

Hirak Rajar Deshe and Hunting the Sun: A Study Of Institutionalization Of Power

Sreemoyee Bhattacharyya

University Of Kalyani

Abstract:

Power is an abstract idea and it is expressed in different ways by different philosophers. When Karl Marx saw power as another form of wealth, Friedrich Nietzsche defined it as 'will to power'. Sigmund Freud's analysis of the mind made it possible to find the source of "will", while Bertrand Russell explains power in the phrase "love of power". According to Michel Foucault, power is the reflection of knowledge and it comes from everywhere. These different forms of power are institutionalized in different ways. The different institutional powers are respectively kingly power, disciplinary power, military power, priestly power, revolutionary power, biological power and so on. In the film Hirak Rajar Deshe (1980) directed by Satyajit Ray, revolutionary power has developed as a result of unethical application of various powers to the masses. As a result, the dynasty of King Hirak has been demolished. Exactly in the same way, the play Hunting the Sun (1971) written by Utpal Dutt, shows the abuse of kingly power, priestly power, disciplinary power etc. But the significant point here is that kingly power is suppressed by priestly power. Here too revolutionary power has developed like in the movie Hirak Rajar Deshe, but the kingly power has retained its position by destroying the revolutionary power by using tactics. This paper shall investigate how chronologically different viewers get their ideas about institutionalization and implementation of power.

Keywords: Power, Authority, Institutionalized power, Autocracy, Tyranny, Oppressed, Protest.

Introduction:

Philosopher's ideas about power have changed over time. Power is sometimes confined to the boundaries of the individual and at other times interpreted as the collective action of the human race. No matter how the word 'power' is enlightened, it does not actually have a permanent structure. But its presence gives us an idea about power. Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-1883) gave us no definite definition of power. To him the word 'power' means coercion. Marx thinks that power is in the hands of a certain group of society (dominant class) at the cost of the rest of the society (subordinate class). It is a constant phenomenon, though in its practices, the subordinate class is losing as much power as the dominant class is gaining. This authoritative group uses its power to advance its own interest, and their interest conflict directly with their power and the interests of their subjects. According to Marx the origin of power in the society lies within the economic infrastructure. The basis of domination or power is the ownership of the productive forces, use their power to exploit and subjugate all the tenant class of society. Marx defined this ability to exploit others as coercion. Then it is seen that in the Marxist view, the wealth created by labor takes the form of power and the more oppression and exploitation of the labors, the more wealth is created. Ownership of these asserts is vested in the ruler rather than the producer, so that the ruler

becomes very powerful. That is to say, according to this theory, power is created from wealth and power increases as the amount of wealth increases, again it is not possible to become powerful without ownership of wealth. The only way to return their lost power to the tormented people is communal ownership of the productive forces. As everybody will share an equal relationship with the productive forces, all members of society will share the same power.

According to some philosophers the general concept of power involves the ability to produce or prevent change. The “will to power” (Westacott) is a prominent feature of German philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche’s (1844-1900) philosophy. He believed that the desire for power is the main driving force of humans. One of the central tenets of the philosophy of the 19th century philosopher Nietzsche was “will to power” (Wesatacott). It is best realized as an irrational force, found in all persons, which can flow in different directions. To him, power is an undeclared war within a particular society, a silent unspoken people’s war. This war continues in different social institutions, economic inequalities language and even among every human being. Throughout his career Nietzsche explored the concept of the ‘will to power’, classifying it as a psychological, biological or metaphysical principle at various points. Sometimes Nietzsche sees the desire for power as more than just a principle which gives insight into the profound psychological inspiration of human beings. According to Nietzsche power is so important in social, state and personal life, that power transcends the small boundaries of human psychological belief and extends to all parts of human consciousness. Nietzsche says “The higher man is distinguished from the lower by his fearlessness and his readiness to challenge misfortune”. (Joyarddara).

Sigmund Freud (1865-1939) was one of the pioneers of Nietzsche’s later work on the human mind and instincts. He was not only a philosopher – he was a good physician and a famous psychiatrist too. According to Freud, all human activities are controlled by his sexuality. The range of this sexuality of Freud is very wide. Sex in the general sense is limited to the human genitals. But according to Freud, any kind of attraction is referred as sexuality. Because he showed that all attraction is sexual happiness. All attraction originates from sexual attraction. Self-defense, love for parents, affection for children, friendship or love for human society all that are caused by sexual appetite. Even our various imaginary ideas cannot be separated from it. Freud does not think that what we mean by sexual lust in the general sense is in the above concepts. Freud “was one of the first people to analyze the human mind. He separated the human mind into three parts. The first part is known as the id, it is the part of the mind that deals with instincts. It is the unconscious part of the mind that looks to seek pleasure. The second part is known as the ego, and it deals with reality” (Haygood). It is the pre-conscious part of mind which balances the perception of mind of the difference between pain and pleasure. The third one is super ego. It basically deals with one’s sense of morality. And this is actually the conscious part of the mind. The unconscious mind comprised with all the significant and annoying elements that is necessarily keeping out of our consciousness as these are so very threatening to fully acknowledge. Our feelings, decisions, motives are all strongly influenced by our past experiences and are stored in the unconscious mind. According to Freudian theory, the unconscious mind controls behavior and thinking to a great extent. As a result, the foundation of conscious behavior and thoughts lies in unconscious desire. Behaviors and thoughts are composed of memories and primitive desires that suppress our conscious awareness of their existence. They have a significant effect on our behavior and thinking. The concept of libido coined by Freud, it continues to play an important role in psychoanalysis, the term is most often used today in reference to a person’s sex drive. All constructive instinct of human activity eros or life instinct, libido

was opposed by Thanatos, the death instinct and source of destructive urges, the interaction of the two produced all the variations of human activity. 'Will' is mentioned in Nietzsche's explanation of power but here is no explanation of how 'will' originates in one's mind. Freud, however, never opposed Nietzsche's "will to power" (Westacott). He gave the idea of the creation of thought in the conscious mind by analysis of the human mind. According to him, this 'will', is the "will of mind" and through his groundbreaking mind analysis he has shown that this 'will' arises from the combined effect of instinct, repressed desire, libido, actions of conscious and subconscious mind etc.

Marx, Nietzsche and Freud's concept of power is different from Bertrand Russell's (1872-1970) concept of power. According to Russell power is "one's ability to achieve goals" (Russell 328). From his explanation of power, the rapacity for power is a part of human nature. The desire for self-empowerment is a unique nature of human. He said that any animal other than Homo sapiens, satisfy itself by storing more material than it needs. "The impulse to power" (Russell 3) does not arise until one's basic desires are fulfilled. Then the imagination is aroused, inspiring the person to gain more strength. According to Russell the 'love of power' is present in every human being, although this 'love of power' is in a form of disguise in different people in different ways. Only an ambitious person may be the next leader, but others can only be satisfied with the dominance at home. Russell's above-mentioned idea about power were written in the late 1930s. The people who were at the top of power at that time were Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini etc. Russell was very much curious about the rise of such men, but he could not find an explanation for their rise in any contemporary. "Theories of what motivated human behavior tended to rest on economic explanations (as in Marx) or on sexual explanations (as in Freud). But as Russell points out, neither can explain why people continue to pursue power after their material or sexual needs have been satisfied". (Power by Bertrand Russell.). According to Russell the state of the world and the ability to understand and interpret progress is a fundamental concept of power. The role of the search for power must be reconsidered in order to properly interpreted the history of the world.

The widely discussed, critically acclaimed and most famous philosopher of post-modern social philosophy, Paul-Michel Foucault (1926-1984) interprets power in a completely different way. According to him, power is not manifested without a relationship with knowledge. Power legitimizes knowledge and knowledge perpetuates this power. Power and knowledge are intertwined. At a certain time or in a society we accept certain ideas or utterances as truth. Although those 'truths' are constructed according to the historical tradition, yet in the guise of that 'truth' different conception and utterances become 'power'. This power is secret and dangerous, it is found in truth and discourse, and the application of power to the body and mind. According to him, power is exercised not only by the state or the capitalists, but also in every sphere of society. In his words power is everywhere and it comes from everywhere. According to Foucault, power is something that no one can possess, but power is something that allows something to be done to a different person, something that can affect the work of others. Instead of thinking of power as an object, he saw power as a relationship. He has tried to explain the nature of power by exploring the power hidden in the relationships at different levels of modern society. To become subordinate subjects, which he calls subjugation. This matter is not one sided. That is, power is being exercised from above, and the independent sovereign man is gradually losing his sovereignty and becoming a very loyal, devoted and obedient subject, it's not just like that. The tenants are also indirectly responsible for this consequence. He said that knowingly or unknowingly the people themselves have become the bearers of power. "[Individuals] are not only its [Power's] inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulations. In other words, individuals are

the vehicles of power, not its points of application.” (Dr. Sen). Power is like a network. The ability to spread a web like a spider holds every person in particular. Everyone is exercising power, but the situation is also acknowledging obedience to power. For example, the one who is vocal in criticizing the exercise of arbitrary power of the state apparatus from the opposition is the one who goes back to the government and forgets that criticism.

Michel Foucault’s idea of power has two aspects – one is practical and the other is theoretical. Its practical concepts are expressed in three ways, independent or individual power, orderly or disciplined power and biological power. Power is generally thought to be a weapon of torture or oppression of one another at will; power is a special kind of weapon by which the people of the state are strategically forced to obey the law. But according to him, power is truly a micro concept, through which people are motivated to do something. Power is a very complex combination of energy that works in all directions. He mentioned the example of the pyramid as an independent power; the position of the individual or any group is at the top of the pyramid, at the bottom are the most downtrodden or persecuted people and in between are the people those who are power influencers. By disciplined power he means to use human skills as much as possible in a systematic way, which he calls legal juridical discourse. Lastly, he said biological power is something that studies human birth, lifespan, public health, crime, education, culture, accommodation and so on.

In my opinion, power is nothing but a complete abstract idea. It has no physical properties. Human being irrespective of genders, any living organisms even a man maid robot who can think to do something and try to do the event successfully, each of them has that power. Power is the way to fulfill the desire of the human mind. On the other hand, being forced to do something against someone’s will is also called power. That is to say, the feeling by which we fulfill any of our desire or is prevented from fulfilling any desire can be termed as power. Power is the result of some actions, lying between one’s desire is on one end and the result of implementation of this desire is on the other end. We can refer to this power as positive power. Sometimes when implementation of a desire is going to happen, always it is not possible to make the desire fulfill as a result of some steps happen in reverse. I can call the sum of all these steps in reverse as anti-power or negative power. The use of force, fear, devotion, love, greed, lust, application of technology etc. can play the role of power or anti-power. I can explain my opinion about power as follows;

First case:

(a) Desire for doing something. ----- (b) Trying to do something by applying power. ----- (c) Done the work successfully.

1. (a) As a boy walks down the street, he sees a blooming sunflower in the roadside garden and wants to pick it up. ----- (b) He crossed over the garden fence and reached to the flower. ----- (c) By picking up the flower he fulfilled his desire.

2. (a) A commander wants to bomb a city in a neighboring enemy country. ---- (b) According to his wishes, a bomber fighter jet entered the enemy country by violating the airline. ----- (c) The fighter jet fulfilled the commander’s wish by dropping a bomb on the target.

Second case:

(a) Desire for doing something. ----- (b) Trying to do /oppose to do something by applying power. ----- (c) Fail to done the work.

1. (a) As a boy walks down the street, he sees a blooming sunflower in the roadside garden and wants to pick it up. ----- (b) As he was crossing the garden fence, a dog barked at him. ----- (c) The boy left in fear of the dog, so his flowers were not picked.

2. (a) A commander wants to bomb a city in a neighboring enemy country. ---- (b) An enemy fighter jet chases the bomber fighter jet as it crossed the airline of the enemy country. ----- (c) Fearing the enemy aircraft, the fighter jet returned to its homeland without dropping a bomb on the target, so the commander's wishes were not fulfilled.

Third case:

(a) Desire for doing something. ----- (b) Trying to do /oppose to do something by applying power. ----- (c) Done the work successfully.

1. (a) As a boy walks down the street, he sees a blooming sunflower in the roadside garden and wants to pick it up. ----- (b) As he was crossing the garden fence, a dog barked at him, and at the hit of his stick the dog became unconscious. ---- (c) By picking up the flower he fulfilled his desire.

2. (a) A commander wants to bomb a city in a neighboring enemy country. ---- (b) An enemy fighter jet chases the bomber fighter jet as it crossed the airline of the enemy country. The aircraft of the enemy country was destroyed by firing missiles from the bomber fighter jet. ----- (c) The fighter jet fulfilled the commander's wish by dropping a bomb on the target.

In the first case, since there is no anti-power, it has been possible to fulfill the desire by applying power easily. But in the second case, the desire could not be fulfilled due to the application of anti-power in the opposite direction of power. In the third case, despite the application of anti-power as opposed to power, the power level is higher than the anti-power, so it is possible to fulfill the desire.

Institutionalization Of Power- A Theoretical Understanding:

Power has been institutionalized in various ways since ancient times. A single person can easily reach his or her goal by applying power over another person. But it is very difficult for him to succeed by applying power over a population. So those people have tried to establish themselves as the savior of those population in different ways. Through this process he has become the leader or advisor of the population. After that, according to the wishes of this chief or advisor, the work of most of the members of those communities was controlled. When an exceptional person disobeyed the orders of the chief, he is punished with the consent of the majority of the members of the group, which is identical of physical abuse. The exercise of power in this way the exceptional person has been forced to accept submission. Over time, this system has spread, resulting in the creation of kings and religious leaders and they have a large population under their control. The king, with the consent of the majority of his subordinate subjects, ruled the state with enormous power through various laws to govern the state. On the other hand, the clergy also created various religious disciplines, controlled their loyal masses, and gained great power. This method can be called the beginning of the 'institutionalization of power'. This method has taken on the current form of institutionalization of power through various changes and refinements.

Karl Marx was never too much of an organizational thinker. In fact, he did not say much in his literal sense about the function of the actual government, and nothing to be said about the ministries and departments through whom the affairs of government are conducted. He saw the government and law as the manifestation of class interests. The origin of power of this society remains in the economic structure. The governing class, the owner of the productive forces, use their power to exploit and oppress the tenant class in every society.

Fredrich Nietzsche was neither interested in politics nor religious. We do not notice his particular concern about the institutionalization of power. He believed that superhumans were born on this earth. Although these superhumans are normal looking people like us. Driven by an indomitable desire to gain power, they have become the notable men in history. They trample on all kinds of competition and rivalry. For this he chose a man like Napoleon saying that “It is to Napoleon that the honor shall one day be given of having made for a time a world in which the man the warrior, outweighed the tradesmen and the philistine” (Rahman). From this it can be said that he was a worshiper of royal power, which is not possible without institutionalization of monarchial power.

Bertrand Russell talks about the following important concepts of institutionalization of power, firstly priestly power the second one is kingly power, thirdly naked power, fourthly revolutionary power. To him priestly power is “In the eleventh, and thirteenth centuries, kings, as a rule, were ignorant while most Popes were both learned and well-informed.” (Russell, Power 71-72) “The intellectual, as we know him, is a spiritual descendant of the priest; but the spread of education has robbed him of power.” (Russell, Power 44). Religion has produced many great intellectuals around the world. But many religious head do not abide the attitude of inquiry and instead they claim compatibility with their religion faith. Again, to him kingly power is something where king has been established in one way within the two. The first one is by using force of arms – to take control of the territory and its inhabitants or to unite the tribes. And secondly, snatching the royal crown by conspirators in palaces, or establishing royal power by civil war. “[T]he majority of his subjects usually submit, at first, from fear, and afterwards as the result of custom and tradition.” (Russell, Power 190). “But dynasties do not last forever, and every royal family begins with a usurper or foreign conqueror”. (Russell, Power 76). He also talked about naked power as “power not based on tradition or assent I call ‘naked’ power ... naked power is usually military, and may take the form either or internal one tyranny or of foreign conquest.” (Russell, Power 39). Instead of a proper condemnation of power, Russell acknowledges that “conquest by force of arms has had more to do with the spread of civilization than any other single agency.” (Russell, Power 39). To him revolutionary power is something where both monarchy and aristocracy have lots of advantages and disadvantages. “The principal demerit of both is that, sooner all later, the government becomes so indifferent to the desires of ordinary men that there is revolution.” (Russell, Power 197). “Without rebellion, mankind would stagnate, and injustice would be irremediable. The man who refuses to obey authority has therefore, in certain circumstances, a legitimate function, provided his disobedience has motives which are social rather than personal.” (Russell, Power 263).

In Bertrand Russel’s later days, Michel Foucault gave us a modern idea of the institutionalization of power. According to him, disciplined power refers to where the scope of state power is determined by the legal framework. The king can exercise all powers, but cannot go beyond certain boundaries. In the same way, the tenants will be able to enjoy all the rights, but they will not be able to expect anything extra beyond certain limits. Again, about biopower, he says it is a technology to control huge groups of people. This political technology controls the human physiology and regulates people through organic politics through socially disciplined institutions. Body politics over the human body is the control over all the features of life such as birth, reproduction, disease, education, culture, accommodation etc. It creates a generalized orderly society and establishes control over the organic politics imposed on the people.

Presently, ‘institutionalization of power’ is a process where three important principles can be distinguished. Firstly, there is a trend to depersonalization power, when it is not connected with a

particular person (monarch, emperor etc.). The change of power does not happen with the change of the person exercise of authority. Indeed, such individuals temporarily take the position of the authoritative head. Secondly, there is also a trend to legitimize the relationship of power, when the practice of power is restricted by rules and regulations, methods, principles. Thirdly, in the process of institutionalization of power, the growing infiltration of power relations under the current political regime should be noted. Power is increasingly being focused on establishing existing relationship; it considers the relationships established in the exercise of his power. Power combines complex social relationship which support it. It is notable that the three principles of conduct of the authorities, namely separation, formalization and consolidation, form a sustainable foundation of power, state stability. In the same way all these three principles prevent arbitrariness and acts as a natural restraint of power, securing power for citizens. Violation of any one of these policies not only dangerous for arbitrariness, it also destroyed the state's stability.

Institutional power:

The term 'institutional power' is closely related to the term 'institutionalization of power' in such a way that without the study of 'institutional power' the study of 'institutionalization of power' will remain incomplete. Here an attempt is made to give an idea about institutional power. Institutional power is a type of power that is exercised by the power of entities such as religious institutions, governments and corporations to control over people's behavior through the use of rewards and punishments. Institutional power exists over those people and the agents who have the right or have the ability to decide what is right and good for others. Institutional power exists where authority is sanctioned and accepted as legitimate by a society. Institution gain power because the society itself have given those agents of the institution the power to rule over them

The King, Power and Institution - A Study of HIRAK RAJAR DESHE:

In 1980, Satyajit Ray directed a film namely HIRAK RAJAR DESHE. He himself wrote the story of the movie. This story is the last part of Gupi Gayen Bagha Bayen written by his grandfather Upendrakishore Roychowdhury. The film was produced by Government of West Bengal, India. Anup Ghosal won the 'National Film Award for Best Male Playback Singer' in the year 1980 for this film. Satyajit Ray won various awards for this film like 'National Film Award for Best Music Direction' (1980), 'National Film Award for best Feature Film in Bengali' (1980), Cyprus 'International Film Festival' – Special Award (1984).

Once upon a time there was a country rich in diamond mines. The king of that country is known as the "Diamond King" or the "King of HIRAK". By nature, he is extremely cruel. He did not miss any opportunity to exploit the tenants, the miners, the peasants and all the other peoples. If anyone ever dared to express his views against the king, the king would use a special method to brainwash them. As a result, they praised the king in spite of their troubles. The king was assisted in his task by his assigned scientist 'gobeshok' and his special laboratory called 'jontor montor ghor'. The king had a group of puppet ministers to assist in the affairs of the kingdom those who did not do a thing without the will and permission of the king. Their only and only task was to blindly support every meaningless, irrational, ruthless decision of the king. And the king had affection for those who praised him for his work. But even this oppressive king would be subdued by one person. The king of HIRAK himself feared a very ordinary primary school teacher in his kingdom. Because he was aware of all the corruption of the king

and he did not lack the courage to speak against the king. And all the villagers obeyed him without saying a word. The king of the Hirak has repeatedly tried to assassinate him in order to keep his power intact, but repeatedly failed. Eventually that fear of the king became a reality. Udayan Pandit, with the help of the two magical characters, Gupi Gayen and Bagha Bayen, ended the reign of the cruel king and announced the end of the chapter of the oppressed king.

The film *Hirak Rajar Deshe* shows the institutionalization of power and the use of institutional power. We do not find much of Friedrich Nietzsche's direct discussion about institutionalization of power. He believed that a superman is created for 'will to power'. That is, powerful people are established in life. Here the king of Hirak did not receive the royal crown in a hereditary manner. By his own ability (will to power) he removed the previous king and seized the royal throne. The director shows - Udayan Pandit while living in exile in a cave he tells Gupi and Bagha about the incident of how the present king of Hirak seizing the royal throne from the previous king. The king of Hirak has exercised kingly power in various fields to run his kingdom. A group of his loyal ministers assisted him in exercising this power. Proving Karl Marx's dialectical materialism true, the wealth produced by diamond miners and peasants became royal wealth and a portion of it was distributed among his slave ministers and royal staff. The use of kingly power described by Bertrand Russell and the use of disciplinary power described by Foucault can also be seen for the rule of the king of Hirak's kingdom in the movie *Hirak Rajar Deshe*. The explanation for some of the event in this film can be found in the bio-power practice described by Foucault. The various events shown in the film, where the kingly power had to face problems to establish, have established kingly power through the application of naked power (military power). After, all of the above events the film ends with the civil war and the fall of the monarchy.

Due to financial difficulties, the people are not able to pay the royal tax for the festival. In the words of the finance minister "Jani ebhabe neoya ta anyaya" (it is unfair to collect taxes by force) (00:17:07 – 00:17:09). But according to the king of Hirak "Na dile julumai halo ekamatra upaya" (if the royal tax is not collected, peacefully, then oppression is the only way) (00:17:22 – 00:17:24). The consent of the finance minister to the king's order is an example of the slave mentality towards the king. The same thing happened again when the King of Hirak told the education minister that "Aja theke bandha pathasala" (school is closed from today) (00:21:10- 00:21:12). The education minister also took the initiative to close all the schools in the empire following the orders of the king. In the same way other ministers also took initiative to obey the king's orders. In exchange for receiving a diamond necklace as a gift from the king, they show a slave attitude by obeying the king's immoral orders. So, Nietzsche's view of power is proven here. Despite being insulted and humiliated by the king at various times, the slave ministers of the cabinet are unable to oppose the king's opinion due to the lack of 'will to power', despite of having a hostile attitude towards the king. The king exercises his kingly power through this council of slave ministers.

In the movie, during the discussion regarding the selection of time of unveiling the statue of King Hirak, the astrologer tells the king "Lagna to samratera hate, panjika ki bale ki ese yaya tate" [timing (unveiling the statue) is in the hands of the emperor, what does it matter what the religious calendar says] (00:20:23 – 00:20:29). So, in the conflict between Russell's two institutionalized powers of kingly and priestly, priestly power has completely surrendered to kingly power.

In the next part of this film, we see that under the leadership of the education minister, with the help of the grenadier, a large no of manuscripts is being destroyed by mess fire which were preserved in Udayan Pandit's private library. When Udayan Pandit obstructs this work of the education minister, minister tells

him that “Rastra karme badha dite nai” (there is no rules to disrupt the work of the state) (00:38:50 – 00:38:52). To thwart this ‘work of the state’ repressive action were taken against Udayan Pandit with the help of military power. In another part of the movie, it is shown that the people living in their dilapidated cottage in the roadside were evicted and are sheltered in remote refugee campuses for protect foreign guests from visual pollution who are invited to the royal ceremony of the kingdom of Hirak. In both the events we notice the application of bio-power as described by Michel Foucault, in which the monarch imposes control over the rights of subjects to education, housing etc. and was forced to fulfill the king’s desire by applying military power. In his movie, the director shows that royal infantryman has been employed in different jobs at different times which establishes institutional naked power. For example, when Udayan pandit escape from home for the fear of being punished for obstructing the monarchy (destroying library manuscripts) the royal infantrymen always searched for him in the vast, deserted hilly lands outside the residential area. One day, Gupi, Bagha and Udayan pandit themselves were forced to hide in a mountain cave for self-defense when they suddenly saw Raj infantryman on a distant hill.

In another scene from the movie, a folk artist, Charan Das, is brought to the royal court by the infantryman for singing, as he has criticized the system of state governance through his songs. He was then judged in the royal court and sentenced to be tied up with a rope and thrown into a hole in a deserted forest. Charan Das was tied up and forcibly thrown into a jungle by the king’s infantryman to establish the trial. We can consider this chronology as a field of application of different types of institutional power. Such as the right to personal life, the right to self-determination has been taken away. The artist cannot sign to protect his artistic identity. Control will be imposed on his singing rights and this is what Michel Foucault called bio-power. Again, when the artist is being judged in the royal court, it is an example of disciplinary power described by Foucault. Lastly, he was forcibly punished to serve king’s sentence and this is the example of military power by Russell.

Director Satyajit Ray has presented a political context on the canvas of this movie. The class struggle from the Marxist point of view is clearly visible here. The wealth generated by hard work of the diamond miners and cultivators is deposited in the treasury. But the producer has no ownership over those assets. The director narrates the story to us through a song sung by Charan Das, the only singer in the movie. Where Charan Das sings – “sonara phasala phalaya ye tara dubela jote na ahara. Hirara khanir majura haye kana kori nai”. (He who grows golden crops does not have enough food for two meals. Being a labour in a diamond mine there is not even a little money) (00:31:18 – 00:31:26). These peasants, labors are belonging in a class, while those who are stealing the fruits of their labor are in the opposite class. The contrasting lifestyle and struggle of these two classes of people is one of the very most important themes of this film.

In the director’s imagination, the way in which the state power is going to expand the bio-power in the future to control the mass of people mentally beyond the limits of physical control, an imaginary scene of the just mentioned event has been brought out by the presentation of the king of Hirak’s ‘jontor montor ghar’. This technology will be applied to the people of the state in such a way that the society will go beyond to the self-thinking and to fulfill the desire of the state. Then the people will continuously work under the control of the state. The peasants, laborers etc. shown in the film are permanently hypnotized by the brain washing machine in the ‘jontor montor ghor’ and manipulated as per the will of the king. Later, in sequence of events, the king, his cabinet and the courtiers were also hypnotized by the brain washing machine and joined hands with the revolutionaries to destroy the statue of the king of

Hirak. Institutional bio-power not only violates the natural right of the people to run the state, but also adverse reactions can be seen in the field, especially on state managers.

In any regime, when the institutional power exercised by the ruler becomes unbearable to the people, the people formed resistance against military power, orderly power and even kingly power. This resistance is what Russell calls revolutionary power. The director has also shown the manifestation and end of revolutionary power in this film in a perfect way. Firstly, when one of the king's minister took part in a procession with his followers and infantryman, a boy (probably a student of Udayan pandit, whose school has been closed by order of the king) threw a marble ball from a secret hideout with his slingshot and separates the crown from the minister's head. The incident appeared to be a symbolic representation of a guerrilla attack against the minister. Secondly, during the unveiling of the statue of the king of Hirak, in the presence of guests unnoticed by everyone, a boy (probably a student of Udayan pandit) suddenly and secretly (in the mode of guerrilla attack) once again cuts the nose of the royal idol again with the help of his slingshot. The attack was probably an expression of anger at the extortion of tax from the poor common man for the ceremonial unveiling of the king of Hirak's statue. Thirdly, Udayan pandit entering the diamond mine disguised as a miner to organize the workers against the king of Hirak and enlisting Gupi Gayen and Bagha Bayen in their rebellion can be seen as the establishment of revolutionary power. Ultimately, this revolutionary power led to the downfall of the empire of king Hirak.

Slave, Tyranny and Monarchy - A Study of HUNTING THE SUN:

The play *Hunting the Sun* (Surya Shikar) Utpal Dutt was written in 1971. The play first performed in People's Little Theatre, Calcutta, in 1971. He (Utpal Dutt) himself was an actor and also the director of the play.

Slaves are being sold openly on the streets of Ayodhya. In the first stage of the auction, slave women Madhukarika and her ten years old son Veerak were brought together by Lord Basubandhu from Suryavarma in exchange of one thousand dinars. In the final auction, another Shudra slave, Gohil, was purchased by General Hayagreeva from Suryavarma in exchange of seven hundred dinars. At that time Indrani, the disciple of Buddhist Monk Kalhan appeared there and bought back the slave Gohil from General Hayagreeva for more dinars and freed him from slavery. At this time Hayagreeva expressed his desire to take Indrani to his house for the night stay. But Royal Priest Virupaksha appeared on the stage and declared that the Shudra woman Indrani practiced the Vedas and preached against religion that the earth is round, so her tongue was to be cut off as an imperial decree. He orders the Nagarkotala (peacekeeping force) to arrest Indrani. But when Hayagreeva tries to give shelter to Indrani, he has a conflict with Virupaksha.

Empress Urmila prayed to Hayagreeva for one night and was refused. After that, Bsubandhu and Virupaksha hand over the slave Madhukarika and her child Veerak to Queen Urmila and complain against Indrani and Hayagreeva. Later, at the instigation of Virupaksha in the presence of Hayagreeva, Samudragupta orders the imprisonment of Indrani and Hayagreeva. But on Empress Urmila's request Hayagreeva was released and ordered to attack Buddhist Monk Kalhan's monastery in the next morning. On Hayagreeva's request, to protect Indrani, Kalhan refuses to say that "Earth is flat". As a result, his monastery was destroyed. His telescope and all the manuscript were burnt. Kalhan and Mahasveta are imprisoned. Indrani was subjected to terrible physical abuse while in captivity and Indrani was sentenced to death. Hayagreeva again asks Indrani to say "Earth is not round" but she refuses; prefers to

accept the death penalty instead. Impressed by Indrani's steadfastness to the truth, Hayagreeva offers her love and Indrani also agrees to it. After some time, in the presence of many people, Indrani was placed on the feet of a mad elephant and presented to the slaughter ground for death. Then Hayagreeva also embraces co-death with her lover Indrani. Later, Kalhan was brought before thousands of people in the royal court. A written statement was read out against Kalhan's previously published science-based statement, and this statement is declared as Kalhan's statement. Kalhan can't comment against this statement as his tongue had already cut out. Freed Kalhan he is promoted as the eleventh incarnation of Lord Vishnu. And finally, the angry crowd calmed down. By applying strategy, the king kept his royal throne intact.

An experienced and realist theater activist Utpal Dutt's hard-hitting political drama *Hunting the Sun*, dealt a crushing blow to the capitalist hegemony and the tyranny of Brahminical Hinduism. The inhuman oppression of the common people by the Brahmin society as well as the ruling class is severely criticized in this play. The social, political and religious oppression of lower caste people in India at that time can be seen in this play. During the golden age of Indian civilization, the Brahmin society enjoyed the privileges of the upper castes and exerted immoral power over the common people, occupying the highest position in the society. At that time Shudras, slaves and the other lower classes people of society could not enjoy their minimum rights. Brahmins enjoyed supremacy and authority in societies divided by caste, gender and religion. The drama depicts the oppression of Dalits, the downtrodden people, by the upper castes of India at that time. The use of institutionalized power against the common man is repeatedly shown in this play as mentioned below.

When General Hayagreeva says, "I had a good one, my chariot-driver, but unfortunately I was forced to kill him yesterday evening" (Dutt 31), then Lord Chamberlain Basubandhu says "we have no right to take the life of a slave" (Dutt 31). In reply Hayagreeva says "Rights are written in worm-eaten books, and I never bother about them" (Dutt 31). We could see how easily the naked power described by Bertrand Russell can be used.

Slaves have no independent existence as human being. Like a dog, cow a slave is also the personal property of his master. At a street auction, Hayagreeva buys the slave Gohil from the prime Minister Suryavarma for 700 dinars. At that very moment Indrani, the disciple of the Buddhist monk Kalhan appeared there. She buys back Gohil from Hayagreeva for 1400 dinars (equal to the price of two cows). According to Karl Marx's theory, whoever owns more wealth (money) has more power.

Indrani is ordered to be arrested by the High Priest Virupaksha as she studied the Vedas despite being a shudra and delivered a speech to the students of Nalanda University "earth is round" (Dutt 45). In the words of Virupaksha "For the propagation of such heretical, atheistic, un-knowledge, you are under arrest" (Dutt 45). This is an example of the use of institutionalized priestly power described by Bertrand Russell.

In the next part of the play director Utpal Dutt shows the conflict between two types of institutional power. When Hayagreeva forcefully tries to take Indrani to his house Virupaksha tells him "Will your lechery stand in the way of justice?" (Dutt 48). Telling him again "You will certainly meet retribution". (Dutt 48). Then Basubandhu said "And now you defy religion by harbouring the renegade" (Dutt 48). So, this time, naked power and priestly power have entered into a duel.

Later, ignoring Hayagreeva's request, King Samudragupta accepted to Rishi Virupaksha's request and ordered the imprisonment of Indrani and Hayagreeva. Addressing to Hayagreeva King Samudragupta said "You go too far. Shishumar, call the guard and chain this man". (Dutt 79). Hayagreeva was later

released from the detention order at the request of Queen Urmila. The joint effort of priestly power and kingly power can be observed here.

Again, when Kalhan is telling Gohil “You gain nothing by killing Samudragupta, for his son will become emperor” (Dutt 86). On this quote we see the manifestation of institutionalization of kingly power.

Just after that Kalhan says “In Ayodha alone they have kept in chains a hundred thousand slaves. Let those slaves shatter their chains, stand up and bring down this state erected on sin. This is the only way” (Dutt 86). This speech reminds us of the rise of Bertrand Russell’s revolutionary power.

When the soldiers (led by Hayangreeva) destroy the telescope and set fire to many manuscripts of the monastery of Kalhan, then he said “They contain the knowledge, the discoveries, the realization of men. Commander, don’t behave like a beast, don’t destroy the treasury of ideas accumulated through centuries, don’t cast your countrymen into darkness” (Dutt 92). The manifestation of institutionalized military power described by Bertrand Russell can be found in these events.

On the orders of Samudragupta, Indrani was executed by being trampled on the feet of a mad elephant. After the execution Urmila said “The sight of human bodies bursting open under the elephant’s foot was a bit too much for me” (Dutt 111). Such an event is an example of the application of institutionalized kingly power.

Kalhan was presented in court before a crowd of thousands. He remains unanswered to various questions. Perhaps his tongue was cut off. Virupaksha asks Samudragupta “Have you cut off his tongue?” (Dutt 121). It’s an example of application of naked power described by Russell.

In the Royal Court, King Samudragupta turned the trial process into a farce. The reason for Kalhan’s silence was not disclosed in public but issued a false assertion called Kalhan’s statement. Where it is written “God is true, the Vedas are true, science is false” (Dutt 121). The angry crowd calms down. The throne remains intact. It is just a cruel mockery of institutionalized disciplinary power. This incident again conveys the message of transgressing the limits of disciplinary power described by Michel Foucault.

Comparative Discussion of Implementation of Various Institutionalized Power In HIRAK RAJAR DESHE And HUNTING THE SUN:

The above texts show how power and institutionalized power prevails in the movie HIRAK RAJAR DESHE and the play HUNTING THE SUN. I will try to draw a comparative discussion of this movie and the play. Both of these are created in a political context. The movie is based on fictional characters but the play is set in historical background during the 4th decade of the reign of Samudragupta, son of King Chandragupta of Magadha.

In both cases, power has manifested itself in different forms and institutionalized power has been used at different steps. In both cases manuscripts are assumed to be the foundation of knowledge and tried to destroy the knowledge by the application of military power.

The incident in HIRAK RAJAR DESHE shows that the priestly power surrendered to the kingly power. But in HUNTING THE SUN the kingly power had to surrender to the priestly power.

In this movie the class struggle (colonizer and the colonized) described by Karl Marx is clearly evident. Here, the wealth generated by workers and farmers is increasing the royal treasury. But the play does not show any event of accumulation of the wealth created by the proletariat in the royal treasury. On the other hand, the distinction between upper caste and lower caste has precedence here.

In both cases the female character is revealed. The character Udayan Pandit's mother is seen for a very short time in the movie. But in every scene of the play, multiple female characters have taken their place. Abnormal libido is not seen in any of the characters in the movie. But in the play, the manifestation of abnormal libido between General Hayagreeva and Queen Urmila is noticeable. It must be mentioned here that Hayagreeva's and Urmila's character is greatly affected by this abnormal libido and they use their institutionalized power immorally to try to satisfy themselves.

In both cases 'Panditmashai' or 'Gurudev' led the rebellion. The movie shows oppressed and neglected peasants, workers and students etc. different classes of people took part in the rebellion. But in the play, people from the lower castes of the society like Shudra, Chandalas, Slaves and the Untouchables etc. took part in the rebellion.

The movie depicts the collapse of the Hrak Empire as a result of the Revolution. On the other hand, Samudragupta adopted strategy, saved his empire from the aggression of Slaves, Shudras, Untouchables etc.

In the above comparative discussion, it can be observed that in both cases various institutionalized powers like kingly power, priestly power, disciplinary power, military power etc. have been used to exploit and oppress the common people. But in no case there is any instance of the proper exercise of institutionalized orderly power described by Foucault. The institutionalized power that can use the skills of human society through systematic means for the betterment of the state as far as possible, Foucault called it disciplinary power.

Conclusion:

Philosophers before Russell consider power to be the exercise of an individual or groups over another individual or groups. But during the Second World War, witnessing the rise of the statesmen, the philosophers of the time emphasized the institutionalization and centralization of power in the discussion of power. After Russell, Foucault established power in a new way. According to him, Institutionalized power is not only negative application like intimidation, destruction, mass killing etc.; this power also has many positive applications. Institutionalized power is also applied in philanthropic activities like compulsory child education, disaster relief etc.

Through the film titled Hrak Rajar Deshe, the writer-director has tried to depict the political context of the time in a monarchical regime through the arrangement of fictional events. On the other hand, Hunting the Sun the writer-director tried to express the political situation and the monarchical system of the time through the story written in the historical context. In both cases, they have expressed the class discrimination in the socio-economic field of the time by creating different characters. In the current society of our country, the oppression and tyranny of the poor and lower-class people is still going on as before, even though we have ended the monarchy and are being led by a better democratic system of governance. They want to make the present society aware of this oppression and torture, and if necessary to change this system to indicate the establishment of a regime free from torture. In my paper I have tried to specify how people were oppressed in monarchical regime and still continues today by various institutionalized centralized powers. Again, I have pointed out how institutional power has been misused by referring to the dialogues of various characters in both the movie and the drama. So that the reader can make necessary decision by comparing the current reality with the flow of events at that time.

References:

1. Dutt, Utpal. *Hunting The Sun. Three Plays.* Calcutta. Seagull Books, 2009.
2. *Freud's Will to Power.* November 29, 2006.
3. Haygood, David. *The Psychoanalytic Theories of Freud's Theory .*2017.
4. HIRAK RAJAR DESHE. Directed by Satyajit Ray. Performance by Utpal Dutt, Soumitra Chatterjee, Tapen Majumder, Rabi Ghosh. Central Board of Film Censors, 1980.
5. Joyarddara, Siddharth Sankara. *Miseal Phuko: 'Ksamata' o 'pagalami'ra kathakata' (Michel Foucault: The Narrative of Power and Madness).*
6. *Marxian Theory of Power.* January 20, 2020.
7. *Power by Bertrand Russell [A Review].* September 08, 2015.
8. Rahman, Sadiqur. *Phredarika nitasera atimanabiya dharana (Fredrich Nietzsche's concept of superhumanity).* February 20, 2022.
9. Ramsay, Kain. *The Three Levels of Human Consciousness.* March 07, 2019.
10. Russell, Bertrand. *Power: A New Social Analysis.* 1st imp. London 1938, Allen & Unwin.
11. Sarkar, Sunil Kumar. *Freud.* Calcutta. West Bengal State Book Board, 3rd publish in 1990.
12. Sen, Dr. Binayak. *Ksamata prasange misela phuko: Maikro paoyarera dharana (Michel Foucault on Power: The Concept of Micropower).* July 25, 2019.
13. Westacott, Emrys. *Nietzsche's Concept of the will to Power.* September 24, 2020.
14. Worley, D. Robert. "Power: A New Social Analysis". 2021.
15. Finkler, Yuri. *Mass media in the power framework: institutionalization revisited.* Proceedings of Research and Scientific Institute for Periodicals. January, 2020.
16. Aulia, Ganisya Rihma. and Ediyono, Suryo. *Konsep Ateisme dan Psikoanalisis Sigmund Freud Sigmund Freud's Concept of Atheism and Psychoanalysis.* January, 2023.
17. Baeumler, Alfred. *Nietzsche, the Philosopher and Politician.* Journal of Advances in Education and Philosophy. March, 2024.
18. Russell, Bertrand. *Bertrand Russell Rachana Samagra.* 1978.
19. Irvine, A.D. *Bertrand Russell.* Standford University. Retrived 20 February 2008.
20. Copleston, Frederick Charles. *History of Philosophy.* Paulist Press. Retrived 20 February 2008.
21. Burrell, Gibson. *Modernism, Postmodernism, and Organizational Analysis: The Contribution of Michel Foucault.* February 17, 1998.
22. Foucault, Michel. *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the College de France.*1974 – 1975. London.