

I. Indians and Colonial Mentality

Nasrins' *French Lover*, in its latent level demonstrates the colonial impacts (colonial hegemony) which is still functioning in the mind of Indian people. The Battle of Plassey in 1757, which saw the British, led by Robert Clive, defeat the French and their Indian allies, left the Company in control of Bengal and as the major military and political power in India. In the following decades it gradually increased the size of the territories under its control, either ruling directly or via local puppet rulers under the threat of force from the British Indian Army, the vast majority of which was composed of native Indian sepoys, The Company's conquest of India was completed by 1857. Since then, India had British colony for a century and remained until 1947. During that time Indian people not only physically colonized (direct) but also mentally (indirect) colonized and its impact still lingers there. They think every belonging of the Europeans are splendid and excellent. *French Lover* is a story of Nilanjana, a young Bengali woman from Kolkata who moves to Paris after her marriage to Kishanlal, a restaurant owner. Nilanjana, a female protagonist when first arrived in Charles de Gaulle (French International Airport in Paris), France; she had to be halted so long inside the immigration only because she was a Bengali and had a dark skin, dark hair and dark blue passport. And most importantly she was south Asian. "The reason is the color of skin – it's not white enough and passport – it's not of rich country", Chaitali added (10).

Indian immigrants feel themselves inferior, less potential and subordinated before Europeans despite their immense potentialities. On the other hand, Kishanlal resolved to change the name of his two restaurants that were named after the Indian historical places i.e. Taj Mahal and Lal Killa, believing a change of name would help in his restaurant business. Most of the temporary as well as permanent Indian

immigrants are exposed themselves as feeble. They are getting remuneration for their work in a quite low rate but even they seem to be satisfied and hegemonized in European system of paying money for the same job in quite discriminatory way. That is there are dual rate systems of paying money: one for non-westerners and other for westerners. They do not want to expose their real identity and try to assimilate European way of life in the name of superiority.

After the arrival of Nilanjana in her husband's home, they organized a party among Indian immigrants in the Kishanlal's compartment. There were some debates among them concerning the issues of India. People broke up into two groups. The majority of people couldn't be convinced by their originality and their efficiency. Some people believe India's economy is going in for a massive change in the next ten years. All of Silicon Valleys are in the hands of Indians. But most of them argue against it. They argue "it's a poor country and it will stay poor – the country is corrupted from top to bottom. Only a handful of people have money in their hands – the rest are all dying of hunger. But we have never seen a man died of hunger in India. It's all western propaganda (19). To deal such issues hegemony can be the best means.

Hegemony is a concept previously used by Marxists such as Vladimir Ilyich Lenin to indicate the political leadership of the working class in a democratic revolution, but developed by Gramsci into an acute analysis to explain why the 'inevitable' socialist revolution predicated by orthodox Marxism had not occurred by the early 20th century.

Hegemony, initially a term referring to the dominance of one state within a confederation, is now generally understood to mean domination by consent. This broader meaning was coined and popularized in 1930s by Italian Marxist Antonio

Gramsci, who investigated why the ruling class was so successful in promoting its own interest in society. Fundamentally, hegemony is the power of the ruling class to convince other classes that their interests are the interests of all. Domination is thus exerted not by force, not even necessarily by active persuasion, but by a more subtle and inclusive power over the economy, and over state apparatus such as education and the media, by which the ruling class's interest is presented as the common interest and thus comes to be taken for granted.

The term is useful for describing the success of imperial power over a colonized people who may far outnumber any occupying military force, but whose desire for self-determination has been suppressed by a hegemonic notion of the greater good, often couched in terms of social order, stability and advancement, all of which are defined by the colonizing power. Hegemony is important because the capacity to influence the thought of the colonized is by far the most sustained and potent operation of imperial power in colonized regions. Indeed, an 'empire' is distinct from a collection of subject states forcibly controlled by a central power by virtue of the effectiveness of its cultural hegemony. Consent is achieved by the interpellation of the colonized subject by imperial discourse so that Euro-centric values, assumptions, beliefs and attitudes are accepted as a matter of course as the most natural or valuable. The inevitable consequence of such interpellation is that the colonized subject understands itself as peripheral to those Euro-centric values, while at the same time accepting the centrality.

A classic example of operation of hegemonic control is given by Gauri Viswanthan, who shows how "the humanistic functions traditionally associated with the study of literature – for example the shaping of character or the development of the aesthetic sense or disciplines of ethical thinking – can be vital in the process of

sociopolitical control" (2). Such control was maintained by the British government when it took responsibility for education in India after the Charter Act of 1813. Searching for a method of communicating the values of Western civilization to Indians which avoided offending their Hindu sensibilities, the administration discovered the power of English literature as a vehicle for imperial authority.

The strategy of locating authority in these texts all but effaced the sordid history of colonialist exploitation, material exploitation, and class and race oppression behind European world dominance. The English literary text functioned as a surrogate Englishman in his highest and most perfect state. (23)

This Englishman was, at the same time, the embodiment of universal human values. As Viswanthan puts it the "split between the material and the discursive practices of colonialism is nowhere sharper than in the progressive refraction of the rapacious, exploitative and ruthless actor of history into the reflective subject of literature" (22 - 23). This refractions a precise demonstration of one mode of hegemonic control. It proved a particularly effective one because the discourse of English cultural assumptions, social discrimination, racial prejudices and humanistic values more or less intact.

Taslima Nasreen was born in August 1962 in a Muslim family in Mymensingh, East Pakistan. The area became independent in 1971; her city of birth is now in the country called Bangladesh. Growing up in a highly restrictive and conservative environment, Taslima was fond of literature while she also excelled in science. She started writing when she was fifteen years old, beginning with poetry in literary magazines. Her first book of poetry was published in 1986. Next, she started writing about women's oppression. With no hesitation she criticized religion,

traditions and the oppressive culture and customs that discriminate against women. Because of her attack on Islam, Islamic fundamentalists started lurching campaign against her in 1990, raging street demonstration and processions. In 1993 a fundamentalist organization called soldiers of Islam issued a fatwa against her, a price was set on her head because of her criticism of Islam, and she was confined to her use.

She has written more than thirty books of poetry, essays, novels and short stories in her native language of Bengali. Many have been translated into twenty different languages. Many of her books have been banned in charging that her books hurt people's religious feelings. The numerous prestigious awards she has received in western countries have resulted in increased international attention to her struggle for women's rights and freedom of expression. She has become a symbol of free speech. Her dreams of secularization of society and secular instead of religious education are becoming more accepted and honored by those who value freedom.

Most of her writings deal with the women's oppressions, feminism and male hegemony made over the female, unlike other feminists: Sylvia Plath, Mary Wollstonecraft, Simone De Beauvoir, Virginia Woolf etc. Her writings become one of the great milieu in the fields of feminism. Wherever she lived, she fought for Human rights and Women Rights. Her radical feminism and sever attack on Islamic customs and conviction on religious scripture made her exile from her home country, Bangladesh. The Indian government forced her to live under house arrest and put pressure on her leave country. The real tragedy is that two countries which gave her the oxygen of language have cut her off. It's not the geography alone, but the language escape also. That's the real crime . . . a fish being made to live on land.

Lajja (The Shame), published in 1993, was the first most controversial book written by Taslima Nasrin. This book was banned shortly after its publication. *The Shame*, in which she described the atrocities against Hindu minorities by Muslim Fundamentalists. She really has captured the theme of shameful treatment and atrocities of Muslims over the Hindus. Her main message being - Let humanism be the other name of religion. According to her, the religious scriptures are out of time, out of place and have almost been outdated. Instead of religious laws, she maintains, what is needed is a uniform civil code that accords women equality and justice.

Meybela (My Bengali Girlhood) – a memoir of growing up female in a Muslim world published in 1999. *Meybela* is the story of a young girl born into a middle-class Muslim family of East Pakistan in 1962. Nasrin's father is a former peasant who received a secular education and who now practices as a physician in government employ. He personifies the often torturous plight of many citizens of traditional societies engaged in the effort of secular modernization: He is enlightened enough to believe in the rule of reason above faith, the merits of secular laws over religious ones and importance of education for both men and women. But he can't shake the vestiges of a thousand years of inherited thought, the legacy of lies, cruelty and violence that is often visited upon the weak - women, children and ethnic and religious minorities – in such societies.

Taslima Nasreen, the fiery feminist from Bangladesh who angered the Muslim clergy in her country by questioning the *Koran* and writing about sexuality, has written a brutally honest and brave memoir of her childhood to the age of 14. In *Meybela*, Nasreen depicts with horror the inequality between men and women; the verbal, emotional and physical abuse heaped on female relatives; and the exploitation and humiliation of lower-caste servants. This Moving memoir attempts to

demonstrate how it is possible for young women to reach within themselves and nurture their own spiritual life in spite of the physical and emotional pain that men and traditional bound societies can inflict upon them.

The poems in this modest volume may seem commonplace to Americans who are accustomed to the fiery rhetoric of the civil rights, anti-war and feminist revolutions that this country has weathered over the past few decades. Taslima Nasrin's poetry is not as skilled or literary as Rushdie's writing, but it is more likely to be read and understood by the people who need to hear her message. There is nothing obscure about Nasrin's phrasing, no literary puzzle to be deciphered. Her message is strong and clear and aided by an acerbic wit and straightforward, elemental imagery. Her words cut to the heart of oppression, war, abuse and hypocrisy that she sees all around her. She pleads for clear thinking, compassion and the recognition that a crime against any individual is a crime against society itself, even if it is sanctioned by a government or religious custom.

Taslima Nasrin's *Ka: A Cry Against a book* published on July 31, 2005. In her book, *Ka*, Taslima Nasrin has showed how a freedom-seeking-woman, even educated like her, would struggle in every step of her life. Not only her own, she also has mapped out the sufferings of all the women as a whole, and dug her pen into the root of problems. As a physician in Bangladesh, she experienced how the poor women of the villages were brought to the hospital for legation for only a sari and a 100 taka (less than 2 dollars), even though many of them did not want to do it at the young age. She says, only the very old men of the society, who don't even need it, come for vasectomy. Since women have no say in any part of their lives, they do whatever the men want.

The book is heartbreaking, horrifying, disputable, and extremely moving. It shows if an educated woman like her had to go through so many problems for independence and writing about woman, then how the sufferings of the general villagers, ninety percent of them are illiterate, would actually be. The writer did not fear to criticize the government, the Mullahs, the political situation, the Rajakers—the collaborators of 1971 who are now in power. She also wrote about the good and bad sides of the well-known writers of Bangladesh and West Bengal. But I did not experience any literary dishonesty. Taslima has illustrated the darkness of the society. Probably, this is why the book was banned in both Bangladesh and India. It's a shame.

The author is radical feminist outlook and criticism of Islam had earned the wrath of fundamentalists, since she published her *Lajja*, a severe indictment of the violence unleashed in Bangladesh in the wake of Babri Masjid demolition (in India) and an heartrending account of the sufferings of a Hindu family. In the sequel she wrote — titled *Saram* (in Bengali), the characters are relocated to Kolkata.

The book under research is a translation of that sequel. In Kolkata, young Suranjan visits the writer (in exile) and the story unfolds. As Dr. Sudhamayi Dutt, Suranjan's father, gets cheated of a huge sum of money and dies of shock, the family becomes virtually destitute. The sufferings they undergo at the hands of the fundamentalists are terrible and poignant. The novelist strongly points to the repression and torment of women, and it is universal. The translation is commendable in that it vividly brings out the power and essence of the original.

The prognosis is inevitable. Coming after *Lajja*, the controversial novel that had brought it Bengali author under so much censure, Taslima Nasreen's second novel *French Lover* is bound to draw attention; albeit undue, by a wide margin. Opening on

a direly racist note at the Charles de Gaulle air port in Paris, as newly wed Nilanjana is given the rough ride due all third world citizens entering the hallowed portals of the west, *French Lover* smacks of an extended racism all along. Nilanjana, the young Bengali women from Kolkata has reason for moving to Paris. She didn't want to waste her time waiting for a suitable match in her hometown. So Kishanlal, the rich restaurateur from Paris is the one whom she weds and migrated to Paris. She found initially herself engaged in a gilded cage but she found an outlet when she meets Benoir Dupoint, blond, blue-eyed handsome Frenchman – the doors to a whole new world have opened before her.

In her experiences in the course of living in Paris, she has unfolded the theme of colonial hegemony despite feministic part. First she found herself being doubly hegemonized; first, before the male and second with the European thoughts, assumptions and systems. She has frequently exposed the subordinated version of Non-westerner especially she has focused Indians and other remaining one. Most of the characters she has depicted in her novel are obsessed to be a European and in the name of being European they are ready to do anything. Even we can see the doctor (Bachhu), chemist (Mojammel) have leaved their country in the name of being superior and earning much.

First published in Bengali in 2001 and translated in english by Sreejata Guha in 2002 remarks in the foreword about the book and reflects feministic view which is pivotal theme of the novel, *French Lover*. She writes, "Bold in concept and powerful in execution, *French Lover* is a fascination glimpse into the working of a women's mind as the struggle to come to them with her identity in a hostile world." (I)

The review done on the *French Lover* by the Nyal Daud, the Columnist in *The USA Today* focuses on the ideology of the non-westerners towards their female

counterpart is itself not justifiable. Rather it is the construct of the subordinated mind of male dominated society. Nila sees everywhere the faults.

Taslima Nasreens' *Sodh*, also available in English translation, is a polemic with a tortured plot designed to showcase her view of oppressed women in South Asia. In contrast, *French Lover* is an unsteady exploration into a new culture. Her willingness to see fault everywhere is appealing but her refusal see anything positive is sub-continental culture leaves an imbalance in the book. All writers described flawed humanity, but Nasrin and her characters see more flaws than humanity. (21)

Preceding the critics and reviewers, Ananda Sharma, an Indo-European writer and critic has given his remarks on *Atlanta Journal*, regarding the *French Lover*. He asserts on the issues of education and skills on non-westerners. Despite their higher education and skills that has ultimately no avail, in the lands of westerners.

Apart form the above criticism, remarks and reviews made on *French Lover* by Taslima Nasreen, no one has even touched superficially the issue of European Hegemony in the novel. The research in its inception tries to explore and examine the latent side of colonial hegemony, is still functioning in the mind of Indian immigrants despite their long history of political independence. The present study will attempt to explore the colonial hegemony in the mind of Indian immigrants in the *French Lover* by applying post colonial studies (hegemony) as methodological tools with special reference of Antonio Gramsci.

This research has been divided into four chapters. First chapter deals with an introductory aspect of the study. It further comprises hypothesis, elaboration of statement of problem, general overview of tool analysis, writer's background, themes that the author dealt with and literature review. Second part investigates the

theoretical log frame that is to be effectively applied in the analysis of the novel *French Lover*. Colonial Hegemony is the analytical tool. It further comprises its evolution, development, and its application. Third chapter of this thesis presents textual analysis of the novel, *French Lover* with the application of colonial hegemonic technique in the pertinent and considerable length. And finally, conclusion is the ultimate part of the thesis which concludes the proven postulates and hypothesis along with main points.

II. Colonialism and Hegemony

Colonialism: A form of Domination

Colonialism and Colonies, one country's domination upon another country or people —usually achieved through aggressive, often military, actions — and the territory acquired in this manner. The terms *colonialism* and *imperialism* are sometimes used interchangeably, but scholars usually distinguish between the two, reserving *colonialism* for instances where one country assumes political control over another and using *imperialism* more broadly to refer to political or economic control exercised either formally or informally. It has been practicing since 15th century and its history has almost been 500 years in practice in the different forms.

The term colonialism is important in defining the specific form of cultural exploitation that developed with the expansion of Europe over the last 400 years. Although many earlier civilizations had colonies, and although they perceived their relations what them to be one of that central *Imperium* in relation to a periphery of provincial, marginal and barbarian cultures, a number of crucial factors entered into the construction of the post-Renaissance practices of imperialism. Edward Said argues, "'imperialism' means the practice of theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory; 'colonialism', which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is he implanting of settlements on distant territory" (8).

The scale and variety of colonial settlements generated by the expansion of European society after the Renaissance shows why the term colonialism has been seen to be a distinctive form of the more genial ideology of imperialism. Although Said's formula, which uses 'Imperialism' for the ideological force and 'Colonialism' for the practice, is a generally useful distinction of European colonialism in the post-Renaissance world became a sufficiently specialized and historically specific form of

imperial expansion to justify its current general usage as a distinctive kind of political ideology.

The fact that European post-Renaissance colonial expansion was coterminous with the development of a modern capitalist system of economic exchange meant that the perception of the colonies as primarily established to provide raw materials for the bourgeois economies of the colonial powers was greatly strengthened and institutionalized. It also meant that the relation between the colonizer and colonized was locked into a rigid hierarchy of difference deeply resistant to fair and equitable exchanges, whether economic, cultural or social.

The idea of the 'evolution' of mankind and the survival of the fittest 'race', in the crude application of Social Darwinism went hand in hand with the doctrines of imperialism that evolved at the end of the nineteenth century. The sexist exclusivity of these discourses (man, mankind etc.) demonstrated their ideological alliance with patriarchal practices, as numerous commentators have noted. As a result of these new formulations, colonization could be (re)presented as a virtuous and necessary 'civilizing' task involving education and paternalistic nature. An example of this is Kipling's famous admonition of America in 1899 to "Take up the White Man's Burden's after their war against Spain in Philippines rather than follow their own anti-colonial model and offer the Filipinos independence and nationhood" (323-4).

In this period, and for these reasons, colonialism developed an ideology rooted in obfuscator justification, and its violent and essentially unjust processes became increasingly difficult to perceive behind a liberal processes became increasingly difficult to liberal smokescreen of civilizing 'task' and paternalistic 'development' and 'aid'. The development of such territorial designators as 'Protectorates', 'Trust Territories', 'Condominiums', etc. served to justify the

continuing process of colonialism as well as to hide the fact that these territories where the displaced sites of the increasingly violent struggles for markets and raw materials by the industrialized actions of the west.

In the case of non-indigenous inhabitants of settler colonies, the idea of a cultural inferiority exceeded that of mere provincial gaucheries as race permeated even the construction of 'white' settlers. This was so even for Americans, despite independence and the radical shift in their own power position in the world at large after American industrialization in the late nineteenth century (for example, the presentation of Americans in such late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century texts as Canon Doyle's *Sherlock Holmes Stories*, or Shaw's *Man and Superman*). Thus, the negative construction of self was as important a feature of self-representation for settler colonies as for colonies of occupation where race and the idea of an alien or decayed civilization was a feature of colonial discrimination. By the end of the nineteenth century, colonialism had developed into a system of historical categorization in which certain societies and cultures were perceived as intrinsically inferior.

Even the granting of dominion status or limited independence to white settle cultures was the result of long constitutional and political struggles and was made dependent on the retention of legal and constitutional links with the Crown that limited the right of those societies to conduct their own affairs and to develop their own systems of justice or governance. In such societies, of course, the indigenous peoples were not granted even the most limited form of citizenship under these new constitutional models. Recent attempts to 'offload' the guilt of colonial policies onto the colonial 'settlers' as a convenient scapegoat emphasize the periods when metropolitan government policy was more enlightened than that of the local settlers.

But in general, such ideological discriminations were in no sense alien to the spirit of the metropolitan colonial powers that had set up these colonies, nor did this essentially discriminatory attitude on the part of the 'home' country change after the granting of federal or dominion status. Racial discrimination was, in the majority of cases, a direct extension of colonial policy and continued to receive both overt and covert support from the ex-colonial powers as well as from the newly emerging power of America throughout the period up to and even after the Second World War.

Such policies of racial discrimination reached their nadir in South African apartheid, which had its roots in earlier colonial discriminatory policies (Davidson 1994). In the case of societies where the factor of race was less easily resolved by such internal discriminatory categorizations, the importance of racial discrimination was even more obvious. Amilcar Cabral himself noted that:

The nationalist government in South Africa was able to survive only because it was supported by the investment of those very countries who were supposedly opposed to the regime. Thus, colonialism, far from disappearing as the century goes, too often merely modified and developed into the neocolonialism of the post- independence period.

(49)

In the time of post war especially after Second World War, direct colonialism was gradually disappearing from the world. British and European domination became almost in decline. Colonialism in the verge of decline took a new form of indirect domination called hegemony. This is the indirect and most impressive form of domination by consent.

Hegemony

It would seem appropriate to begin this discussion by asking 'what is hegemony?' It turns out to be a difficult question to answer when we are talking about Gramsci, because, at least within *The Prison Notebooks*, he never gives a precise definition of the term. This is probably the main reason why there is so much inconsistency in the literature on hegemony – people tend to form their own definition, based on their own reading of Gramsci and other sources. The problem with this is that if people's reading of Gramsci is partial then so too is their definition.

For example, Martin Clark has defined hegemony as "how the ruling classes control the media and education" (2). While this definition is probably narrower than usual, it does reflect a common misreading of the concept, namely that hegemony is the way the ruling class control the institutions that control or influence our thought. Most of the academic and activist literature on hegemony, however, takes a slightly broader view than this, acknowledging more institutions than these being involved in the exercise of hegemony – at least including also the military and the political system. The problem is that even when these institutions are taken into account, the focus tends to be exclusively on the ruling class, and methods of control. Hegemony is frequently used to describe the way capitalist classes infiltrate people's minds and exert their domination. Citing Gramsci, Boothman argues:

To understand what Gramsci was trying to achieve through developing his theory of hegemony, it is useful to look at the historical context that he was responding to as well as the debates in the movement at the time. The term 'hegemony' had been in general use in socialist circles since the early 20th century. Its use suggests that if a group was

described as 'hegemonic' then it occupied a leadership position within a particular political sphere. (54)

The term hegemony is useful to analyze the social development since 1920s.

Boothman tries to analyze the real and intense meaning of the Gramsci's term hegemony. It is simply not the active persuasion by consent but a social phenomenon adopted by the capitalistic class.

Lenin's use of the term *gagemoniya* (the Russian equivalent of hegemony, often translated as 'Vanguard'), however, seemed to imply a process more akin to what Gramsci would describe. During his attempts to catalyze the Russian revolution Lenin (1902/1963) made the observation that when left to their own devices, workers tended to reach only a trade union consciousness, fighting for better conditions within the existing system. To bring about revolutionary change, he argued that the Bolsheviks needed to come to occupy a hegemonic position within the struggle against the tsarist regime. The means not only empowering the various union by bringing them together, but also involving all of society's opposition strata in the movement, drawing out the connections between all forms of "political oppression and autocratic arbitrariness" (86-87).

In the post-revolutionary period, however the implication changed. Lenin argued that it was crucial to the establishment of the 'hegemony of the proletariat' that (a) the urban proletariat retain an ongoing alliance with the rural peasant (who made up the majority of Russia's population) in order to retain national leadership and (b) that the expertise's of the former capitalists be utilized, by forcing them to effectively manage state industries. These dual processes of leadership via consent and command of force in the development of hegemony would play crucial role in Gramsci's theory.

Gramsci had been in Russia from 1922-23. While these debates were raging and it was after this time that we see hegemony begins to take a central role in his writings.

Gramsci in his book *The Prison Notebook* very diplomatically portrait the persuasion of the colonial elements. First of all, colonizers use their massive amount of intellect in the military force for the direct hegemony and later phase it will become a most pervasive and psychological and latent. Gramsci commented in his book, *The Prison Notebook* that:

Do international relations precede or follow (logically) fundamental social relations? There can be no doubt that they follow. Any organic innovation in the social structure, through its technical military expression, modify organically absolute and relative relations in the international field too.(23)

He interrogates on the issue of suicidal role of international which is more fatal in relationship. Not only the military relation but also the capitalistic means colonizer colonizes the mind of ordinary people in the developing countries. After the fall of direct colonialism they started to hegemonize the mind of colonized one.

Hegemony as a New form of Domination.

So far as the concept of dominating the people directly has ended, the form of colonialism has already taken its new form known as Hegemony which is not obvious as direct colony. Even they are not in existence overtly, but still they are convincing people to follow them and still succeeding to pave their market to them. Literally, "New-colonialism", the term was coined by the first President of Independent Ghana, and the leading exponent of Pan-Africanism, Kwame Nkrumah in his *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965). This title, which developed Lenin's definition of Imperialism as the last stage of capitalism, suggested that,

Although countries like Ghana had achieved technical independence, the ex-colonial powers and the newly emerging superpowers such as the United States continued to play a decisive role through international monetary bodies, through the fixing of prices on world markets, multinational corporations and cartels and a variety of educational and cultural corporations and cartels and a variety of educational and cultural institutions. (75)

Hegemony, at first a term referring to the dominance of one state within a society, is now commonly understood to mean domination by agreement. This broader meaning was coined and popularized in 1930s by Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, who found out why the ruling class was so successful in diffusing its own interest in society. Fundamentally, hegemony is the ability of the ruling class to convince other classes that their interests are the interests of all. Domination is in this way done not by force, but by a more acute and inclusive power over the economy, education and the media, by which the ruling class's interest is presented as the common interest.

Hegemony was a concept previously used by Marxists such as Vladimir Ilyich Lenin to indicate the political leadership of the working class in a democratic revolution, but developed by Gramsci into an acute analysis to explain why the 'inevitable' socialist revolution predicated by orthodox Marxism had not occurred by the early 20th century. Capitalism, it seemed, was even more entrenched than ever. Capitalism, Gramsci suggested, "Maintained control not just through violence and political and economic coercion, but also ideologically, through a hegemonic culture in which the values of the bourgeoisie became the 'common sense' values of all". Thus a consensus culture developed in which people in the working class identified their

own good with the good of the bourgeoisie, and helped to maintain the *status quo* rather than revolting.

The working class needs to develop a culture of its own, which would overthrow the notion that bourgeois values represented 'natural' or 'normal' values for society, and would attract the oppressed and intellectual classes to the cause of the proletariat. Lenin held that culture was 'ancillary' to political objectives but for Gramsci it was fundamental to the attainment of power that cultural hegemony be achieved first. In Gramsci's view, any class that wishes to dominate in modern conditions has to move beyond its own narrow 'economic-corporate' interests, to exert intellectual and moral leadership, and to make alliances and compromises with a variety of forces. Gramsci calls this union of social forces a 'historic bloc', taking a term from Georges Sorel. This bloc forms the basis of consent to certain social order, which produces and re-produces the hegemony of the dominant class through a nexus of institutions, social relations and ideas. In this manner, Gramsci developed a theory that emphasized the importance of the superstructure in both maintaining and fracturing relations of the base.

Gramsci stated that, in the West, bourgeois cultural values were tied to religion. And therefore much of this polemic against hegemonic culture is aimed at religious norms and values. He was impressed by the power Roman Catholicism had over men's minds and the care the Church had taken to prevent an excessive gap developing between the religion of the learned and that of the less educated. Gramsci believed that it was Marxism's task to marry the purely intellectual critique of religion found in Renaissance humanism to the elements of the reformation that had appealed to the masses. For Gramsci, Marxism could supersede religion only if it met people's needs, and to do so people would have to recognize it as an expression of their own

experience. For Gramsci, "hegemonic dominance ultimately relied on coercion, and in a 'crisis of authority' the 'masks of consent' slip away, revealing the fist of force" (22).

Antonio Gramsci is an important figure in the history of Marxist theory. While Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel's provided a rigorous analysis of capital at the social and economic level – particularly showing how capital antagonizes the working class and gives rises to crisis – Gramsci supplemented this with a sophisticated theory of the political realm and how it is originally dialectically related to social and economic conditions. He provides us a theory of how the proletariats must organize politically if it is to effectively respond to capital's crises and failures, and bring about revolutionary change.

Italy: Origin and its Conceptual Development

As much as he was influenced by what was going on Russia, Gramsci was also influenced by his own political experiences. Gramsci had been heavily involved in the struggle against capitalism and fascism in Italy and for while served as the leader of the Communist Party of Italy. In the period following the World War I, there had been a lot of, optimism in Europe and Italy in particular that now that people had seen that atrocities that the ruling classes could unleash and the alternative that was developing in Russia, some kind of worker's revolution in Europe was imminent. Gramsci certainly shared this optimism. Events that took place in the early 1920s seemed to confirm this. Tensions aula strata of society were high, there were mass agitations and people were forming factory councils and workers cooperatives. But despite the intensity of the mobilizations, it fizzled out remarkably quickly. Unions were co-opted workers co-ops became marginal and uncompetitive. Common people were intimidated by elites or otherwise captivated by the allure of fascist rhetoric.

Gramsci and other formed the Italian Communist Party to try to reinvigorate the movement, but it was evident that people were too disillusioned by the failure of the previous years to really become involved. Vote for the Communist party were disappointingly low. When Gramsci was arrested in 1926 as a part of Mussolini's emergency measures, he found himself in prison with a lot of time to reflect on that had happened and where things went wrong. How was it that the ruling class had been able to so effectively stifle that potential of the movement, and what would be required for the progressive forces to mobilize the masses in a way that would enable them to bring about a fundamental change in society? The question would of course be central of Gramsci's theory to hegemony.

Stages of Hegemony

As suggested above in *The Prison Notebook* Gramsci refers to hegemony to describe activities of both currently dominate group as well as the progressive forces. For Gramsci, whatever the social group is, we can see that there are certain common stages of development that they must go through before they can become hegemonic. Gramsci then goes on to state that there are three level of political development that a social group must pass through in order to develop the movement that will allow change to initiate.

The first of these stages is referred to as 'economic corporate'. The corporatist is what we might understand as the self-interested individual. People become affiliated at the economic – corporate stage as a function of this self-interest, recognizing that they need the support of others to retain their own security. Gramsci writes:

Trade unionism is probably the clearest example of this, at least in the case of people joining a union for fear of pay cuts, retrenchment etc.

one can also speak of short term cooperation between otherwise competing capitalists in these term. (31)

In the second stage, group members become aware that there is a wider field of interests and that there are others who share certain interests with them and will continue to share those interests into the foreseeable future. It is at this stage that a sense of solidarity develops, but this solidarity is still only one on the basis of shared economic interests. There is no common world view or anything of this nature. This kind of solidarity can lead to attempts to promote legal reform to improve the group's position within the current system.

It is only by passing through the third stage that hegemony really becomes possible. In this stage, the social group members become aware that their interests need to be extended beyond what they can do within the context of their own particular class. What is required is that their interests are taken up by other subordinate groups as their own. This was what Lenin and the Bolsheviks were thinking in forming an alliance with the peasants – that it was only through making the Bolshevik revolution also a peasants' revolution, which peasants could see as being their own, that the urban proletariat could maintain its leading position.

Gramsci reckoned that in the historical context that he was working in, the passage of a social group from self-interested reformism to national hegemony could occur most effectively via the political party. In this complex formulation, the different ideologies of allied groups come together. There will inevitably be conflict between these ideologies and through a process of debate and struggle, one ideology, or a unified combination thereof, will emerge representing the allied classes. This ideology can be said to be hegemonic, the group that it represents has acquired a hegemonic position over the subordinate groups. At this stage, the party has reached

maturity, having a unity of both economic and political goals as well as a moral and intellectual unity one might say a shared world view.

Progressive Hegemony

Gramsci considers these pragmatic moves as being requirements for any group to come to power; he also has a very deep ethical concern for the way in which process occurs. In this sense, he detected a qualitative difference between the operations of hegemony on regression, authoritarian groups on the one hand, and progressive social groups on the other. At an ethical level, Gramsci was above all else an anti-dogmatist believing that truth could not be imposed from the top down, but only made real through concrete and sympathetic dialogue with people. Where a regressive hegemony involves imposing a set of non-negotiable values upon the people, chiefly through use of coercion and deceit, a progressive hegemony will develop by way of democratically acquired consent in society.

The 20th century saw capitalism massively expand this form of consensus, largely through the corporate control of the media and advertising. In the United States in particular, the promotion of the 'American Dream' and all of the useless commodities required attaining it. Served not only to massively boost consumption and thereby the economic interests of the capitalists, it also sold a way of life which only capitalism could deliver.

Progressive hegemony generally involves through the consent of the people. The ruling class generally begins to extend their ideology through the technology. Initially it seems totally in the behalf of the ordinary people but ultimately they accustomed to practice their system and thinks that was their own. Second most important way to extend progressive hegemony is that they start to colonize culturally through the different social and cultural phenomena.

Syndicalism

Certain forms of trade unionism can also be seen as examples of capitalist hegemony, what Gramsci calls syndicalism – the view that the conditions of the workers can be maximally uplifted via the increasing power of the trade unions – reflects a social group (the workers) left in the economic-corporate stage of development due to the hegemonic influence of capitalists, specifically free trade advocates, in the realm of ideology. The free trade advocates argue that the state and civil society should be kept separate, that the state should keep out of the economic sphere, which functions autonomously -leave it to the invisible hand of the market and so on. The syndicalism had adopted this assumption of an arbitrary separation of the social and economic realms on the one hand and the political realm on the other and assumes that they could bring about radical change without political representation.

Lenin's communist revolution was successful by forming the trade unions and unification of the grass root poor peasant. He strongly believed on the power of unified proletariat. He announces the unification by saying,

Proletariats are in disperse situation, they are being the slave of so called capitalism of the feudal society. As a brick is an essential part of the building, the collection of bricks can mount a mansion, unity is the power and power can demolish the feudalistic system and peasant can regain their system. So it is indispensable to be united all the peasant of Russia to demolish and develop our nation. (2)

Lenin, thus, emphasizes on the unity of trade union. He unified the people by consent that seems to be welfare of the common people. But it has hidden motifs i.e. hegemony. Hegemony can be the best model to persuade the people for the mass movement.

On a simple level, this can mean legislating to allow police to creak down on workers taking industrial action, who threaten profits in an immediate sense. But a far bigger threat to the capitalist is the development of a hegemonic alternative within civil society. The threat is that people will move from the economic-corporate phase, and recognize that their interests overlap with all of those whom capitalism marginalize and holds back, that they will come to recognize their power and demand radical change. This being the greatest threat to capital, the most effective way or it to use coercion is to break apart emerging progressive alliances between subordinate groups.

Democracy and Consensus:

Gramsci saw the development of a progressive hegemony involving a far greater degree of openness, democracy and consensus, rather than coercion. In so far as there is coercion, it should only exist to hold back those reactionary forces that would thwart society's development. A large part of *The Prison Note Book* is devoted to figuring out what would be required for this kind of hegemony to develop and a lot of Gramscian thinkers since have devoted themselves to this puzzle.

As starting point, we can say that while the existing hegemony tries to keep all the disaffected and subordinate social groups divided the emergent progressive hegemony must bring them together. Gramsci certainly recognized the challenge involved in this. In his own historical situation (and as is undoubtedly still the case in ours), there were considerable barriers between the marginalized group in terms of experiences, language and world view. Gramsci further comments,

What all of these groups had in common, however, was that none of them had adequate political representation within the current system.

Gramsci calls these groups that lack political representation 'subaltern'.

The challenges of the hegemonic group are to provide a critique of the system such that subaltern groups are made aware of their commonality and then raised up into the political life of the party. (76)

According to Gramsci democracy is the best method of hegemony by consent. So, democracy is the new form of domination of the people. Democracy no doubt includes the consents of all people but it ultimately supports the views of capitalist. There would be no adequate political representation.

If these aligned forces are to have any historical signification; they need to be enduring and organically related to conditions on the ground not merely a temporary convergence. To develop mass momentum they would need to demonstrate, both in people's imagination and in the action that they were capable of coming to power and achieving the tasks they had set for themselves. These tasks must effectively be everyone's tasks – they must come to represent every aspiration, and be the fulfillment of the failed movements of the previous generations.

Clearly this is no small ask, and Gramsci is certainly not of the view that one can just implement these strategies as though reading from a manual. What is called for is for rigorous work on the ground laying the moral and intellectual terrain upon which these historical developments can occur. One develops the unity, self-awareness and maturity of the movements making a powerful and cohesive force and then patiently, with careful attention to the contextual conditions wait for the opportune moment for this force to be exerted.

Edward Said, Jerusalem born American cultural critic, writer in his book *Orientalism* has clearly exhibited that it's all the way that the westerners are creating the clear distinction between east and west to dominate the easterners. According to

him it is all the way that they represent the east as orient to dominate and hegemonize the dwellers of the east.

The Western scholars furnished an orient that was immobile, aberrant, supine, exotic an orient , in short , ripe of possessions, and which possession would only improve. Orientalism led the west to see eastern culture as static both in time and place, as eternal, uniform and incapable of defining itself. This gave Europe a sense of its own cultural and intellectual superiority. (107)

The representation of non-western by the westerns is fatal in its root. They represent them as immobile, uncivilized and so on in order to dominate them. Non-western world is represented as a land of morons, barbaric and needs to be reformed. And that is the burden of white people.

Similarly Abdel Melek expresses itself through and "ethnist typology . . . and will soon proceed with it towards racism" (56). The second thesis, on the other hand, derived from the writings of Michel Foucault, especially his notion that academic disciplines do not simply produces knowledge but also generate power. Said uses Foucault to argue that,

Orientalism helped produce European imperialism. No more glaring parallel exists between power and knowledge in the modern history of philology than in case of Orientalism. Thus orient was created or ritualized through the power relationship between occident and orient. The relationship is that of power, of domination of varying degrees of complex hegemony. (13)

Contrapuntal and contrapuntally are words that Edward Said uses to describe both the relationship between culture and imperialism, and the way that relationship may be

apprehended. In essence: there are two thematic principals in culture, one dominant, and one subordinate (less visible), but crucially these two themes operate in an interdependent and highly dynamic manner. Specifically, Said is interested in examining the "interacting experience that links imperializers with the imperialized. (*Culture and Imperialism* 194).

Black Skin, White Masks is a 1952 book written by Frantz Fanon originally published in French as *Peau noire, masques blancs*. In this study, Fanon uses psychoanalysis and psychoanalytical theory to explain the feelings of dependency and inadequacy that Black people experience in a White world. He speaks of the divided self-perception of the Black Subject who has lost his native cultural originality and embraced the culture of the mother country. As a result of the inferiority complex engendered in the mind of the Black Subject, he will try to appropriate and imitate the cultural code of the colonizer. The introduction starts with: "I am talking of millions of men who have been skillfully injected with fear, inferiority complexes, trepidation, servility, despair, abasement" (IV).

We can equally cite Edward Said, Frantz Fanon, and Antonio Gramsci for the further contextual application of the tool. All through the book we found the representation of the east by the west. In the novel once when Nila went to have a dinner with her friend's home, Nicoel, there was going to be a documentary on India.

The entire screen was filled by an empty steel plate with holes in it. The camera zoomed out, the plate grew smaller and the screen was filled with bare feet, walking. Now it zoomed out further, bare feet, bare bodies, an eight-years-old boy walked, with snot hanging from his nose. He shoved the empty plate at the people around him, begging. There were more beggars behind this one. The streets were crowded

with a broken tram rattling away; the dilapidated buses and trucks were shoving their nose into a crowd. (94- 95)

India doesn't just have all that poverty. There are many rich people, many middle class people. But the TV channel wouldn't be interested in the rich people of India. If they want riches, they will show Bill Gates. Even there are so many peoples all over the European live in such sub human lives. There are so many, hurdles, misery but they do not made them cheap propaganda. But the poverty, hunger and subhuman condition are all the western propaganda to subordinate non western world.

Naipul alluded to this more recent work *A Million Mutinies* and more directly in his article for the *Los Angeles Times* in 1996, he wrote:

But every Indian knows precisely what is happening: deep down he knows that larger response is emerging to their historical humiliation. The new Hindu attitude, the new sense of history being attained by Hindus, is not like Mohammedan fundamentalism. Which is essentially a negative, last-ditch effort to fight against a world it desperately wishes to join" and In India the talent is prodigious, really and it increases year by year. (9)

And in sheer numbers, in another ten years, India will probably be one of the world's most intellectually gifted countries. The equality and the numbers are extraordinary, and I think this makes India extraordinary. But India should not have fantasies about the past. The past is painful, but it should be faced. We should make ourselves see how far these old invasions and wars had beaten India down and how far we have come.

III. Colonial Hegemony in Nasrin's *French Lover*

Colonial Mentality in Nasrin's *French Lover*

Since the time of exploration, colonialism has emerged. But it took its mature form in 15th century. Colonialism by its history started from Europe especially from Britain. Since then they become masters and other become slave and these slave people are every time represented by their masters, Europeans. After the post war period especially after the decade of 1950, the direct colonialism began to collapse from the world. As its direct impact was about to over from the world they started new form of domination called hegemony.

By hegemony they begin to colonize the people. For that they create hierarchy, in the ruling system, especially cultural hierarchy makes people think inferior. Everywhere in the world, colonial agents made such hierarchy that their culture, system, norms, religion and whatever they possess are excellent and better. Moreover these construct made them civilized and others being barbaric and uncivilized. These construct remained for long even more than century. The passage of time and exercise of their system made aboriginal accustomed to live and assimilate the colonial system as their own. In the novel, Nila when arrives in Charles De Gaulle airport in France she has to halt and bear the misbehavior of French people, she interrogates about it and Chaitali responds like,

Nilá wasn't happy with that. 'What was the reason for that misbehavior?'

'The reason is the color of your skin – it's not white enough.'

Before Sunil finished speaking, Chaitali added, 'And your passport – it's not of a rich country'. (10)

Nilanjana, a newly married bride of Kishanlal was really stunned of the misbehavior. But she got unexpected answer from the Chaitali who had been living in Paris since long. Their brains are clearly washed with the colonial mentality. Chaitali said Nila had passport but it was not of rich country like European. And European thinks black skinned people are slaves for them and do not honor them rather they give torture and probe them cautiously.

Most of the Indian emigrants have totally colonial mentality even for their own country, culture, customs and anything they possess. They could not be assured in their own country and their mother land. Once there was party organized in the house of Kishanlal, the Indian emigrants were talking about India and underestimate their country.

No one noticed, but the roomful of people broke up into smaller groups. Rajesh and Tariq were in one group.

'India's economy is going in for a massive change in the next ten years.'

'Nonesense! It's poor country and it'll stay poor – the country is corrupt from top to bottom.'

'All of Silicon Valley is in the hands of the Indians and even Europe is trying to lure software professionals from India.'

'Only a handful of people have money in their hands – the rest are all dying of hunger.'

'Population is killing the country'. (19)

India has ancient history of independence and has immense potentiality to thrive amongst the countries in the world. The group clearly breaks into the two. Only few of them are convinced of their country and argue India is emerging as super power in the world within a decade. Its immense potentialities on human resource and

economic growth will ultimately hit the history. But most of them argue it's a poor country and it'll remain poor and it is corrupted from top to bottom and how can it be so. Only handfuls people are rich and rest are dying of hunger. They have really not been convinced by their countries' progress and underestimate like Europeans.

Krishna ran two restaurants in Paris. His business of restaurant was going to bankrupt. He didn't probe its hidden reasons but literally thinks it probably by its name which is named after the Indian historical places i.e. Lal Killa and Taj Mahal. He thinks the change of name would help. Actually there is nothing to do with the name rather there might be the food items and quality of cook. His view on this is:

Kishan ran two restaurants. One was called Taj Mahal at Montparanasse and the othrer was called Lal Killa in the fifteenth arrondissement. The latter wasn't doing too well. Kishan believed a change of name would help.

'Try to think of a new name for it,' he told her. (25)

Kishan poured himself a glass of Scotch and relaxed on the couch. As he drank he told her that his restaurant, Lal Killa, was going to bankrupt. The name would have to be changed very soon. Nila couldn't really understand how a change of name would rejuvenate the business. When she asked as much, Kishan laughed and said, 'You won't understand these things.' We can see the impact of colony and its system has made the mind of Indians like a colonizer.

Most of the Indians move to Europe and assimilate themselves as European and begin to learn European system of life. First, they are hegemonized that if they come in Europe they will have good opportunity to earn handsome amount. Second, Europe is the land of tapestry. Most people believe going Europe is the gate way of

success. But in fact it is not so what they feel like. Mojammel laments before Nila and discloses his plight and his Indian colleague. He discloses:

Mojammel scratched his head and said, 'Didi, these are not things we can hide. Everyone knows how the poor young boys from our country come here, how they stay, what they do . . .'

'Isn't it possible without such lies?'

'No. if I say that I'm educated and I was jobless in Dhaka, that I want to work here, build myself a healthy, beautiful life, the kind of life that everyone dreams of, they'd just throw me out of the country. Political asylum they may just allow, but economic asylum – never!' (33)

He clearly discloses his plight, his way of leaving, their hardships and financial and legal tension. Most of the emigrants are well educated in their country and willingly exiled to Europe in the name of getting more money and better life. Its all the hegemonic concept made by European colony.

Nial when started to live autonomous life in Paris, she didn't have any private vehicle for the transport. So she frequently used public transport like public buses and metro trains. One day two inspectors boarded to check the tickets. They examined only the ticket of Nila because she had brown skin and anyone could distinguish that she is non-westerners. There is concept that only these people cheat. After the great hassle made on Nila, Nila commented:

That day Nila saw something that she had never seen in a bus before.

Two inspectors boarded the bus to check tickets. Nila sat right at the back of the bus. The white man came straight to her and asked for the ticket. She couldn't remember if she'd kept it in her trouser pockets or

jacket pockets. She dug into all her pockets and many tickets came out.

The inspector took each of them and discarded them as old ones (115).

The habit of oppression towards the non-whites is passing over generation to generation. White people are so racist that they every second prejudice white and black. Blacks are the serves and whites are the masters of the black. Blacks have no consciences to imply in their lives.

Benoir in the Nila's compartment commented that Paris is live paradise where even poor can survive their satisfied life. Paris can compensate to the poor. He further comments that whatever you gave to Paris, the city paid you back in full. Hemingway was poor when he was living in Paris but he was elated.

The wine was over. Benoir refilled both the glasses. Nila finished half the glass in one gulp and continued, 'But Benoir, Hemingway said something really valuable: staying in Paris was never in vain.

Whatever you gave to Paris, the city paid you back in full. Of course those were the old days. Paris was like that in those days Hemingway and others may have been poor, but they were happy. (181)

When Nila, once encountered with Morounis, Indian born French girl, she desperately asked her in Indian language supposing her she is Indian. But her hope turned into despair with in a moment when she responded in French. Nila initially supposed she might be Tamil or Malayalam. But she replied she is French and has no relation with India but she knows she was born in India. Nila thinks she is also like other hegemonized Indians who do not prefer to say themselves as Indians rather prefers to be French. Nila converses,

The girl replied, 'French.'

Nila was prepared for Tamil or Malayalam. 'Aren't you Indian?'

'No.'

'Then where are you from?'

'France.'

Nilá was curious, 'Where were you born?'

'In India.'

Nilá laughed. Foreigners dubbed themselves French the minute they got their citizenship and they forgot all about their country. (189)

Nilá supposes Mouronous unlike other Indians but her history is no similar like Indian emigrants. She was born in India but up brought and educated in France. She was adopted by French couple in her infancy stage. So she didn't know anything about her birth place. Even she had not been to India after her arrival to Paris.

When Nilá and Nenoír went to the museum Nial's eyes feasted her eyes on the art of Africa and Egypt. She asked why they didn't return back their treasure to the respective countries. She thought the colonialism had almost over from there. But Benoir represented himself as an offspring of colonizer and said these things only survive in Paris. It is the place of excellency. Every one can make their secure room for.

The next day she went there and feasted her eyes on the art of Egypt, Greece and Africa. Nilá said, 'Now there is no colonialism. Why don't they return these precious pieces to their respective countries?'

Benoir said, 'These things have survived because we have preserved them. In their own countries they wouldn't have lasted'. (269)

We can clearly see the colonial hangover is still functioning in the mind of European people. They think they are still superior and will be so in future. They are the masters ever. Benoir here represents himself as an agent of masters and they must at any cost

be superior to others. Egyptian and African art can only be preserved in Paris and can have value but it has no avail and value in their respective country.

Nila had celebrated Benoir's birthday party very nicely. She has arranged very long menu for the birthday party. She has planned to invite her guests along with Indians. She has prepared the Indian table for the guests. She has almost invited the no-westerners in the birthday party; Where Benoir was displeased with her arrangements. Benoir no longer can stay with such non-whites and slaves. But he doesn't comment about it before the guests. He was really fuming with despair. He just wanted to celebrate his birthday party with Nila. But in the name of honoring and making Benoir happy Nila had arranged it all. During that day Niala and Mojammel talked more about their pangs.

Nila held the fort with Mojammel, Jewel and Modibo even after Benoir retired to bed. Mojammel told her about Bachhu, the cook. He didn't get his papers in France and so he was off to Italy. He had to pay the agent a hefty amount to get his papers for Italy. The agent told him what to do, when to run and when to jump. Just before entering Italy, Bachhu had jumped off the train in the dark – as was the rule. Once the train was gone, he was supposed to urn on the tracks and hide in the bushes if another train came along. (275-6)

They are really subordinated before the European. They even ready to die for the sake to living European life. Bachhu, the doctor did not get his paper in France and got his way to Italy by paying huge amount to agent. But he has died of the train accident while jumping from the train to make an attempt to escape from the police.

Non Western World and its Representation in *French Lover*

To further understand the phenomenology of civilization inquest, we need to further understand the Macaulayite ideology. Macaulay was that true embodiment of the utter revulsion of the Christian/ European Empire towards the Indian culture/heritage. A distaste Macaulay nourished in consonance with other prominent European thinkers; Hegel, Karl Marx, Max Muller, Monier Williams and Husserl, here are some excerpt from Thomas Macaulay's writings, "

The entire Screen was filled by an empty steel plate with holes in it. The camera zoomed out, the plate grew smaller and the screen was filled with bare feet, walking. Now it zoomed out further, bare feet, bare bodies, an eight-year-old boy walked, with snot hanging from his nose. He shoved the empty plate at the people around him, begging. There were more beggars behind this one. The streets ere crowded with a broken tram rattling away, the dilapidated buses and trucks were shoving their nose into the crowds, and amidst it all were scattered a few starving cows. (95)

Of course it is all the western propaganda that it becomes worse and its belongings are not worthy. The construct of the west has more validation. According to Edward Said, India is the land of Moron. Non-westerners are sub-humans who are living sub-human lives. Mass media now become an agent of indirect colony i.e. hegemony. It is showing the sub- human condition of Indian people but there is not only such sub-humanity but also exuberant and better way of life.

'Do you know the significance of such an important channel showing a film on India?'

'Danielle,' Nila's voice broke, 'India doesn't just have all that poverty.

There are many rich people, many middle-class families. . .'

Danielle laughed, 'But the TV channel wouldn't be interested in the rich people of India! If they want riches, they'll show Bill Gates.

Besides, it's good for India if they focus on the poverty, she'll get more aid'. (97)

Danielle assures Nila that it has great significance to India. It is European's duty to civilize an Orient. TV Channels are not interested in the rich people of India. They ignore immense potentiality of the India in IT sector as well as natural resources. If they need to show the rich people they will show Bill Gates. Such presentation on TV about helps India to receive more aid. But No-westerners need no aid rather they need their own originality. They need to flourish their own human resource and natural resource.

Representation is one of the key issues to dominate the third world. They have paved their media's network through out the world out to show their subordinated culture, their way of life and system of government. Especially they present the issues of non-westerners in their won accord.

'Your husband beat you – what did he use, whip, sticks or his belt . . .?'

'My husband has never laid a finger on me.'

Cut.

Rita raised her hand and stopped the camera she came up to Nila, knelt down in front of them and said, 'Perhaps you didn't understand my question, Nila.'

Nila was in awkward position. Rita noticed her discomfort and shouted for some water. Ann l'Or ran and got a glass of water. Nola wasn't

thirsty, but she had to drink it and she kept half of it at hand for later.

(124)

Once, Nila was called for Interview by Rita who is expert in third world documentary. Nila then went for interview with the help of Danielle. She was repeatedly asked non-sense question about Indian women. When Nila responds innocently and factually, Rita repeatedly said 'cut' and asked if she did not get the point of Rita. Nila had to say what was the stereotypical construct of Westerners over Non-westerners. They constructed the orient but did not update it in the course of time. It remains as primitive as it was and still they are making this to subordinate them.

Rita's next question, 'I've heard of the custom of sati in your land. So when your husband dies, you'll have to jump into his pyre, right?'

'That is an ancient custom and it was banned in the last century.'

'It's customary to pierce the girls' clitoris in India. So what percentage of girls have this done to them?' (125)

The system of jumping into the pyre of her husband is already outdated since long. But it is still in the mind of European and consisting that it has not been abolished from the Hindu tradition. According to Nila they should update their file of history and mind. Even if Nila's deny to the issues which has been asked by Rita she is forcing Nila to respond as Rita's accord.

They represent not only culture, customs and system but also the art and artist. Representation is the most progressive way to demoralize and hegemonize the Indian people. They make Rabindra Nath Thakur to Rabindra Nath Tagore so that it could be better for them to pronounce. Even they made Sagarmath to Mount Everest. When Moronis asked to Nila about Tagore Nilas said:

Morounis asked, 'Was Tagore an artist like Miro and Changall?'

Nilá said, 'His name isn't Tagore, the correct pronunciation is Thakur, Rabindranath Thakur, Since the British couldn't pronounce it, they made it Tagore'. (196)

It is all the European people's construct to represent non westerns. They make it for their own accord so that it would be easy for them to say or even to marginalize Indian. Morounis is an Indian born French girl adopted by French couple. She didn't know about Indian costume and all other things.

Representation of non-westerners is each and every step subordinated representation. Benoir desperately repeats food is no big deal for him rather he has more valuable works that he has to do. Indian people are dying for starvation. So they have big value of rice. Benoir responded when Nilá asked to eat his lunch,

'You have it.'

'Won't you eat? You must be hungry. Did you have lunch?'

'Sandwiches.'

'That's all? Come and eat.' Nilá pulled him by the hand.

Benoir pulled his hand away and said, 'Eating is no big deal to me, it may be to you. There's nothing more valuable to you than rice because half your country starves to death'. (229)

Benoir is in great hurry to go somewhere and Nilá asked him to have his lunch.

Instead of his good response he desperately said its Indians who have big deal with rice because they don't have sufficient food to eat. They are dying of starvation. It's all the issues of westerners. We have not seen any Indian died of starvation.

Assuredly, to encourage the study of a literature admitted to be of small intrinsic value, despite its inculcation of the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is courage hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with the

very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be preserved . . . the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable". " All the historical information, which can be collected from all the books which have been written in the Sanskrit language, is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgement used at the preparatory schools in England" (25).

For many years India was ruled by the British. They wanted to make us believe that we were very mediocre people, not equal to them in knowledge, sophistication or anything and we were fit to be slaves and nothing else. Of course, this wasn't true. It was said just to fool the people of India. (265)

Indian people are average people who have no potentiality to compete the world. They are inferior to the European. In each field such as knowledge, science and technology or anything they are backward. It is just to fool the people of India. Its all the representation. In fact India is not like what they say.

The dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contains neither literary nor scientific information, and are so poor and rude that , until they are enriched by some quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. The intellectual improvement of the people can at present be effaced only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them. It would at one stop the printing of all Sanskrit books and abolish the Sanskrit college at Calcutta. . . Are we obliged to teach false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion.

They sang in praise of the fair, who were better and dark worse, the fair were the masters and the dark the slaves, fair was greater, the higher caste, that was their society, their faith. It was a conviction

embedded deep in their blood. Two hundred years of British rule had strengthened that belief: white was better, more learned, the masters. Nila's blood had also carried that belief; every brain cell felt it and even if she tried to shake it all away, a little bit remained somewhere. She knew it wasn't easy getting rid of that tiny bit, but she was happy to have achieved it finally. (292)

European are higher than others is deeply rooted in their blood. The concept of blacks are slave and whites are masters become a part of their culture. They even don't want to accept their changed mentality and their progress made by Non-westerners. Nila's blood has also carried that blood despite she has newly migrated Indians.

Cultural Subordination in *French Lover*

Dr. David Frawley, an American oriental scholar captured this most eloquently in his book *'The Crisis in the Psyche of India'*, he wrote, " the elite of India suffers from a fundamental alienating from the traditional and culture of the land that would be less poignant had they been born and raised in a hostile country. The ruling elite appears to be no more than the native incarnation of the old colonial rulers. This new English speaking aristocracy prides itself in being disconnected from the very soil and people that gave it birth. There is probably no other country in the world where it has become a national pastime among its educated class to denigrate its own culture and history, however great.

Nila and Sahana were drinking orange juice. Some had their whisky with water and some had it on ice. Tariq drank his neat. At least twice he'd remarked, 'The taste of whisky is ruined if you mix it with water. This is the problem with Indians – they don't know how to drink and yet they have to'. (17)

Almost all, in the Indian culture, it is considered that taking liquor is against their culture. A person who takes liquor is considered as subordinated person in the society. But it happened in the Indian society that it is uncivilized way of living life who do not take liquor. Most importantly, it's the high class and the most dignified life to live in the society if you drink liquor. Tariq is mocking Indians that its their problem to mix water or soda in the whisky as if they are uncivilized.

When great archaeological discoveries of India's are fond for example, they are not a subject for national pride but are ridiculed, as they represent only the imagination of backward chauvinistic elements within the culture". Frawley goes on to further exemplify this crisis " The dominant Indian intelligentsia can not appreciate even the writings of many great modern writers, like Vivekanand or Aurobino, who write in good English and understood the national psyche and how to revive. It is as if they were so successfully brainwashed against their own culture that they can not even look at it even if presented to them clearly in modern light". How powerfully prophetic indeed was Macauley's word.

Nilu proposed the names 'Suruchi' 'Khabar-Darbar' or 'Tripti' for the restaurant. But Kishan blew them off into his alcoholic haze. They won't do. So what would? Something like Gandhi. How was Gandhi related to food? Even if they were not related, the French could relate Gandhi to India. They knew Gandhi's name far better than they did the Lal Killa. And would the food in the restaurant change? Not at all - that'll stay the same, chef and the same waiters. (29-30)

The important names of Indian culture and history no longer remain in the dignity and prestige of Indian. These names almost remain faded in its significance. Kishanlal Indian restaurateur who is running his two restaurants in Paris believed that

bankruptcy of his two restaurants is because of the name of the restaurant. And he is hegemonized that it would be better if he changes its name and put French name.

Color discrimination is violent in Europe. Blacks, even they are expert are obliged to work minor and manual works that pays less. Even in the mind of Non-westerners, it is work of black who work third class work. Non-westerners who are doing prestigious and work that pays well are think it's the black's duty to serve the whites.

'She gets a pittance there; wouldn't I give her that money if she wanted it? She doesn't have to leave her home and hearth and work with some worthless black people for that.' Kishan said all this in one breath and finally let out his breath, his fat stomach threatening to burst through the shirt buttons. 'And are you white?' Nila went into the kitchen to boil water for tea. (73)

When Nila wanted to work, Kishan, her husband assured her its blacks duty to do such subordinated works. And he asked if she wanted to be like them. He didn't want to send her wife in such marginalized community. In Indian culture its women's duty to handle the domestic work. And to handle financial and out-door work is the duty of husband. They even don't think their wife to go out and work for them.

Non-western Culture and tradition are so subordinated before the European that their respect becomes insult for European. Their way of serving food will ultimately become unfair for them. If any non-westerners want to start his/her life in Europe he/she totally change his attitude and culture to adjust himself/herself.

Nila served them the food. But they didn't like her way of serving. Nila wanted to give the greens first and then the vegetables and then the fish fry followed by the fish curry and finally the meat, because that's the

way to get the best taste. Danielle didn't agree with that. She took a bit of each of the dishes at one shot. Nila was uncomfortable because her plate looked like the discarded mess of marriage feast plates. She felt they'd never get the taste of the individual items. But Danielle and Catherine exclaimed over the food; it tasted great. (77)

Nila had invited her colleague to have their dinner in her compartment. She had cooked very delicious Indian cuisine for her friends. She first serves the food. But they didn't like her way of serving food. Her dinner party ultimately becomes futile for them as if it's the uncivilized way of taking food. Nila thought Indian culture is more subordinated before Europe.

Taking liquor is considered to be civilized and most privileged way of living life. If anyone who doesn't take drink they will be the part of uncivilized world. Drinking culture is the part of European colonialism. It passed along with the European domination. To assimilate the European culture one must take liquor and has to accustom.

'Why aren't you drinking?'

'I am not used to drinking wine.'

'Not used to it? So what do people drink in your country?'

'Whisky.'

'That;s before that meal. What about during the meal?'

'Water.'

'The other people in your country?'

'Everyone drinks water.'

'Everyone?'

'Yes, everyone'. (83)

Nila, initially denies to take drink. But when she knows it's the part of European civilization. Danielle, her friend when said Nila is insulting her by not taking liquor. Then Nila started to take a drink in order to save her face. Initially she takes it little but eventually she becomes used to. They thought taking liquor is the civilized way of living life and it's the high class culture. Nila considers her as a European after taking liquor.

Taming pets is a part of European culture. Pets are even getting more nutritious food. They even take care of them very cautiously. They communicate with them as if they are man kind. But Indian culture doesn't possess it. They even kick cats and dogs if they come close to them.

Maria asked tentatively, 'Are you scared of dogs?'

No one in that house had ever seen anything as strange as someone screaming instead of hugging dogs. The way the five pairs of eyes were observing her, Nila felt they suspected her to be crazy.

Rita asked very mildly, 'Do you have any problem? Sometimes there are certain conditions in which if you see dog. . .'. (89)

Nila screamed when Maria's dog chimed upon her. She almost lost her gut when she saw a dog. By her attitude most of her friends stunned who assembled for the dinner party in Maria's home. Nila suspected her to be crazy. Rita asked if she had any ailment which makes her afraid from dog. Culturally, Nila had never hugged pets. She really scares from the pet. Rather she used to kick these pets in her house in Calcutta.

Pets are given the stale and rubbish food in No-western. They don't care of pets and other amateur animals which do not give them profit. Its not their culture to tame a pet. In poor country it is their first priority to human beings and its associates. Culturally it is not obligation to tame pets in each home. But in Europe its their first

priority to tame a pet and give them ultra care for them. They can't tolerate any unhygienic and non-proteinos food.

'What are you saying?'

'I am telling you the truth. I come from a poor country and I'm not used to giving such good food to pets; we don't get to eat such things ourselves. I couldn't help myself; I ate it up'. (260)

Nila was asked by Benoir to give the periodic food to his dogs and cats. But Nila forgot to give it for them. Instead of that, Nila ate all their diet which was kept for them. When Benoir knew it he really depressed by her attitude and eventually concluded Nial, a third world people. A culture of poor countries is almost will remain poor.

Language and Education Hegemony in *French Lover*

The present model of secular thinking that pervades Indian politics upon much contemplation is clearly observed as a direct fructification of Thomas Macaulay's (British Supreme Council of India 1835) imposition on Indian education encapsulated in his famous document '*Minute on Indian Education*' the objective of which was dictated by imperial interests and served that purpose; stifling of the nation's genius and future, and negation of human values. Here is an extract for that document, "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of men, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect".

As she drank the tea, Nila came to know that Mojammel, who came to France three years ago because he couldn't find a job in Dhaka, had completed his master's degree in chemistry from the Dhaka University. He was still on a cut-throat passport. 'This is when they remove the

neck upwards from someone else's passport and stick your own photo in it'. (32)

Because of the colonial effect and paralyzed system of government to legislate the system of employment the rate of unemployment is quite high not only among the non-expert but also amongst the expertise like Mojammel who has received master's degree in chemistry. They don't think it is the education hegemony but their education system has no avail at all.

This was important juncture in the continuity of the demoralization of the Indian psychic plane. As Rajiv Malholtra PhD Princeton university pointed out in his paper *'Language Hegemony and the Construction of Identity'* through control of language, this was planned hegemony over ideas and symbols. Over time, it became a force to conquer mentally, because it was planted within Indian minds, invisible and harder to fight than any physical dominance". Today India's political landscape epitomizes this affliction and the tremors of the civilization emasculation are felt in very corner of the Indian Diaspora. Jawarharlal Nehru, the one chosen to lead the postcolonial movement summarized his entire mental framework with his famous statement, "I am an Englishman by education, a Muslim by culture and a Hindu by Accident", revealing what he really was: just another Macaulayite tool perpetuating the destruction of the Indian identity. Much in the same manner that other false Indian leaders (Cheddi Jagan comes to mind) have done in the wider Indian Diaspora.

Jewel brought her another cup of black tea. Nila took a quick swig from it and asked, 'So what's the use of all your education?'

'No use, didi.'

'All those others, are they all like you – I mean, have they all come here the same way as you have?'

'All of them.'

Nilā was concerned, 'Are they all educated?'

'Yes. Bachhu is a doctor.'

'Why doesn't he practice here?'

'Who'll give him a job? Even if you have studied medicine in your country, you have to appear for fresh exams here'. (24)

Even expert manpower like doctors are willingly leaving the non-western world and making their way to Europe in the name of earning handsome amount. They even do not evaluate their knowledge and skills which can be mile stone in their country. They even do not think of their consciences to build their nation or repair the system which obliged them to emigrate foreign land.

Education hegemony now no longer remains to lobby the mind of adult and expertise, it has shifted to the candid mind of child. Most of the non-westerns do not honor their mother tongue rather they get their children learned and speak European language like English, French, Spanish etc. They thought if children are comfortable in foreign language, they will easily get good job and access to excellent university.

Sunil and Chaitali were of the same opinion. What was the use of teaching her Bengali –she wouldn't need it.

Nilā had seen this in Calcutta too: Bengali children were sent to English medium schools and spoke English at home, as if Bengali was low-class language. The same logic applied there too: English helped in getting jobs, while knowing Bengali added no value. In spite of this factor, Nilā had studied Bengali literature. Aniraban had said this degree had no value. (44)

Teaching Bengali to their children has no avail at all in their life. Sunil and Chaitali had faced the same problem in Paris. Even they are expert in their work but they didn't know the French and English well. They had to struggle more to adjust in Paris. They again learn French and fluent English. So they have strong belief that learning Bangali is non-sense task to their children. Nationality is no more working in the practical life. We can advocate our nationality in our starving stomach.

Language and education hegemony conductors are all the elite and high class people. They have no conviction in their language and their potentialities. They even think, they couldn't compose poetry in their own mother or national tongue. Even if there is any good piece of art in Bangali they translate it to English. The superiority of European values has so persisted in the mind of Indian people during a century long colony in India that they began to assimilate European culture as their own.

Although Benoir showed no interest in Madhusudan, Nila told him his story: Madhusudan was the son of a zamindar and he felt terribly drawn to European art and culture from a very young age. He wore European clothes, wrote poetry in English, converted to Christianity. He hated his own race so much that he said, 'God has sent the Anglo-Saxons to this world to save the Hindus, to civilize them and to convert them'. (240)

Even in the case of Rabindra Nath Thakur, if he had not translated *Gitanjali* into English he would not received Nobel Prize. And it is all about the superiority of Christinity and subordination of the Hindu custom. Unlike this, Mahusudan even claims Anglo-Saxons has saved Hindus, to civilize them and to save them.

Inferiority Complexes and Hegemony

As stated by the Frantz Fanon in his famous book *Black Skin White Masks* which dealt with the issues of hegemony, those inferiority complexes is one of the key indicator which helps to prevail the hegemony among the people. In the introduction part he said, ' I am talking of millions of men who have been skillfully injected with fear, inferiority complexes, trepidation, servility, despair, abasement. In a art gallery once Danielle requested Nila to paint the picture but Nila hesitate because she is not expert painter.

Danielle noted Nila's thoughtful eyes and said indulgently, 'Why don't you try it again.'

'It's no use.'

'Try it. You haven't come to Paris to make packing boxes. If this city of artists can't give you back what you lost, no place in the world can.'

'Danielle, I don't have the talent of an artist.'

'How are you so sure?'

'I am'. (103)

Most of the non-western settlers who are dwelling in foreign land do not want to involve in any competition or tasks because they startled to be mistaken. Nila, despite her hobby is painting and reading books is ignoring the offer of Danielle to take part in painting. Because of the inferiority complexes functioning in the mind of Nila, she shows her reluctance saying she didn't have the talent of an artist with out trying it once.

The feeling of subordinated in the mind of Indian make them to think their belongings are no more excellent before the European possessions. They even think their homes, their lives, their system are worse despite its excellency.

They had lived under the same roof for forty long years. Stillness, there was a stifling stillness within. Nila was scared; scared to touch Molina. Under the whirring fan, Molina's feet were cold as ice even though it was summer. Oh, why wasn't Molina born as foreign dog? (145)

When Nila saw the lives of pets such as dog, cats, etc. in France then she begins to compare the life of her mother and pets. She inferiorizes the life of her mother is worse than dogs in France. And Nila commented why Molina wasn't born as foreign dog. She found the lives of foreign dogs are far better than the lives Monila in Calcutta.

Initially, Nila spent her almost twenty seven years in Calcutta but when she got back to Calcutta she found almost deteriorate despite its advancement. Because of the inferior mentality, anyone think their city is no good, the weather is not hospitable despite he/she has spent her most of the time in their home town. Calcutta had nourished Nila to thrive and educate.

There wasn't a daily flight from Calcutta to Paris or Nila would have boarded it that same day. She would have to wait for two weeks. For her it was like two years. She wanted to escape from this dirty society. Now she didn't feel Calcutta was her own. She began to feel as if she had never known it, never played in the dust and grime of city and never whispered to the breeze on the Ganga. (157)

Nila found the most hospitable and exuberant city, Calcutta is full of dirt and filth not only ecologically but also mentally. Calcutta's hospitable environment was almost become the hostile for her. She wanted to escape from Calcutta as soon as possible. Her few years living in Paris brainwashed her mind and input the colonial mentality bearing inferior mentality.

IV. Conclusion

Taslima Nasreen's *French Lover* provides fascinating glimpses of Indian immigrant how they are desperately hegemonized by the European way of life through the clear window of cultural hegemony. Nasreen's *French Lover* deals with the feministic theme on its overt level but it also contains the colonial hegemonic elements on its latent level. Novel has beautifully portraits the hegemonic theme. She indeed captures the psychological side of hegemony. Especially after the decade of 1945 the concept of direct hegemony has almost finished from the world. And there emerge the two poles in the world. In one side there was a Russian federation and on the other United States and European countries respectively carrying communism and democracy. But now, communism has almost been finished from the world. And democracy and consensus become the strong means to convince the people to follow their system. And on the other cultural hegemony played a vital role to hegemonized the people of third world.

Especially, when the direct power failed to work from the world, the colonizer immediately adopted a new form of domination which is not visible and very fatal in nature. It neither operates directly nor visibly. When the ruling class failed to dominate the people from the military power, they adopted and used their capital or changed the system of governance. As mentioned by Frantz Fanon in his famous post colonial book *Black Skin White Mask* that the white skinned colonizers are almost displaced from the Non-western area but their compradors are still functioning by putting white mask on. Frantz Fanon called its most dangerous agency to colonize the world. Europeans paved their cultural way in such a way that non westerners assimilate it as their own and eventually get used to.

Nasreen in *French Lover* latently mentioned the five means of dominating the non western settlers even after gaining the political independence. These means are: first European put colonial mentality in the mind of non-westerners. Second, they represent non-western in their own accord. Third, they subordinate their culture. Fourth, they make everyone believe English language is superior over other and make it international and contact language. Not only that the education system of European is quite better than others and others follow it in the name of superiority. Fifth and last very important subject that they put the inferiority in the mind of non-westerners that they never think and see their potentiality is better than others.

In *French Lover*, Nasreen clearly depicts these hegemonic themes through the different characters. Most of the Indian immigrants are inferiorized before the French people. Kishanlal, Nilanjana's husband and restaurant owner couldn't be confined with his restaurant business. His business was supposed to be bankrupt and he thinks the causes behind it are the name of the restaurants that were named after India's historical and most famous place, Taj Mahal and Lal Killa. He eventually resolved to change the name of the restaurant believing a change would help. But we simply can see changing of name has no relation with the business of restaurant where food recipe and working cooks and waiters are same as usual. This mentality of Kishanlal is the construct of colonial mentality. They thought European items, without evaluation, are very good. Similarly, most of the Indian immigrants are not hopeful that India can be super power in the world and is achieving the fast economic and technological growth in the world. Rather they are criticizing India as the land of corruption. Only a hand full people have certain money and most of the people are starving to death.

Similarly, representation of the non-western has played a vital role in the process of hegemony. As Said argues, its all Euro-centric values and norms and they represent non-western as a land of morons. They never show the positive and progressive news about the non-western. If they show non-western world in a TV screen, they show a miserable and pitiful and sub-human condition of people. But there are many European who are starving to death.

Likewise, they have created a culture and education hegemony. Most of the Indians consider that Indian language and education system has no value and avail at all in the world. Nilanjana, a female protagonist feels herself that her Bangali literature has no use in France or in the world. So as Bangali people think if they send their children to English medium school, their children will get better and qualitative education and they will have better prestige in a society. English speaking fellow is considered as more scholar and more prudent. And even they don't let their children learn their own mother tongue because they think it has no value and use.

Taslima's protagonist, Nilanjana, feels frequently inferiority before the European mates. She even doesn't know that wine could be a means to achieve social prestige. In Calcutta, drinking alcohol is considered as a social shame. But she started to have a liquor to save her face before the society and to make her standards. Each and every time they fell inferior before the European. They even have received a degree in chemistry and some doctors are doing a job like cooking by leaving their country in the name of earning much.

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