Chapter 1:
Introduction
History encompasses of past political events whereas, politics constitutes of contemporary political events. Thus present politics becomes history with the passage of time. History is timeless and has a wider canvas but politics faces the limitation of the time aspect. The term ‘politics’ has been derived from the Greek word ‘polis’ which means city, state. Politics is concerned with the life of the community. Therefore, politics involves caring about society and seeking the common good for all. When it comes to fiction, the term “political novel” may denote either a piece of fiction presenting political ideas or a type of fiction in which action, characters and settings are firmly grounded in politics. All political programmes and agendas generate their reactions in the lives of people. The term “political novel” deals with a political ideology or should have a political setting. A political novel must take care of the integrity of its fictional values and elements like the presentation of political ideas, ideologies, setting, action and characters.

There may be two broad categories of political novels - ideologically oriented and non-ideological. The ideologically oriented group consists of those novels which are written to propagate certain “specific” political ideas. The characters are mainly used as instruments to attain ideological goals. On the other hand, the non-ideological novels are concerned with the depiction of political conditions and do not aim to propagate any specific political values. These works have greater artistic objectivity.

Though history and politics are interlinked, there is a difficulty in distinguishing between political and historical novels. Even if the novel is written about contemporary political events or about current political personalities, it may come under the label of “history” because present politics, political events, ideologies and personalities become a part of history. Another difference lies in the interpretation. It is mechanical to interpret a political novel as one portraying a political movement as most social problems have political dimensions.

When we consider the scope of ‘political novel’ in Indian writing in English, it is very wide. Since the Indian novel in English was born before independence, the freedom movement plays an integral part in the genre’s development. In fact, it is possible to explore the connection between the growth of the freedom movement and the rise of Indian novel in English. The freedom movement in India was not just a political struggle, but an emotional experience for the Indians. The Indian writers were influenced by the
freedom movement and the Gandhian ideology of nonviolence and Satyagraha which had shocked and surprised everyone changing the course of history itself. Thus early Indian English novels were ideologically oriented which basically propagated Gandhian ideology and patriotism. The Indian English political novels emerged before independence and it continued to flourish after independence.

The study has limited itself to the selected novels of the post independence phase. These novels belong to the category of non – ideological novels which depict wars with China, Pakistan and Bangladesh, Mrs. Indira Gandhi becoming Prime Minister, bifurcation of the Congress in 1969, imposition of Emergency etc. The novels chosen depict political events between sixties to early eighties. The novels selected are Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children*, Nayanatara Sahgal’s *Rich Like Us*, Rohinton Mistry’s *A Fine Balance*, Upamanyu Chatterjee’s *English, August* and Kiran Desai’s *The Inheritance of Loss*. These novels have revealed both the strengths and weaknesses of the Indian democracy. They also question the credibility of the new leaders and their decline of morality code.

The political novels depict the political indifference of the general public which was due to poverty and illiteracy. The politicians after independence faced the challenge of nation building. While doing so, the administrators copied the model of earlier government. In this process, people were exploited. Their basic needs and expectations were not fulfilled. The common masses of India feel disillusioned because their miseries and grievances remained unheard. Politics either makes or mars the lives of people. Politics of the few has changed the life of the common man and has not fulfilled his expectations. The hypothesis of this study is that politics has affected the lives of people making them pawns in the hands of the political system. Man’s life is often affected by natural calamities, technology and manmade situations. Politics is the result of manmade situations which has led to several problems for people.

Indians never had the experience of democracy until independence. Indian democracy has become a power game where a handful of ‘powerful’ rule and the majority ‘powerless’ abide unquestioningly. These few ‘powerful’ think only about the welfare of self, family, friends and kith and kin. In this process, old laws are amended for the advantage of politicians which have become the storehouse for the writers.
Indian democracy has suffered since its inception. Though India got its independence on 15th August, 1947, it was formally declared a Sovereign Democratic Republic on 26th January, 1950 with the formation and implementation of its Constitution. But this sovereignty was put to severe tests and threats in the first three decades. Soon after Independence, the country confronted with many external and internal problems which seriously challenged its existence. It had to face the bloody Partition and the problem of the integration of the princely states into the Indian Territory. Three wars were fought: the wars with Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 and with China in 1962. All these events got reflected in the Indian English political novels. More recently, the working of political democracy in India has the impact of politics on humans.

The common man is politically ignorant due to illiteracy and poverty. This suffering of the common man has a universal appeal. The present study has tried to explore how common man becomes a pawn in the political system through the analysis of selected postcolonial Indian English novels and hence it is titled, “People, Pawns and Politics.” The Oxford English Dictionary illustrates ‘pawn’ as “a chess piece of the smallest size and value, that moves one square forwards along its file if unobstructed (or two on the first move), or one square diagonally forwards when making a capture. Also a pawn is a person used by others for their own purposes.” A pawn differs from a puppet. A puppet is powerless with his string in the control of others but a pawn is powerful as he can checkmate even a King in spite of having the smallest value. As a chess player uses pawns to make his moves, similarly the political system has made a pawn of the common man.

The present study aims at tracing the political ignorance in the life of common man and its ruining effects on their lives by analysing the selected novels. The novelists are concerned with the human impact of politics rather than the causes. They reflect not only politics with its ugly face but also an alarming message for the common man to wake up and struggle for his existence.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first two chapters serve as a background and the remaining five chapters constitute the critical analysis of the selected postcolonial Indian English novels. The eighth chapter deals with the findings of the study. The novels have been clubbed as per the time phase of the political events they deal with.
Chapter One, ‘Introduction’ deals with the rationale of the study which states how the common man becomes a pawn in the hands of politics and politicians. It also specifies the research methodology used for the examination of the selected novels which is analysis of texts. For the purpose of analysis, the relevant articles and provisions of the Constitution are used as a framework. The study is inter-disciplinary. The various provisions of the Indian Constitution and laws such as the Directive Principles, Fundamental rights and duties, Public Service Commissions, provisions for the North Eastern states and reservation policies are focused upon in the chapter. These parameters will be applied to the selected novels in order to examine how the provisions in practice work on the lives of people. These provisions though ideal not implemented in the true spirit. The result is deviations and abuses of these provisions and a wide disparity in the theory and practice of it. This disparity is highlighted in the findings of the study there by presenting the havoc it has created in the lives of people.

This chapter also concentrates on the working of the Indian democracy. As the study deals with the theme of how politics makes a pawn of innocent people, it was essential to measure the abuse of the system in the hands of politicians which has tormented the masses. Though the system is ideal in its written form, when it comes to implementation, it is twisted for the benefit of the few rather than the common welfare of the masses. In this process the system and laws also got exploited.

The Second chapter, ‘Postcolonialism and The Development of Political Novel in Indian Writing in English’ has made a brief survey of postcolonialism in India and how it has affected the Indian English writings. Since the selected novels belong to the postcolonial period, the survey has helped to examine the impact of colonialism on the novels. This chapter also traces the historical development of the political novel in Indian English writing as a genre. It traces the roots of present politics and political events in the annals of history. It is only after nationalism gained momentum in India, that the novels in Indian English turned political. The chapter examines the development of the Indian political novel in English and the various phases it has passed through in terms of thematic concerns.

Chapters Three, Four and Five of the study have focused on Emergency. It has shown the misuse of power for selfish aim of retaining it. Mrs. Indira Gandhi used power
for protecting her position as a Prime Minister and for amending the Constitution. Emergency had shaken the very foundations of democracy after independence. It changed the face of Indian politics by opening up new avenues for dynastical rule. It promoted criminalization of politics and led to complete anarchy. The three novels i.e., Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children*, Nayantara Sahgal’s *Rich like us* and Rohinton Mistry’s *A Fine Balance* are selected on Emergency as they show different aspects of Emergency.

In chapter Three, The Fantasizing of Democracy – Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children*, Salman Rushdie portrays India with its ups and downs, films, mythology, politics, terror of national Emergency, religion, marriage ceremony, friendship and enmity. The novel covers all the major events right from the Quit India movement to the national Emergency period and its aftermath. It records almost all the major political events of India such as Emergency, Mrs. Indira Gandhi’s assassination, the communal politics of Shiv - Sena in Mumbai, Maruti car scam etc and the novel shows the impact of these events on the common man through its characters. He portrays major political events that took place in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. He has also ironically referred in his novels almost all the major politicians of India like Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Bal Thackeray, Sunil Dutt, Rajiv Gandhi, Sanjay Gandhi, M.G.R. Jaylalita and others. For the analysis of this novel, the parameters of Constitutional provisions of Emergency (article 356) and the right to freedom and equality (articles 14 to 22) were found suitable. There was no breakdown of constitutional machinery as per article 356 still Emergency was declared by Mrs. Indira Gandhi to safeguard her power. We find that neither Saleem nor the other characters in the novel retain any right to freedom or equality during Emergency. Saleem keeps moving to different nations against his wishes due to political will thereby signifying that the common man has no right to article 19 which states that the citizens of India have the right to move freely throughout the territory of India and to reside and settle in any part of the territory. The positive aspect of his personality is that Saleem is not crushed and has risen back to life to narrate his experiences to the reader. Similarly, the other Midnight’s Children are coping with their lives to find a new meaning in it. Padma now is the companion to Saleem and assists him in his narration. The other Midnight’s Children have also survived the setback of losing their magical powers. Life has returned to normalcy after Emergency. Saleem packs up his story into thirty chutney jars to hand over history - making to the next generations. He is wise enough to leave one empty jar - the future chutney – because he is hopeful about the future. The chutney jars represent the
history of India affected by the politics whereas the empty jar signifies the future politics of the nation. Thus the novel ends with Saleem’s optimism about India’s future.

Chapter Four, The Other Side of Emergency – Nayantara Sahgal’s *Rich Like Us* deals with the Emergency and its effects on the rich class. Nayantara Sahgal is acclaimed to be the first woman political fiction writer of Indian English writings. Her political characters in the novel appear lifelike. Her writing of Emergency has a feminist attitude. In the novel, her female characters are strongly portrayed and the effects of Emergency on them are focused. The torturous fight for freedom, the long cherished hopes after independence, rise of opportunistic tendencies, selfishness, pushing the nation under the Emergency regime – the painful course taken by the country in recent years is depicted. For the analysis of this novel, the provisions of Emergency and civil service conditions were found appropriate. Article 309 of the Indian Constitution mentions the ‘conditions of service’ for the civil servants. It states that demotion is a punishment for the malpractices by bureaucrats. Whereas, Sonali is demoted as she is unable to accommodate herself to the new requirements of Emergency. Ram’s paralytic condition symbolizes the policy paralysis of the government affairs and the nation itself during Emergency. The helpless beggar is ruthlessly driven to the sterilization van against his wishes which shows the violation of article 19. It states that under the right to equality, no one can exploit or harass others. We find through Sonali that the civil servants knew it was no Emergency but no one dares to protest and if one protests, one gets punished like Sonali under article 309. A civil employee of the government is guaranteed the protection of fundamental rights in the articles 14, 15, 16, 19 and 20. In her case, fundamental rights are denied. The judiciary and legislature have lost their powers due to the provisions of Emergency under article 353 (b) which means the legislature has no right to make laws. India becomes dominated by diseases, poverty, injustice, oppression, religious superstitions, communalism, casteism, bigamy, sati, rape, torture, violation of civil rights, corrupt politicians and bureaucrats, greedy and callous socialites, exploitative ruling classes, crushed and defeated masses.

Inspite of all these odds, the novel does end on a positive note. Sonali faces the injustices bravely and finds solace in studying the history of seventeenth century Indian art as a way of retaining her inner harmony during the period of Emergency. She is an epitome of hope in the novel who symbolizes that a good change is at hand. Ravi concludes later that supporting Emergency is unfair, he falls from power. Thus there is a hope for the
bureaucracy too. Though Rose is killed silently, individual resistance surfaces. Sonali helps the beggar to safety and provides artificial hands. Kishori Lal refuses to leave the young communist boy in jail; people begin to make an effort to revive personal dignity. The picture is not totally bleak. This approach to the past and the present highlights the fact that the spirit of India cannot be squashed by trials like Emergency and India will rediscover its richness and legacy.

Chapter Five, Struggle for Balance during Emergency - Rohinton Mistry’s *A Fine Balance*, depicts the corruption and ill – effecting policies formulated by the politicians. The novel deals with the painful experiences of four main characters: Dina Dalal, Maneck Kohlah, Ishvar and Omprakash Darji and a host of others during national Emergency declared by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The novel closely portrays the practice of casteism in rural India. The novel has as its setting the metro city of Mumbai which has shown the horrors of life in Mumbai and especially of those who migrate in search of bread and butter during the fateful times of Emergency. What makes Rohinton Mistry’s portrayal of Emergency different from other writers is his diasporic approach.

For the analysis of this novel, the framework of the Constitutional provisions of Emergency and special provisions of Scheduled castes and tribes (articles 330 to 340) were found suitable. It states that they are conferred special rights like not only reservations but also separate Commissions to ensure that no injustices are levied upon them. Through Ishvar and Om, we get an insight into rural India and come across the atrocities committed on the untouchables through the story of the family of Dukhi. We find untouchability practiced in rural India inspite of the laws forbidding it. Dina, Maneck, Ishvar and Om are robbed of their accommodation, financial independence and identity itself during Emergency. It is remarkable that all the characters in the novel are trying to resist Emergency in their own way. They are fighting for their existence during the dreadful times of Emergency and its aftermath. Om and Ishvar turn to begging and Dina feeds them without Nusswan’s knowledge and they share the same bond of affection of the good old days. Bal Baba has set up an ashram and has become a spiritual ‘guru’ and has several followers to his credit. The slums have settled again. Emergency has ended and democracy is back with a new government. Life is in motion inspite of several hindrances and Emergency has not completely crushed the courage of the people.
Chapter Six, Illusion and Disillusion of Power of Bureaucrats in Postcolonial India – Upamanyu Chatterjee’s *English, August’* shows how politics is played by bureaucrats by using the common man as pawn and also how bureaucrats themselves become pawns at the hands of the political system. The novel describes the protagonist, Agastya Sen’s experiences, beliefs and attitudes, who is a trainee bureaucrat. He becomes disillusioned when he comes across the inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy. He tries in his discretion to bridge the gap between the agents of the administration and the tribals of the drought – hit area of Chipanthi village through his visit as a BDO. He could not find any solution to the problems that confront him and is disappointed with his career as a bureaucrat since he is powerless. Infact Agastya becomes a pawn at the hands of politicians and their crooked policies. Same is the case with his other bureaucrat friends and colleagues. For the analysis of this novel, the guidelines of the Constitutional provisions of bureaucracy (articles 309 and 312) are used. The provisions declare the bureaucracy to be separated from the legislature so that the bureaucrats serve all the governments impartially and are treated with justice as far as the terms and conditions of their services are concerned. We find Agastya and his bureaucrat colleagues are pressurized by the politicians and have limited rights. Various incidents in the novel show the corrupt nature and self – centeredness of bureaucrats like Srivastav using public money to organize family parties and lunches.

The novel displays a contrast to the irresponsible attitude of the bureaucrats with that of the selfless service to humanity by Baba Ramanna’s Home meant for lepers. He was stunned to see the devoted service offered to the outcastes like lepers. He realizes the value of serving humanity. He returns from the Home peaceful, firm and with a conviction to carry out his duties sincerely. There are tribal leaders like Rao who work selflessly for the upliftment of the tribals. These elements inspired Agastya and he tries to lessen the troubles of his block as a BDO. We find a positive change in Agastya towards the end of the novel. Through Agastya and his journey from misery to happiness and peace, the writer shows the brighter prospect for bureaucracy and after all everything is not bad with bureaucracy. There is still hope left due to bureaucrats like Agastya.

Chapter Seven, Conflict of Interests: Personal and Political – Kiran Desai’s *The Inheritance of Loss* depicts the story of the four individuals being turned into pawns due to political turmoil, Sai, Gyan, Biju and the Cook, Pannalal. It speaks of a military insurgency arising and hatred through the Naxalite movement in the North – Eastern states.
The novel highlights some of the burning issues of contemporary society such as globalization, marginalization, subordination, economic inequality, exploitation, poverty, insurgency, immigration, hybridity, racial discrimination and political violence. The novel not only shows how people who move out of India and migrate to other countries feel rootless and alienated in a strange land but it also reveals how people in their own motherland feel isolated and suffer from loss of identity. Even after Independence, the government of India has not done much for the welfare of the marginalized Indian Nepalese who had accomplished extraordinary service to the Indian Defence Services. The adversely affected ones are the Indian Nepalese youth who, unable to get proper jobs, suffer miserably from poverty and deprivation. Decades of misrule, exploitation and deprivation have given birth to the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF). The Gorkhas are deprived of their labor and loyalty and are suffering in the land where they had served and worked throughout their lives. This sense of loss has spread over almost all the stratas of human society, starting from the Cook to the retired judge inspite of his privileged position as an ICS officer in the novel.

For the analysis of this novel, the Constitutional provisions of the North – Eastern states (sixth schedule, paragraph 20) were found appropriate. The provisions impart the tribals the status of autonomous districts and reserved forests, inheritance of property, protection of marriage and social customs. We find that the tribals are robbed of their ancestral lands and culture and are forcefully converted to Christianity thereby losing their native culture. The illegal infiltration is dominating the North – Eastern states by having their own people in government jobs, contesting elections and their representatives formulating new laws in favour of their own people. Through the character of Biju, we come across the painful experiences of illegal immigrants in an alien land. In the post-colonial era, people from colonized countries face terrible hardships in a developed nation like US which is a land of liberty. As soon as Biju returns to Kalimpong, he falls into the hands of the revolutionary members of the GNLF who rob him of everything he has brought from America. Despite shame and humiliation, he feels immensely happy to unite with his father.

The love and affection that Biju and the Cook share moves Sai deeply. The Cook and Biju with their union are going to face life in new dimensions. Sai represents a new age and a new dawn amidst conflicting identities. Gyan too realizes that the GNLF
movement lacks sincerity and decides to quit it and opt for a different path of life. The judge is satisfied with his own way of life. Thus all march towards the future with expectations of new and better things discarding their agonizing past.

The eighth and the last chapter, ‘Conclusion’ presents findings of the study. The common man is an eternal sufferer and pawn in the game of politics no matter whether he is living in pre – independence or post – independence India. Only the rulers have changed hands. The tyranny and atrocities upon the common man are almost same in intensity. The principle of equality has ideally remained on paper. Though democracy is people’s government, the masses are only vote banks to be utilized when needed. They remain voiceless on many occasions. Politics becomes the main force of the selected novels and it rules the lives of people. Knowingly or unknowingly, people are active participants in politics.

Through the selected novels for study, we find that the development of political themes in Indian English writings constitute of the major political upheavals of the post - independence as well as pre - independence India. It has been used as either main theme or background of the post - independence Indian English fiction. The novelists under study have reflected the development of Indian political thought. Their novels reflect to the core an awareness of the political happenings and the manner wherein they show potential of the individual for self-fulfillment. With a view to analyzing this, they have reacted and represented the very spirit of Indian political ethos in their novels and they have depicted the agony and the plight of dislocated people who are a victim of the political game.

Keeping this in view, the study has made an effort to examine the impact of various political events and ideologies on the lives of the common man and how it has an adverse effect on their lives. It can be seen through the study that the common man has become a pawn in the hands of politics and the politicians will continue to be so if he remains passive and non - resistant.

However, while going through the political events and its effect on the lives of people, it was found that it reveals the negative as well as the positive aspects of our society as a nation. It is one of the strengths that the Indian society has tremendous capacity to come out of the most traumatic crisis like partition, Emergency, foreign
aggression etc. It tolerates pains and shocks and returns to normalcy soon again. This capacity to rise again after a setback has kept the Indian society breathing in spite of constant attacks for over two thousand years. This is because of the psychological toughness as well as the flexibility on the part of the society. Also the strong will of the people has led to the survival of democracy enduring several setbacks endangering its existence. Though India is a developing nation, its democracy is flourishing inspite of being in its initial stages.

The research has proved that there is a wide disparity between theory and practice of the Constitutional provisions and laws. India is the largest democracy in the world but unfortunately still its democracy is in the initial stages. The selected writers of this study have presented a different point of view of the various political events. The political events depicted in the novels show how the life of the common man is strangulated due to the various political events and the twisting of the system. This has lead to the disillusionment of democratic ideology itself.

The Parameters of Analysis

For the purpose of analysis, the researcher has used the parameters of the various provisions of Indian Constitution and laws like the Directive Principles, fundamental rights and duties, Public Service Commissions, provisions for the North Eastern states, reservation policies etc. So this chapter also examines the structure of Indian democracy; thereby points out the difficulties in implementing Indian democracy in practice. It also looks into the working of bureaucracy in India, the various aspects of Naxalite movement and the impact of the movement. The study of these provisions and its implementation will show how there is abuse of power in Indian politics.

India is a sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic republic. Despite impressive gains in various fields, India faces significant problems with overpopulation, poverty and communal tension. The co – existence of various castes with their culture creates difficulties which becomes a playground for playing politics with the lives of people who become helpless like a pawn. Infact in the past good politics like ‘Chanakya Neeti’ and ‘Krishna Neeti’ were meant for the welfare and upliftment of the masses and was not based on selfish motives.
One irony of Indian politics is that its modern secular democracy has empowered rather than reduced the traditional forms of social identity such as caste. One of the reasons for this development is that Indian political parties have found that the caste-based selection of candidates appeals to the caste-based interests of the Indian electorate to be an effective way to win popular support. Over time, there has been a steady increase in the number and power of parties promoting the interests of individual states. The structure of Indian union system creates a strong central government. But this system often had conflict with the growing number of parties. It is because of this that sometimes the government appears less capable to prevent conflicts of ethnicity, religion and caste. This has somehow encouraged the criminalization of the Indian politics.

The Preamble highlights some of the fundamental values and guiding principles on which the Constitution of India is based. The very fact that the Constitution of India is made by “We, the people of India” lays down the doctrine of ultimate sovereignty of the people of India. Under social equality, everyone has equal status and opportunities. Economic equality in this context means that the government tries to create opportunities available for citizens. Secular implies equality of all religions and religious tolerance. The Constitution establishes democracy by ensuring universal adult suffrage and free and fair elections. The use of word ‘justice’ in our Constitution has three distinct forms - social, economic and political. Liberty implies that the state grants its citizens special rights and effectively protects them as they are essential for the development of personality of the individual and perfection of the national life. The Preamble speaks of liberty and ensures the independence of judiciary for the proper protection of certain rights guaranteed under the caption ‘fundamental rights.’ Preamble includes the term ‘equality’ and the equality of status is provided by the prohibition of artificial restrictions on the grounds of religion, race, sex, color, untouchability and the abolition of titles etc. The last ideal is fraternity which ensures the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation. To bring in these ideals of democracy, the Constitution has conferred certain rights on its citizens.

For the overall development of an individual’s personality, fundamental rights are essential. The rights that one can derive, depends upon the way the people or individual agitate, demand, legislate and govern themselves, before the authorities, political parties, peoples’ elected representatives in the legislatures and Parliament, before
the political executives in the governments and ultimately before the governments and courts. The rights of the citizens of India are under question in the analysis of the selected novels for study. During Emergency the fundamental rights were curbed. The policy makers also at times trample these rights. For the purpose of analysis, the researcher has used the parameters of the various provisions of Indian Constitution and laws like the Directive Principles, fundamental rights and duties, Public Service Commissions; provisions for the North Eastern states, reservation policies etc. The fundamental rights are contained in exclusive Part III of the Constitution. They are the –

1. Right to equality (articles 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18): Under the right to equality: It provides the right of equality before law, rights for prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, right to equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, rights associated with the abolition of untouchability and rights associated with the abolition of titles.

2. Right to freedom (articles 19 to 22): It ensures that all citizens shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, to assemble peaceably and without arms, to form association or unions, to move freely throughout the territory of India, to reside and settle in any part of the territory and to practice any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

3. Right against exploitation (articles 23 and 24): Under the rights against exploitation: It deals with prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour, prohibition of employment of children in factories etc.

4. Right to freedom of religion (articles 25 to 28).

5. Cultural and educational rights (articles 29 and 30).

6. Right to Constitutional remedies (articles 32 to 35).

Some of the rights have remained as silent provisions caged in the Constitution. It is unto the people to realize them. They have to make the governments to work and ensure that they do their duties and citizens get their rights.
Along with imparting rights to the citizens, the Constitution has given Directive Principles to bring in the ideal of welfare state. These principles are guidelines and are supposed to be considered while framing policies and laws. It needs to be observed if these principles are really reflected in the laws and policies. The items of the comprehensive list of the Directive Principles may be classified into three parts for study—socialistic, liberal-intellectualistic and Gandhian principles. These cover economic, social, legal, educational and international problems. The most important of these are related to ensure and protect a social order which stands for the welfare of people, adequate means of livelihood to all citizens; a proper distribution of the material resources of the community for the common good; equal pay for equal work for both men and women; the operation of the legal system promoting justice on a basis of equal opportunity and shall provide free legal aid by legislation to ensure opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities, to secure work, a living wage, a decent standard of life, leisure and social and cultural opportunities for people, to secure a uniform civil code applicable to the entire country; to provide, within ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of fourteen years, to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people especially the Scheduled Castes and Tribes etc. However, Directive Principles are non-justifiable and are not treated as fundamental in the governance of the country. Inspite of the implementation of directive principles, the state may face with innumerable unforeseen problems in its administration. So the Constitution is also composed of Emergency provisions.

The Emergency provisions and the effects of the declaration of Emergency serve as a background to the following three selected novels for analysis: Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children*, Nayantara Sahgal’s *Rich Like Us* and Rohinton Mistry’s *A Fine Balance* therefore it needs to be elucidated.

An ‘emergency’ means the existence of a condition whereby the security of India or any part thereof is threatened by war or external aggression or armed rebellion. The Constitution provides for three different kinds of abnormal situations which call for a departure from the normal governmental machinery set up by the Constitution –

1) An emergency due to war, external aggression of armed rebellion (article 352). This may be referred to as ‘national emergency,’ to distinguish it from the next category.
2) Failure of constitutional machinery in the states (article 356).

3) Financial Emergency (article 360).

A ‘proclamation of emergency’ may be made by the President at any time if he is satisfied that the security of India or any part thereof has been threatened by war, external aggression or armed rebellion³ (article 352).

The different types of Emergency may yield varied effects which are also clarified by the Constitution. The executive and the legislature of the union shall have extraordinary powers during an Emergency. The effects of a proclamation of Emergency may be as discussed under:

1) Legislative:

a) Parliament may, by law, extend the normal life of the house of People for a period not exceeding one year at a time and not extending in any case beyond a period of six months after the proclamation has ceased to operate [provision to article 83 (2)]. (This power was used by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1976 – Act 109 of 1976).

b) The legislative competence of the Union Parliament shall be automatically widened and the limitation imposed as regards list II, by article 246 (3), shall be removed.

c) It shall also have the power to make laws conferring powers, or imposing duties, upon the executive of the union in respect of any matter, even though such matter normally belonged to state jurisdiction [article 353 (b)].

2) As regards Fundamental Rights: Articles 358-359 lay down the effects of a proclamation of Emergency upon fundamental rights which was extensively used by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1976.
a) Under article 359, the right to move the courts for the enforcement of the fundamental rights or any of them, may be suspended, by order of the President.

b) Article 358 suspends article 19, the suspension of enforcement under article 359 shall relate to those fundamental rights which are specified in the President’s order, except articles 20 and 21.

c) Neither article 358 or 359 shall have the effect of suspending the operation of the relevant fundamental right.

The third proclamation of Emergency under article 352 was made on June 25, 1975 on the ground of “internal disturbance.” The “internal disturbance,” which was cited in the Press Note relating to the proclamation, was that ‘certain powers have been inciting the police and armed forces against the discharge of their duties and their normal functioning.’

It should be noted that after 1978, it is impossible to issue proclamation of Emergency on the grounds of ‘internal disturbance’ for the words ‘internal disturbance’ have been substituted by the words ‘armed rebellion’ by the Constitution (44th amendment) Act, 1978 which was initiated by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. She had taken care that only she gets the monopoly to mould the Emergency provisions to retain her power. Thus politics is played over the provisions of the Constitution thereby the common man becomes a pawn in the hands of governance.

Along with Emergency provisions of the Constitution, one needs to look into some special provisions framed for the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for analyzing Rohinton Mistry’s A Fine Balance where Dukhi and his family suffer as ‘chamars.’

The Constitution of India has listed the special provisions relating to certain classes in Part XVI. From article 330 to article 342, the special provisions have been clearly indicated.
Article 330: Reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of People.

Article 332: Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the States.

Article 334: Reservation of seats and special representation to cease after 289 A – The provisions with which this article deals includes reserving seats for Anglo-Indian community, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of People or in the Legislative Assembly.

Article 335: Claims of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to services and posts.

Article 338: National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Article 339: Control of the Union over the administration of Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes.

Article 340: Appointment of a Commission to investigate the conditions of backward classes.

Every care is taken by the Constitution framers that there is no injustice levied on the special classes of the society but still we find that they have not even been conferred with basic human rights in the novel A Fine Balance.

Thus though the Constitution is perfectly drafted, one finds limitations in its implementation. The visionary Constitution framers wanted to bring into reality, the dream of ‘Welfare State’ for the common man. The ultimate aim of the Constitution was to create and give its people a sound democracy. The Constitution was authenticated in the name of “We, the people.” ‘The people’ feel betrayed. The legitimacy of the Constitution, authenticated in the name of the people in violation of their trust, is questionable.
The other contributing factor to the dissatisfaction of the citizens of India is the lethargic and dominating bureaucracy which badly affects the life of the common man for whom everyday living is a fight for survival.

The functioning of bureaucracy serves as a backdrop to Upamanyu Chatterjee’s *English, August* and Nayantara Sahgal’s *Rich Like Us*. Therefore it was necessary to examine the working of bureaucracy.

Geographically and for the convenience of the vast millions of the people of the country, the overwhelming bulk of the administration is divided into many units from the centre to tehsil / taluk, block offices, right down to the villages. Subject to the power of Parliament, under article 33 to modify the fundamental rights in application to members of the Armed Forces and the Police Forces, the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution are in favor of all ‘citizens,’ which includes public servants. It follows, therefore, that a civil employee of the Government is entitled to the protection of a fundamental right such as articles 14, 15, 16, 19, 20 as an Indian citizen. Restrictions upon the rights of the public servants under article 19 can be imposed on the grounds specified in Cls. (2) – (6) and to the extent that the restriction is reasonable. The State possesses, under the provision to article 309, the power to regulate their ‘conditions of service.’

In Parliamentary form of government, the ultimate responsibility for running the administration rests with the Council of Ministers and it is the responsibility of the civil servants to carry out policies according to the prescribed rules and regulations. It is a well known fact that the civil servants serve with equal vigour all governments, irrespective of the political parties in power and carry out the policies most efficiently and effectively. The element of political neutrality is considered as the most important feature of civil service or bureaucracy because the efficiency of the government depends upon the impartial implementation of the decisions by the public servants. The oppressive attitude of non-cooperation is prevalent in every government office, whether be police station, railway station, electricity and water department, transport office, registration office etc. We find the same attitude in the bureaucrats of *English, August* where we find the common man and Agastya himself faces the disasters of inefficient administration.
Along with the problem of power abuse by politicians and bureaucrats, India is facing numerous problems like terrorism and the Naxalite movements in the various states of India. Though as mentioned earlier, the tribals are having special provisions to protect their identity and culture, these provisions are not implemented in the right spirit. This has led to dissatisfaction among the tribals and Naxalite movement is the outcome of it.

There are also special provisions for the tribal areas in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram specified in the table appended to the Sixth Schedule (paragraph 20) in the Constitution and has undergone several amendments. One needs to consider these provisions for analyzing the Naxalite movement of North Eastern states portrayed in Kiran Desai’s novel, *The Inheritance of Loss*.

The tribal areas are to be administered as autonomous districts. These autonomous districts are not outside the executive authority of the State concerned but provision is made for the creation of District Councils and Regional Councils for the exercise of certain legislative and judicial functions. These Councils are primarily representative bodies and they have got the power of law-making\(^\text{12}\) in certain specified fields such as management of a forest other than a reserved forest, inheritance of property, marriage and social customs and the governor may also confer upon these councils the power to try certain suits or offences.\(^\text{13}\) With respect to the matters over which the District and Regional Councils are thus empowered to make laws, Acts of State Legislature shall not extend to such Areas unless the relevant District Council so directs by public notification.\(^\text{14}\)

The term ‘Naxalite’ refers to a variety of revolutionary struggles. The Naxalite movements oppose participation in elections and attack the landed classes directly to liberate entire territories from feudal and capitalist exploitation. The Naxalites operate in areas that have low levels of income, poor infrastructure development and suffer from extreme economic and social backwardness. The Naxalite groups exploit the administrative machinery to attract the masses by their campaign against various social evils such as the dowry system, exploitation of the lower castes by the upper castes, theft, rape and prostitution. The Naxalites collect money from forest contractors, traders and landlords in exchange for peace. The MCC and Party Unity hold jan adalats (people’s
courts) at nights. These “courts” are gaining popularity since the settlement of cases in government courts is costly and time consuming. Similarly, in the field of education, Naxalite groups in a number of areas have taken over the educational system and have made it sure that it works. They are often the peoples’ only support against demanding policemen, landlords and against upper caste teachers who had been drawing salaries without doing any work.

The Naxalite groups in the North – Eastern states need to be specially referred since they have been operating actively for years due to the insurgency of foreigners, negligence of the government, dissatisfaction among people and its remote geographical location. Much of the insurgency witnessed in the North - East today is a direct result of the manner in which the British dealt with their frontiers not quite claiming as their own territory and not quite giving them complete independence. In the North East inhabited by numerous tribes, each with their distinct language and culture, the British were satisfied with merely introducing an inner line permit restricting entry into the tribal areas but without the tidying up of political boundaries and the quasi independent autonomy that they enjoyed.

The people from the hilly region because of the hilly terrain were separated geographically, historically and culturally isolated from the rest of India and they are struggling to evolve their identity. The picture is not totally bleak, there is a hope that the situation might change with their inclusion in main stream development process. Despite political and administrative corruption, the increasing participation of the people of northeast in the development process of their respective status and significant changes in their socio-political behavior have sent a positive signal that they are working as equal partners in the nation building exercise. Sending larger number of their representatives in Parliament and participation of the people of entire region in elections prove their commitment towards the core of Indian Union.

To conclude, one has to understand the uniqueness of tribal culture, in order to know them, to experience their warm hospitality, simple ways of living and why they demand their birthright to self - determine their own destiny. Presently, numbering approximately twenty million people, they have existed as a distinctive tribal community for thousands of years, surviving wars, plagues and epidemics, manmade and natural
disasters and they therefore owe allegiance to their land which have suffered with them and have protected and preserved them as people through all these centuries. Using their knowledge the invaders forcibly and brutally subjugate tribal population who more or less are taken by surprise and are outnumbered. The tribals are oscillating between hope and destruction.

The next chapter deals with postcolonialism and its effects on Indian English novels. The chapter studies the rise and development of Indian English political novel as a genre.
References


3. Since the amendment of article 352 in 1978, it is no longer possible to make a proclamation of Emergency, on the ground of mere ‘internal disturbance’ which does not constitute an ‘armed rebellion’.

4. An official version of reasons which impelled Mrs. Indira Gandhi to assume that ‘the security of India was threatened by internal disturbances’ may be had from *India*, 1976, pp i-ii. This proclamation was revoked on March 21, 1977.

5. Several new services have been added to the list of All India Services, namely, the Indian Engineering Service, the Indian Forest Service and the Indian Medical Service [the All India Service Amendment Act, 1963]; the Indian Statistical Service; Indian Economic Service.


