INTRODUCTION

The term 'ideology' is used in the way that is common in current literature, to stand for an organization of opinions, attitudes, and values -- way of thinking about man and society. It is a set of ideas that discusses one's goals, expectations, and actions. An ideology can also be thought of as a comprehensive vision, as a way of looking at things or a set of ideas proposed by the dominant class of a society to all members of this society.

The main purpose behind an ideology is to offer change in society, and adherence to a set of ideals where conformity already exists through a normative thought process. Ideologies are systems of abstract thought applied to public matters and thus, make this concept central to politics. For example, Marxism. Marxism is a particular political philosophy, economic, and sociological worldview based upon a materialistic interpretation of history, a Marxist analysis of capitalism, a theory of social change, and an atheist view of human liberation derived from the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

The term 'ideology' has entered into much more use in recent years, and a person who talks about ideology certainly need not be a Marxist or be appealing to a set of Marxist assumptions. In such general
usage ideology can mean something as general as a system of ideas, either true or false. Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge define ideology,

"as a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view. Ideology is thus a subsuming category which includes sciences and metaphysics, as well as political ideologies of various kinds."

It is understood that when an ideology is attributed to the political functions of a state and government, that ideology comes to be called a political ideology.

A 'political ideology' is a set of political values and belief systems. It largely concerns itself with how to allocate power and to what ends it should be used. It is a certain ethical set of ideals, principles, doctrines, myths or symbols of a social movement, institution, class or an individual, and a large group that explains how society should work, and it offers some political and cultural blueprint for a certain social order. Gandhian ideology and other similar systems can be the instances in this regard.

The Indian English fiction broadly is a product of ideologies. In the first phase of growth of the Indian English fiction, the ideologies of Indian Renaissance shaped its identity. The broad aspect of ideology is the

ideology of humanism. The role played by Raja Rammohan Roy and Swamy Vivekananda in propagating the humanism is worth mentioning.

Raj Rammohan Roy, a great humanist and social reformer who waged the battle against the monstrous custom of sati. His attempt in reviving Humanist approach for reaching to the problems of man was done through the myths of ancient India; his support to the ideas of medieval Indian saints, preaching the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; his humanistic approach towards the social problems, are the reformist activities which he extended through the Brahmo Samaj. Pointing out irrational behaviour of the people in social and religious relations, he did everything to eradicate it.

Swamy Vivekananda, another great humanist, fought against the superstitions and evil practices in society. His humanism was based on the tremendous faith on the powers of man. He tried to direct his religious philosophy to the service of the nation, in particular and mankind at large for their spiritual elevation and total emancipation from injustice, fear and evil. His voice at the end of the nineteenth century had a tantalizing effect on the people of India; they were awakened to revolt against suppression of human rights and all kinds of political, economic, and social inequalities.
Gradually the politics of humanism and the early Freedom Movement brought the ideology to Indian English fiction. For instance, the Indian novels like Shoshee Chunder Dutt’s *Republic of Orissa* (1845), and Kylash Chunder Dutt’s *A Journal of 48 Hours of the Year 1945* (1835) are shaped by the politics of humanism of the early twentieth century.

In the later stages, many ideologies—political, social, and economic—have continuously contributed in the growth of Indian English fiction. For instance, K. S. Venkataramani’s *Kandan, the Patriot: A Novel of New India* (1932) is a narration on the early political movement of India, whereas his other novel, *Murugan, the Tiller* (1927) presents an alternative ideology on Indian economy.

In the next stages, many ideologies have come to play a major role in the shaping of the Indian English fiction. There are ideological cross-currents like the Gandhian, the Nehruvian, the Dalit, and the Hindutva ideologies. These ideologies have been incorporated into the structure to depict the scenario of Indian English fiction. Dr. M.K. Naik, a leading critic, notices, “most of the Indian novels are political in character.”

Politics dominates the Indian English fiction continuously. Therefore, in

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this thesis, the political dimension of the ideologies is primarily focused. Here, the ideology is taken to signify the political dimensions in the narrative techniques. The ideological system like feminist ideology, that is not overtly political, is not therefore, chosen for discussion in this thesis.

Starting from the earliest forays of the Indian novels into the political themes as in S. C. Dutt’s Republic of Orissa (1845) to the Post-Modern classics such as The Great Indian Novel (1989) by Shashi Tharoor, there is an overwhelming involvement of the novelist in the political scenario. The critics have noticed several dimensions in the Indian political novels. If the earliest political novels began with nostalgia for the past, the later novels have tried to explore and expose politics from other angles, ranging from adulatory to the ironical, critical, and satirical. Sometimes, the Indian political novel has also assumed the form of a fable as in The City and River. Thus, the political novel is the most dominant sub-genre in Indian fiction.

The novel in India is mostly political in theme and plot. In this connection Dr. M.K. Naik pointed out:

“Upto the 1930s there was no Indian novelist who could claim sustained and considerable achievement in fiction originally written in English. Then came a sudden flowering, and it is significant that it came in the 1930s – a period during which the glory that was Gandhi attained perhaps its brightest
splendour. The Indian freedom struggle was already more than a generation old, but with the ardent of Mahatma Gandhi it was so thoroughly democratized that freedom consciousness percolated for the first time to the very grass-roots of Indian society and revitalized it. It is possible to see a connection between this development and the rise of the Indian novel in English; for fiction, of all literary forms, is most vitally concerned with social conditions and values."

Dr. M.K. Naik further observes that in novel after novel, therefore, the political theme is at the centre of the work. There was but natural in a period when all problems – social, cultural, religious were ultimately to be considered in relation to the question of the attainment of Independence.

Naturally, this area has attracted wide ranging critical studies. A galaxy of critics has carried out extensive studies in this endlessly fascinating research field of study. For instance, a number of studies have been carried out on ‘Nationalism’ in Indian English fiction. Similarly, vast and complex studies have been carried out on Gandhianism in Indian fiction. Ambedkar has also attracted a few significant studies. The political dimension of the ‘Partition Fiction’ and the ‘Emergency Fiction’ has also been explored by the research scholars. For instance, the major studies such as, *Novels and Political Consciousness* by Suresht Ranjan

3. Ibid., p.117.
Bald, *The Political Consciousness in Indian English* by M.K. Bhatnagar, 
Gandhian Thought and Indo-Anglican Novelists by Rama Jha, Politics, 
Aesthetics and Culture by Asha Kaushik, *The Writer's Gandhi* by C.D. 
Narasimhaiah, Politics in Indo-Anglican Literature by S.P. Singh, etc. 
Thus, Indian Political Novel has attracted wide ranging critical attention. 

However, it is felt that there are significant areas of fruitful study 
still awaited on Indian political novel which have been extensively 
researched from the point of view of political characters and political 
ambience. A few numbers of studies have naturally focused on writer and 
the political consciousness. But the treatment of political ideologies in 
Indian fiction has not been comprehensively explored. The present thesis 
intends to explore the English fiction in India for discovering the new 
space where a study is possible. The following is chapter wise plan of 
study:

**CHAPTER ONE: IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL NOVEL: CONCEPTUAL ISSUES**

This chapter is a renewed attempt to understand the meaning of the 
term, 'politics', the meaning of political ideology, and also the political 
 novel. The chapter cites several celebrated definitions of a political novel 
and attempts to evaluate the significance of those definitions. An attempt 
is also made to understand how a novel becomes 'political' through the
portrayal of ambience, personalities, and ideologies. The chapter further makes an attempt to develop a critical meaning of the term ‘ideology’. This chapter, thereby, tries to create a theoretical framework for understanding of the description of political ideology in Indian English Fiction. The chapter also tries to define the scope of the study through a careful selection of the representative Indian novels, such as - Kanthapura by Raja Rao, Waiting for the Mahatma by R.K.Narayan, The Sword and the Sickle by Mulk Raj Anand, Train to Pakistan by Khushwant Singh, Shadow from Ladakh by Bhabani Bhattacharya, Rich Like Us by Nayantara Sahgal, Midnight’s Children by Salman Rushdie, The Great Indian Novel by Shashi Tharoor, Some Inner Fury by Kamala Markandaya and Azadi by Chaman Nahal. These are chosen as the most representative Indian novels in view of political ideology and as they also represent the broad spectrum of Indian Political Fiction providing a sufficiently broad canvass of time and thought for the thesis. Thus, this chapter provides a basis for logical structure of thought which is a preamble of the thesis.

**CHAPTER TWO: A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE INDIAN POLITICAL NOVELS.**

This chapter presents a survey of the Indian political novels from the beginning to the present which provides the foreground for the study. There are several surveys of Indian English Fiction attempted in various
theses. This survey however tries to bring out a saga of the Indian political fiction as the way of providing a general backup to the specific ideological study attempted in the later chapters of this thesis. Further, the survey covers an extensive panorama of the Indian English Fiction chronologically. In the process, the thesis attempts to fill the vast space recording the consequences of the study of the select novels. It also tries to touch upon the historical relationship with the major political ideological tendencies in Indian English Fiction. Early Phase, Gandhian Phase, Partition Phase, Emergency Phase and Modern Phase are the important phases of the chronological developments of Indian Political Fiction. All the stages together impart a historical consciousness and help building the relationship between political and a political; historical and a historical.

In the Earliest Phase, the political novels seem to represent broad humanitarian issues without a conscious development of ideologies as in Bankim Chandra Chatterjee’s Raj Mohan’s Wife.

In the second Phase, there is an obvious rise of Gandhian ideology interspersed with the rightist Hindutva ideology and leftist Dalit ideology. The examples of this phase are Raja Rao’s Kanthapura and Mulk Raj Anand’s Untouchable. In this phase, ideologies have emerged and started conflicting with one another.
In the Partition Phase, there is a presentation of the Nehruvian ideology which gets a repeated treatment in the novels like Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children* and Shashi Tharoor’s *The Great Indian Novel*.

The Emergency Phase is a reassessment of the Gandhian and the Nehruvian ideologies which can well be illustrated in Nayantara Sahgal’s *Rich Like Us*.

In the Modern Phase, there is an attempt at the subversion of these ideologies as represented in *Midnight’s Children* and *The Great Indian Novel*. This survey is presented covering these points of view.

**CHAPTER THREE: GANDHIAN IDEOLOGY**

This chapter is an attempt to understand Gandhian ideology with reference to the select novels – Raja Rao’s *Kanthapura*, Mulk Raj Anand’s *Sword and the Sickle*, R. K. Narayan’s *Waiting for the Mahatma*, Nayantara Sahgal’s *Rich Like Us* and Kamala Markandaya’s *Some Inner Fury*. The chapter is a study of the Gandhian ideology as presented in Indian English Fiction as well as the responses to the Gandhian ideology. As the survey makes it clear, Gandhian ideology is the anchor around which Indian ideological debate is built. Gandhian ideology is at the centre of discussion of the novels referred to.
If *Kanthapura* mythicises the Gandhian ideology without trying to sketch a realistic portrayal of the Gandhism, *The Sword and the Sickle* is an attempt to construct Gandhian ideology through the eyes of a semi-literate character totally de-mythifying Gandhism to the extent of reducing it to the bare details.

*Waiting for the Mahatma* also seemingly fails to create a true ideological essence of Gandhi as the novel is ironically focused on Bharati rather than on Gandhi. *Some Inner Fury* presents the Gandhian Movement not with much reference to it, whereas *Rich Like Us* represents the re-treatment of Gandhian Ideology.

Thus, as has been pointed out rightly by many critics, no Indian novel is genuinely able to project Gandhi in his entirety.

These novels also present three different responses to Gandhian ideology – adulatory, ambivalent, and critical or ironical. *Kanthapura* is an adulatory novel where the characters are not able to see Gandhi from the point of accepting him reverentially. In *The Sword and the Sickle*, ambivalence dominates. In the other significant novel, *Waiting for the Mahatma* irony is the key. Thus, this chapter is a full length study of the representation of the Gandhian ideology in all its possible dimensions.
CHAPTER FOUR: NEHRUVIAN IDEOLOGY

This chapter is an attempt to present and evaluate Nehruvian ideology in Indian English Fiction. It supplies a source for understanding the Nehruvian ideology in the beginning. The researcher here notes how Nehruvian ideology is at variance from the Gandhian ideology: the significant difference being Nehru's socialist bent of mind and an absence of mythicising based on religion. So Nehru's ideology is confluence of the Gandhian and the western historicism.

The chapter then attempts a critical evaluation of Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan*, Bhabani Bhattacharya's *Shadow from Ladakh* and Shashi Tharoor's *The Great Indian Novel* as representative novels of Nehruvian ideology.

*Train to Pakistan* is a significant novel that makes reference to Nehruvian ideology though limited. The novel is a critical assessment of Nehruvian personality and his policies. It seems to say that the tragedy of partition is largely Nehru's making. There are characters in the novel such as Hukum Chand, the magistrate and deputy commissioner who seems to typify Nehruvian personality. Similarly Bhabani Bhattacharya's *Shadow from Ladakh* and Shashi Tharoor's *The Great Indian Novel* are the other novels of critical assessment of Nehruvian ideology. The chapter notes, how the Chinese invasion which provides the setting to the
novel is largely Nehru's making. This chapter thus is an assessment of the portrait of the Nehruvian ideology as presented in the select novels.

CHAPTER FIVE: DALIT IDEOLOGY

Dalit ideology in India was born simultaneously with the rise of the Gandhian ideology. Thanks to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Dalit ideology has become a prominent political ideology in India. The characteristic features of the Dalit ideology are sought to be sketched in the beginning of this chapter. Significantly, the chapter attempts an analysis of the Indian English Fiction from the point of view of Dalit ideology and its portrayal. Three novels – Raja Rao's *Kanthapura*, Mulk Raj Anand’s *The Sword and the Sickle* and Salman Rushdie's *Midnight’s Children* are considered for a close study in this chapter.

*Kanthapura* presents the first phase of Dalit movement. It focuses on the innocent participation and suffering of mainly Dalits. *The Sword and the Sickle* presents Dalit ideology in its later phase. The novel is studied as an expression of the oppressed classes in this chapter.

Another significant novel, *Midnight’s Children*, invites a Dalit reading as it involves a subversion of the Gandhian and the Nehruvian myth. This aspect of the novel is taken for a scrutiny here. The whole
landscape and life is viewed through the subaltern glass. Hence, everything appears dim and dismal.

Interestingly enough, Indian political novel seems to treat Dalit ideology as a marginal voice. Dalit voice and ideology do not seem to have received a significant attention and treatment.

**CHAPTER SIX: HINDUTVA IDEOLOGY**

Hindutva ideology was born as a reaction to the Gandhian liberal humanitarian Hinduism. The first part of this chapter is an analysis of the tenets of the Hindutva Ideology. The ideology has received a substantive treatment in the Indian English Fiction. The Hindutva issues receive attention in three major novels – Raja Rao’s *Kanthapura*, Khushwant Singh’s *Train to Pakistan* and Chaman Nahal’s *Azadi*.

This chapter is a study of these three novels from the point of view of the ideology of Hindutva. As the thesis notes, *Kanthapura* presents an early scenario of Hindutva as a rebellion against Gandhism. *Train to Pakistan* and *Azadi* are full blooded treatments of the Hindutva ideology. In particular, *Azadi* represents and delineates the Hindutva ideology. The description of this ideology seems to be a prominent preoccupation of the Indian English writer as Hindutva seems to receive a comprehensive treatment.
CHAPTER SEVEN: CRITIQUE OF IDEOLOGIES

An attempt is made in this chapter to critique the portrayal of all these ideologies as they are represented in Indian fiction. As noted already, the portrait of ideologies is a dominant concern in Indian English Fiction. Further, several ideologies have kept criss-crossing in the gamut of Indian English Fiction. Undoubtedly, ideology has been important in it. The following have been the broad findings in the portrait of ideology:

A. Gandhian ideology seems to be at the centre. Other ideologies are only peripheral and important only comparatively.

B. Ideologies remain as documents. No novelist seems to write with a commitment to any specific ideology like the Marxist ideology. Therefore, further, personality seems to be more important than the ideology. For example, Gandhi or Ambedkar.

C. A curious aspect of Indian English Writing is that the novelists do not seem to exploring an ideology fully, including one that of the Gandhian. Therefore, an Indian political novel is largely an ideologically 'a political'.

D. Even if an ideology is present in a novel, the impact of that ideology on a community is minimal. In most of the cases, the
characters remain outside the ideologies or ambivalent to ideologies. For example, the character of Sriram in *Waiting for the Mahatma*.

E. Ideology alone does not shape even a single novel in Indian English Fiction as in the Russian novels. For example, Dostoevsky's 'The Idiot'. In other words, often the story and characters are primary. Ideology remains secondary; sometimes obscure.

F. This indicates a general apathy of the Indian mind for ideological issues. Living is more important than thinking. In fact, living itself is the house of several themes.

Thus, this chapter is an analysis of the ideological issues in Indian English Fiction. The work draws an ideology which is no more an ideology but only a categorical way of life.

This thesis is an attempt to explore the representation of political ideologies in Indian English fiction. The researcher feels that broadly there are four ideologies- Gandhian, Nehruvian, Dalit, and Hindutva which are consistently and continuously discussed. This thesis is an attempt to explore the nature of representation of these ideologies in Indian English fiction. For instance, these ideologies are represented in
some of the Indian English novels from the adulatory point of view. In some other novels, the ideologies are patterned from different perspectives ranging from apathetic to the ironical, satirical, and even critical.

The researcher here undertakes to study the broader ideological perspectives of the novelists. The focus is on ideology in Indian English Fiction. The research focuses on the point of view of the Indian novelists. The research is further an attempt to explore and understand the way in which the Indian novelists perceive the political ideologies as part of the routine existence. Hence, this study which is of an interdisciplinary nature tries to identify and explore the political ideologies as well as the nature of their representative novel in Indian English writing.

In this context, the thesis is a broad study of the Indian writers' attempt to create an imagined nationhood through the portrayal of ideologies. Further, as mentioned already, the thesis is a study of the ideologies that are 'overtly' and 'fully' political. The ideologies that are treated here have a strong political accent. The ideological approaches like feminist approach are naturally out of the scope of this study.