and they didn't leave him alone for a single minute. Now they're happy. It was the Circle, Lieutenant.' (264)

In the beginning the trainee cadets in the Peruvian Military Academy as shown by the novelist do not have such a liberty to expose internal disorders occurring in the Military School so vigorously. But all of a sudden the suffocated voice of dominated group rises up in search of truth and justice on the part of the victim. Alberto not only discloses about the inhuman and bloody attempts of Jaguar in the murder of an innocent cadet but also sharply advocates against the recklessness and disciplinary lapses in the Academy as well.

The Commanders in the Military Academy want to close the issue of Arana's murder so that nobody could raise his finger against the Academy's professional proceedings and security lapses. There are various levels of pressures and threatens on Alberto for not fueling the issue but ultimately as an act of revolt against atrocities and injustice, the powerless trainee cadet decides to open his mouth regarding the murder of his best friend Arana. Thus the passage given above shows rebellious nature of dominated people when the authorities torture them into the optimum level without taking least care of their basic human rights of life and liberty. More over in the statement cited above there is the display of the horizontal nature of power exercise as Alberto accuses fellow Cadet Jaguar leading the Circle, who most brutally tortures and kills his own friend Arana Slave. So the trainee Cadets Alberto and his best friend Arana are doubly victimized first by their own friends and secondly by the higher authority.

Again presenting his critical remarks on the issue of power, inequality and resistance of common individuals against hierarchical interpellation and domination, Picket in his article entitled as "Foucault and the Politics of Resistance " opines:



Power, if it is to minimize dangerous resistances, must seek to individualize and divide the forces of the institutions it creates. The unpredictable or spontaneous mixture of individuals or groups must be stopped, and so it is necessary "that [the disciplines] oppose to the intrinsic, adverse force of multiplicity the technique of the continuous, individualizing pyramid." Power, by its very nature, must be hierarchical and in-egalitarian. In contrast, Foucault repeatedly links resistance with "horizontal conjunctions" and equality. For Foucault, inequality is an essential element of power and therefore resistance, with its absence of hierarchy, is what Foucault calls "counter-power."(459)

This Foucauldian notion of horizontal power exercise with check and balance of power streams on the basis of revolution of the sufferers can be realized as counter power exercise. When power becomes hierarchical and in-egalitarian [unrestricted] in that situation the subordinate groups or the direct victims of dictatorial power exercise try to get up and organize themselves against authority through resistance. This unexpected sort of revolution from the part of poor individuals as Foucault calls it "counter power" can be taken as struggle for existence and freedom. The resistance of common individuals by applying the tools of horizontal conjunctions and equality compels the higher authority to look back and abandon their dictatorial ways of governance on dominated individuals.

Vargas Llosa, in *The Time of the Hero* tries to introduce similar kind of common resistance through "counter power". He talks about encouraging attempt of a common trainee Cadet Alberto to report against Jaguar for killing another fellow Cadet Arana Slave during the army training. Whole the military authority including

the Colonel stands against Alberto and warns him not to do so. Although the section commander Lt. Gamboa reminds Alberto about his frightening step to accuse another cadet because it would be harmful to the name and the fame of the Military Academy as well. But the brave cadet is determined to proceed ahead in his mission of liberty and justice on behalf of weak and meek. Further Alberto almost aggressively reveals internal disorders and carelessness of commanders. Those senior commanders, who often forget their professional responsibilities towards the junior ones in the Academy, are directly affected by the rebellious actions taken up by the trainee cadet. Alberto quite fearlessly tries to defend his risky claim in the following words:

'Everybody in the Academy smokes,' Alberto said aggressively. 'A pack each a day. Or more. The officers don't know a thing about what goes on. Everybody bullied the Slave. I did too. But finally we got to be friends. I was the only one he ever had. He used to tell me all his troubles. They kept making it hell for him just because he was afraid of fighting. And it wasn't just practical jokes, lieutenant. They pissed on him while he was sleeping, they cut holes in his uniform so he would be confined, they spit in his food. (266)

In the abovementioned claim by Alberto there is the revelation of internal troubles and massive violation of human rights in the Peruvian Military Academy. In addition to this the claim presented above almost critically foregrounds some obscure atrocities conducted by the cadets of the equal ranks in the Military Academy that shows rampant disciplinary lapses and administrative negligence too. The report shows series of inhuman treatments conducted against Arana (the murdered cadet) that categorically put him into the mouth of the terrific end of his life.

This sort of revolutionary expressions and actions performed by common individuals obviously indicate some intrinsic extremities and unbearable amount of power exercise on poor individuals. As in the statement given above one can easily speculate the most barbaric picture of human rights violation when a trainee cadet (Jaguar) of same status tortures another cadet (Arana Slave) by abusing him, cutting holes in his uniform, and above all he pisses on his body and meal. This sort of heart rending report by Alberto in front of the commanding authority is the true representation of the uprising of dominated groups. These subordinate blocs normally remain silent due to the fear of powerful ones. But when the atrocities cross the boundaries of minimum requirements of human rights as shown above then the suffocated voice seeks outlets in the form of rebellion that is either oral or physical.

The hierarchical super imposition of power on common individuals can be resisted through self-making or consciousness of the victims. Joseph D. Lewandowski in his article, "Rethinking Power and Subjectivity after Foucault." tries to interpret Foucauldian notion of power resistance via revolutionary struggles from subordinate groups. Again talking on the issue of common resistance and plurality of resistances Lewandowski claims;

Though there is no escaping from power relations - they are "always already there" (1980, 141) - they are nevertheless resistible. For "where there is power, there is resistance" (1978, 95); and there is, further, a plurality of resistances in any given relationship of power. Resistances "are the odd term in relations of power; they are inscribed in the latter as an irreducible opposite" (1978, 96). Or again: "Every power relationship implies, at least in potentia, a strategy of struggle"

(Rabinow and Dreyfus 225). And power can be resisted via self-making or aesthetics of existence. (228)

The strategic exercise of power on dominated people should not be granted as human weaknesses because the upper class people from the ruling bloc intentionally ensnare the poor ones and compel them to agree with dictatorial policies. In the crucial moment of power interpellation on lower class people, the only weapon to release them from its magic grasp is self awareness and unified resistance against the hierarchical pyramids of power. In the above mentioned passage Lewandowski introduces us with the term "plurality of resistances" or resistance from various angles, people, and different aspects of reasoning are essential to obtain success in the pursuit of the true happiness along with the search of life, freedom, and justice.

When power prevails everywhere in a terrific form in that situation it is necessary to the victims to get united and raise their united voice against the super power. This kind of aggressive counter attack and high sounding rebellion against violators of human rights can be observed through following contradictory talk between Alberto and Jaguar in *The Time of the Hero* by Vargas Llosa. Alberto sharply opposes Jaguar and commanders in the Military academy for being so much barbaric against Arana Slave and says:

'I am not ashamed,' Alberto said. 'And as soon as I can get out of the academy, I'm going to tell the police you're a murderer.'

'You're crazy,' the Jaguar said in a flat voice. 'You know I haven't killed anybody. Everybody knows the Slave shot himself accidentally you know it too, you squealer.'

'You are not worried at all, are you? Because the Colonel, the Captain, everybody here, they are all like you, they are your accomplices,

they're just a gang of bastards. They don't want anybody to talk about what happened. But I am going to tell the whole world that you killed the Slave.' (332)

In the discussion cited above the participants Alberto and Jaguar are the trainee cadets in a Military Academy having equal status but practically Jaguar due to his physical strength, cruel underground mentality as the leader of Circle and reckless commanding position of officers in the Academy shows himself more powerful than Alberto. Alberto tries to make sure through his speech that Jaguar is the real murderer of his best friend Arana Slave, so at any cost he would like to flash him out as a killer and demand punishment for him. On the contrary Jaguar, being under the direct protection of senior commanders in the Academy underestimates the accusations of Alberto and denies him to take responsibility of any sort of murder charges as such. But Alberto has no stopping in this point and stepping ahead on his stand he blames all the senior military officers as supporters of the criminal. More over quite aggressively Alberto accuses them as "the gang of bastards" who only think about their personal benefits rather than providing justice, peace, and liberty to all the cadets under their command.

Institutional domination on weak and junior ranks of people in a society as mentioned in the description above may have two dimensional outlets. The first one is resistance of powerless individuals in order to establish their basic human rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. Similarly the second part of it, is the hegemonic entrapment of these people under the shrewd policies of the dictators known as 'rule of consent.' In both of the novels undertaken by this researcher the resistance aroused by the dominated groups is badly distracted by the holders of authority. In *The Time of the Hero*, at first Alberto decides to take serious action

against the criminal activities happening in the Military Academy. Very strongly he dares to report against Jaguar, as the killer of Arana, in the preliminary phase of the novel but after the hegemonic interference of the Colonel, on the issue of his allegations, Alberto becomes silent. Similar is the situation of Lt. Gamboa, who almost hopelessly bears the punishment of getting transferred to the rural area as the token of his fearless standing on the side of truth and justice. In *No One Writes to the Colonel* the protagonist and his wife become the victim of the similar kind of hegemonic ensnarement of the dictatorial regime up to the very last moments of their lives.

The retired Colonel and his sick wife in *No One Writes to the Colonel* are shown by the novelist as optimistic figures who for a long time believe that the state authority would never deceive them. But after some time the wife realizes that the dream of her husband to receive pension would never bear any fruit. Consequently for a long time she opposes her husband and criticizes him to become a puppet in the hands of cruel hearted rulers and suggests him to quit the hope. The aggressive nature of the old woman (Colonel's wife) gradually lost into dust when towards the end of the novel she suffers a lot and forced to be the part of hegemonic entrapment of the then authority like her husband. Talking on this issue the narrator puts forward his ideas as:

During the course of lunch, the Colonel realized that his wife was making an effort not to cry. This certainty alarmed him. He knew his wife's character, naturally hard and hardened even more by forty years of bitterness. The death of her son had not wrung a single tear out of her. He fixed a reproving look directly on her eyelids, on her sleeve, and continued eating lunch.

'You have no consideration,' she said.

The Colonel didn't speak.

'You're 'willful, stubborn, and inconsiderate,' she repeated. She crossed her knife and forks on the plate, but immediately rectified their positions superstitiously. 'An entire lifetime eating dirt, just so that now it turns out that I deserve less consideration than a rooster.'

'That's different,' the Colonel said.

'It's the same thing,' the woman replied. 'You ought to realize that I'm dying; this thing I have is not a sickness but a slow death.' (66)

The woman (Colonel's wife) expresses her hopeless remarks on the tragic situation of her personal health as well as the future of her family legacy. She is more exhausted and feels herself victimized through state driven atrocities and never ending faith of her husband on the shrewd policies adopted by the dictatorial regime of the then era. She again and again reminds her husband that they eat dust (of deception and humiliation) throughout their life with the hope that the authorities would bring greenery of wealth and prosperity in the dry and deserted land of their poor and socially suffocated family legacy. But the outcome of their patience and indefatigable silence is merely the death of their son and the most pathetic end of their hope and life along with social prestige.

The magic entrapment of hegemony forces Alberto and Lt. Gamboa to surrender themselves on the feet of commanding authority in Peruvian Military Academy as fictionalized by Llosa in *The Time of the Hero*. Though both of them seem to be stronger and confident in their report against Jaguar and other authorities in the beginning of the novel but gradually by the ending part of the novel they are either ruled by the consent or coerced by the tricky strategies of the commanders of

the Academy. Lt. Gamboa does not like disciplinary lapses in the Academy, so he supports Alberto to go ahead and report against Jaguar accusing him as the murderer of Arana Slave. But on the other hand the Colonel and other military officers believe that the report would surely expose internal security disorders and other unethical things occurring in the Military Academy as such. In addition to this the senior officers know that this kind of exposition would naturally destroy the reputation of the institution, so they decide to crush it along with the freedom and justice of those who are terrorized by it. One of the commanders among the supporters of Lt. Gamboa quite hopelessly informs him about most shameful actions taken against him (Gamboa) by the senior authority to transfer him because he stands on the side of truth and justice. Informing Gamboa about possible punishment that would be taken against him, the commandant says:

'The Major is very angry with you, Gamboa. So is the Colonel. I advise you to get to the Ministry as fast as you can. They have requested your immediate transfer. I'm afraid the thing is pretty far along, so you haven't got much time. Your fine service record protects you, but you know yourself that influence is always useful in cases like this.'

...'I'm very grateful to you, sir,' he said. 'Can you tell me where they might send me?'

...'I wouldn't be surprised if it was a jungle garrison [barrack]. Or way up in the mountains.'

...'Don't worry, sir,' Gamboa interrupted. 'And thanks again.' (346)

In the statement given above there is an obvious revelation of two divergent attitudes. The Major and the Colonel in the Military Academy apply their coercive strategy of dragging the junior officer Gamboa away from their way so that they can keep their



internal negligence, monopoly, and frivolities unhampered. But on the contrary Lt. Gamboa as shown above is under the feet of towering monopoly and subjugation of high command. Consequently he gives up and surrenders himself by accepting the irritating order of his transfer without any objection. Similar is the situation of the trainee Cadet Alberto who in the beginning takes serious stand to defend his claim that forces the commanders in the Academy to exercise their power and hegemonic ploy for keeping the accuser silent in Arana's murder case. Very soon the Colonel applies the rule of consent on Alberto when he realizes that the situation would be ungovernable and against the prestige of Leoncio Prado Military Academy. In addition to this the corrupt and dominating commanders also try to secure their declining official position from the public vigilance.

The resistance or lower class uprising do not have flourishing and rational end in post conflict Latin American context due to the deprived socio-economic condition of the subordinate groups. As a result the dominating class tends to believe that coercion is their hierarchical legacy or socially approved privilege. Talking on this matter of power exercise an English critic Paul Rabinow in his article known as "The Body of the Condemned" says, 'In Short, this power is exercised rather than possessed; it is not the "privilege" acquired or preserved, of the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic positions- an effect that is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated (*The Foucault Reader*, Rabinow, 174). The positions of dominated groups of people ultimately encourage the dominant class to exercise power on weak and meeks. These powerless common individuals keep silence in the terrifying moments of violence either in the form of physical assault or oral threats from the power holders.

Vergas Llosa in *The Time of the Hero* tries to expose the declining position of junior officer Lt. Gamboa who is forced to surrender himself in front of the high command that compels him to withdraw his case against the killer Jaguar in the name of Academy's reputation. The Captain as a messenger of the Colonel reminds Gamboa not to go ahead otherwise it would be dangerous to his career. Further the captain and the Lieutenant exchange their talks as:

'Bah' Gamboa said scornfully. 'What can they do to me? Besides, I don't care what they do. My conscience is clean.'

'A clean conscience might help you get into heaven ' the Captain said in an amiable voice, 'but it won't help your career. In any case, I'll do what I can to prevent all this from causing you harm. Now, then, what did they decide about the two cadets? '

'The Colonel said they were to return to their barracks.'

'Go and see them. Give them a little advice. Tell them to keep their mouths shut if they don't want a lot more trouble. They're the ones who'll gain the most by forgetting, the whole affair. But watch out for the one you have been protecting. He's plain insolent [rude].' (324)

The commanding authority in the Academy applies innumerable ways to handle down abnormal situation in the institution. The Captain in the above mentioned statement tries to remind Lt. Gamboa that his plain and ethically sound professional career does not work in his institutional enhancement rather it can only assist him to ascend the tiresome ladders to Heaven after his death. Now the speaker (Captain) realizes that the position of the accuser (Gamboa) is not so stronger therefore he applies multiple methods of coercion on him and threatens him to acknowledge his ground reality in the professional field as such.

Although the voice of resistance from dominated individuals do not have wider vibration to crumble down rocky foundations of dictatorial power imposition. But the weapon of unity and spotless war of truth, justice, and ethical response of common people may have greater strength to defeat the monopoly of dictators. Talking on this issue again Picket in his article entitled as "Foucault and the Politics of Resistance "opines:

That is, the very desire for power is to be eradicated from the individual in the name of truth, nature, and society. In order to achieve the "'de -subjectification' of the will to power," that is, in order to liberate the desire to take power, it is necessary to engage in political struggle. During the early 1970s, Foucault repeatedly emphasized that one does not struggle against power to achieve justice; rather one struggles to take power. The notion of the individual as subject, as fixed within a series of hierarchies that limit and constrain, is overthrown through this war for power. (453)

The writer in this passage advocates in favor of poor people. Further he argues that those people who are proud of having commanding position to subjugate weaker people should have to abandon their close attachment to the temporary warmth of power. In place of it they have to adopt the inherently delightful as well as shining path of ever flourishing truth, nature, society and well fare of common individuals through peace and mutual ties. Moreover the writer claims here that one must liberate oneself from the greed of holding power and subjugation of lower class individuals because as Foucault says it is better to ensure every common individual to have some sort of power rather than exercising power to overthrow truth and justice. The process of de-subjectification for dominating groups is naturally very hard to materialize. So it

is the responsibility of dominated people to protest any kind of interpellation through united strength so that they can re-establish and maintain their basic human rights of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.

But again there is a question of above mentioned united strength and access of common people in the administrative and decision making levels where they are almost powerless and in minority. In this research it can be fairly concluded that though there are many opportunities and areas of acquiring power for dominated people but they most often do not have true judgment and enough patience to stand in their claims for a long time. This lack of recognizing right moments to perform right action to gain their liberty and declining state of patience among subordinate groups unfortunately compel them to live under the shadow of power and endure inhuman conditions of life. Similar sort of incidents take place in both of the novels under taken by this researcher where the voice of common individuals like the trainee cadets and the retired Colonel is often unheard of as well as underestimated by the authority. In *The Time of the Hero* Lt. Gamboa and Cadet Alberto cannot defend their claim so strongly in front of the commanding authority of the Leoncio Prado Military Academy in Peru. Both of them have sufficient evidences to prove their allegations carried out against the murderer Jaguar who intentionally kills Arana Slave and conducts many unethical activities in the Academy against helpless cadets.

Alberto and the Lieutenant accumulate enough courage to raise their voice against dictatorial commanders of the Academy in the preliminary phase of the novel. As a result whole the line of commanders including the Colonel himself get frightened due to their internal security lapses and recklessness to run the Academy under accepted military norms. But the story does not end here because the senior commanders in the Academy pretend to show the reputation of the Academy on the

eyes of the common public as spotlessly fair and progressive. So the high command decides to crush rebellious voice of Lt. Gamboa and Alberto by applying the strategic tools of power and hegemonic interference simultaneously. The direct thrust of upper class power imposition falls upon the Lieutenant and the Cadet Alberto who quite surprisingly step back from their prior plans of fighting against institutional domination and anarchy. The Lieutenant and the Trainee Cadet are doubly victimized in the novel as both of them are tortured by the criminal Jaguar and the Commanders as well. Alberto turns back from his stand after the Colonel convinces him by winning his consent in the name of ethical conduct. Here the Colonel entraps the simple Cadet in the hegemonic spell of devoting oneself for the betterment of the Academy. Moreover the Colonel easily wins the consent of the poor Cadet by modifying his attention towards the overall advantage of the Academy rather than thinking personally about himself and his friend. The poor Cadet representing common individuals cannot regulate his claim (though he is true) and ultimately proves himself weaker and helpless in front of the shrewd strategies of powerful commanders.

In the same way the Lieutenant becomes the target of upper class atrocities in the Peruvian Military Academy when he tries to take legal actions against the Murderer Jaguar. As it happens generally the courageous Lieutenant becomes dumb and helpless like Alberto when the senior authority decides for his transfer to the remote jungle camp. This transfer of the devoted junior officer proves that nothing is as powerful as dominating authority in the dictatorial communities as such.

In Marquez *No One Writes to the Colonel* the plight of the protagonist becomes more pathetic and doubly marginalized. Throughout the novel the retired Colonel of Post Civil War Colombian army and his sick wife confront and express their reservations against the then regime. There are many occasions when the

mistrust and the revolting voice of the sick woman against the issue of pension forces the loyal army officer to break his fidelity. But most surprisingly the Colonel often keeps his faith on the regime ahead on the journey of his career and puts his authority in the foremost position even though he is ultimately deceived by it.

## Chapter V: Conclusion: Exposure of Coercive Nature of the State

Nation state is expected to be an ultimate guardian to the people dwelling under its territory. So most often it is the common responsibility of the state to ensure fundamental rights of its citizens. Globally it is believed that the nation state or the supreme authority hardly deceives or neglects the people living under its direct influence. So the common individuals feel themselves secure under the equally shared shelter of national territory and guardianship. The people living inside the geopolitical horizon of a nation state should have reciprocal relationship between themselves and the state mechanism. Thus the state machinery and the people living under the direct influence of it should strengthen their mutual ties within universally agreed norms and values.

Particularly this research project revolves around Latin American and Spanish Post Civil War era when majority of contemporary nation states in this region were under the direct influence of the dictatorial pattern of governance. Talking about dictatorial ways of ruling in Post Civil War period in Latin America, this study mainly concentrates upon two fictional plots representing Peru and Colombia. From Peru the Nobel Laureate Mario Vargas Llosa precedes his journey to the world of institutional coercion through his controversial creation of *The Time of the Hero* and Gabriel Garcia Marquez represents Colombia by presenting his novel *No One Writes to the Colonel*. Both of these novels are set in contemporary Latin American context regarding the issues of state driven atrocities or let's say institutional domination upon powerless individuals that eventually creates terror among subordinate groups.

The issue of institutional coercion on common individuals is dominantly foregrounded by the writers in both of these fictional creations. In *The Time of the Hero* Llosa quite critically highlights the coercive nature of the commanders in

Leoncio Prado Military Academy in Lima. In the Academy poor and helpless trainee cadets like Arana Slave and Alberto are doubly victimized from their own fellow cadets and senior officers as well. The ragging and pranks of Circle members in the barracks show extreme violation of liberty rights and peace of the lower category of cadets. This sort of brutal power exercise upon the weak and innocent cadets by the commanding authority obviously draws our attention towards Post Civil War atrocities of weaker people in Latin American context. The lack of appropriate disciplinary actions and coercive nature of commanding authority in the Military Academy proves to be the casual factor of internal conflicts and bloody assaults among the fellow cadets. Jaguar is the leader of an underground gang of cadets (Circle) particularly involves into criminal activities.

Indirectly Llosa wants to introduce some layers of atrocities endured by the common people in Post Civil War Latin American communities. But especially in this study the common trainee cadets in the Peruvian Military Academy are the dominated subordinates who are compelled to live under the terrific circumstances without complaining. The notion of coercion in the novel can be measured through various parameters. The preliminary glimpse of coercion in the novel is portrayed through the barbaric way of persecuting innocent cadet Arana Slave by his own fellow cadet Jaguar, enhancing his underground actions as the leader of Circle. The atrocities conducted by this group upon poor and helpless trainee cadets cross the boundary when Jaguar quite cruelly kills Arana.

Similarly in the novel the second layer of power imposition is exercised through the institutional coercion of the commanders in the Military Academy after the murder of Arana. The commanders know that Arana's murder is not merely an accident but in order to hide internal disorders and disciplinary lapses in the



Academy, the authority almost strategically diverts the attention of the common individuals from Arana's case. The Colonel and other junior officers except Lt. Gamboa are united in the issue and externally colored it as an accidental death. Lt. Gamboa and the Cadet Alberto know the real story of murder in which Jaguar is the culprit without any doubt. But again there is massive violation of human rights of life, liberty and justice when the authority in the Academy does not allow both of the accusers to report against Jaguar. Here the commanding authority does not permit the accusers to go ahead not because of the fear of Jaguar but because of the fear of an exposition of the declining faith and downward gliding disciplinary regulations in the Academy.

In the same way *No One Writes to the Colonel* is a narrative in which the dignity of the colonel survives the humiliation imposed on him by life and the dictatorial regime of the contemporary era. An anecdote which could occur anywhere and anytime is narrated in a most profound manner. It is a war being waged without barracks or a kind of struggle by man against time. Physically the colonel fights with an old age, illness and, finally, death. The postponement of his death helps him to recall his early days, live again through the past and live with dignity in the present.

Through this novel Garcia Marquez quite successfully incorporates the most pathetic tale of the retired Colonel of the Colombian army during the Post Civil War time. The Colonel and his ailing wife simultaneously represent dominated group of voiceless common individuals in the then era. Both of them are the central focus of the writer who frequently comes forward to alert the readers about unforgettable atrocities of people during the post conflict Latin American era.

*No One Writes to the Colonel* is the depiction of state driven atrocities of common people in contemporary Latin America where basic rights of individuals are

drastically curtailed by the dictatorial regime. To prove this, Marquez, presents the example of the retired Colonel as the protagonist of this novel who serves in the military and got force retirement from the job after being injured in the battle. The military authority assures the Colonel to sanction his pension later. So like many others he is pretty sure about the assurance of the responsible authority of the time. But in this study an issue that prevails predominantly and draws attention of the readers is, fifteen years of hopeful wait of the retired Colonel ultimately becomes fruitless when the faithless regime takes no interest into his case. In addition to this the Colonel's only son is killed by the authority on the basis of a false allegation that he is secretly involved with the freedom fighters of the then Colombia. The retired Colonel and his sick wife are portrayed by the writer as helpless common individuals who are merely used, tortured, secluded, humiliated, and coerced but not taken sympathetically by the atrocious regime of the contemporary period.

This research digs into the bosom of the Post Civil War Latin American socio-political and administrative functions of the dictatorial regimes and dominating conditions of the subordinate people who only obeyed but did not allow to react. This study shows few of the events when dominated groups like the trainee cadets in *The Time of the Hero* and the Colonel's wife in *No One Writes to the Colonel* try to protest against the atrocious nature of the authority. But all of a sudden in both of the novels there is the unnatural exercise of power imposition on aggressive voice of the rebellious groups so as to keep them silent. Power prevails everywhere and overshadows the voice of subordinated groups in both of the novels. Any kind of uprising or contrast voice from the common individuals is directly crushed under the feet of the ruling blocs and the commanding authority often gets higher and supreme position in both of these texts.

## Works Cited

- Althusser, Luis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses." *Mapping Ideology*. Ed. Slavoj Zizek. New York: Verso, 1994. 114.
- Anderson, Scott A. "How Did There Come To Be Two Kinds of Coercion?" *Coercion and the State*. Ed. D. A. Reidy and W.J. Ricker. London: Springer Media, 2008. 01-251.
- Barrett, Michele. "Ideology, Politics, Hegemony From Gramsci to Laclau and Mouffe." *Mapping Ideology*. Ed. Slavoj Zizek. New York: Verso, 1994. 238.
- Brushwood, John S. "Reality and Imagination in the Novels of Garcia Marquez." *Latin American Literature* 12.25 (Jan. -June, 1985): 9-14. Web. 09 Oct. 2012.
- Cahill, Demian. "Hegemony and Neoliberal Historical Bloc." *Hegemony*. Ed. Richard Howson and Kylie Smith, London: Routledge, 2008: 01- 257.
- Fontana, Benedetto. "Hegemony and Power in Gramsci." *Hegemony*. Ed. Richard Howson and Kylie Smith. London: Routledge, 2008: 01- 257.
- Foucault, Michel. "Truth and Power." *Power: Essential Works of Foucault*. Ed. James D. Faubian. London: Penguin, 1994. 120.
- Gill, Stiphen. "Hegemony, Consensus and Trilateralism." *Review of International Studies* 12.3 (July 1986): 205-222. Web. 16 Dec. 2012.
- Hall, Stuart. "The Spectacle of the Other." *Representation*. Ed. Stuart Hall. California: Sage, 1997. 226-290.
- Holland, Nancy J. "Truth as Force: Michel Foucault on Religion, State Power, and the Law" *Journal of Law and Religion*. 18. 1 (2002 - 2003): 79-97. Web.16 Dec. 2012.
- Jimeno, Myrium. "Colombia: Citizens and Anthropologists." *A Companion to Latin American Anthropology*. Ed. Deborah Poole. USA: Blackwell, 2008. 01-519.

- Lacombe, Dany. "Reforming Foucault: A Critique of the Social Control Thesis." *The British Journal of Sociology* 47. 2 (Jun., 1996): 332-352. Web. 3 Oct. 2012.
- Leiser, Burton M. "On Coercion." *Coercion and the State*. Ed. D. A. Reidy and W.J. Ricker. London: Springer Media, 2008. 01-151.
- Lewandowski, Joseph D. "Rethinking Power and Subjectivity after Foucault." *symplok* 3. 2 (Summer, 1995): 221-243. Web. 16 Dec. 2012.
- Llosa, Mario Vargas. *The Time of the Hero*. Great Britain: Faber and Faber, 1967. 01-379.
- Lynch, Richard A. "Foucault's Theory of Power." *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*. Dianna Taylor. India: Acumen, 2011. 01-200.
- Marquez, Gabriel Garcia. *No One Writes to the Colonel*. Trans. J. S. Bernstein. London: Penguin, 1968. 01-69.
- Mignolo, Walter D. "After "Latin" America: The Colonial Wound and the Epistemic Geo-body-Political Shift." *The idea of Latin America*. USA: Blackwell, 2005. 01-182.
- Oviedo, Jose' Miguel and Richard A Valdes. "The Theme of the Traitor and Hero in the Vargas Llosa's Intellectuals and the Military Authors." *World Literature Today* 52.1: 16-24. Web. 09 Oct. 2012.
- Pickett, Brent L. "Foucault and the Politics of Resistance." *Northeastern Political Science Association*. 28.4 (Summer, 1996): 445-466. Web. 3 Oct. 2012.
- Rabinow, Paul. "Truth and Power." *The Foucault Reader*. Ed. Paul Rabinow. London: Penguin, 1991: 01-390.
- Thies, Cameron G. "War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 49. 3 (Jul., 2005): 451-465. Web. 3 Oct. 2012.